

The Multifarious Muse:
Two Palaeologan Collections of Paraenetic Chapters

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To my Sister,
whose resilience taught me how
to look at my monsters and not be afraid.

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Short Abstract<sup>[L]
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This thesis discusses the nature, genesis, authorship and audience of two paraenetic chapter collections of the Palaiologan period and offers a partial edition. I have called these collections *Chapters in Four Ways* (CFW) and *Chapters in Political Verse* (CPV). Their nature and composition are rather unusual in comparison to other chapter collections, and they are shrouded in an aura of mystery, which is made worse by the limited attention they have received from scholars. The study of these texts provides information on a wide range of topics such as the two main manuscripts, the genre of paraenetic poetry, the composition of CFW and CPV, intertextuality, hypertextuality and the legacy of literary authorities in Byzantium, and the interaction between secular and monastic circles. It offers new insights on the authorship of the two collections, which this study shows are closely related. The critical editions provided in this thesis make hitherto unedited texts available to the scholarly community, contribute to a better understanding of the two collections, and enrich our knowledge of late Byzantine literature.

Long Abstract

This thesis aims to investigate the genesis, the audience, the authorship and the relationship between two paraenetic chapter collections of the fourteenth century, which I have entitled *Chapters in Four Ways* (CFW) and *Chapters in Political Verse* (CPV). The investigation was conducted (i) at the level of the manuscripts, (ii) in the form of partial critical editions, (iii) through philology and literary analysis, (iv) by means of a thorough linguistic and metrical analysis of the texts, and (v) in a historical framework. The first methodological approach led to secure conclusions regarding the relationship between the two main manuscripts that contain the two collections (P and V); this included a detailed analysis of the various stages of production of CFW and CPV, which are clearly connected to each other. It also proved that the third manuscript, which contains only the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos (W), represents a stage prior to the archetype of P and V (see Chapter 1). The second approach led to the two critical editions offered in this thesis: the octosyllables of CFW, accompanied by a translation (Chapter 4), and version V of CPV, accompanied by a comparison with version P (Chapter 6). The third methodology consisted of close reading. It was only through a fine-grained literary analysis of CFW and CPV that I was able to move beyond the findings of earlier scholarship, including the long-standing academic querelle on the authorship of CPV, which some scholars attributed to Constantine Manasses. This resulted in a number of new insights into the creation and composition of these two collections (see Chapters 3 and 5). Literary analysis also formed the basis for the genre classification (Chapter 2). The fourth methodology combined linguistics and metrics to obtain a detailed profile of language, style and metre of the versified parts of these two collections (see Chapters 7 and 8). The fifth

historicizing approach entailed a study of Andronikos Palaiologos' life and works (Chapter 9).

Such a multifaceted approach is needed because of the scarcity of scholarly publications that deal with these two collections, which belong to the genre of paraenesis – a genre that has attracted much attention from biblical scholars and classicists interested in rhetoric and oratory, but it has received much less scrutiny from Byzantinists. This thesis hopes to contribute to this gap in our knowledge by making primary sources available and studying in detail their nature, genesis, authorship and the role they played in the Byzantine literary panorama of the early Palaiologan period. The thesis touches upon a variety of topics such as authorship, centonic literature, intertextuality, monastic and secular influences, paraenesis, etc. It offers a detailed account of all the hands involved in the production of the megaproject of CFW and CPV: authors, compilers, dedicatees, scholiasts and scribes. The thesis regrettably does not offer an exhaustive study of all the parts of this megaproject because of time limitations; but it is hoped that this thesis may lead to an increased interest in these highly unusual texts. This said, I do think that this thesis makes a major contribution towards a better understanding of the composition of the two collections.

As the introduction explains, the main issues this thesis seeks to address are: (i) the relationship between the manuscripts; (ii) the literary character of the two collections; (iii) their authorship; (iv) the different versions of CPV in mss. P and V; and (v) the connection between CFW and CPV. I shall not summarize my findings here, other than pointing out that the third question turned out to be the most difficult by far. Initially I thought it had to be Andronikos Palaiologos, but as I examined the matter in greater detail, more and more authors arose and claimed their part in the creation of

this megaproject. There is Andronikos Palaiologos for the iambs, the author of CPV (definitely not Manasses, but someone who did love his Manasses), the cento poet who stitched together hexametric verses of Gregory of Nazianzos (probably the same person as the compiler), the octosyllabist with his lack of poetic talent, the prose writer (who is most certainly the compiler), the two scholiasts (the one a monk, the other not a monk), and the enigmatic dedicatee of CFW who is the person who commissioned CPV. All these people remain shadowy figures in the periphery of the Palaeologan literary scene, but whoever they were, they produced two truly magnificent collections of paraenetic chapters.

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The end of this journey follows four long years of coping with my issues, discovering my academic potentialities and understanding that there are things I cannot change – no matter how hard I try – and people I will never be. It has been a long but exciting ride, a roller-coaster, and I am grateful to have been able to resist the siren's voice and happily bring this journey to completion.

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Abbreviations

<i>AC</i>	L'Antiquité Classique
<i>BMFD</i>	Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents
<i>BMGS</i>	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
<i>Byz</i>	Byzantion
<i>BZ</i>	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
<i>CFW</i>	Chapters in Four Ways
<i>ClMed</i>	Classica et Medievalia
<i>CPV</i>	Chapters in Political Verse
<i>DOP</i>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
<i>GRBS</i>	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
<i>HTS</i>	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>ICS</i>	Illinois Classical Studies
<i>JÖB</i>	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik.
<i>Lampe</i>	A Patristic Greek Lexicon
<i>LBG</i>	Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell Scott Jones
<i>MEG</i>	Medioevo Greco
<i>NE</i>	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων
<i>ODB</i>	Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
<i>PG</i>	Patrologia Graeca
<i>PLP</i>	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
<i>REB</i>	Revue des Études Byzantines
<i>RHM</i>	Römische Historische Mitteilungen

<i>RHT</i>	Revue d'Histoire des Textes
<i>RSBN</i>	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
<i>SBN</i>	Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
<i>SC</i>	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>SO</i>	Symbolae Osloenses
<i>ST</i>	Segno e Testo
<i>StP</i>	Studia Patristica
<i>TLG</i>	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
<i>TM</i>	Travaux et Memoires
<i>VetChr</i>	Vetera Christianorum

Sigla

P	Parisinus graecus 2750A
V	Vaticanus graecus 1898
W	Vindobonensis Philologicus graecus 149

Introduction

che 'l poco ingegno ad or ad or mi lima,
me ne sarà però tanto concesso,
che mi basti a finir quanto ho promesso.

Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, I, 2, 6-8

The manuscripts Par. gr. 2750A, fol.1^r-88^r and 89^r-108^r (P) and Vat. gr. 1898, fol. 342^r-94^v and 395^v-409^v (V) transmit two anonymous Palaeologan collections of paraenetic chapters, for which I have devised the titles *Chapters in Four Ways* (CFW) and *Chapters in Political Verse* (CPV).

The first is a collection of a hundred moral chapters in three different types of metre and in prose: each chapter has three quatrains (hexameters, iambs and paired octosyllables) and three prose texts, all of which are surrounded by scholia. Both manuscripts regrettably lack the beginning: P transmits chapters 32 to 100 (with occasional lacunas) and V chapters 58 to 100. The iambic quatrains have also come down to us in another manuscript, Vindob. Phil. gr. 148, fol. 346^v-50^v (W), which preserves fifty-three of the chapters in a different order than that of P and V. This manuscript provides a title and the name of the author of the iambic verses: Andronikos Palaiologos (born not long after 1261, and died between 1310 and 1328). The second collection also contains a hundred moral chapters on the same topics as those of CFW, but this time in political verse. As there is no heading separating CPV from CFW and as the two collections treat the same topics in the same order, it would appear that CPV constitutes an appendix to CFW.

As I hope to show in this thesis, the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos predate the *Chapters in Four Ways*. They form the kernel around which the rest of CFW is organized: the hexameters (a cento-like composition stitched together from

various verses of Gregory of Nazianzos), the paired octosyllables (a set of rather arcane quatrains in a fairly low stylistic register), and the prose texts. Whereas the iambs of Andronikos are not monastic, it is clear that the prose writer is a monk who writes for other monks. It is also clear that he is the compiler of CFW. He even says as much, in the epilogue to CFW: ἰδοὺ δὴ τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων πολυτρόπως ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν παρεστήσαμεν δύναμιν, ‘here is the [book] of the Chapters in multifarious ways, which I presented to the best of my ability’ (see Chapter 3.2 for the text and further discussion). The ‘multifarious ways’ are obviously the use of three different metres as well as prose: hence the name I have chosen for this collection, *Chapters in Four Ways*. The *Chapters in Political Verse* add yet another metre to this mix. To quote the scholiast of CPV: ἐπειδὴ συνέθετο πᾶσαν τὴν βίβλον ὁ συγγραφεὺς διὰ τε ἡρώων, ἰάμβων, ἀνακρεοντείων ἐπῶν καὶ λογογραφίας, ἰδοὺ καὶ διὰ μέτρων πολιτικῶν ὡς ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ πᾶσαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐδήλωσε μεταχείρησιν, ‘having composed the whole book in hexameters, iambics, anacreontics and prose, the author now offers a concise treatment of all its topics in political verse’ (for the text and further discussion, see Chapter 3.3). The use of prose and four different metres is without parallel in Byzantine literature: what we find here is a multifarious muse at work.

In the following I shall first survey the existing editions and studies, then discuss the five main issues that require further investigation (the *status quaestionis*), and finally I offer a short overview of the contents of my doctoral thesis.

While the text of CPV had already been edited by Miller in 1875 on the basis of the Parisian manuscript,¹ the text of CFW has only fairly recently attracted scholarly attention. In 1989, Konstantinidis published part of CFW, namely the iambic chapters, based on all three manuscripts (P, V and W), while in 1998 Ozbic, apparently unaware

¹ Miller, ‘Poème moral’.

of the earlier edition, provided an edition with an Italian translation of the iambs of manuscript W.² In 1990 Katsaros established that most of the hexameters derive from the poetry of Gregory of Nazianzos and provided an edition of those chapters that do not derive from Gregory.³ The octosyllables and the prose texts have received less attention. The octosyllables have been edited only partially: Miller published no. 41, Ciccolella published nos. 60, 64, 66, 76 and 100 and Simelidis published nos. 52 and 58 on the basis of P and nos. 64, 85 and 93 on the basis of P and V.⁴ The prose texts and the scholia remain unpublished, apart from those of chapters 41 and 62, edited by Miller and Simelidis, respectively.⁵

In addition to these editions, there are a number of studies that deal with CFW and CPV. In 1967, Tsolakis and Mazal independently prepared editions of the fragments of the now lost romance *Aristandros and Kallithea* of Constantine Manasses.⁶ And since CPV has a fair amount of borrowings from that romance, they both turned their attention to this collection; but as their sole aim was to retrieve as much of Manasses as they could, they do not discuss the non-Manassean verses. In a later publication, however, Tsolakis does discuss both CPV and CFW to some extent, as he was eager to prove that the two collections were unrelated. In this paper he drew attention to the fact that the version of CPV in manuscript V differed significantly from that of P.⁷ Arguably the best study is by Simelidis, who in 2015 described CFW, edited a sample chapter, studied the hexameters in relation to Gregory of Nazianzos, and looked at the paired octosyllables and the overall structure of CFW.⁸

² Konstantinidis, 'Κεφάλαια περί αρετής και κακίας'; Ozbic, 'Ikephalaia'.

³ Katsaros, 'Οι εξάμετροι στίχοι'.

⁴ Miller, 'Poème moral', 27; Ciccolella, 'Per un Corpus', 260–1; Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse', 276, 282, 291, 290, and 291.

⁵ Miller, 'Poème moral', 26–8; Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse', 275–77.

⁶ Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*; Mazal, *Der Roman* and 'Moralische Lehrgedicht'.

⁷ Tsolakis, 'Ηθικό ποίημα'.

⁸ Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse'.

What is, however, still lacking is a thorough investigation of: 1) the relationship between the manuscripts; 2) the nature and intended audience of the collections; 3) their authorship; 4) the differences between the two versions of CPV offered by P and V and 5) the connection between CFW and CPV.

The first issue that has not yet been satisfactorily addressed in the existing bibliography is the precise relation between the manuscripts. In his edition of the iambic chapters, Konstantinidis rightly judged that the manuscript tradition bifurcates into two branches: P and V on the one hand and W on the other.⁹ But he failed to understand the importance of the reduplication of no. 78 in P and what this tells us about W's priority (see Chapter 1.5). To date, there is no study of the stemmatic relation of P and V. The good news is that we nowadays have excellent descriptions of all three manuscripts: Cariou for P, Canart for V, and Hunger for W.¹⁰

The second issue relates to genre. As the two collections have come down to us without a heading, the only reliable piece of evidence is the title given to the iambic quatrains of Andronikos Palaiologos in ms. W: κεφάλαια διὰ στίχων ιαμβικῶν περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας [...] 'chapters in iambic verses concerning virtue and wickedness, etc.'. This title identifies the iambics as *kephalaia* and indicates that these *kephalaia* deal with moral issues such as good and bad. Lately there has been a booming interest in chapter collections and our knowledge of the genre has grown exponentially over the years, particularly since the publication of Rigo's *Mistici Bizantini* and a brilliant overview article by Géhin.¹¹ But the emphasis of these studies is on spiritual chapters in the mould of Evagrius Pontikos and though no one would deny that these form by far

⁹ Konstantinidis, 'Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας', 188–89.

¹⁰ Cariou, 'Grec 2750A'; Canart, *Codices vaticani graeci*, vol. I, 558–78; Hunger, *Codices historici, codices philosophici et philologici*, 250–55.

¹¹ Rigo, *Mistici Bizantini* and Géhin, 'Les collections de kephalaia monastiques'. See also Von Ivanka, 'Κεφάλαια'; De Ridder and Levrie, 'Capita literature in Byzantium'; Levrie, 'Byzantine Chapter Collections'; Mazzon, 'Manuale di sopravvivenza per un giovane monaco'; and De Ridder, 'Structuring patterns'.

the largest and most important type of chapter collections, there are other chapter collections as well. It is clear from their contents that the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos do not fall into the category of the spiritual chapter because quite a number of topics, such as marriage and having children, are relevant only to lay people. However, to cast moral advice in the form of pithy sayings and to structure these in ‘centuries’, of course, owes a great deal to the Evagrian novelty of the chapter collection.

Since the advice imparted in the iambic chapters is of a paraenetic nature, it is reasonable to assume that, apart from the genre of chapter collections, another genre – that of paraenetic poetry – influenced Andronikos Palaiologos. Here much is still to be done. Many paraenetic poems are yet to be edited and the secondary bibliography is basically limited to two general overviews by Lauxtermann, who points out that the genre seems to have been particularly popular in the Palaeologan period.¹² More generally, starting from the pioneering work of Hörandner, there has been a surge of interest in Byzantine poetry: Lauxtermann for the early period; Bernard covering the eleventh century, and Rhoby and Zagklas the twelfth; and, most recently, a whole companion dedicated to the topic of Byzantine poetry.¹³ Studies on Palaeologan poetry are few and far between, with the exception of Manuel Philes who has recently been given his share of scholarly attention.¹⁴

The third issue, that of authorship, is problematic because the CFW lack a heading in both manuscripts due to material loss and the CPV, which follow CFW, do not have a heading in either manuscript. As far, not much progress has been made since the text came to the attention of scholars: Katsaros assumes that it was produced

¹² Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 210–12, and idem, ‘Parisinus Graecus 400’.

¹³ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*; Bernard and Demoen, *Poetry and its Contexts*; Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry*; Rhoby and Zagklas, *Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry*; Hörandner, Rhoby and Zagklas, *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*.

¹⁴ Kubina, ‘Manuel Philes – a Begging Poet?’, and eadem, *Die enkonniastische Dichtung des Manuel Philes*. Bazzani, ‘Livelli di stile e significato’ and eadem, ‘The Art of Requesting’.

in the circle of Andronikos Palaiologos; Tsolakis thinks it is the work of some anthologist; and Simelidis tentatively suggests that all the parts of CFW, and not just the iambs, may very well be the work of Andronikos.¹⁵ As for CPV, its extensive use of Manasses' romance has led some scholars to believe that Manasses was in fact its author. The first to attribute CPV to Manasses was its editor, Emmanuel Miller.¹⁶ He was followed by Tsolakis who strenuously defended his position in two publications, even arguing that Manasses had become a monk and had to make amends for his secular poetry.¹⁷ Mazal, on the contrary, thought that the author had to be a pupil or admirer of Manasses, active around the year 1200.¹⁸ Although Krumbacher had already pointed out that CFW and CPV are closely related,¹⁹ Tsolakis and Mazal failed to understand that this link plays a key role in the quest for authorship. Whilst Mazal acknowledges the clear relationship between the two texts without discussing it in any detail, Tsolakis flatly denies it.

The question of authorship can be assessed only on the basis of language and metre, but the study of language and metre presupposes the existence of reliable editions. However, of all the parts that make up the multifarious poetry of CFW and CPV, only the iambs have benefitted from a proper edition until now: that of Konstantinidis (based on mss. P, V and W). Miller's edition of CPV is based on P only. All the rest is still largely unedited.

To remedy this problem to a certain extent, I have provided a critical edition of the octosyllables (in Chapter 4) and of version V of CPV (in Chapter 6). Given the sheer length of CFW, it was unfortunately impossible to provide an edition of the prose

¹⁵ Katsaros, 'Οι εξαμετροι στιχοι', 86, n. 47; Tsolakis, 'Ηθικό ποίημα', 11-12; Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse', 293-94.

¹⁶ Miller, 'Poème moral', 29-30.

¹⁷ Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*, 27-28, and idem, 'Ηθικό ποίημα', 10-14.

¹⁸ Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', and idem, *Der Roman*, 62-69.

¹⁹ Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*.

texts and the scholia within the time limits of a doctoral study. As for the hexameters, since most of the verses are taken from Gregory of Nazianzos, it is difficult to distinguish the voice of their author with Gregory in the background: it requires a proper study of hypotext and hypertext like Usher's study of Empress Eudokia's centos.²⁰ In my edition of version V of CPV, I provide not only the traditional critical apparatus and apparatus locorum, but also what I call an 'apparatus comparationis', in which I compare the divergent readings of P and V. It was unfortunately impossible, once again because of the time limitations, to produce an edition of the scholia of CPV.

The fourth issue, the relation of versions P and V in CPV, has attracted hardly any attention. Although Tsolakis registered that the two versions are radically different, he thought it better to discuss the questions that these differences raise at a later time; but he regrettably never did.²¹

The fifth issue, that of the relationship between CFW and CPV, has never really been addressed. While most scholars acknowledge that the presence of two very similar collections one after the other can hardly be a coincidence, no one – with the possible exception of Krumbacher – appears to have paid much attention to it. The case of Tsolakis is rather peculiar: although he was the first to spot the epilogue of CFW and the scholion at the beginning of CPV (both quoted above), he simply decided to ignore the evidence, peremptorily stating that what these texts say about the close relation between CFW and CPV, 'δὲν ἔχει σχέση με τὴν πραγματικότητα'.²²

So this is the *status quaestionis*. The purpose of this thesis is to further our knowledge concerning these two collections of paraenetic chapters. The thesis is divided into ten chapters, and is structured in such a way as to address these main issues.

²⁰ Usher, *Homeric Stitchings*.

²¹ Tsolakis, 'Ἡθικὸ ποίημα', 14–15.

²² Tsolakis, 'Ἡθικὸ ποίημα', 12 and 14.

In Chapter 1, the three manuscripts will be described and analysed: Par. gr. 2750A (§1.1), Vat. gr. 1898 (§1.2), and Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 (§1.4). The relation between the two principal manuscripts (P and V) is assessed in §1.3, with a detailed analysis of the various production stages. And the connection between W and PV is discussed in §1.5. As I hope to show, the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos already existed when CFW was put together.

In Chapter 2, the literary context of CFW and CPV will be discussed with regards to the genre of *kephalaia* (§2.1) and the genre of paraenetic poetry (§2.2). The aim of this chapter is to explain the novelty of Andronikos Palaiologos' experiment, who basically invented the mixed genre of the paraenetic chapter. As his iambs form the kernel of CFW and as CFW forms the model of CPV, it follows that CFW and CPV are collections of paraenetic chapters.

Chapter 3 focuses on the *Chapters in Four Ways*. The first section serves as an introduction (§3.1). The second discusses the 'epilogue' in which the author asks his readers to critically engage with the text – an idea that is quite similar to the contemporary idea of reader-response criticism (§3.2). The third section discusses the references to *συγγραφεύς* in the scholia of CFW (and CPV, to a certain extent), in an attempt to understand whether this stands for a compiler or a writer (§3.3). The fourth section establishes the monastic identity of the compiler and the person to whom he dedicated his compilation (§3.4). The fifth section deals with the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos in W and PV: the original order as found in W was restructured in PV (§3.5). The sixth section evaluates the influence of Gregory of Nazianzos on the hexameters and discusses their cento-like nature (§3.6). The seventh section treats the scholia of CFW and attempts to establish the profile of the scholiast

(§3.7). In the last section (§3.8), I offer an edition with translation of the whole of chapter 63 of CFW, with a short commentary following the text.

As already indicated above, Chapter 4 offers a critical edition and translation of the paired octosyllables of CFW.

Chapter 5 deals with the *Chapters in Political Verse*. A brief introduction discusses the addressee, that is to say the person who commissioned the text, and the author himself (§5.1). The following section assesses the connection between CPV and CFW and highlights the dependence of CPV on CFW (§5.2). The third section analyses the references to classical literature and mythology scattered throughout the text and points out how unusual it is for paraenetic poetry to be rife with classical references (§5.3). The fourth section deals with the concept of intertextuality and the relationship between hypotext and hypertext, that is to say between Manasses' verses and CPV, highlighting the author's intelligent re-use of Manasses (§5.4). In the fifth section hidden quotations and references to Manasses and other authors are identified (§5.5). The sixth section discusses the two redactions of CPV and establishes that P is the original draft and V the reworked version (§5.6). The seventh section discusses the scholia preserved in V, the literary profile of the scholiast and the intended audience of version V (§5.7). The eighth section deals with the re-use of Manasses' romance and chronicle in Palaeologan gnomologies (§5.8). Finally in the ninth section, the dispute on the alleged Manassean authorship of the text is dealt with through a reassessment of previous scholarship (§5.9).

As indicated above, Chapter 6 offers a critical edition of version V of CPV, including a comparison with the variant readings of version P.

Chapter 7 presents a thorough analysis of the language of CPV and CFW. In the introduction the concept of diglossia and the different stylistic registers are discussed

(§7.1). The second section deals with the vocabulary of CPV, that is to say the hapax legomena, the rare words and the borrowings from Manasses (§7.2). The third section discusses the language of CPV, namely phonology, morphology, and syntax, to assess what language register its author strove to achieve (§7.3). In the fourth section stylistic differences between the original draft of P and the reworked version in V are examined in detail (§7.4). The fifth and sixth sections deal with CFW, first with the vocabulary and language of the octosyllables (§7.5) and then of the iambs (§7.6), leading to the conclusion that there are significant differences in style and language between the political verses, the octosyllables and the dodecasyllables.

Chapter 8 discusses metre. It offers a detailed analysis of prosody, isosyllaby, stress regulation and isometry in the dodecasyllables (§8.2), the paired octosyllables (§8.3), the political verses in P (§8.4) and V (§8.5), once again concluding that there are significant differences between the political verses, the octosyllables and the dodecasyllables.

Chapter 9 discusses the life and works of Andronikos Palaiologos. In the first section a short biography is presented through a careful analysis of the various sources (§9.1). This is followed by an overview of Andronikos Palaiologos' literary works, including a discussion of his *Dialogue against the Jews* set against the historical context in which it was created, and his possible authorship of the romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* (§9.2). The third section offers an assessment of his literary network and, in particular, his friendship with Manuel Philes, Maximos Planoudes, Michael Glabas, and the anonymous compiler of CFW (§9.3).

Chapter 10 forms the conclusion of this doctoral thesis: it presents the main findings and conclusions drawn from the discussion of the main issues in the earlier chapters.

1 The Manuscripts

The *Chapters in Four Ways* and the *Chapters in Political Verse* are two collections of a hundred paraenetic chapters that discuss the same ethical issues in exactly the same order. They have come down to us in two manuscripts contemporary to one another: Par. gr. 2750A and Vat. gr. 1898 (both 14th century). In addition to the two main manuscripts, there is Vindob. phil. gr. 149 (also 14th century), which is an independent text witness for the collection of iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos. Before analysing the relationship between the two main manuscripts and their connection with the third one, I shall give a detailed description of each of them.

1.1 Parisinus graecus 2750A

Par. gr. 2750A (P) is copied on oriental paper and nowadays consists of 250 folios.²³ The manuscript was initially dated to the thirteenth century,²⁴ but in his edition of the *Chapters in Political Verse*, Miller rightly changed the date to the fourteenth century.²⁵ The *terminus post quem* is provided by the *Dialogue against the Jews* of Andronikos Palaiologos, which dates to the year 1310.²⁶ According to Bianconi, the handwriting dates to the first twenty years of the fourteenth century: if he is right, that would give us a fairly precise date of c. 1310–20 for the manuscript. Although the manuscript was at a later stage kept at the Monastery of St Anastasia Pharmakolytria in Chalkidiki, Bianconi is not sure if it was actually produced there.²⁷ Seeing that the manuscript is somehow

²³ For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Cariou, 'Grec 2750A'. See also Konstantinidis, 'Κεφάλαια περί αρετής και κακίας', 185–88.

²⁴ H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. III (Paris, 1888), 35.

²⁵ Miller, 'Poème moral', 25

²⁶ See Chapter 9, p. 277.

²⁷ D. Bianconi, *Tessalonica nell'età dei Paleologi. Le pratiche intellettuali nel riflesso della cultura scritta* (Paris, 2005), 37, n. 67.

connected with Andronikos Palaiologos, it is likely to have been copied in Constantinople.

The manuscript contains the following texts:

fol. 1 ^r -88 ^r	<i>Chapters in Four Ways</i>
fol. 88 ^v	magical text
fol. 89 ^r -108 ^r	<i>Chapters in Political Verse</i>
fol. 109 ^r -249 ^v	Andronikos Palaiologos, <i>Dialogue against the Jews</i>
fol. 249 ^v	Ps. Pythagoras, <i>Golden Verses</i>
fol. 250 ^{r-v}	Ps. Phocylides, <i>Sentences</i>

There are basically two hands.²⁸ The first copied the two collections of paraenetic chapters (fol. 1^r-88^r and fol. 89^r-108^r) and the second half of the *Dialogue against the Jews* (fol. 189^r-249^v.3). The second hand copied the first half of the *Dialogue against the Jews* (fol. 109^r-156^v.9 and fol. 157^r-88^v), with a third hand intervening at fol. 156^v.10-57^r. Hand no. 1 writes twenty-four to twenty-six lines per page in the two paraenetic collections and twenty-nine lines per page in the *Dialogue*; hand no. 2, too, writes twenty-nine lines per page. Hand no. 1 is also responsible for the copying of the numerous scholia to the *Chapters in Four Ways* in the margins of fol. 1-88.

There is yet another hand who, at a later stage, added Ps. Pythagoras and Ps. Phocylides on pages left blank (fol. 249^v.4-250^v). A later user of the manuscript copied a magical text on fol. 88^v.²⁹ There are also various scribbles on the inside of the front cover,³⁰ including one that calls the book a 'panoply' (αὕτη ἡ βιβλος ἐστὶ πανοπλήα).³¹

²⁸ For the hands, see Cariou, 'Grec 2750A'.

²⁹ Edited by Konstantinidis, 'Κεφάλαια περί αρετῆς και κακίας', 187-88.

³⁰ Edited by Konstantinidis, 'Κεφάλαια περί αρετῆς και κακίας', 187.

³¹ According to Tsolakis, 'Ἠθικό ποίημα', 12, this refers to the two collections of paraenetic chapters, which, he avers, later users viewed as a 'συλλογή ἀπὸ ἔργα ἠθοπλαστικοῦ περιεχομένου'. But if 'the book is a panoply', then the *Dialogue against the Jews* is also included.

And there is also a marginal annotator, equally of later date, who explains the meaning of difficult words in the *Chapters in Political Verse*.

As from fol. 109, which is where the *Dialogue against the Jews* begins, the quires are numbered in the upper outer margin or in the inner corner: these numbers run from α' to ιθ'.³² There is no quire numbering for the two paraenetic collections.

The manuscript has lost a substantial part of its folios. It lacks the first thirty-one of the *Chapters in Four Ways*. Since the remaining chapters have on average the size of 1 and 1/3 folios, it is reasonable to assume that c. forty-one to forty-two folios are missing at the beginning of the manuscript (31 x 1.33). This loss is even more significant because the manuscript in its current state, along with these thirty-one chapters, is missing the heading of the *Chapters in Four Ways*.

There are further lacunas throughout the text of the *Chapters in Four Ways*. There is a lacuna of three folios between fol. 1 and fol. 2: fol. 1 ends halfway through the second prose text of chapter 31 and fol. 2 begins with chapter 35. There is another lacuna between fol. 14 and 15, consisting of two folios: fol. 14 ends with the first line of the second prose text of chapter 44 and fol. 15 begins halfway through the second prose text of chapter 45. And there is a third lacuna between fol. 18 and 19, also consisting of two folios: fol. 18 ends with the second prose text of chapter 47 and fol. 19 begins with the second quatrain of chapter 49.

There were two (presumably blank) folios between fol. 88 and 89, which separated the *Chapters in Four Ways* from the *Chapters in Political Verse*: these have been ripped out. The same has happened to the four folios that separated the *Chapters in Political Verse* from the *Dialogue against the Jews* (i.e. between fol. 108 and 109); in addition, the bottom part of fol. 108, also presumably left blank, has been cut away. At the end of the manuscript, one folio has also been ripped out between fol. 249 and 250:

³² See Cariou, 'Grec 2750A'.

this folio contained the end of Ps. Pythagoras and the beginning of Ps. Phocylides. A further folio has been ripped out after fol. 250.³³

As Ps. Pythagoras and Ps. Phocylides were added at a later stage, it follows that the manuscript ended with a blank page (fol. 249^v) and three blank folios (fol. 250 and the two that have been ripped out). As we have seen, there were two folios separating the two collections of chapters and the verso of folio 88 was left blank (it now has the text of a magical recipe). And there were no fewer than four folios in between the *Chapters in Political Verse* and the *Dialogue against the Jews*. Whereas one could argue that the blank folios at the end of the manuscript were flyleaves that served to protect it from wear and tear, this is obviously not true for the other empty spaces. It looks like a waste of costly paper. The only explanation I can think of is that Par. gr. 2750A is some kind of presentation copy or luxurious gift, which was meant to impress its readers with its spacious layout.

Given the presence of two texts by Andronikos Palaiologos (the *Dialogue against the Jews* and the iambic chapters that form part of the *Chapters in Four Ways*), Par.gr. 2750A looks like the author's copy of his literary works – not unlike Mauropous' in Vat. gr. 676.³⁴ However, if this is the case, it is rather surprising that Andronikos Palaiologos was apparently unable to find a better scribe than hand no. 1, the one who copied the *Chapters in Four Ways* and the *Chapters in Political Verse*. He is not very good at spelling. There are numerous spelling mistakes, mostly of no significance for the meaning of the texts (iotacisms, confusion between ο and ω and between ε and αι, etc.), but it is not what one would expect from such a prestigious manuscript. One spelling mistake even appears to have led the marginal annotator to identify a new word in the Greek language: at fol. 104^v the scribe mistakenly wrote

³³ For the ripped-out folios, see Konstantinidis, 'Κεφάλαια περί αρετής και κακίας', 186–87.

³⁴ See Bernard, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry*, 128–48.

σύγκλεις (instead of σύγκλυς, ‘rabble’) which the annotator subsequently interpreted as γείτων (‘neighbour’, someone who shares his key with others: σύγ-κλεις).³⁵

It is worth pointing out that the *Chapters in Political Verse* do not have a title in Par. gr. 2750A. The text lacks a heading and is anonymous. There is no reason to follow Tsolakis in assuming that the title was to be found on the ripped-out pages before fol. 89 because, as we have seen, the manuscript has a luxurious layout and it would be strange if the scribe did not take care to have the title on the same page as the beginning of the text, just as the *Dialogue against the Jews* has its heading on the same page as the opening paragraph.³⁶ Incidentally, in all the manuscripts that transmit the *Dialogue against the Jews*, this heading takes the form of a dedicatory epigram in honour of the author, Andronikos Palaiologos.³⁷ This is also the case in Par. gr. 2750A (fol. 109^v), but a later user has scratched away the lines that mention Andronikos Palaiologos’ name, so that this text, too, is anonymous in the manuscript.

It is certain that the manuscript belonged to the Monastery of St Anastasia Pharmakolytria in Chalkidiki, as a note at the bottom of the inside of the front cover states: τὶς ἀγίας ἀναστασίας.³⁸ This monastery, refounded in c. 1522 by Theonas (later metropolitan of Thessaloniki), appears to have acquired some of its manuscripts at an earlier date: in or after 1375 John (Ioasaph) Kantakouzenos donated his famous collection of religious writings, Par. gr. 1242, to the Pharmakolytria monastery.³⁹ The

³⁵ Miller, ‘Poème Moral’, 68.

³⁶ Tsolakis, ‘Ἡθικὸ ποίημα’, 13.

³⁷ Edited by Pichard, *Callimaque et Chrysorrhoe*, xxvi.

³⁸ See Darrouzès, ‘Sainte-Anastasie Pharmakolytria’, 54. The current manuscript binding was produced in that monastery: see Cariou, ‘Grec 2750A’, who refers to D. Grosdidier de Matons, *L’atelier du monastère de Sainte-Anastasie Pharmakolytria en Chalcidique*, Paris, Thèse inédite EPHE, 1984, 267–72 (inaccessible to me). The marginal note on fol. 4^v, ἅγιε τζεληκε, where we find the word *čelnik* (τζελνίκος in Byzantine Greek: ‘commander’), may hint at either the presence of Slavic speakers in the monastery or some connection with Serbian aristocrats.

³⁹ Darrouzès, ‘Sainte-Anastasie Pharmakolytria’, 51–52. See also I. Drpić, ‘Art, Hesychasm, and Visual Exegesis: Parisinus Graecus 1242 Revisited’, *DOP* 62 (2008), 217–47, at 220, n. 23.

manuscript was brought to France by Francois Sevin who bought manuscripts during his mission in Turkey in the years 1728–30.⁴⁰

1.2 Vaticanus graecus 1898

Vat. gr. 1898 (V) is a miscellaneous manuscript put together in the seventeenth century, as stated by Canart in the manuscript catalogue: ‘codex in Bibliotheca saec. XVII constitutus variis codicum reliquiis necnon Bibliothecae scriptorum chartis solutis vel apographis’.⁴¹ Canart distinguishes twenty-six codicological units: nos. 1–14 and 16 are post-Byzantine, but nos. 15 and 17–26 (fol. 166–201 and 215–413) variously date to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In its present state, the manuscript contains mainly secular literature: e.g. Pisides’ *Hexaameron*, Libanios, Gregoras’ letters, John Philoponos, Leo VI, Galenos’ *Allegories of the Theogony*, Basilakes, Prokopios of Gaza, etc.

The *Chapters in Four Ways* and the *Chapters in Political Verse* constitute codicological unit no. 24 in Canart’s description: fol. 342–409, which he dates to the fourteenth century.⁴² The folios bear an old quire numbering: fol. 342–47 and 349 (one folio missing at the beginning) = κβ’, fol. 350–97 = κγ’–κη’, and fol. 398–400 and 401–03 (two folios missing in the middle) = κθ’. The next quire (consisting of 4 + 2), fol. 404–09, has no number.⁴³ The Vatican’s seventeenth-century librarian, who assembled all the codicological units, inserted into the first quire (κβ’) a folio from another

⁴⁰ See Darrouzès, ‘Sainte-Anastasie Pharmacolytria’, 46.

⁴¹ For an excellent description of the manuscript, see Canart, *Codices vaticani graeci*, vol. I, 558–78. For the quotation, see 558.

⁴² Canart, *Codices vaticani graeci*, vol. I, 575–77. Georgi Parpulov (personal communication to Professor Lauxtermann) dates the manuscript to the first half of the fourteenth century.

⁴³ Canart, *Codices vaticani graeci*, vol. I, 576.

manuscript, dated to the year 1353: fol. 348 (this is codicological unit no. 25 in Canart's description).⁴⁴

The *Chapters in Four Ways* are acephalous in the Vatican manuscript, just as they are in Par. gr. 2750A. However, the material loss is even more serious than in the Parisian manuscript: in its present state, Vat. gr. 1898 offers the third prose text of chapter 57 and the entirety of chapters 58 to 100 on fol. 342^r-94^v. Given the fact that each chapter on average covers 1 and 1/5 folio, it is reasonable to assume that c. 68 folios are missing at the beginning of the manuscript (57 x 1.2). The last of these missing folios is the first folio of quire κβ', which is acephalous; the other sixty-seven folios may have formed the end of quire ιγ' and quires ιδ'-κα' of the original manuscript. It is pointless to speculate what the other quires (α'-ιβ' and the beginning of ιγ': c. 100 folios) may have contained, but it cannot have been the *Dialogue against the Jews* because that one is too long to fit into the space of c. 100 folios.

The second collection, the *Chapters in Political Verse*, runs from fol. 395^v to fol. 409^v. As noted above, a bifolium is missing in quire κθ' (fol. 398-403): fol. 400 ends with chapter 28, line 2 and fol. 401 begins with chapter 43, line 1. This means that chapters 29 to 42 as well most of chapter 28 are currently missing in the manuscript. As the number of lines per page varies between 27 and 29 in this part of the manuscript, the total number of lines missing is 4 (2x2) x c. 28 = c. 112.⁴⁵

There are marginal scholia, not only in the *Chapters in Four Ways* (identical to those found in Par. gr. 2750A), but also in the *Chapters in Political Verse*: these are original contributions, not of the scribe of Vat. gr. 1898, but of the exemplar he was copying.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Canart, *Codices vaticani graeci*, vol. I, 577.

⁴⁵ Tsolakis, 'Ἡθικὸ πόνημα', 15.

⁴⁶ See below Chapter 5.7.

It is worth pointing out that the text of the *Chapters in Political Verse* begins on the verso of a folio (395^v) rather than the recto. The *Chapters in Four Ways* end on fol. 394^v. At the top of fol. 395^r the scribe copies again, but in a different ink, part of the scholion found on fol. 394^r: according to Canart, this may very well be a ‘*probatio calami*’.⁴⁷ This may indicate that the exemplar he was copying, just like the Parisian manuscript, had a blank page, or perhaps more, to separate the two collections from one another. Just as in Par. gr. 2750A, the *Chapters in Political Verse* do not have a title in Vat. gr. 1898.

1.3 Relationship between the two principal manuscripts

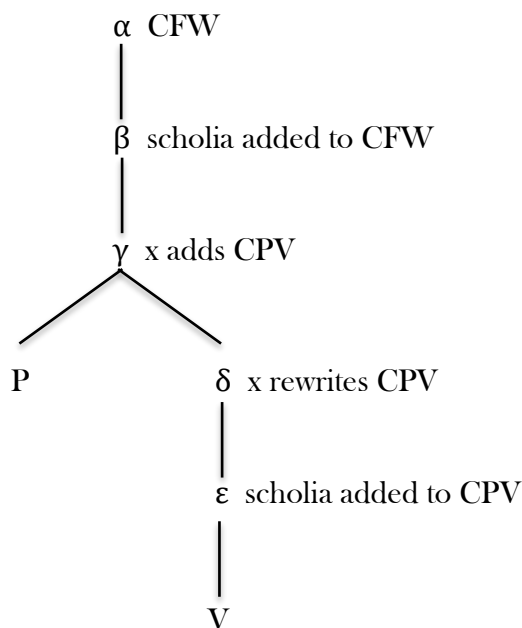
Given their structure and contents, it is beyond any doubt that the *Chapters in Four Ways* (henceforth CFW) and the *Chapters in Political Verse* (henceforth CPV) are closely related: since CPV demonstrably borrows phrases from CFW (see Chapter 5.2), it must be later in date. The strange thing now is that manuscripts P and V offer the same text for CFW but two different versions for CPV. As I hope to show in 5.6 and 7.4, P transmits the original draft, and V a reworked version, and both go back to the author himself. What are we to make of this?

It is obviously impossible to draw up a stemma codicum if one is dealing with two different redactions of the same text, as is the case with CPV. It makes more sense to look at the various stages of production. If CPV is later than CFW, what can we say about the latter? Since its scholia comment upon an already existing text (let’s call it α for the sake of convenience), they form the next stage in the production of these two collections: that is β . The next step was to add the original draft of CPV to CFW plus scholia: this becomes γ . Manuscript P goes back to this production phase.

⁴⁷ Canart, *Codices vaticani graeci*, vol. I, 576.

Then the manuscript tradition branches out in two different directions: **P** on the one hand and stage δ on the other. Stage δ presents the reworking of CPV. The next development is the addition of scholia to CPV, which we find in ms. **V** but not in ms. **P** (see Chapter 5.7): this is stage ϵ . Manuscript **V** goes back to this production phase.

A graphic representation of the various production stages of CFW and CPV looks like this:



Things may be more complicated, with more intermediate stages than I can distinguish right now, especially between γ and **P** and between ϵ and **V**, but this is more or less how I think **P** and **V** relate to one another.

Proof that **P** and **V** ultimately go back to a common ancestor, γ , can be found in the lines in CPV that they share. In the lines shared by **P** and **V** one may note the following common mistakes: 58.1 τὸν βρασμὸν (instead of τῶν βρασμῶν), 65.8 ἀπὸ κἀνθης (ἀπ' ἀκάνθης), 65.23 Λάχησις (Λάχεσις), 96.3 σχίσει (σχήσει), 97.3 ἐστρεφομένων (ἐνστρεφομένων), 98.7 κρείττω (κρείττων), and 100.3 ηὔξηθη (ηὔξήθη). This means that a number of scribal mistakes were retained even after

revision at stage δ , probably because while errors slip in easily, they are difficult to detect once made.

Common mistakes in the octosyllables of CFW include: 58.4 τῶν πνευματικῶν, 84.4 ὀλιγοήμερος and 97.4 συγκεχωρημένων (all three *contra metrum*), 91.2 one syllable short, and 94.2 θηλυνδρῶδες P, θηλυνθρῶδες V (instead of θηλυδρῶδες). Since some of the common mistakes in the dodecasyllables of CFW already occurred in the first production stage, α (see below, Chapter 1.5), it is not clear at what point the common mistakes in the octosyllables entered the manuscript tradition: at α or at γ or perhaps both.

There are quite a number of idiosyncratic readings in P and V: these are scribal errors. To avoid repetition, I shall restrict the discussion to the octosyllables. As noted in Chapter 1.1, P has notoriously poor spelling: these spelling mistakes are not taken into account. Scribal errors in P include: 58.1 τὴν παραβολὴν (instead of τῆς παραβολῆς), 70.1 δόξης (δόξη), 70.4 φίλον (φίλω), 75.1 ψόγος (λόγος), 76.4 πλανῶσιν (πεινῶσιν), 82.4. ἔθη (ἦθη), 84.tit. γήρους (γῆρως), 87.2 τὸ (τοῦ), 89.1 καλὸν (καλὴν), 91.1 ὀφθαλμοῖς (ὀφθαλμοῦς), 94.3 οὕτως (οὔτω) and 94.4 καλὸν (καλῶς). V's scribal errors include: 58.3 ἐπεισάγει (instead of ἐπεισάγει), 63.1 τι (τινι), 71.2 ὥσπερ (ὦνπερ), 80.1 πᾶσα omitted, 82.2 λόγον (λόγους), 93.tit. περὶ σωφροσύνης (περὶ γέλωτος), 93.2 ὄνοις (ὄνων) and βροτοῖς (βροτῶν). There are three lines where the readings diverge, without it being absolutely clear which is the better reading: in 82.4 χρηστῶν P vs χρηστὰ V, the question is whether the manners of the bad 'corrupt those of the good ones' or 'corrupt good ones'; in 76.3 χρηματιοῦσι P vs διατελοῦσι V and 84.3 ἀμπλακημάτων P vs ἀμαρτημάτων V, the choice is between synonyms (in 86.2 ἐπιστρέφει P vs ὑποστρέφει V, on the contrary, the choice is simple because the source text, Ps. 7.17, has ἐπιστρέφει).

1.4 Vindobonensis Philologicus graecus 149

Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 (W) is a miscellany like the Vatican manuscript.⁴⁸ It has 357 folios, with many different kinds of text. Most of the manuscript consists of poetic works, such as Pisides' *Hexaemeron*, Manasses' *Synopsis Chronike* (with a miniature showing the author and his dedicatee, Eirene Sebastokratorissa) as well as Manasses' astronomical poem, a few of Gregory of Nazianzos' poems, Perdikas of Ephesos' ekphrasis, and some shorter poems by Mitylenaios, Symeon the New Theologian, Theodore Prodromos, etc. But it also has a great number of prose works: Libanios, Blemmydes, letters of Gregory of Nazianzos, Isidoros, John of Kiev and Gregory of Cyprus, Psellos' *De omnifaria doctrina*, Anastasios Sinaites' *Erotapokriseis*, John Klimax, Michael Glykas, and various theological excerpts by John of Damascus, John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, etc. Like the other two manuscripts, Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 dates to the fourteenth century.

The last text in the manuscript (fol. 346^v-350^v) bears the heading: κεφάλαια διὰ στίχων ιαμβικῶν περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας τοῦ Παλαιολόγου κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ τρισμακαρίστου ἀοιδίμου σεβαστοκράτορος ('chapters in iambic verses concerning virtue and wickedness by kyr Andronikos Kommenos Palaiologos, the son of the thrice-blessed and immortal sebastokrator'). This is the same collection of iambic chapters as the one that forms part of the *Chapters in Four Ways*. The difference is that it consists of fifty-three paraenetic chapters, not a hundred as is the case in the *Chapters in Four Ways*, and these fifty-three chapters are in a different order than the hundred *Chapters in Four Ways* (for further discussion, see Chapter 3.5).

⁴⁸ For the manuscript, see Hunger, *Codices historici, codices philosophici et philologici*, 250-55.

The manuscript was acquired in Constantinople by Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, whom Emperor Ferdinand had named ambassador in the years 1554–62 to the Ottoman court. During his stay in Constantinople he wrote the so-called *Turkish Letters* in which he describes his experiences at length. In one of these letters he writes that he had acquired around 240 manuscripts for the imperial library in Vienna, and this manuscript was probably amongst them: ‘I have besides, whole waggonfuls, whole shiploads, of Greek manuscripts. There are, I believe, not much fewer than 240 books, which I sent by sea to Venice, to be conveyed from there to Vienna, for their destination is the Imperial Library’.⁴⁹ This means that Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 survived the catastrophe of 1453 and remained in Constantinople for two more centuries after its copy.

1.5 The relationship between manuscripts P, V and W

As we have seen, manuscripts P and V ultimately go back to a common ancestor, α in the stemma sketched above. How does the Viennese manuscript W relate to this ancestor of P and V? The answer lies in chapter 40.

If W directly or indirectly derived the fifty-three iambic chapters from CFW (either stage α or any of the subsequent stages), it would be logically impossible that it, and it alone, had the right text for chapter 40. If we go to fol. 9^r–10^v of manuscript P, we find chapter 40, *περὶ εὐεργεσίας*: hexameters, iambics, anacreontics, three prose texts, and scholia, all of which – with the exception of the iambs – unsurprisingly focus on the topic of charity. The iambs, however, discuss an entirely different topic, that of favours: this is in fact chapter 78, *περὶ χάριτος*, where we find the same text again, but this time at the right place (fol. 60^r of P). This can hardly be a scribal error in P because

⁴⁹ C.T. Forster and F.H. Blackburne Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, vol. I (London, 1881), 416–17.

both before and after the iambs of chapter 40 everything is in good order: it is just this quatrain that is misplaced.

Unfortunately, V does not have chapter 40 because of the major lacuna it has at its beginning, but it is fairly easy to show that it too must have had the text of the iambs of 78 as part of chapter 40. For if one turns to chapter 40 of CPV, one may notice that it does not discuss the topic of charity as expected, but instead it examines the topic of handing out favours (=chapter 78). It employs the same keywords that CFW and CPV use for this topic: χάρις, δόσις, λαμβάνω vs διδόναι, etc. Chapters 40 and 78 are very much alike in CPV: line 40.3, λεγόντων ἤκουσα καὶ γὰρ τὴν χάριν καπηλεύειν, even uses the same metaphor as line 78.1, δεῖ τὸ τῆς χάριτος καλὸν τινὰ μὴ καπηλεύειν.⁵⁰ This means that the author of CPV (stage γ) had access to a manuscript of CFW that already had the problem of the misplaced iambic chapter 40. And this in its turn means that the mistake must go back to the very beginning of the manuscript tradition of CFW: i.e. stage β or α. But as it is not an ordinary scribal error (see above), it is unlikely to have occurred at stage β when the scholia were added to CFW. This leaves us with stage α.

It follows that the collection of W, rather than deriving from CFW, is in fact used by the compiler of CFW. It precedes stage α. The error of misplacing the iambic chapter is easily explained if one looks at the sequential order of the chapters in W which is completely different from that of P and V (see Chapter 3.5). In W, chapters 40 and 78 are found in close vicinity: K16 and K14.⁵¹ They may have even been closer in the archetype because chapters K15 περὶ ἀρετῆς and K17 περὶ κακίας are obviously

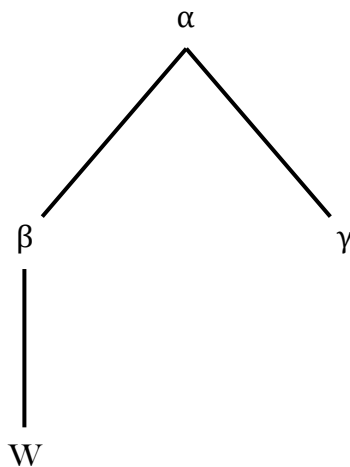
⁵⁰ Cf. Miller, 'Poème moral', 49–50 (chapter 40) and 67 (chapter 78) [please bear in mind that the titles in Miller's edition are not found in mss. P and V: Miller derived these from CFW].

⁵¹ K refers to the edition of Konstantinidis.

closely linked in a collection that is entitled: *περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας* – so the original order may have been: K14, K16, K15, K17.

What happened is that the compiler of CFW asked the scribe working for him to copy the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos one by one and to put them in the right place in this huge compilation, and the scribe having reached chapter 40 opened his copy of Andronikos Palaiologos, looked for the one entitled *περὶ εὐεργεσίας*, became distracted, and copied the text that immediately preceded it, *περὶ χάριτος*.

To summarize, the stemmatic relationship of PV and W with regards to the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos is as follows: α = archetype, β = hyparchetype for W, and γ = hyparchetype for PV (identical to production stage a of CFW/CPV).



In his edition of the iambic chapters, Konstantinidis likewise distinguishes two branches of the manuscript tradition: W on the one hand and PV on the other.⁵² As he points out, PV have a better reading than W at 24.2 and 43.4: ἄλλως PV : ἄλλος W and βδελυκτέον PV : βδελυκτέαν W.⁵³ In other cases, PV and W offer readings that are equally acceptable: 31.1–2 ἂν νουθετήσης τοὺς ἀτάκτως ἡγμένους / τόσον δυνηθεῖς

⁵² Konstantinidis, ‘Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας’, 188–89.

⁵³ Konstantinidis, ‘Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας’, 188.

ὥς γενέσθαι βελτίους PV : ἂν νουθετήσας τοὺς ἀτάκτως ἡγμένους / τόσον
 δυνηθῆς ὥς γενέσθαι βελτίους W and 39.3 τῆς γῆς τὸν κύκλον PV: τῆς γῆς τὸν
 γῦρον W. As rightly noted by Konstantinidis, P and V occasionally offer different
 readings, with either P agreeing with W or V agreeing with W: these are scribal errors
 that may have happened at any of the intermediary stages or during the copying of the
 manuscripts themselves.⁵⁴

PV and W also have common mistakes: 16.4 καὶ διδόναι χρή ἢ γε μᾶλλον
 λαμβάνειν W ante corr. P (fol. 60') V : καὶ διδόναι χρή μᾶλλον ἢ γε λαμβάνειν W
 post. corr. P (fol. 9') – the latter reading is the correct one, but I suspect that the former
 reading is what the archetype actually offered: μᾶλλον before ἢ γε is a correction in W
 and may very well be one in P (fol. 9') as well since it has μᾶλλον after ἢ γε the second
 time it offers the line (fol. 60'). The text problem at 23.2 is intriguing: καὶ γὰρ καλὸς
 καλὸς τε πρὸς τοὺς χρωμένους W : οὐ γὰρ καλὸς καλὸς τε πρὸς τοὺς χρωμένους
 P : οὐ γὰρ κακὸς καλῶς τε πρὸς τοὺς χρωμένους V. In this quatrain Andronikos
 Palaiologos states that riches can be good or bad: good if they are used for good causes,
 such as charity for the poor; bad if they are squandered away. What he must have
 written was: καὶ γὰρ καλὸς καλῶς τε πρὸς τοὺς χρωμένους, ‘for riches (πλοῦτος)
 are good for those who use them well’. But the archetype of the manuscript tradition
 had καλὸς instead of καλῶς: this spelling mistake was left as such by W and P.
 However, the hyparchetype of PV had an additional mistake: οὐ instead of καὶ and as
 this made no sense, the scribe of V ‘corrected’ καλὸς to κακὸς. It is also the scribe of
 V who corrected the silly spelling mistake in καλὸς (instead of καλῶς).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Konstantinidis, ‘Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας’, 189.

⁵⁵ Strangely enough, this spelling error is retained in the edition of Konstantinidis, ‘Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας’, 197.

2 The Literary Context of the Two Collections

My words itch at your ears till you understand them.

Walt Whitman, *Song of Myself*

2.1 Chapter literature

Although the *Chapters in Four Ways* (CFW) and the *Chapters in Political Verse* (CPV) have come down to us without a title, it is fairly certain that they fall into the category of chapter collections. First of all, the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos that form part of CFW are called κεφάλαια in Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 (see Chapter 1.4); secondly, the prose texts of CFW are also called κεφάλαια by the scholiast (see Chapter 3.1); and thirdly, both collections consist of a hundred chapters each and ‘centuries’ are typical of kephalaia.

There is a growing interest in chapter collections, especially in recent years. The majority of the studies focus on a particular form of literature, that of the monastic or spiritual chapters, and investigate its remote origins, literary scope and formal structure.⁵⁶ This is of course understandable because of the great importance of thinkers, such as Evagrius Pontikos and Maximos Confessor, but this approach could lead to the preconception that there are no other chapter collections than the Evagrian kind. Given the diversity of chapter collections, one may ask whether they form a distinct genre or happen to share a formal feature (the division into chapters), just as an acrostic is a formal feature that may be applied in various genres. The spiritual chapter as such does form a genre in its own right, but I would say that that is not so much because of the format as it is because of its contents (a clear monastic agenda), social function (advice

⁵⁶ See Von Ivanka, ‘Κεφάλαια’; Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’; De Ridder and Levrie, ‘Capita literature in Byzantium’; Levrie, ‘Byzantine Chapter Collections’; Mazzon, ‘Manuale di sopravvivenza per un giovane monaco’; and De Ridder, ‘Structuring patterns’.

from one monk to another) and circulation (in manuscripts that predominantly contain monastic literature). As I shall argue below, CFW and CPV are not collections of spiritual chapters in the Evagrian mould.

However, as spiritual chapters of the Evagrian kind have been served well by scholarship, I shall begin by summarizing the secondary bibliography on the topic. The most important is a brilliant article by the editor of Evagrius, Paul Géhin.⁵⁷ The word κεφάλαιον originally denotes a section or a passage from a text: the pericopes of the Bible, for instance, are called κεφάλαια.⁵⁸ In the Evagrian sense of the word, it is a self-contained textual unit that expresses an idea, similar to an aphorism, but usually slightly longer and more developed than that: the ideas expressed may be of an ethical, theological or psychological nature.⁵⁹ Evagrius is the author of various collection of chapters: *Praktikos* or *Treatise on the Practical Life* (hundred chapters), *Gnostikos* or *Treatise on the Spiritual Life* (fifty chapters), and *Kephalaia gnostika* or *Spiritual Chapters* (six ‘centuries’, each consisting of ninety chapters).⁶⁰ The division into a hundred chapters, also known as ‘centuries’, is common not only in Evagrius, but also in the later Evagrian tradition: Maximos Confessor, for example, grouped his chapters in six centuries.⁶¹ The number one hundred is not randomly chosen: it was a holy number, connected somehow to God, as Origen makes clear: τῶν ἑκατόν, <ὄντος> ἱεροῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὴν μονάδα ἀνακειμένου (*Comm. In Mat.* 11. 3:41).⁶²

⁵⁷ Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’.

⁵⁸ Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’, 8–9.

⁵⁹ Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’, 8.

⁶⁰ Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’, 2–7. Ed. A. and C. Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique ou le moine* (Paris, 1971); A. and C. Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique: Le gnostique* (Paris, 1989); and A. Guillaumont, *Les six siècles des «Kephalaia Gnostika» d’Évagre le Pontique* (Paris, 1958). See also P. Géhin, *Chapitres des disciples d’Évagre / Évagre le Pontique; édition princeps du texte grec, introduction, traduction, notes et index par Paul Géhin*, SC 514 (Paris, 2007); I.L.E. Ramelli, *Evagrius’s Kephalaia Gnostika: A New Translation of the Unreformed Text from the Syriac* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2015); J. Kalvesmaki, ‘Evagrius in the Byzantine Genre of Chapters’ in J. Kalvesmaki and R. Young (eds), *Evagrius and His Legacy* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2016), 257–87.

⁶¹ Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’, 20–21.

⁶² I. Hausherr, ‘Centuries’, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 2 (1938), 416–18.

However, collections with more or fewer than a hundred are certainly no exception. Although Evagrius is the first to adopt the format of the spiritual chapter, it is clear that he was inspired by earlier sources, such as the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, Porphyry's *Sententiae*, the biblical books of wisdom, Clement of Alexandria, etc.⁶³

Since each and every chapter expresses a complete idea, without there being necessarily a link with previous and subsequent chapters, collections may appear to lack an overarching structure. To remedy this problem, chapters may be ordered alphabetically or have an acrostic or all begin with the same word or be grouped together in clusters.⁶⁴ Some collections have a thematic structure, other do not.⁶⁵ Levrie suggests that 'the chaotic disposition of chapter collections clearly prevents readers from skimming and scanning the text and forces them to apply themselves to it with particular attention'.⁶⁶

Typical features of monastic collections of chapter literature, according to Levrie,⁶⁷ are: (i) monastic provenance and target audience; (ii) single authorship; (iii) alphabetical and/or thematical structure; (iv) instructive goal; and (v) esoteric tendencies. What is meant by the latter is that the 'elliptical and laconic style' of chapters 'may lead to obscurity', the purpose of which is 'to discourage readers who lack discernment and not to give away the highest doctrines to all and sundry'.⁶⁸

In contrast to monastic *florilegia*, collections of chapters are usually eponymous. Kazhdan avers that since collections circulate under the name of individual authors,

⁶³ Géhin, 'Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques', 8-12.

⁶⁴ Géhin, 'Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques', 12-15.

⁶⁵ A list of part of the works in which scholars have found a pattern is to be found in De Ridder, 'Structuring patterns', 60-62.

⁶⁶ Levrie, 'Byzantine Chapter Collections', 146.

⁶⁷ Levrie, 'Byzantine Chapter Collections', 151.

⁶⁸ Géhin, 'Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques', 9: 'le style elliptique et laconique de plusieurs de ces textes peut aussi conduire à l'obscurité, une obscurité revendiquée qui vise à décourager les lecteurs indiscrets et à ne pas livrer au tout-venant les plus hautes doctrines'.

‘they often reflect not only traditional wisdom but also personal views’.⁶⁹ However Rigo rightly argues that the genre lends itself to impersonality, a virtue which was highly valued in monastic circles.⁷⁰ This means that writers of collections of chapters try to avoid giving any biographical or personal information in the text and prefer to repeat what ‘literary authorities’ have said in the past rather than coming up with something new.⁷¹ There is obviously a link with the topos of monastic humility: monastic authors do not deem themselves worthy of theologizing, but cling to the authorities of the past.

Most of the spiritual chapter collections ended up in the famous *Philokalia of the Neptic Fathers* (Venice, 1782). It is thanks to the hard work of Antonio Rigo that we now have a much better understanding of the literary tradition and are able to situate most of the chapter authors within the context of their time.⁷² Chapter collections can be subdivided into those that give instruction on spiritual or gnostic matters and those of a more practical nature, which offer guidance to the monk on how to behave and on virtues to strive for and vices to avoid.⁷³ These ‘practical’ chapters quite often borrow their material from the paraenetic tradition (see below Chapter 2.2) and, though directed at novice monks, they may offer ethical precepts that are also of great significance to people living outside the cloister. This not only explains the huge popularity of chapter literature, but it is also why some collections, especially in the Palaeologan period, not only address monks, but also laics.

In his study of chapter literature, Géhin mentions Manuel Gabalas (c. 1271–1359), the author of two still unedited centuries, who writes for ‘un public plus large que les moines’.⁷⁴ Another good example is the Forty-Nine Chapters, written by Joseph

⁶⁹ A. Kazhdan, *ODB*, vol. I, 410, s.v. chapters.

⁷⁰ Rigo, *Mistici Bizantini*, xxxiii.

⁷¹ Rigo, *Mistici Bizantini*, xxxiii.

⁷² In many publications, but, above all, in his magisterial *Mistici Bizantini*. See also Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’, 15–31.

⁷³ Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’, 15.

⁷⁴ Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’, 28.

Bryennios (c. 1350–1430), which ‘encapsulates the author’s teaching on Christian cosmology coupled with a comprehensive set of pieces of practical advice for use in daily life’.⁷⁵ Leonte highlights that ‘although his audience consisted mostly of monks, Bryennios focused upon both mores and basic theological notions, and unlike other contemporary authors of monastic *kephalaia* (...), he avoided the themes connected with Hesychasm’.⁷⁶ A third example is a collection of moralizing κεφάλαια, put together by Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes, for which Philes wrote a book epigram. The book contained, so we are told, excerpts from the church fathers and the Hellenes, but also from a throng of monastic thinkers as well as authors of chapter literature, such as Isaac Syros, Hesychios Sinaites and Philotheos Sinaites).⁷⁷ This looks like a florilegium,⁷⁸ but the fact that it also contains sayings and apophthegms of secular authors (Ἕλληνες), it is unlikely to be a monastic collection of chapters – and as Philes celebrates its author, Michael Glabas, for his victories in the Balkans, the florilegium definitely predates his retirement to a monastery.

There are also collections of chapters that do not offer guidance on moral issues. The same Michael Glabas is the author of a collection of military κεφάλαια: these chapters will have been precepts on warfare and strategy.⁷⁹ Other examples include the *One Hundred and Fifty Chapters* by Gregory Palamas – a theological treatise; the *Hypothekai* by Manuel II in one hundred chapters and the one hundred ‘letters’ (actually chapters) by John VIII – both collections of chapters fall into the category of mirrors for princes.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Leonte, ‘Moral Lessons in Late Byzantium’, 221.

⁷⁶ Leonte, ‘Moral Lessons in Late Byzantium’, 240.

⁷⁷ Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, vol. II, 230–33: no. P 219.

⁷⁸ For monastic florilegia in chapter form, see Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’, 34–40.

⁷⁹ Martini, ‘A proposito di una poesia inedita’, 470–71: no. M-ap 2.

⁸⁰ For all three texts, see the discussion in Leonte, ‘Moral Lessons in Late Byzantium’, 225–28.

Returning now to CFW and CPV, it is fair to say that they have a number of features in common with the Evagrian type of chapter collections: (i) they are divided into chapters; (ii) each of these chapters is a self-contained entity; (iii) they offer moral guidance on practical matters, just as Evagrios' *Praktikos* does; and (iv) each of the chapters of CFW is subdivided into six sub-chapters (see Chapter 3.1). There are 6 x 100 chapters, which immediately reminds one of Evagrios' *Kephalaia gnostika* in six centuries. But if one looks more closely at the details, there are significant differences: (i) CFW is not by a single author, but contains texts by Gregory of Nazianzos, Andronikos Palaiologos, and others; (ii) CPV is not an eponymous collection since it is missing title headings in both manuscripts (iii) parts of CFW and the whole of CPV is in verse whereas spiritual chapters are without exception in prose;⁸¹ and (iv) the message of both CFW and CPV is not exclusively monastic.

To elaborate upon the last point in more detail, let us look at the iambic kephalaia of Andronikos Palaiologos.⁸² As we have seen in Chapter 1.5, Andronikos' collection already existed before CFW was compiled and as CFW as a whole treats the very same topics as the one hundred chapters of Andronikos (see Chapter 3.5), it is fair to say that the topics of CFW (and CPV too, which in its turn is based on CFW: see Chapter 5.2) were ultimately chosen by Andronikos Palaiologos, an aristocrat related to the imperial family and a career officer who served under Michael Glabas in the Balkans (see Chapter 9.1). Chapter K57 deals with married life and the pleasures of having a good wife; chapter K41 discusses the education of one's children. Chapter K18 offers advice on how to rule and govern the population, and chapter K10 refers to enemies of the state. Chapters K54, 53 and 33 refer to nobility, ambition and success in society. Chapters K26 and 73 recommend leading a quiet life far from the madding

⁸¹ The spiritual chapters of Elias Ekdikos (late 11th c.) have metrical headings, but are otherwise in prose: Géhin, 'Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques', 25.

⁸² References are to K(onstantinidis)'s edition: 'Κεφάλαια περί αρετής και κακίας'.

crowd. Chapters K23, 65, 14 and 16 deal with accumulated riches and how to distribute one's wealth to the poor. Chapter K13 refers to social friends, chapter K20 to flatterers, and chapter K37 to not sharing secrets with other people. Chapter K86 has information on social etiquette: it is good practice to be the first to greet. None of these subjects is remotely monastic.⁸³ The other chapters offer advice that serves both monks and lay people.

It is worth noting that the compiler and prose writer of CFW, who was a monk (see Chapter 3.4), treats the subjects in a more overtly monastic manner than Andronikos Palaiologos does. Take for example chapter 41, *περὶ κολάκων* (=K20), in Miller's edition.⁸⁴ While Andronikos refers to flatterers in social life, the prose writer thinks of flatterers in the monastery. In the first prose text, he invites his monastic audience to inspect their limbs and see the difference with the tongue: while feet and hands may do good or bad, the tongue does both at the same time. In the second prose text, he first compares the soul to a ship battered on the rough sea of flattery, then compares flattery to the fishhook with which the devil catches his victims and then quotes *Ps. 54 (55):16* on treacherous friends. And in the third prose text, he says that flattery opposes prayer, hates monastic *synaxeis* and abstains from manual labour, and asks the monk to always remember the spiritual dangers of flattery.

The other authors involved in the production of CFW and CPV, however, treat the topic in a secular fashion, just as Andronikos Palaiologos does.⁸⁵ The end result is rather uneven: monastic advice in the prose, secular paraenesis in the poetry.

2.2 Paraenetic poetry

⁸³ As rightly observed by Ozbic, 'I Kephalaia', 411. So too Géhin, 'Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques', 28.

⁸⁴ Miller, 'Poème moral', 26–28.

⁸⁵ For the hexameters of CFW and the political verses of CPV, see Miller, 'Poème moral', 26 and 50. For the octosyllables, see my edition in Chapter 4.

As noted above, the biggest difference with the rest of the chapter literature is that parts of CFW and the whole of CPV are in verse. And given the fact that paraenesis forms an integral part of these two collections, it is reasonable to assume that CFW and CPV are linked to the genre of paraenetic poetry. However, before analysing this link, let us first define what paraenesis is. One definition is that paraenesis is a ‘style of exhortation used to influence conduct rather than teach something new’.⁸⁶ Another is that paraenetic exhortations are ‘intimately linked with the practical problems of living’.⁸⁷ And a third would be that paraenesis presupposes a hierarchical relationship in which one person provides moral guidance and the other listens, and the imperative mode is the dominant. The first definition lays emphasis on the fact that moral advice tends to repeat well-known maxims and express commonly held beliefs. The second definition focuses on the kind of knowledge conveyed in paraenetic texts. And the third, which is mine, looks at the social interaction between teacher and pupil, saintly figure and follower, father and son.

In a study of paraenesis in the letters of St Paul, McDonald lists some of the rhetorical devices used for paraenetic purposes: antithesis or parallelism, illustration, simile, proverb, quotation, rhetorical question, causal and conditional clause.⁸⁸ The most important feature, however, is also the simplest: the use of the imperative mode. Take for example the quatrain in octosyllables at CFW 36: *Φίλει πάντων τὸν δεσπότην / σῆς ψυχῆς ἐξ ὅλης, φίλος, // φίλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας / καὶ μὴ μίσει τοὺς μισοῦντας // τὸ γὰρ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φιλέειν / ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ὑπάρχει // τὸ φθονεῖν δὲ τοὺς φιλοῦντας / χεῖρον πέφυκε τῶν χοίρων*, ‘Love the Lord of everyone with all your heart, friend; love also those who love, but do not hate those who

⁸⁶ A.J. Malherbe, *Light from the Gentiles: Hellenistic Philosophy and Early Christianity*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2014), vol. I, 204–05

⁸⁷ J. McDonald, *Kerygma and Didache: The Articulation and Structure of the Earliest Christian Message* (Cambridge, 1980), 69

⁸⁸ McDonald, *Kerygma and Didache*, 70–71.

hate. For loving your enemies is superhuman, while hating your friends is worse than pigs'. As so often, the imperative mode is here combined with a causal clause introduced by γάρ, a connective that the poets are fond of. The antithesis between φίλει and μίσει, and the parallel between 'loving God' and 'loving those who love' should be noted. Examples taken from CPV allow us to illustrate some of the paraenetic devices: 2.7-8 ἃ γὰρ οὐτ' εἶδεν ὀφθαλμός, οὐτ' ἤκουσεν ὠτίον,/ εἰς ἄσυστάτου πῶς ἀνδρὸς εἰσδράμωσι καρδίαν, 'the things that the eye has not seen, nor the ear heard, how would they enter into the heart of a feckless man?' is a good example both of a rhetorical question and a quotation (from St Paul, 1Cor. 2:9). And 14.2-7 offers an extended simile and a conditional clause: ἂν ἔχης γίγαντος ἰσχὺν, ἂν Ἐγκελάδου χεῖρας, / ἂν ὅλους δύνῃ Παρνασσοὺς μετακινεῖν, ἂν Ἄθους, / ἂν ὥσπερ Ἄτλας οὐρανοῦ τοὺς κίονας βαστάζειν, / καὶ μὴ τὸν ὄφιν τὸν δεινόν, τὸν δράκοντα τὸν μέγαν, / τὸν παίκτην τὸν ἀρχέκακον ὀλέσης τῶν ἀνθρώπων, / οὐκ ἔχεις κώνωπος ἰσχὺν, οὐ μύρμηκος, οὐ σέρφου, 'if you should have a giant's strength or the hands of Enkelados, if you could move all Parnassos or Athos, if you could carry the pillars of heaven like Atlas, but were unable to destroy the evil and great snake, the origin of evil, the player of man, you would not have the strength of a mosquito or an ant or a gnat'.⁸⁹

Paraenesis in its simplest form is a one-liner: a pithy saying or a maxim, initially culled from a literary work or an oral source, and then strung together with other similar one-liners in ever expanding collections, which we call gnomologia or florilegia.⁹⁰ These in their turn would feed into longer texts of a paraenetic nature, such as the poetry of Gregory of Nazianzos, which is at the receiving end of a long paraenetic

⁸⁹ The translation of lines 2-4 and 7 are based on that of Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 327 (no. 149.12-14 and 17).

⁹⁰ M. Richard, 'Florilèges spirituels grecs', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 5 (1964), 475-512.

tradition, but is also a source of paraenesis for later writers.⁹¹ As this kind of cross-pollination is very common in the paraenetic tradition, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to establish what the ultimate source for a particular saying is. There is also a steady stream of new maxims, which, if they are widely recognized as expressing an intrinsic truth, will eventually be copied and compiled into gnomologia. As the iambic kephalaia of Andronikos Palaiologos do not appear to have circulated widely, there are no traces of them in late and post-Byzantine gnomologia; but other similar texts, such as the paraenetic quatrains of Ps. Gregory Nazianzos (later 13th century), were excerpted and then compiled in Palaeologan gnomologia.⁹² The important thing, however, is that the deep structure of Andronikos' chapters (and the same goes for the other chapters in verse) is that of an extended maxim. To quote Aristotle: 'A maxim is a statement, not however concerning particulars, [...] but general; it does not even deal with all general things, [...] but with the object of human actions, and what should be chosen or avoided with reference to them' (*Rhetoric*, II, 1394 a, 21). This aptly describes the contents of CFW and CPV.

Paraenetic poetry appears to have been popular in the Palaeologan period.⁹³ Quite a few personalities dealt with this genre, such as Meletios Galesiotes,⁹⁴ Ps. Spaneas,⁹⁵ George Lapithes,⁹⁶ Leo Bardales and Nikephoros Xanthopoulos,⁹⁷ as well as

⁹¹ S. Azzarà, 'Fonti e rielaborazione poetica nei Carmina Moralia di Gregorio di Nazianzo', in M.S. Funghi (ed.), *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico I* (Florence, 2003), 53–69, at 53.

⁹² Lauxtermann, 'Parisinus graecus 400', near footnotes 103 to 108.

⁹³ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 210, and 'Parisinus graecus 400', near footnotes 88 to 97.

⁹⁴ For a partial edition, see M. Cassiotou-Panayotopoulos, 'Λεξικογραφική συμβολή ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Μελετίου Γαλησιώτου τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ', in E. Trapp and S. Schönauer (eds), *Lexicologica Byzantina* (Bonn, 2008), 97–118. For information on the whole text, see Ph. Vafeidis, 'Μελέτιος ὁ Ὁμολογητὴς καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει Διδυμοτείχου σωζόμενον κώδικα', *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 23 (1903), 28–32 & 53–56.

⁹⁵ Ed. Sp. Lambros, 'Ὁ Σπανέας τοῦ Βατικανοῦ Παλατινοῦ κώδικος', *NE* 14 (1917), 353–80. See G. Danezis, *Spaneas: Vorlage, Quellen, Versionen* (Munich, 1987).

⁹⁶ Ed. J.Fr. Boissonade, 'Poème moral de George Lapithès', *Notices et Extraits* 12.2 (1831), 1–74 (repr. *PG* 149.1001–1046), and A. Chatzisavvas, *Γεώργιος Λαπίθης: Στίχοι πολιτικοί αυτοσχέδιοι εἰς κοινὴν ἀκοήν* (Besançon, 2001). See G. Danezis, 'Ὁ Σπανέας καὶ οἱ πολιτικοὶ στίχοι τοῦ Γεωργίου Λαπίθης', *Δίπτυχα* 4 (1987), 413–25.

Manuel Philes.⁹⁸ In the poetry of Philes, F 211 is the closest parallel to the chapters in verse of CFW: it is a series of book epigrams on the thirty-three steps of the *Heavenly Ladder*, which take the form of iambic quatrains.⁹⁹ Another set of iambic quatrains are the στίχοι τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐκ τῶν γνωμικῶν, a late thirteenth-century collection of paraenetic poems.¹⁰⁰ In fact, the use of quatrains is typical of paraenetic poetry: see, for instance, the *Paradeisos*, a late tenth-century collection of ninety-nine retellings of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* in elegiac quatrains.¹⁰¹ It all begins of course with the archfather of paraenesis in Byzantium, Gregory of Nazianzos, the author of paraenetic quatrains.¹⁰² Content-wise, the closest parallel to the iambic chapters περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας is Theodore Prodromos' H 154 (=Zagklas 15): a series of distichs that form epigrams on depictions of personified virtues and vices.¹⁰³

As I wrote at the very beginning of this chapter, I do not believe that a formal feature, such as the arrangement in chapters, is a criterion solid enough to warrant the generic classification of collections. All kephalaia owe a huge debt to Evagrios, the one who popularized the form, but that does not mean that all kephalaia automatically fall into the genre of the spiritual chapter. CFW began its life with the iambic kephalaia of Andronikos Palaiologos, and CPV is a later accretion to a rapidly expanding collection of chapters in hexameter, paired octosyllable and prose. What Andronikos did was quite innovative and original. He combined two genres into one: the genre of the spiritual chapter and the genre of paraenetic poetry, thus creating something entirely new, which I, for lack of a better word, would like to call the 'paraenetic chapter'. And

⁹⁷ Ed. N. Anastasijewić, *Die paränetischen Alphabete in der griechischen Literatur* (Munich, 1905), 40–59.

⁹⁸ Ed. Miller, *Manuelis Philae carmina*, vol. I, 185–89 (F 2), 359–69 (F 198), 443–44 (F 248), and II, 366–70 (App. 13, 1–103).

⁹⁹ Ed. Miller, *Manuelis Philae*, I, 380–88.

¹⁰⁰ Ed. Lauxtermann, 'Parisinus graecus 400', after footnote 127.

¹⁰¹ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, 241–47.

¹⁰² *PG* 37.928–945: I.2.33.

¹⁰³ Ed. N. Zagklas, *Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams (Edition, Translation, and Commentary)*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Vienna, 2014), 363–81.

as it is around the hard kernel of Andronikos' kephalaia that all the rest took form, I consider CFW and CPV to be collections of paraenetic chapters.

3 The Chapters in Four Ways

Books are to be call'd for, and supplied, on the assumption that the process of reading is not a half-sleep, but, in highest sense, an exercise, a gymnast's struggle; that the reader is to do something for himself, must be on the alert, must himself or herself construct indeed the poem, argument, history, metaphysical essay — the text furnishing the hints, the clue, the start or frame-work. Not the book needs so much to be the complete thing, but the reader of the book does.

Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*

3.1 Introduction

As we have seen in Chapter 1, the two main manuscripts for the *Chapters in Four Ways* (CFW), Par. gr. 2750A (P) and Vat. gr. 1898 (V), have substantial lacunas. In its current state, P transmits chapters 35–43, 46 and 50–100 in their entirety and chapters 31, 32, 44, 45, 47 and 49 partially. And V transmits the whole of chapters 58–100 and the last paragraph of chapter 57. The two manuscripts have not only lost a great many of the chapters, but also, most frustratingly, the heading. This means that we do not know what the title of this collection was, nor who wrote or compiled it, nor what the aim of the writer or compiler may have been. Since the *Chapters in Political Verse* (CPV) do not have a heading either, it is of no help to solve this problem.

In order to gain a better understanding of CFW, let us turn to its structure. CFW is a collection of one hundred paraenetic chapters. Each chapter consists of three quatrains and three prose texts. The first of the quatrains are in hexameters; the second in ‘iambics’ (dodecasyllables); and the third in ‘anacreontics’ (paired octosyllables). There are marginal scholia for the iambics, the anacreontics and the three prose texts, and there are interlinear glosses for the hexameters. The scholiast refers to the prose

texts as κεφάλαια,¹⁰⁴ but to the dodecasyllables and the octosyllables as ἵαμβοι and ἀνακρεόντειοι; nonetheless, given the fact that the iambics are called κεφάλαια in Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 (W), it is reasonable to assume that each of the six texts, whether in verse or prose, forms a κεφάλαιον on its own. In other words, the hundred chapters of CFW are each subdivided into six chapters.

The name I have given to this collection: *Chapters in Four Ways*, reflects the composite character of this text: hexameter, iamb, anacreontic, and prose, for which, to the best of my knowledge, there is no parallel in Byzantine literature.¹⁰⁵ Nikos Zagklas recently published two excellent studies of twelfth-century texts that either combine various metres or combine verse and prose,¹⁰⁶ but all his examples are texts in ‘two ways’ or at best ‘three ways’, but not four. What is more, all of his two-way or three-way examples are performative texts: monodies, encomia, epithalamia, etc; even *schede* (which may combine verse and prose) are read out in the classroom. In contrast, the *Chapters in Four Ways* are paraenetic texts to be read in silence and perhaps learnt by heart, but if so, in the seclusion of the monastic cell or the private reading room of the Byzantine intellectual: they are not declamatory texts. Another difference is that the polymetric examples of Zagklas seldom have the same number of verses, whereas CFW makes use of tetrastichs.

Simelidis may be right that the idea of combining quatrains and prose texts may have come to the compiler by analogy to ‘the paraphrastic commentaries written on Gregory of Nazianzos’ 59 gnomic tetrastichs (...) by Niketas David Paphlagon, Nikolaos Doxapatres and Ioannes Zonaras [in which] a tetrastich is followed by the prose

¹⁰⁴ Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 292.

¹⁰⁵ See the observation by Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 277, that ‘there is no other anthology of this kind composed in verse and prose that I am aware of’.

¹⁰⁶ Zagklas, ‘Experimenting with Prose and Verse’ and Zagklas, ‘Metrical Polyeideia’.

paragraph of the commentary'.¹⁰⁷ There can be little doubt that the tetrastichic structure of the verse chapters ultimately goes back to Gregory of Nazianzos' γνωμολογία τετράστιχος (I.2.33); if proof is needed, it can be found in a Palaeologan collection of paraenetic quatrains that goes under the name of the church father.¹⁰⁸ Four-line paraenesis is clearly associated with Gregory of Nazianzos.

The hexameters and the iambics are borrowed goods. The hexameters derive from Gregory of Nazianzos, the arch father of paraenesis in Byzantium (see below 3.6), and the iambics are the work of an influential Byzantine aristocrat, Andronikos Palaiologos (see below 3.5). The octosyllables appear to be an original work, and so do the prose texts. As we shall see in 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4, the author of the prose texts claims to be the driving force behind the compilation of the *Chapters in Four Ways*. This is also borne out by another apt observation of Simelidis, namely that the prose writer occasionally alludes to the verse texts: in other words, he had the hexameters, iambics and anacreontics in front of him when he composed his own texts.¹⁰⁹

Given the fact that the *Chapters in Four Ways* contain the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos (born not long after 1261) and can be found in P, a manuscript that dates to c. 1310–20 (see Chapter 1.1), a date around the year 1300 for this collection is very likely.

The *Chapters in Four Ways* have not been served well by scholarship. Apart from Simelidis' 'Lustrous Verse', there is not much to go by. There is a good study by Katsaros on the hexameters and the connection with Gregory of Nazianzos: this study also includes an edition of some of the quatrains.¹¹⁰ The dodecasyllables have been edited twice: by Konstantinidis in 1989, on the basis of the two main manuscripts P and

¹⁰⁷ Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse', 279.

¹⁰⁸ Lauxtermann, 'Parisinus Graecus 400' (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁹ Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse', 278–79 and 282.

¹¹⁰ Katsaros, 'Οι εξάμετροι στίχοι'.

V as well as Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 (W),¹¹¹ and by Ozbic in 1998 (apparently unaware of the previous edition), on the basis of W alone.¹¹² There are partial editions of the octosyllables by Miller, Ciccolella and Simelidis¹¹³ – but for an edition and translation of all the quatrains, see Chapter 4 below. There are no separate editions of the prose chapters. Miller edited the whole of chapter 41 (hexameters, iambics, anacreontics and prose),¹¹⁴ Simelidis the whole of chapter 52,¹¹⁵ and I shall do the same for chapter 63 (see below 3.8).

3.2 The ‘epilogue’ of the *Chapters in Four Ways*

The last of the three prose texts of chapter 100 serves as an epilogue to the *Chapters in Four Ways*. It reads as follows (P 88^r and V 394^r):

Ἴδου δὴ τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων πολυτρόπως ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν
 παρεστήσαμεν δύναμιν. ἔργον δὲ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι πάντως τὸ
 μακάριόν με ἀναδεῖξαι καὶ ἀπεργάσασθαι· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ γεγραμμένα
 μὴ ἐργαζομένων ἡμῶν ἀφανῆ, καὶ εἰ παρ’ Ἀριστοτέλους ἂν καὶ
 Πλάτωνος λέγοιντο, οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐργασίας τιμώμενα
 τῶν ἐξακούστων ὑπάρξουσιν καὶ περιφανῶν, εἰ καὶ παρὰ Θεοκρίτου
 τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔλαβον. ἐφ’ ὑμῖν οὖν καὶ οὐκ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ ψόγου καὶ
 ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν· «σοφία γὰρ ἀφανὴς καὶ θησαυρὸς κεκρυμμένος·
 οὐδεμία ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ὠφέλεια», φησὶν ὁ σοφώτατος Σολομών.

¹¹¹ Konstantinidis, ‘Κεφάλαια περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας’.

¹¹² Ozbic, ‘I kephalaia’.

¹¹³ Miller, ‘Poème moral’, 27 (no. 41); Ciccolella, ‘Per un corpus’, 260–61 (nos. 60, 64, 66, 76 and 100); and Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 276, 282, 291, 290, and 291 (nos. 52, 58, 64, 85 and 93).

¹¹⁴ Miller, ‘Poème moral’, 26–28.

¹¹⁵ Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 275–77.

‘Here is the [book] of the Chapters in multifarious ways, which I presented to the best of my ability. Surely it is up to the readers to make and render me happy; for, just as writings remain unnoticed if we do not engage with them, even if these are the works of Aristotle and Plato, so too if they are honoured by your labour, they will be illustrious and famous, even if they owe their existence to Theocritus. Therefore, both blame and praise are yours, not mine. To quote the wise Solomon [*Wisdom of Sirach* 20:30 and 41:14], “Secret wisdom and a hidden treasure: there is no advantage in either of them”.

The scholion attached to this ‘epilogue’ begins as follows (P 87^v-88^r and V 394^v and, again, 395^r):

τὸ παρὸν κεφάλαιον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως παραδηλοῖ ὃ φίλοι,
λέγοντος, καὶ ἀδελφοὶ, ἰδοὺ τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων τῆς παρούσης
πυκτίδος δύναμιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν, ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπῆρχεν
ἀσθένειαν, συνεγραψάμεθα, ἐνεργήσαμεν, ἐτελειώσαμεν. ἔργον δὲ ἀπὸ
γε τοῦ νῦν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὴν βίβλον ὑμῖν τὸ μακάριόν με κατὰ
τὸν προφήτην ἐργάσασθαι· «μακάριος», γάρ φησιν, «ὁ εἰς ὧτα
ἀκούοντος φθεγγόμενος».

‘This chapter [the third prose text] says in the words of the author: “Friends and brothers, *voilà* the potential and actual effect of the chapters of this book, <which> I, to the best of my inability, put on paper, labored on, and completed. It is now up to you the readers to render me ‘happy’, to quote the prophet [*Wisdom of Sirach* 25:9]: “For happy is he who speaks to listening ears”.’

It is not entirely clear why the scholiast uses the Aristotelian notions of ‘potentiality’ (δύναμις) and ‘actuality’ (ἐνέργεια) to describe the finished product that the readers hold in their hands: the physical book, the text as we have it. But one could argue that the surprisingly modern idea that the reader’s involvement is essential to the

literary process, implies that once a text has been given its actual form (its *ἐνέργεια*), it still only exists in potentiality (its *δύναμις*) until the reader brings it to life by reading it.

The reference to the *Wisdom of Sirach* is particularly revealing. The source text reads: μακάριος γὰρ ὃς εὗρεν φρόνησιν καὶ ὁ διηγούμενος εἰς ὅτα ἀκουόντων, ‘happy is he who has found prudence, and he who speaks in the ears of people who listen’. In patristic and later sources (e.g. Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Neophytos Enkleistos.) this line is often quoted in a slightly shortened form, just as it is here: μακάριος ὁ λέγων εἰς ὅτα ἀκουόντων. Of great interest is a passage in John Chrysostom’s *Homily on Genesis* no. 41, in which he complains that his congregation in Antioch have not altered their ways despite all his teachings. He tells them: ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο ποιῆτε, καὶ ἡμᾶς μακαρίους ἀπεργάσεσθε (μακάριος γὰρ, φησὶν, ὁ λέγων εἰς ὅτα ἀκουόντων), καὶ παρασκευάσετε δαψιλεστέραν ὑμῶν παρατιθέναι τὴν πνευματικὴν ταύτην τράπεζαν, ‘if in fact you do this [i.e. listen to what I am saying], you will render me happy (for “happy is he who speaks to listening ears”, as Scripture says), and you will cause this spiritual banquet to be laid out more generously for you’.¹¹⁶ This passage from Chrysostom is very similar to the ‘epilogue’: compare ἡμᾶς μακαρίους ἀπεργάσεσθε with ἔργον δὲ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι πάντως τὸ μακάριόν με ἀναδεῖξαι καὶ ἀπεργάσασθαι. It is clear that the author of the epilogue derives the idea that readers have to do something with a text for it to be effective from Chrysostom; it is also evident that the scholiast recognized the source text and, therefore, added the reference to the *Wisdom of Sirach*. Both the author and his scholiast show themselves to be attentive readers of Chrysostom and thus illustrate the importance of the readers’ involvement. It is worth noting that the author, by implicitly comparing his situation to that of Chrysostom preaching to the congregation of Antioch,

¹¹⁶ *Homily on Genesis* no. 41, §5 (PG 53.577).

displays a bold sense of literary self-awareness: he casts himself in the role of Chrysostom and demands from his readers, current and future, that they listen to his words and change their ways.

However, what was a fleeting remark in Chrysostom is developed and elaborated in the epilogue. The author claims that a literary work, even if it is by Aristotle or Plato, does not exist if the reader does not engage with it; in such a case, it has as much value as the bucolics of Theocritus. While Chrysostom simply asks his audience to pay attention to his word, the author of the epilogue argues that if no one were to read his work, it is as if it had never existed. Only the engagement of the reader turns it into existence and renders it alive. The participatory role played by readers in the creation of literary texts seems such a modern concept: it is advocated not only by Jauss and other scholars working in reception theory but is also beautifully expressed by Walt Whitman (see the quotation at the beginning of this chapter).

Reader-response criticism only evolved in the second half of the twentieth century and it is subdivided in different branches, according to the role played by the author. The closest contemporary theory to the idea expressed in this text is the so-called affective stylistics, developed by Fish, who also analysed classical literature, such as Plato's dialogues. The intriguing end of Plato's *Phaedrus* ('no work has ever been written or recited that is worthy of serious attention') brought Fish to argue that 'although neither Socrates nor Phaedrus acknowledge the contradiction, the reader, who has fallen in, perhaps involuntarily, with the standards of judgment established by the philosopher himself, is certainly confronted with it, and asked 'implicitly to do something with it'.¹¹⁷ The suggestion of 'doing something with it' that Fish sees in the Platonic dialogue is very similar to Chrysostom's intention to educate his audience and

¹¹⁷ S.E. Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley, 1972), 10.

to let them change the way they behave. The scholar also considers the words and the work itself (e.g. Plato's *Phaedrus*) as an object that exerts an 'effect' on the reader: once they are uttered or finished they somehow vanish, 'except for the life they continue to live in [the] effect' that they have had on the reader's mind.¹¹⁸ This last sentence is eerily similar to what the author of CFW says: namely that now that he has done his work, its future existence depends on the readers.

As the concept of the reader's active involvement in the literary process is fairly unique, it appears to have made quite an impression on the scholiast, who devotes several lines to it (P fol. 88^r and V fol. 394^r):

Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο παραδραμεῖν. πῶς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω καὶ
πεπλανημένης σοφίας ἐμνήσθη, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πεφωτισμένων τῇ
ἀληθείᾳ καὶ χάριτι; δῆλον δὲ καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι περὶ παιδεύσεως μόνης
καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡδύτητα φθέγγονται τῆς φωνῆς, τὴν λίχνον ἀκοὴν διὰ τῆς
εὐγλωττίας καταγοητεύοντες. διὸ καὶ ἂν μὴ πρὸς χάριν παιδείας οἱ
ἐντυγχάνοντες φιλοῦσι καὶ στέργουσιν, ἄχρηστος αὐτῶν ἢ πρᾶξις καὶ ὁ
κόπος ἀνήνυτος. οἱ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλοι, εἰ καὶ
μηδεὶς ὁ περιστρεφόμενος, χρησιμωτάτη ἢ πρᾶξις καὶ ὁ μισθὸς
ἀδαπάνητος· ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν ἀγίων μὴ διδασκόντων εἰς μόνους τοὺς
ἐργάτας τῶν ἀρετῶν ἢ χάρις πᾶσα τῆς θείας μισθαποδοσίας γενήσεται,
οὕτω καὶ διδασκόντων, ἐὰν μηδεὶς ὁ πράττων, τετελεσμένος ὁ μισθὸς
τῶν διδασκάλων ὑπάρχει καὶ ἄφθαρτος.

'This too deserves to be mentioned. Why does [the author] mention those that belong to the outer and wrongful wisdom and not those that are enlightened by truth and grace? Indeed, their only thought is about education and how to speak with such

¹¹⁸ Fish, *Self-consuming Artifacts*, 14.

sweetness of voice, enchanting the curious listeners with their eloquence. Therefore, if the readers do not love and do not appreciate [their works] for the sake of education, their labour will be useless, and their work will have no effect. But as regards the teachers of our church, even if nobody pays attention to what they say, their work remains nonetheless very useful and their reward unlimited. For just as, when the saints are not teaching, the full grace of divine retribution will be given only to labourers of virtue, so too, when they do teach, but there is no labourer of virtue, will the reward of the teachers be complete and without end’.

As one can see, the scholiast either misinterprets the author or wishes implicitly to refute what the latter avers in his epilogue. According to the scholiast, while it is true that secular literature ceases to exist if it does not attract the attention of readers, the beauty of religious wisdom is that it continues to exist even if no one is paying attention. The author, however, claims that this is true for all literature. The scholiast also states that the ‘reward’ for ‘the teachers of our church’ is in heaven, not on earth; but the author is not talking about commercial success or worldly recognition. His point is that the literary work exists independently from the author: it is the reader who makes the work come to life and, by doing so, renders the author ‘happy’ – μακάριος, presumably in the literary afterworld.

3.3 What is a συγγραφεύς: writer or compiler?

As already stated, due to a lacuna in both manuscripts the CFW has come down to us without its heading, which presumably mentioned not only the title, but also the name of the writer/compiler. There are multiple references to the συγγραφεύς in the scholia.¹¹⁹ These references usually relate to the prose texts: e.g. P 6^v, 9^v, 18^r, 20^v, 21^v, 22^r,

¹¹⁹ Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 273.

23^v, 26^r, 28^r, 31^r, 31^v, 35^v (V 346^r), 37^v (V 349^r), 38^v (V 350^r), 39^v (V 351^r), 54^r (V 365^v), 59^r (V 369^v), 65^r (V 375^v), 67^v (V 377^r), 68^v (V 377^r), 73^v (V 382^r), 79^r (V 386^v), 86^r (V 393^v) and 87^v (V 394^v). Here are some examples:

- P 6^v προεῖπε πολλάκις ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὅτι δύναται ἡ ἔπαρσις μόνη τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην καταβαλεῖν;
- P 9^v περὶ πένθους ἐνταῦθα ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐμνημόνευσεν;
- P 21^v διὸ καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς διὰ τῶν τριῶν παραδειγμάτων (...) τὴν τῆς καυχήσεως κατήργησε ματαιότητα;
- P 31^v ἀπὸ τῶν τελεωτέρων καὶ γὰρ ὁ συγγραφεὺς πειρᾶται καὶ τὴν σύστασιν ποιῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν;
- P 54^r (V 365^v) τὴν τοῦ Ἰὼβ ἱστορίαν ἀναμνήσκει διὰ τοῦ παρόντος κεφαλαίου ὁ συγγραφεὺς;
- P 87^v (V 394^v) τὸ παρὸν κεφάλαιον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως παραδηλοῖ.

However, the use of the term συγγραφεὺς is not restricted to the prose texts. The scholiast uses it on three occasions for the dodecasyllables and the paired octosyllables:

- P 48^v (V 359^v) φίλον δὲ ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐκάλεσε τὸν θεὸν (anacreontics)
- P 71^v (V 380^v) τὸν τὰ ἀμφοτέρα κεκτημένον εἰδωλολάτρην ὁ συγγραφεὺς εἰκότως ἐκάλεσεν (iambs)
- P 74^r (V 382^v) ὅσα ἐν τῇ νουθεσίᾳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ παιδείᾳ ἐναλλαττομένων τῶν λέξεων διὰ τῶν ἰάμβων καὶ ἀνακρεοντείων ὁ συγγραφεὺς φθέγγεται (iambs and anacreontics).

As the scholiast does not comment upon the hexameters, it is unclear whether he considered these to be the work of the συγγραφεὺς as well. But otherwise he appears to attribute the whole of CFW to one and the same person. As we have seen, the author of the prose texts claims in the epilogue to CFW that he ‘presented the [book]

of the Chapters in multifarious ways' (πολυτρόπως): surely the 'multifarious ways' must indicate the hexameters, iambs, anacreontics and prose that make up the whole of CFW. The scholiast of CPV, too, credits one and the same person with the composition of not only the entirety of CFW but also CPV (on fol. 395^v of ms. V):

Ἐπειδὴ συνέθετο πᾶσαν τὴν βίβλον ὁ συγγραφεὺς διὰ τε ἡρώων,
 ἰάμβων, ἀνακρεοντείων ἐπῶν καὶ λογογραφίας, ἰδοὺ καὶ διὰ μέτρων
 πολιτικῶν ὡς ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ πᾶσαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐδήλωσε μεταχείρησιν.

'Having composed the whole book in hexameters, iambics, anacreontics and prose, the author now offers a concise treatment of all its topics in political verse'.

Since the iambic chapters of CFW are attributed to Andronikos Palaiologos in Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 (W), it would seem that he is the author of all the rest: the cento of hexameters derived from Gregory of Nazianzos (see below 3.6), the octosyllables, the prose chapters and, in addition, the political verses of CPV. This scenario, however, is highly unlikely given the huge differences in style, language and metre between the dodecasyllables, the paired octosyllables and the political verses (see Chapters 7 and 8 for a detailed analysis). While stylistic levels may vary within the oeuvre of one author (a good example is Theodore Prodromos), linguistic and metrical sensibilities form the author's identity: they cannot be altered nor deliberately adopted, they are what distinguishes the author's voice from those of his peers.

What to make of this conundrum? First of all, it is worth pointing out that it is the two scholiasts, those of CFW and CPV, that attribute the composition of these texts to one single συγγραφεὺς. It is not the 'συγγραφεὺς' himself. We should note that the author of the prose texts does not claim to have *composed* 'the book of the Chapters'. The word he uses is *παρεστήσαμεν*: the verb *παρίστημι* usually means 'to present, to offer something to another person'; in connection with the composition of

texts, it may mean ‘to demonstrate something (in writing)’.¹²⁰ The verb has clearly its usual meaning here: the author of the prose texts is ‘presenting’ the whole book to his readers so that they can read it, think about it and understand the moral precepts it contains and adopt these in their personal lives. It is his gift to them. It is once again the scholiast who paraphrases *παρεστήσαμεν* as *συνεγραψάμεθα*, but this is not what the author is saying.

Secondly, the question is what the scholiasts mean by the word *συγγραφεύς*. The word normally means ‘prose writer’; it occasionally denotes, more specifically, a ‘(contemporary) historian’ (such as Thucydides recounting the events of his lifetime).¹²¹ It is worth pointing that the scholiast of CFW almost always uses the term *συγγραφεύς* in connection with the prose texts; he uses it only three times for the iambs and the anacreontics. So, it would seem that the scholiast primarily thinks of the writer of the prose chapters when he uses the term *συγγραφεύς*. However, Tsolakis argues that the term *συγγραφεύς* has a different meaning in this context: according to him, the *συγγραφεύς* is simply a *συντάκτης*, a ‘redactor’, and CFW nothing else than just a compilation of texts, an ‘anthology’.¹²²

Though I have been unable to find an attestation of the word *συγγραφεύς* with the meaning of ‘compiler’, there is some evidence to back up Tsolakis’ supposition. In a book epigram on a collection of military *κεφάλαια* compiled by Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotēs (the father-in-law of Andronikos Palaiologos), Manuel Philes uses the word *γράφω* twice (vv. 8 and 15): for him, Glabas is a writer, although it is just a

¹²⁰ For the latter meaning, see, for example, G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1992), ep. 48, 221–23: Ἴδου οὖν ἐγώ, ἀδελφέ, εὐαγγελικῶς τε καὶ ἀποστολικῶς ὁμοῦ τε καὶ πατρικῶς παρέστησά σοι, εἴπερ βούλοιο πείθεσθαι λόγοις ἀληθείας, ὅτι αἴρεσιν ἀναμφιβόλως πεπλήρωκεν ἡ μοιχοσύνοδος.

¹²¹ For the latter meaning, see the discussion in D. Papanikolaou, ‘Herennius Philon’s Progeny: Ps-Ammonius, Eustathius and the term *συγγραφεὺς* in postclassical times’, *BZ* 113 (2020), 93–110. For the usual meaning, see *ibidem*, 95–97.

¹²² Tsolakis, ‘Ἠθικό ποίημα’, 11–12. See also Miller, ‘Poème moral’, 26.

compilation.¹²³ It must be noted, however, that Philes does not call Glabas a συγγραφεύς: he calls him ὁ συντεταχώς τουτοῖ τὸ βιβλίον (v. 1), ‘the one who put together this book’, i.e. the compiler. It is also interesting to see that Philes considers the book to be a gift to the entire world: παρῆκε μὲν τὴν βίβλον ὡς ὄλβον μέγαν, / ἀπλῶς μὲν εἶπεῖν, τῇδε τῇ κτίσει πάσῃ (vv. 26–27), just as the author of the prose texts offers the book of CFW to his readers. The second piece of evidence is another book epigram: it is an introduction by Nicholas of Corfu (early 12th century) to his own commentary on the *Chapters on Love* of Maximos the Confessor.¹²⁴ Nicholas explicitly states in lines 2 and 14 that this collection is a συγγραφή of the great Maximos and a θεῖον σύγγραμμα. In lines 15–17, however, he clarifies that Maximos selected his chapters from many church fathers. Nicholas is actually paraphrasing the beginning of the prologue of Maximos’ *Chapters on Love*: ‘These are not the fruit of my own meditation, for I went through the writings of the holy Fathers and selected from them whatever had reference to my subject’.¹²⁵ The important thing to note is that though Nicholas of Corfu is well aware that Maximos’ *Chapters* are a compilation, he still considers the text to be a literary composition: a συγγραφή, i.e. the work of a συγγραφεύς. Maximos may have borrowed whole passages from other authors, but he is still an author in his own right. Likewise, Philes treats Glabas as an author, though the work itself is a compilation of military precepts.

¹²³ Ed. Martini, ‘A proposito d’una poesia inedita’, 470–71: no. M-ap2.

¹²⁴ Ed. Lambros, *Κερκυραϊκὰ ἀνέκδοτα*, 22–23. I owe this reference to professor Lauxtermann.

¹²⁵ Transl. by Fr Maximos of Simopetra, ‘Evagrius Pontikos, St. Maximos the Confessor and the Chapters on Love’, p. 1 [available at academia.edu; originally published in Greek in: Πρακτικά β’ ἐπιστημονικοῦ συνεδρίου: Ἅγιος Νικόδημος ὁ Ἀγιορείτης - 200 χρόνια ἀπὸ τὴν κοίμησή του (Pentalofos, 2011), 71–83, at 73].

3.4 The compiler and his recipient

If the word *συγγραφεύς* indeed denotes the literary activity of a compiler, then it follows that this compiler must be the same person as the author of the prose texts of CFW, who, as we have seen, presents the whole book (and not just the prose chapters) to the readers. He must be the driving force behind this composition. What can we say about him? As Simelidis has rightly observed,¹²⁶ the author of the prose chapters is a monk discussing monastic virtues and vices and addressing a monastic audience. Analysing one of the prose chapters, number 52, Simelidis distinguishes a number of stylistic features, such as the device of antithesis, the definition of categories and the use of parallelisms, that are typical of ascetic literature (Evagrius, John Klimax, etc.). That the compiler is a monk is confirmed by many of the prose texts, such as the ones of chapter 41, ‘on flatterers’, which I discussed in Chapter 2.1, but above all by the second prose text of chapter 70, in which he discusses the virtue of *hesychia* (‘stillness’) and explicitly envisages his readers contemplating *hesychia* in the seclusion of their monastic cells (P fol. 49^r and V fol. 360^r):

πᾶσα μὲν ἀρετὴ συντελεῖ πρὸς τὴν τῆς θείας χάριτος ἔλλαμψιν, πολλῶν
δὲ πλεον ἢ τῆς ἡσυχίας φαιδρότης καὶ ἀπερίσπαστος ἔνωσις· πασῶν
γὰρ ἀρετῶν ὑπάρχει θησαυροφύλαξ πολυτιμότατος. καὶ γὰρ
καθεζόμενος ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ σου ἡσυχίαν εὐρήσεις (...)

‘Every virtue contributes to the illumination of the divine grace, but above all the radiance and inseparable union of stillness, because it is the most precious guardian of all virtues. And sitting in your cell, you will find stillness (...)’.

Strangely enough, the same chapter 70 bears proof of an intimate knowledge of Homer and Euripides, not the kind of authors one would expect to encounter in the

¹²⁶ Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 291–93.

seclusion of the monastic cell: the fire of passions cannot burn without fuel even if it is μαλερώτερον, ‘very fierce’, which is a Homeric word (P fol. 49^r and V fol. 360^v), and ‘let us fight against the evil demons before the trench lest they take Helen captive and destroy our city because of our negligence’ (P fol. 49^v and V fol. 360^v μαχεσώμεθα οὖν τοῖς πονηροῖς δαίμοσι πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἵνα μὴ ἀμελήσαντες τὴν μὲν Ἑλένην δορυάλωτον λάβωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν κατασκάψωσιν), which is an obvious reference to *The Trojan Women*.

The scholiast of CPV offers important information regarding the recipient of CFW. At V fol. 395^v, he states that the monk who is addressed in the prologue to CPV (see Chapter 5.1) is the very same ‘monk’ who is ‘aforementioned at the beginning of the book’: πρὸς τὸν προρρηθέντα ἐν τῇ τοῦ βιβλίου ἀρχῇ μοναχόν. It is not clear whether this monk was mentioned in the title of CFW or in its prologue, if there was one. It is not clear either what the relation was between the compiler and his recipient: while the author of CPV had been commissioned by his spiritual father to compose a collection of chapters in political verse,¹²⁷ the compiler of CFW does not appear to be writing at the orders of his superior. The self-assuredness of tone in the ‘epilogue’, in which he implicitly compares himself to John Chrysostom and claims that his readers should render him ‘happy’, would otherwise be inexplicable.

Chapter collections (‘kephalaia’) usually have a prologue in which the author addresses a specific person or group of persons. The recipient is almost always a fellow monk, and recipient and author have more or less the same hierarchical status: the author addresses his text to the recipient, not because he has been ordered to do so, but because they share the life in Christ and are in need of spiritual enlightenment. The *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax forms a good example: the prologue tells us what

¹²⁷ See Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*, 23–25.

kind of work it is: λόγος ἀσκητικὸς; who the author is: τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῶν ἐν τῷ Σινᾷ ὄρει μοναχῶν; and who the recipient is: τῷ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῆς Παῖθοῦ.¹²⁸ Some prologues function as real dedications. A good example is the prologue of Maximos Confessor's *Chapters on Love*, in which the author addresses the recipient, Elpidius, and tells him that, having previously sent him the *Chapters on Ascetic Life*, he is now sending him the 400 chapters on love: 'Here, Father Elpidius, besides the discourse on the Ascetic Life, I have sent this discourse on love to your Grace' (Ἴδου πρὸς τῷ περὶ ἀσκητικοῦ βιοῦ λόγῳ καὶ τὸν περὶ ἀγαπῆς λόγον πέπομφα τῇ σῇ ὁσιότητι, πάτερ Ἐλπίδιε).¹²⁹ However, not all chapter collections include a prologue: neither the *Anthologium* of Elias Ekdikos nor the *Spiritual Chapters* of Diadochos of Photike do.¹³⁰ So it is not clear if CFW had a prologue or not, though I think it is highly likely there was one.

However, the fact that both the compiler and the recipient of CFW were monks does not necessarily make this a collection of monastic wisdom because the compiler made use of texts that are not exclusively monastic, such as the poetry of Gregory of Nazianzos (a church father, not a monk), the iambic kephalaia of Andronikos Palaiologos (an intellectual and a military man), and the anonymous octosyllables (for further discussion see Chapter 2.1).

3.5 The iambic kephalaia of Andronikos Palaiologos

As noted in Chapter 1.5, the compiler of CFW made use of an already existing collection of iambic kephalaia attributed to Andronikos Palaiologos in the independent text witness, Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 (W): κεφάλαια διὰ στίχων ἱαμβικῶν περὶ ἀρετῆς

¹²⁸ Ed. Archimandrite Lazarus Moore, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (London, 1959), 46.

¹²⁹ The translation is taken from G.C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor: Selected Writings* (New York, 1985), 35.

¹³⁰ Elias Ekdikos, *Anthologium gnomicum* [CPG 7716] and Rutherford, *One Hundred Practical Texts*.

καὶ κακίας τοῦ Παλαιολόγου κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ τρισμακαρίστου καὶ αἰοδίμου σεβαστοκράτορος. The order of the iambic quatrains in *W* is radically different from that in *PV*. *W* has fifty-three quatrains. *P* and *V* have substantial lacunas at the beginning of *CFW*.

Since the remaining chapters of *CFW* have the same sequence of topics as *CPV*, it follows that the chapters of *CFW* that are now missing in *P* and *V*, corresponded in topic and order to those of *CPV* as well: e.g. if the first chapter of *CPV* treats the topic of faith (πίστις), it stands to reason that chapter 1 of *CFW* treated the same topic. It is because of this that it is possible, with absolute certainty, to allocate the iambic quatrains of *W* to their rightful place in *CFW* even if manuscripts *P* and *V* do not have them. In the following list, *K* stands for the edition of the iambs by Konstantinidis and the numbers in square brackets are the corresponding numbers of *CFW*. An asterisk indicates that a quatrain is not found in *P* and *V* due to material loss of folios and, in the case of *CFW* no. 40, due to a curious mistake in the manuscript tradition. In the present state, *P* has iambs nos. 32, 35-39, 41-44, 46-7, 49-100, and *V* has nos. 58-100.

The collection of *W* contains the following: *K*1-4 [*1-*4]; *K*5-11 [*9-*15]; *K*12-13 [73, 72]; *K*14-15 [*40, *16]; *K*16 [78]; *K*17 [*17]; *K*18-26 [39, 76, 41, 75, 42, 81, 77, 88, 43]; *K*27 [*18]; *K*28 [66]; *K*29 [*27]; *K*30-34 [82, 89-90, 44, 74]; *K*35-37 [*7, *19, *45]; *K*38-45 [80, 91, 79, 92, 63, 65, 46-47]; *K*46 [*48]; *K*47-51 [52, 49, 64, 83, 50]; *K*52-53 [*5, *33].¹³¹

To put this differently, *W* contains in the numerical order of *CFW/CPV*: nos. 1-5, 7, 9-19, 27, 33, 39-50, 52, 63-66, 72-83 and 88-92. In other words, *W* lacks nos.

¹³¹ Konstantinidis, 'Κεφάλαια περί αρετῆς καὶ κακίας', 183, avers that there are no corresponding chapters in *CPV* for *K*5 (περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης) and *K*53 (περὶ κενοδοξίας); but in the case of *K*53, he has been misled by Miller's self-invented title: *CFW* no. 33 deals with κενοδοξία, not δόξα, and in the case of *K*5, he should have noted that the key term is συμπάθεια, which is the subject discussed in *CFW* no. 9. In other words, *K*5 is *CFW* 9 and *K*53 is *CFW* 33.

6, 8, 20–26, 28–32, 34–38, 51, 53–62, 67–71, 84–87 and 93–100. The iambic quatrains missing from both PV and W are nos. 6, 8, 20–26, 28–31 and 34.

P offers the same text twice: quatrain 78 [=K16] (fol. 60^r, *περὶ χάριτος*) is also found in chapter 40 (fol. 9^r, *περὶ εὐεργεσίας*), where it is out of place. As argued in Chapter 1.5, the mistake of copying the wrong iambic quatrain, no. 78 (=K 16) instead of no. 40 (=K14), goes back to the archetype of CFW. This curious mistake is only understandable if we assume that the order of the quatrains in W is the original one (K14 and 16 are very close indeed) and that the compiler of CFW restructured the order for reasons unknown to us.

Further proof that W preserves the original order, in contrast to PV, is that the order appears to be thematic in W.¹³² K1–3 deal with faith, hope and love (St Paul, 1 Cor. 13); K4–14 & 16 discuss various virtues, and K15 and 17 ἀρετή and κακία (conform to the title); K19–22 deal with various forms of talking; K23–26 treat poverty, riches, greed and self-sufficiency; K27–32 discuss forms of speaking and teaching; K33–34 deal with happiness and misery, K35–36 anger and rage, and K37–38 silence and meddlesomeness; K40–41 refer to parents and children; K44–45 treat repentance and confession; and K46–49 and K52–53 discuss various sins. As argued in Chapter 1.5, some quatrains appear to be misplaced in W, such as K15 and 17 which clearly belong together – the original sequence appears to have been K14, 16, 15 and 17. There may be more instances of disruption in W that escape our notice, but the thematic structure is otherwise intact. To have a thematic structure is not a common feature of chapter literature (see Chapter 2.1), and in this respect CFW is closer to most collections of spiritual chapters than Andronikos Palaiologos’ because there is no discernible order in the arrangement of the chapters in CFW.

¹³² As already observed by Konstantinidis, ‘Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας’, 183.

That the order of W is the right one is also indicated by the choice of putting the famous triad of Christian virtues singled out by St. Paul in 1 Cor. 13:13 at the very beginning: ‘so now faith, hope, and love abide, these three; but the greatest of these is love’. Andronikos Palaiologos is not the only one to do so: other writers of *kephalaia*, too, begin their work by discussing those three virtues. Diadochos of Photike, for example, begins by deeming faith as a ‘dispassionate intellectual conception concerning God’ (ἐννοια περὶ θεοῦ ἀπαθής), hope as ‘journeying of the intellect in love towards things hoped for’ (ἐκδημία τοῦ νοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ πρὸς τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα) and love as ‘the increase of affection toward those who are insulting’ (αὔξησις φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας).¹³³ Then he proceeds with the first chapter: ‘Let faith, hope and love guide all spiritual contemplation, brethren; but above all love’ (πάσης πνευματικῆς, ἀδελφοί, ἡγείσθω θεωρίας πίστις ἐλπὶς ἀγάπη, πλέον δὲ ἡ ἀγάπη).¹³⁴

It is generally assumed that the fifty-three iambic *kephalaia* of W form a selection given the fact that chapter collections are generally structured into centuries, as shown also by CFW.¹³⁵ One could argue, however, that since the thematic structure of W is more or less intact, nothing appears to be missing from it unless we assume that W left out whole stretches of quatrains. One could also point out that not all collections of chapters count to a hundred: some are considerably smaller, and one could possibly argue that Andronikos Palaiologos was influenced by Gregory of Nazianzos’ 59 gnomic tetrastichs (carm. I.2.33 [PG 37.927–45]).¹³⁶ On the other hand, there are no significant differences in style, language and metre between the fifty-three quatrains of W and the thirty-three that can only be found in P and V, and no reason, therefore, to believe that

¹³³ Rutherford, *One hundred practical texts*, 12.

¹³⁴ Rutherford, *One hundred practical texts*, 14.

¹³⁵ See Konstantinidis, ‘Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας’, 181–82 and 183, and Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 274, n. 7.

¹³⁶ Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 279.

those thirty-three are by a different author than the fifty-three we know to be the work of Andronikos Palaiologos.

If W forms a selection from a collection of a hundred iambic kephalaia, then we must be grateful for it leaving the thematic structure more or less intact despite the omission of forty-seven quatrains. If it does not, it would mean that those forty-seven quatrains were added when CFW was being put together and since there is no reason to believe that more than one poet was involved, the logical conclusion can only be that Andronikos Palaiologos was somehow involved in the project.¹³⁷ But as it is impossible to decide between these two scenarios – selection or later addition – Andronikos Palaiologos’ involvement in the compilation of CFW must remain an open question.

3.6 The use of Gregory of Nazianzos

Needless to say, Gregory of Nazianzos is one of the most relevant religious and literary authorities in Byzantine History. His influence on other authors stretches from Late Antiquity to the late Byzantine period, and it also reached the West; his importance and authority, which was already acknowledged by the Byzantine themselves, as the rhetorical manual *On the Four Parts of the Perfect Speech* testifies,¹³⁸ are the reason why Gregory became part of the school curriculum. Generally known as the Theologian (ὁ θεολόγος), Gregory of Nazianzos was ‘the only Christian writer to be regarded as a literary model’.¹³⁹

What is significant here, however, is his influence on Byzantine poetry, as testified by the hexametric verses of the CFW. Simelidis points out that this influence until recently was not generally recognized, perhaps because older editors struggled to

¹³⁷ As also argued by Katsaros, ‘Οι εξάμετροι στίχοι’, 86, n. 47.

¹³⁸ Zagklas, ‘Theodore Prodromos and the Use of the Poetic Work of Gregory of Nazianzus’, 223–24.

¹³⁹ Simelidis, *Selected Poems*, 60.

identify quotations from Gregory in their editions because of his absence in LSJ.¹⁴⁰ On the other hand, in the 1970s Hunger had already stressed the popularity of Gregory's paraenetic tetrastichs as a major source of inspiration for middle and late Byzantine poets.¹⁴¹ Although Hunger's analysis is more than 40 years old, little has been done in the past few decades to study paraenetic literature in a more systematic manner, taking into account the influence of Gregory of Nazianzos.¹⁴²

The author of the hexametric verses, thus, fits into a well-established tradition of poets who were greatly influenced by the Theologian, such as, in particular, John Geometres and Theodore Prodromos.¹⁴³ Given the intertextual nature of Byzantine literature, with a strong emphasis on literary mimesis (see Chapter 5.4), it was not uncommon for authors to borrow parts of others' works, either a single word or an entire phrase.¹⁴⁴ To incorporate the words of other people into one's own was not seen as plagiarism or a lack of originality, as it would be nowadays; on the contrary, in Byzantium 'the thief should not at all feel ashamed, but the complete opposite, he should take pride in his action' (Theodore Prodromos, *Commentary on Cosmas' Christmas Canon*, 33.32).¹⁴⁵

The way in which the author re-uses Gregory's verses and how he stitches them together recalls the literary genre of cento. A cento is an 'intertextual montage' in which 'one finds alien materials from various texts being mounted so that from various textual

¹⁴⁰ Simelidis, *Selected Poems*, 64.

¹⁴¹ Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, vol. II, 159.

¹⁴² But see now Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 210–12.

¹⁴³ For a general overview, see Simelidis, *Selected Poems*, 64–67. For Geometres, see Van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre*, 44–46. For Prodromos, see Zagklas, 'Theodore Prodromos and the Use of the Poetic Work of Gregory of Nazianzus', *passim*.

¹⁴⁴ Zagklas, 'Theodore Prodromos and the Use of the Poetic Work of Gregory of Nazianzus', 229–30. Zagklas discusses also the different point of view of Kataphloron, who 'criticises the mindless use of citations and words': *ibidem*, 229.

¹⁴⁵ H.M. Stevenson (ed.), *Theodori Prodromi commentarios in carmina sacra melodorum Cosmae Hierosolymitani et Ioannis Damasceni* (Rome, 1888), 33.23–32; transl. in Simelidis, 'Honouring the bridegroom like God', 100.

segments a new text is constituted'.¹⁴⁶ The roots of this kind of literature go back as far as the Hellenistic period if not earlier; centos become particularly popular in late antiquity, with Empress Eudokia as its best-known exponent in Greek.¹⁴⁷ The cento continues to flourish in modern times, but serves a different purpose in the sense that they are employed as a means to both constitute a norm and violate it in the form of irony or satire.¹⁴⁸ Centos function as an 'écriture' 'consist[ing] in the selection of sentences or syntagms from one or several texts and transferring them unalteredly into a new text with a different topic'.¹⁴⁹

The key words here are 'unalteredly' and 'different topic'. To be considered a cento, then, a work must keep intact most of the original wording, while at the same time adapting the text to a new context, in which more than often the same words convey a different meaning (a practice that was condemned by some of the church fathers).¹⁵⁰ The adaptation usually consists in minor changes in syntax and grammar so as to accommodate the source text to its new context.¹⁵¹ Semantic changes are more radical; but it is not always clear whether the changing of words is intentional or results from a different text tradition than the one that has come down to us.¹⁵²

Katsaros has listed all the borrowings from Gregory of Nazianzos in the hexameters of CFW: 207 lines in total, i.e. c. 82% of all verses.¹⁵³ However, the author does not leave these 207 lines 'unaltered' as one would expect from a cento: he occasionally makes quite radical changes and adds words of his own. And the fact that c. 18% is unaccounted for definitely does not adhere to the cento technique of turning the source text into a patchwork without hardly any input of one's own. So, this is not a

¹⁴⁶ H.F. Plett, *Literary Rhetoric: Concepts - Structures - Analyses* (Leiden, 2010), 283.

¹⁴⁷ See Usher, *Homeric Stitchings*.

¹⁴⁸ Verweyen and Witting, 'The Cento', 173.

¹⁴⁹ Verweyen and Witting, 'The Cento', 172.

¹⁵⁰ Usher, *Homeric Stitchings*, 11-12.

¹⁵¹ Usher, *Homeric Stitchings*, 36-38.

¹⁵² Usher, *Homeric Stitchings*, 38-39.

¹⁵³ Katsaros, 'Οι εξαμέτροι στίχοι', 72-79.

proper cento. But it is not a matter of literary imitation either: Geometres and Prodromos may borrow extensively from Gregory of Nazianzos, but never to the extent that we find here. I would call the hexametric quatrains of CFW *cento-like*, because, for all the obvious differences, the mnemonic capacity and technical expertise needed to turn Gregory's verses into an entirely new text immediately recall the cento as the closest parallel.¹⁵⁴ The author must have known the colossal oeuvre of Gregory of Nazianzos by heart, which is no mean accomplishment.

Before diving in, it is worth pointing out that the hexametric quatrains are the only part of CFW without scholia attached to them; they have instead interlinear glosses, which enable the reader to understand the vocabulary. According to Tsolakis, this is because the scholiast (for whom see below 3.7) simply failed to understand the hexameters.¹⁵⁵ This may be true, but one could also argue that there is a link with the scholarly tradition of adding paraphrases to the poems of Gregory of Nazianzos, sometimes in the form of interlinear glosses.¹⁵⁶

Katsaros and Simelidis offer detailed analyses of the ways in which the author of the cento-like quatrains adopted and adapted the poetry of Gregory of Nazianzos, quite often for metrical reasons (when he had to turn pentameters into hexameters), but sometimes because the source text did not entirely convey the intended meaning.¹⁵⁷ In the following, I shall discuss two quatrains. The first is chapter 44, *περὶ εὐτυχίας* (P fol. 14^{rv}), which is an adaptation of Gregory of Nazianzos, I.2.15, lines 91–96 (*PG* 37.773):

Ἦνίκ' Ἀλέξανδρος πᾶσαν ἦλθ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐλαύνων,
τίπτ' αὖ πλεῖον ἐνὶ φθιμένοισιν; ὅστέα μοῦνα
ἦρωσ τ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἰδ' Ὀδυσσεύς πόλλ' ἀληθείς,

¹⁵⁴ See Usher, *Homeric Stitchings*, 28–31.

¹⁵⁵ Tsolakis, 'Ἡθικό ποίημα', 11. So too Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse', 284.

¹⁵⁶ See Simelidis, *Selected Poems*, 76–77.

¹⁵⁷ Katsaros, 'Οι εξαμετροί στίχοι', 79–80 and Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse', 283–89.

Κωνσταντῖνος ἄναξ, θεράπων Χριστοῦ φαάντατος.

Καί σε, δρακοντιάδη, μένος ἄσχετε, ὤλεσεν οἶνος

ἡνίκ', Ἀλέξανδρε, γαῖαν ἐπῆλθες ὄλην.

τί πλέον ἐν φθιμένοισιν; ἦ κόνις, ὅστέα μοῦνα,

ἥρωος Ἀτρεΐδης, Ἴρος ἀλητοβόρος.

Κωνσταντῖνος ἄναξ, θεράπων ἐμός· ὅστις ἄνολβος,

ὅστις ἐρικτήμων· ἐν πλέον ἐστὶ τάφος.

All four verses of quatrain 44 are unmetrical. However, the poet is not the only one to struggle with the rules of classical prosody: almost all Palaeologan poets make terrible mistakes in their hexameters.¹⁵⁸ In this case, the author's problem was compounded by the fact that he had to fit the elegiac distichs of Gregory into the straitjacket of the hexameter. As we can see, the author leaves out material (lines 91 and 96 and part of 93, 94 and 95), adds material (in lines 3 and 4), adapts words (in lines 1 and 2), and radically changes the ending. While Gregory of Nazianzos says: 'Emperor Constantine and my servant; poor and rich, the only thing remaining [for them] is the grave', the cento writer states: 'Just [a heap of] bones are the heroic son of Atreus, the much-wandering Odysseus, and emperor Constantine, the illustrious servant of Christ'. The disappearance of Gregory's servant weakens the poem significantly. The other changes, too, are stylistically awkward. The quatrain still makes sense but not as good a sense as the original text. One may note, however, that the author is familiar with Homer and the epic tradition in general: πόλλ' ἀληθείς, cf. *Od.* 16.205 πολλὰ δ' ἀληθείς (at the same position at line end), and φαάντατος, cf. *Od.* 13.93, *Vision of Dorotheos* 9, Gregory of Nazianzos II.1.34, 145 (cf. II.1.87, 23; *AP* 8.9, 1, 8.54, 1, and 8.113, 1),

¹⁵⁸ Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse', 278.

Empress Eudokia's *Homero-centones* (passim), Dionysios the Stoudite (=Theod. Stoud. 124.23), and Theodore Metochites 5.388, 8.295, etc.

The second example is chapter 54 (περὶ κάλλους, P fol. 25'), which form a pastiche of Gregory of Nazianzos I.2.1, lines 613–16 (*PG* 37.569):

Σοὶ λιπόωντα πρόσωπα καὶ εἵματα σιγαλόεντα,
κόσμος ἐμοὶ ῥυπόωσα κόμη καὶ εἵματα λυπρά.
εἶμα φέρω χρυσοῖσι τινασσόμενον θυσάνοισι
Χριστὸν, ἐμῆς ψυχῆς κρυπτὸν περικαλλέα κόσμον.

Σοὶ λιπόωντα πρόσωπα καὶ εἵματα σιγαλόεντα,
κόσμος ἐμὸς ῥυπόωσα κόμη καὶ ἱμάτια λυπρά.
εἶμα φέρω χρυσοῖσι τινασσόμενον θυσάνοισι
Χριστὸν ἐμῆς ψυχῆς περικαλλέα κόσμον τίθει.

As one can see the compiler keeps the first three verses more or less intact, apart from ἐμὸς instead of ἐμοὶ and ἱμάτια instead of εἵματα in line 2. The biggest change is in the last verse, where he replaces κρυπτὸν with τίθει. The last two verses of Gregory of Nazianzos say: 'The garment swirling with golden tassels that I wear / is Christ, a beautiful ornament hidden in my soul'. Gregory makes clever use of enjambment in the fourth verse, with the word Χριστὸν pending, so that the realisation that the gold-swirling garment he is wearing is Christ comes as a real surprise. None of this remains in the new version, probably because the author did not understand the enjambment and failed to grasp that the garment is Christ. So, the author introduced an end stop in line 3 and as the next line now lacked a verb, he invented one: τίθει, and then eliminated κρυπτὸν for metrical reasons: 'May you make Christ a beautiful ornament of my soul'. It is not clear who the imperative τίθει is supposed to address: God?

Whatever his poetic talents, or lack thereof, the author proves himself to be an avid reader of Homer and Hesiod, not only in his use of isolated words (e.g. πόλλ' ἀληθείς and φαάντατος), but also in the few quatrains that are entirely his own. Take, for example, chapter 59 (περὶ δυσγενείας, V fol. 343^v and P fol. 33^v):

Θροῦνοι ἡυγενῶν, ὀφρὺς κερόεσσ' ἀλιτρὸς,
σχέτλιοι, ὀβριμοεργοί, ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωντες,
χειροδίκαι, ἀναιδείης ἐπιείμενοι ἀλκὴν,
οὗς τυφλώσειεν θεὸς ὄπιν δίκης πατοῦντας.¹⁵⁹

Line 2, cf. *Il.* 5.403 σχέτλιος, ὀβριμοεργός; *Il.* 22.418 ἀτάσθαλον ὀβριμοεργόν and Hesiod *Theog.* 996 ἀτάσθαλος ὀβριμοεργός; *Il.* 18.143 ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωντας.

Line 3, cf. Hesiod *Op.* 189 χειροδίκαι (also at the beginning of the line); *Il.* 1.149 and 9.372 ἀναιδείην ἐπιείμενε/ος; *Il.* 7.164 and 18.157 (cf. *Od.* 9.514) ἐπιείμενοι ἀλκὴν.

Line 4, cf. *Il.* 14.142 θεὸς δέ ἐ σιφλώσειε (with scholiasts interpreting σιφλώω as τυφλώω); Hesiod *Op.* 187 οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν εἰδότες and *Il.* 16.388 θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες (cf. *Od.* 21.28). As one can see, this is another patchwork, this time of Homeric and Hesiodic borrowings. Only the first line is entirely the author's own, but there too one may notice an epic colouring in vocabulary and morphology. Though the metrical lengthening of the omicron of θρόνοι is definitely not Ionian or epic, it is worth noting that a close contemporary of the author, namely Theodore Metochites, loves to lengthen his omicrons as well: e.g. 5.46 λοῦγος, 5.117 δούγμασιν, 1.691 προύθεσις, 14.18 προύτερον, 1.182 βρουτὸς and 14.34 οὐλιγοδρανέοντες. Given this familiarity with Homer, Hesiod and the epic tradition in general, one might conjecture that it is the compiler of CFW himself who composed these cento-like

¹⁵⁹ Ed. Katsaros, 'Οι εξαμέτροι στίχοι', 76 (no.2).

hexameters because, as we have seen in 3.4, he knows his Homer and the story of Troy. But this requires further study.

3.7 The scholia to the *Chapters in Four Ways*

The *Chapters in Four Ways* are surrounded by extensive marginal scholia in both P and V.¹⁶⁰ It is clear from the contents of these scholia that the scholiast is a monk. This is also clear from the way he signs off his work in the very last scholion (V 394^v and P 88^v):

Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως δώη πᾶσι
τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι διὰ πράξεως εἰς θεωρίαν καὶ διὰ θεωρίας ἀναχθῆναι
πρὸς γνῶσιν ἵνα διὰ ταύτης καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου μετὰ τῆς γεηρᾶς
τῆσδε καὶ φθειρομένης σαρκὸς τῷ ἀεὶ ὄντι καὶ δημιουργῷ Θεῷ καὶ
σωτῆρι ἡμῶν παριστάμενοι νοερῶς ἐκείνῳ μὲν τὴν ὀφειλομένην
εὐχαριστίαν, ἑμοὶ δὲ τὴν ἀδελφικὴν συγχώρησιν ἀπονέμοιτε:- ἀμήν:-

‘May the Father of mercy and the God of all consolation grant to all readers that you be elevated to contemplation through your works and to knowledge through your contemplation, so that you, even before your passing away, even with this earthly and mortal coil, may stand in spirit before God everlasting, our Creator and Saviour, and give Him the gratitude He is owed and me your brotherly forgiveness. Amen’.

The scholiast exploits the topos of scribal humility and addresses his brothers, i.e. his fellow monks. It is important to note that the intended readers of CFW, at least in the eyes of the scholiast, are monks – perhaps even a specific monastic community – and this squares very well with the fact that the recipient of CFW, the one to whom the

¹⁶⁰ Since the scribe of P is quite sloppy, I follow the text of V unless otherwise indicated; but unfortunately, we have to rely on P for the scholia that are missing in V.

compiler of CFW dedicated his composition (see above 3.4), is a monk as well. Since the scholia were obviously added to CFW after it had been completed, there is a distinct possibility that the recipient and the scholiast are in fact one and the same person. Another option would be that the recipient of CFW, having received the text, asked a fellow monk to write explanatory scholia.

It goes without saying that the scholia are full of references to the Old and New Testaments: e.g. P 20^r ἔθετο γάρ φησι Μωσῆς τὴν Ἀδὰμ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ (referring to the Pentateuch: *Gen.* 2:15) and P 23^r τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἰπόντος καὶ χριστοκήρυκος (referring to St Paul: *Acts* 14:22). There are multiple references in particular to the books of wisdom (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Sirach), usually with an attribution to Solomon, even if the books are not by him: e.g. P 4^v ἀπὸ Σολομῶντος οἱ παρόντες ἱαμβοὶ τὴν χρῆσιν παρέλαβον and P 24^r τοῦ Σολομῶντος βοῶντος γῆρας τίμιον οὐ τὸ πολυχρόνιον. There are also a number of references to the church fathers and, in particular, to Gregory of Nazianzos (ὁ θεολόγος): e.g. P 29^r διὸ καὶ τις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἀκριβῶς αὐτὴν διερχόμενος ἔλεγε, V 387^r (P 79^v) μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεολόγου λεγομένου, and V fol. 390^v (P 83^v) ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θεολόγος λέγει Γρηγόριος.

As is only to be expected from a monk, the scholiast occasionally inveighs against pagan thought. For example, at V 347^{rv} (P 36^v-37^r), we read that Plato and Homer were wrong about the afterlife: what is more, it shows that ‘the wisdom of men, which *they* call “encyclopedic” and which strives only after earthly things’ (ἀνθρώπων δὲ σοφίαν τὴν παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐγκύκλιον λεγομένην καὶ εἰς μόνα κεχηνῶσαν τὰ γήινα) is mere folly – a clear reference to St Paul (1 Cor. 3:19). As the form κεχηνῶσαν already illustrates, the scholiast lacks formal education; in general, on the

rare occasions that he does refer to the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, the references are either vague or incorrect.

The category of ‘vague’ references includes: e.g. P 33^r (V 343^v) τοῦ ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἕως περάτων μοναρχήσαντος Αὐγούστου (...) ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου – Augustus and Alexander indeed reigned over vast empires; V 389^r (P 81^v) a geographic reference to the tides of the Euripos: ἐν γὰρ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ ῥεῦμα θαλάσσιον οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἱστοροῦσι σφοδρῶς διερχόμενον; V 386^r (P 78^v) the Aristotelean notion that laughter is unique to man (but Aristotle is not mentioned). At V 386^v (P 79^r), the scholiast explains that the hapax δεκάχειρ alludes to *Il.* 1.402–03 where Briareos is called ἐκατόγχειρ and then offers an allegorical interpretation: hundred-handed Briareos stands for the Sun with its many rays. This interpretation is very common indeed: e.g. Porphyrios, *scholia vetera* to Homer, Tzetzes, and Eustathios of Thessaloniki. In V 364^r (P 52^v) the scholiast makes the observation that octopuses have the ability to change shape and colour when threatened – for which parallels can be found in Theognis, Ps. Aristotle, Athenaeus, Aelian and many others, but which is also known to every fisherman and lover of nature: ὁ γὰρ ὀκτάπους, ὡς οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἱστοροῦσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν κατ’ αὐτοῦ μάθοι τοῦ ἀλιέως ἐπιβουλήν, χαῦνον διὰ παντὸς καὶ ἐξίτηλον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐργασάμενος σῶμα καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου λίθου μορφήν ἐπενδυσάμενος καὶ χρωματισθεὶς (...), ‘as the writers tell us, when the octopus senses the attack of the fisherman against him, it makes its body totally soft and small, takes on the shape of the rock to which it clings, and changes colour’. The reference at V 380^r (P 71^v) to the Epicureans and their belief in ‘atoms’ is common knowledge, but why the scholiast more than once paraphrases (τὰ) ἄτομα as (τὰ) ξεστά, ‘chips’, is not clear – it appears he did not understand the etymology of the word ἄτομον.

The category of ‘incorrect’ references includes: e.g. V 346^r (P 35) Πλούταρχος ὁ ἐκ Χαιρωνείας τοῖς ἰδίῳις μαθηταῖς παρήνει εἰς κάτοπτρον κύψασι θεωρεῖν καὶ εἰ μὲν καλοὶ φαίνοντο, τοῦ κάλλους ἄξια δρᾶν (...) – this is a saying by Bias, one of the Seven Sages, not Plutarch;¹⁶¹ V 389^r (P 81^v) πλάσμα τις συνέθετο τῶν σοφῶν, «Ἀλέξανδρος» εἰπὼν «εἶδεν ὄνειρον ὀνείροις μὴ πιστεύειν»: this is no just ‘any wise man’, but Hermogenes;¹⁶² V 389^v (P 82^v) τὸ δὲ «ὁ ἄριστα διαγνοὺς ἄριστα καὶ θεραπεύει», ὁ Γαληνὸς τοῦτο περὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἐφθέγγετο: the source is not Galen, but Hippocrates;¹⁶³ and at P 22^v οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλεῖστοι σοφοὶ ἵππον μὲν τὸ σῶμα προσεπενόησαν, διαβάτην δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν. Though this is vaguely reminiscent of Plato’s chariot of the soul with its two horses, one representing the rational impulses and the other the irrational appetites (*Phaedrus* 246a–254e), the only texts I have been able to identify in which the soul is compared to a rider and the body to a horse, are not by ‘the Hellenes’, but by late antique Christian authors, Didymos the Blind and Ps. Makarios (=Symeon of Mesopotamia).¹⁶⁴

Though not very well educated, the scholiast has a basic understanding of Ancient Greek literature. In the scholion attached to the ‘epilogue’ of CFW (see above 3.2), he explains why the compiler thought highly of Plato and Aristotle, but not of Theocritus: V 394^r and, again, 395^r (P 88^v) προὔθηκε δὲ τοὺς τοιοῦτους φιλοσόφους διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἔγκριτα τάχα περὶ τε Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων λέγειν ψυχῶν καὶ τῆς φαινομένης τετραστοίχου κινήσεως, ὅθεν δὴ τούτους καὶ τοῦ Θεοκρίτου προέκρινεν, τὸν δὲ Θεόκριτον διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν βουκολικῶν

¹⁶¹ F.W.A. Mullach, *Fragmenta philosophorum graecorum*, vol. I (Paris, 1860), 215.

¹⁶² H. Rabe, *Hermogenis Opera* (Leipzig, 1913), *Peri Staseon*, 1.104.

¹⁶³ L.G. Westerink, *Stephanus of Athens: Commentary on Hippocrates’ Aphorisms* (Berlin, 1992), 3.9.51, and J.M. Duffy, *Scholia in Hippocratis Prognosticon* (Buffalo, 1975), 1.1.59.

¹⁶⁴ M. Grünwald, *Didymos der Blinde: Psalmenkommentar*, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1964), 181: λέγεται πολλάκις τὸ σῶμα ἵππος τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τούτου δὲ ἐπιβάτης ἢ ἀναβάτης ἡ ψυχὴ, and H. Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon: Reden und Briefe*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1973), vol. 1, oratio 3.4.4: ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ κυρία ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἔχει τὸ σῶμα ὥσπερ τὸν ἵππον, ἡ ψυχὴ χαλιναγωγεῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ὁδηγεῖ αὐτό.

φθέγγεσθαι καὶ πραγμάτων περιπεζίων καὶ χθαμηλῶν καὶ ἐν παρόδῳ παρεδειγμάτισεν, ‘he gives precedence to these philosophers [i.e. Aristotle and Plato] because they said sensible things about God and the angels and our souls and the apparent movement of the four elements, which is why he preferred them to Theocritus, but he cautions against Theocritus because he spoke about shepherds and things that are humble and low and fleeting’. However misguided his views may seem, the scholiast at least shows some familiarity with Theocritus’ bucolics, which is hardly surprising given the popularity of Theocritus in the Palaeologan period.¹⁶⁵ The same goes for his references to Homer (a school author), Plato, Aristotle, Galen and Plutarch: the scholiast at least knows who they are and he may even have read some of their works.

By far the most important reference to secular literature is found at V 360^v (P 49): περὶ δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς Τροίας λέγει καὶ τῆς Ἑλένης· ἄριστα ὁ θέλων καταμαθεῖν εἰ μὲν βούλεται, διὰ τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης τῶν λόγων Ὅμηρου· εἰ δ’ οὖν, διὰ τῶν τοῦ Μανασσῆ ἐν τῷ Χρονικῷ στίχων πολιτικῶν,¹⁶⁶ ‘[This prose text] speaks about the story of Troy and Helen: whoever wishes to acquire a truly good knowledge [thereof], [may do so] if one so wishes through Homer who is the sea of words; but if not, [one may do so] through the political verses of Manasses in his *Chronicle*.’ It is fascinating to see that the scholiast offers a shortcut to the story of Troy: if you wish, you can read Homer, but if you do not feel like reading Homer, there is always the summary in easily understandable political verses in Manasses’ *Synopsis Chronicle*. Though the scholiast recommends at V 386^v (P 79) to look up the story of Briareos in book 1 of the *Iliad*, one suspects that most of his ‘Homeric’ knowledge

¹⁶⁵ See Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 231–2, and Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 64–65.

¹⁶⁶ V reads λέγω, P has λέγ(ει).

does not derive from ‘the sea of words’ itself, but from Manasses and other less demanding sources. The scholiast seems to be representative of a stratum of semi-educated intellectuals who went to school but did not get far in their schooling.

3.8 Chapter 63: edition, translation and commentary

In this section I shall edit, translate, and comment upon chapter 63, *On Fear* (ξγ' περὶ φόβου), as a representative example of the *Chapters in Four Ways*. The text is found in V 350^v–51^v and P 39^r–40^r.

Λίην μὲν τρομέειν· λίην δέ τε μὴ βλεμεαίνειν·
 εἰς γῆν ὕψος ἔθηκεν· ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐλπίς ἄειρεν·
 καὶ ῥα πανοπλήσι Θεὸς κοτέει μέγαλῃσι.
 μάρπτε τὸ μὲν χεῖρεσσι· τὸ δ' ἔλπεο· τῷ δ' ὑπόεικε.¹⁶⁷

τρομέειν· φοβεῖσθαι, βλεμεαίνειν· ἀμβλυώττειν καὶ μὴ καθαρῶς βλέπειν, ἄειρεν·
 ἀνεκούφισεν, ῥα· δὴ, κοτέει· ὀργίζεται, μάρπτε· καταλάμβανε, ἔλπεο· ἐλπιζε,
 ὑπόεικεν· ὑποτάσσου.¹⁶⁸

(quatrain 1: hexameters) ‘Fear much and do not be overly haughty; / high [positions] bring you to earth, hope elevates you to the sky. / Indeed, God resents heavy weaponry. / Seize one thing in your hands; fear another; and give in to yet another.’

(interlineary glosses in quatrain 1) ‘τρομέειν = to be afraid, βλεμεαίνειν = to be short-sighted and not see clearly,¹⁶⁹ ἄειρεν = lifted up, ῥα = indeed, κοτέει = is angry, μάρπτε = seize, ἔλπεο = hope, ὑπόεικε = obey.’

Ἔχων παρὰ σοὶ τὸν Θεοῦ θεῖον φόβον,
 ἔξεις τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ κακοῦ διεκκλίνειν,
 ποιεῖν δ' ἀγαθὰ· πλὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μόνου,
 ἄλλον φοβεῖσθαι πάμπαν οὐχ ὠρισμένον.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ 2. ἐς V : εἰς P | 4. τῷ scripsi : τὸ PV | 4. ὑπόεικε scripsi : ὑπόεικεν VP. Lines 1–4 are Gregory of Nazianzos, I.2.9, 112–15 (= Carmen de Virtute 1b, 29–32): ed. R. Palla & M. Kertsch, *Gregor von Nazianz: Carmina de Virtute Ia/Ib* (Graz, 1985). The source text has λίην μὴ τρομέειν in v. 1 and καὶ ῥ' ὑπεροπλήσι in v. 3.

¹⁶⁸ These interlineary glosses are only found in V.

¹⁶⁹ This incorrect interpretation of βλεμεαίνω is nowhere else attested: the scholia to Homer and the lexicographic tradition usually give γαυριῶ and ἐπαίρομαι as synonyms. The D scholia on *Il.* 8.337, however, appear to see an etymological connection with βλέπω as well: σθένει βλεμεαίνων [...] ἐνιοὶ δέ, τῷ βλέμματι φοβῶν.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ οἱ παρόντες ἱαμβοὶ τὴν χρῆσιν εἰλήφασιν· «ἀρχὴ» λέγοντος
«σοφίας φόβος κυρίου· σύνεσις δὲ ἀγαθὴ πᾶσι τοῖς ποιοῦσιν αὐτήν».¹⁷¹

(quatrain 2: dodecasyllables) ‘If you have within you the divine fear of God, / you must
above all avoid evil / and do good. Indeed, other than Him alone, / it is not decreed to
fear anyone else at all’.

(marginal scholion re quatrain 2) ‘These iambs are inspired by David, saying: “The beginning
of knowledge is the fear of God, and understanding is good for all those who practise it”.’

Δεῖ μὲν τίνα τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι,	ἔδειξεν ἡμῶν ὁ πλάστης·
φόβος γὰρ γεννήτωρ πέλει	φυλακῆς τῶν ἐνταλμάτων·
κάθαρσιν αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν	τοῦ γεννᾶν ἐπίσταταί σοι.
ρύεται ψυχὴν καὶ δέμας	ἐκ πυρὸς θανατηφόρου.

Πρέπον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ ἔδειξεν ὡς προείπομεν
καὶ ὁ Σολομῶν· «τέλος» γάρ φησι, «λόγου τὸ πᾶν ἄκουε· τὸν θεὸν φοβοῦ καὶ
τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ φύλασσε». καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ τῶν
ἀγίων πατέρων· τελευταῖον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς· «ὑποδείξω», γάρ φησιν,
«ὑμῖν τίνα φοβηθῆτε· φοβήθητε τὸν δυνάμενον μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὴν
ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρὸς· ναὶ
λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτον φοβήθητε».¹⁷²

(quatrain 3: paired octosyllables) ‘Our creator showed us whom we should fear. /
Indeed, fear makes us guard the commandments, / and it also knows to create
purification for you; / it saves body and soul from the death-bringing fire.’

(marginal scholion re quatrain 3) ‘That mankind should fear [God], has been shown by David,
as I already said, and by Solomon as well, for he says: “Hear the sum of the whole matter: fear
God and keep his commandments.” And many other teachers and holy fathers [say the same],
and lastly Christ himself, saying: “I will show you whom you should fear: fear the one who, after

¹⁷⁰ This iambic quatrain is also found in Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 (W), fol. 350^r. 4. ὀρισμένον VW : ὀρισμένος P.

¹⁷¹ 1. λέγοντος V : λέγων P. Lines 1-2: Proverbs. 1:7.

¹⁷² 1. πρέπον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φοβεῖσθαι V : τίνα μὲν δεῖ λέγουσι τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι P | 2. γάρ φησιν ὑμῖν V : φησὶν ἡμῖν P. Lines 2-3: Ecclesiastes 12:13 | 4-6: Luke 12:5.

he has killed the soul, has power to cast the body into the gehenna of fire; yes, I say to you, fear him”.’

Ῥύμην κακίας ἀνέκοψε φόβος· πλῆθος δ’ αὐτῆς εἰργάσατο περιφρόνησις. Οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἡμῶν ἁμαρτήμασι χαίρει ὁ τοῦ ψεύδους συνίστωρ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντίπαλος ὡς ὅταν ἐν τῷ τῆς λειτουργίας καιρῷ, καταφρονητικῶς διακείμενοι, ἀδολεσχωμεν καὶ τῆς φρικώδους ἐκείνης καὶ ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας πραγμάτων τινῶν προτίμησιν ἐργαζόμεθα. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ εἰς τὸν βασιλικὸν γάμον ἄνευ ἐνδύματος εἰσελθὼν, αὐτὸ μόνον τιμωρία τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἱμάτιον γέγονε, πῶς οὐ χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας, ὁ μὴ φρίττων ἀκούων, «τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν», ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον καταπαίζων καὶ κατορχούμενος;¹⁷³

Δῆλα πάντα τὰ τοῦ παρόντος κεφαλαίου.

(prose text 1) ‘Fear stops the force of evil, but contempt increases it. Indeed, the accomplice of deceit and the enemy of truth never takes as much pleasure in all our mistakes, as when we do not pay enough attention during liturgy, but chatter and prefer other things to that awe-inspiring and bloodless sacrifice. If a person who goes to a royal wedding without the [right] attire, is punished just for not having a garment, how should he not deserve a worse punishment, he who does not tremble when he hears: “This is my blood, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins”, but rather makes fun and prances around?’

(marginal scholion re prose text 1) ‘Everything about this kephalaion is clear.’

Ἀποστροφή τῶν χειρόνων ἀπέτεκε δάκρυον· τεκῶν δὲ μετὰ νοῶς ἐπιμόνου, εἰς ἄνδρα τὸ γεννώμενον ἀπετέλεσεν· ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος

¹⁷³ 2. ἁμαρτήμασι V : ἁμαρτήμασιν P | 6. αὐτὸ ... τὸ μὴ ἔχειν V : αὐτῷ ... τῷ μὴ ἔχειν P | 7 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν P : ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν V. Lines 7–8: Matt 26:28.

ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὁράσεις ἐπλήθυνεν· πληθύνας δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς θεογνωσίας ἀναβέβηκεν ὕψος· ἀναβάς δὲ προπατορικὴν ἀξίαν τὴν πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως εἴληφεν· εἴληφώς δέ, πενθῶν καὶ μὴ πενθῶν, αἰωνίως ἀγάλλεται. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως λύπη, ἀλλὰ παραδείσου τρυφή καὶ βασιλείας τιμὴ καὶ υἱοθεσίας ἀξίωμα.

Ἐπειδὴ ἐπτὰ τοῦ ἁγίου χαρίσματα πνεύματος κατακοσμεῖν τὸν προπάτορα μεμαθήκαμεν, ἡγου[ν] πνεῦμα σοφίας, συνέσεως, βουλῆς, φόβου, ἰσχύος, εὐθύτητος καὶ ἡγεμονικοῦ, ὧν πάντων τῆς χάριτος διὰ τὴν τῆς παραβάσεως ἐκπεπτῶκει αὐθάδειαν, δι' ἐπτὰ πάλιν ἀγώνων τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀναχθῆναι διδάσκει ὁ συγγραφεὺς εἰς τὴν προτέραν εὐγένειαν· μετανοίας, ἐξομολογήσεως, δακρύων ῥοῆς, ψαλμωδίας, καὶ διηνεκοῦς καὶ ἐπιμόνου εὐχῆς, ἣν δὴ καὶ εἰς ἄνδρα διὰ τὸ τελεώτερον κατανόμασε· γενόμενος γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ὁ Δανιὴλ ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὁράσεις ἐπλήθυνεν· εἶπε γὰρ ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς τὸν Δανιὴλ· «Μὴ φοβοῦ, ἄνθρωπε ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε». Θεωρητικὸς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ ὁράσεις πληθύνας εἰς τὸ τῆς θεογνωσίας ἀτελὲς ὕψος ἀνεβίβασεν ἑαυτὸν· καὶ οὕτως τῆς προπατορικῆς ἀξίας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ὁ προπάτωρ διὰ τῆς ἀναπλάσεως ἔλαβεν.¹⁷⁴

(prose text 2) 'The avoidance of bad things raises tears; and when it raises them in a steadfast mind, it turns the child into a man, and when the man is greatly beloved [by God], he has many visions; and when he has many visions, he goes up to the altitude of the knowledge of God; and having ascended, he then regains the dignity that our ancestors had before the fall. Having regained this, through lamenting and not lamenting, he eternally rejoices because, before the fall, there was no sadness but the pleasures of paradise, the honours of the [heavenly] kingdom and the dignity of [divine] adoption.'

(marginal scholion re prose text 2) 'Since we learnt that the seven graces of the Holy Spirit adorned the forefather, that is to say the spirit of wisdom, understanding, counsel, fear, strength, rectitude and power, the gifts of which he all lost through his most wanton transgression – [since

¹⁷⁴ 1. πνεύματος V : τοῦ πνεύματος P. Lines 1-3: Isaiah 11:2 | 8: Daniel 10:19.

this is so], the author teaches us that man can ascend to his former nobility through seven exercises as well, that is, repentance, confession, streams of tears, singing of psalms, continuous and assiduous praying. This [nobility] he refers to as εἰς ἄνδρα [‘becoming a man’] on account of its perfection, because he who has become a man greatly beloved like Daniel, has many visions; for the angel said to Daniel: “Do not fear, o man greatly beloved, be of good courage and strong!” But having reached [the stage of] contemplation and grown in vision, he raised himself to the imperfect altitude of the knowledge of God and thus regained the ancestral dignity from God’s hands like the forefather did through his creation.’

Τὸν μὲν στρατιώτην, ἡ τόλμα· τὸν δὲ μοναχὸν, ἡ ταπείνωσις
 ἰσχυρότερον ἀπεργάζεται. Ἐχθιστος μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτης, ὁ πρὸ τῆς
 παρατάξεως σὺν τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποβαλλόμενος, ἀναχωρεῖ τοῦ
 πολέμου, μηδενὸς κατεπείγοντος· ἐχθιστότατος δὲ μοναχὸς ὁ πολλῶν
 ἐργάτης γενόμενος ἀρετῶν καὶ λοιδορῶν τὸν μὴ ἐργαζόμενον ἀδελφόν.
 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἴσως δειλανδρίσας τὴν σωτηρίαν κἂν μετ’ αἰσχύνης
 ἐπραγματεύσατο· οὗτος δὲ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ὅπλων ἑαυτὸν ἀνεῖλεν
 ἀνηλεῶς. Κάκεῖνος μὲν ἄφοβον ἐδειλίασε φόβον· οὗτος δὲ τὸν
 μεστώτατον καὶ τρόμου καὶ φρίκης οὐκ ἔπηξεν.

Ὡς περ τὸν πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως φεύγοντα στρατιώτην οὐ δῶρα, οὐ τιμαί,
 οὐ φόβοι, οὐκ ἀπειλαί, οὐχ ὅσα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἵνα συντόμως
 εἴπω τὸ πᾶν, πρὸς ἀνδρείαν διεγείραι δυνήσονται, οὕτως καὶ τὸν
 μνησικάκον καὶ φιλοκατήγορον ἀδελφὸν οὐδὲ ἡ τελοποιὸς μαρτυρία μετὰ
 τοῦ πάθους ὠφελῆσαι δυνήσεται· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Νικηφόρου καὶ
 Σαπρικίου μαρτύριον, ὃ δὴ ὁ βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου
 ἀριδηλότερον γινώσεται.¹⁷⁵

(prose text 3) ‘Courage makes the soldier stronger; humility, the monk. Hateful is the soldier, who, casting away his arms and shield before combat, leaves the battlefield, though nothing forces him. But the most hateful of all is the monk, who has

¹⁷⁵ 1. φόβοι P : φόβος V | διεγείραι P : ἐγείραι V. Lines 5–6: cf. *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (ed. Delehaye), 453.6–22.

accomplished many virtues, and then reviles his brother because he does not work: though shamefully, the latter may well have brought about his own salvation through his weakness; but the former has mercilessly destroyed himself with his own arms. Whereas [his brother] feared a fearless fear, he did not dread the fear that is full of trembling and shivering.’

(marginal scholion re prose text 3) ‘Just as a soldier who flees before the battle, cannot be roused to courage by gifts, honours, fears, threats, or whatever is good or not, to put it briefly, so too will martyrdom that leads to perfection in suffering, not benefit the brother who is spiteful and makes accusations. The martyrdom of Saint Nikephoros and Saprikios bears witness to this: whoever is interested, may find more information in [the Synaxarion of] February the 9th.’

Commentary: The scholia either just repeat the content of the texts they refer to or explain the references that may appear obscure to the audience. When the verses express more or less the same content, the scholiast tends to repeat the thing said in the preceding scholion, as this chapter shows: both the iambs and the octosyllables are based on Proverbs 1:7 and the scholiast underlines the similarity – see the marginal scholion re quatrain 3: ‘That mankind should fear [God], has been shown by David, *as I already said*’. He adds, however, that the octosyllables also refer to Solomon (Ecclesiastes 12:13) and that, more broadly, the topic of the fear of God is often mentioned in religious literature.

It goes without saying that the chapter offers many scriptural quotations.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, to what one sees in monastic kephalaion literature, such as the Chapters of

¹⁷⁶ See J.P. Louw, ‘Fear’, in B.M. Metzger (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (New York, 1993)

Evagrius,¹⁷⁷ these scriptural passages are pastiches of biblical wisdom literature, especially Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.¹⁷⁸

The first prose text has a distinct monastic character. See, for instance, the line: ‘when we do not pay enough attention during liturgy, but chatter and prefer other things to that awe-inspiring and bloodless sacrifice’. Chatting is generally frowned upon in monastic contexts, as evidenced by most of the *typika* that have come down to us. In the Latros’ *typikon* (tenth century), for example, one may read: ‘Neither should you laugh or chatter idly, especially while attending to the hymns of God, so that we may not arouse the Divinity’s irritation while we intend to propitiate him’.¹⁷⁹ The same warning is to be found in the Evergetis’ *typikon* (mid eleventh century): ‘the traditional reading must take place during the sittings in the customary way, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance’.¹⁸⁰

The second prose text has an interesting passage: ‘Having regained this, through lamenting and not lamenting, he eternally rejoices.’ The ‘unceasing joy’ is mentioned by Ps. Symeon in his discussion of the hesychastic practice of praying: ‘Later, when you persist and practice this task day and night, you will find, as though miraculously, an unceasing joy’.¹⁸¹ The context of the two passage is quite similar: both discusses the path that leads to the vision and therefore contemplation of God.

The consequences of reaching this perpetual joy are explained later: ‘he [the monk] then regains the dignity that our ancestors had before the fall’. What the author means is that once the monk reaches the state in which he manages to ‘see’ God, the soul finally comes back to its origins. This is what is called ‘*theologike*, the state of

¹⁷⁷ Géhin, ‘Les collections de *kephalaia* monastiques’, 11.

¹⁷⁸ See Z. Schwáb, ‘Is Fear of the Lord the Source of Wisdom or Vice-Versa?’, *Vetus Testamentum* 63 (2013), 652–62.

¹⁷⁹ *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 141.

¹⁸⁰ *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 478.

¹⁸¹ Ps. Symeon, *The Three Methods of Prayer*; transl. in G. Palmer, P. Sherrard and K. Ware (eds), *The Philokalia*, 5 vols (London, 1995), vol. IV, 72–73.

ultimate contemplation or “the vision of God”, realised through the state of the intellect itself (the soul finds its native land, within itself, by recovering its primitive state).¹⁸² The process of ‘growing up’ described by the author of the prose texts (‘the avoidance of bad things raises tears; and when it raises them in a steadfast mind, it turns the child into a man’), seems to recall a passage in the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, in which the author, recounting the story of Hesychios, tells the reader that Hesychios, after ‘expiring for an hour’, locked himself in the cell and completely changed his behaviour: he was out of his mind, shed tears, repented (‘Forgive me’), acquired knowledge, which are some of the exercises described by the scholiast, and then died, ‘suddenly transfigured by this blessed change and transformation’, that is to say he became a man.¹⁸³

The third prose text discusses once again monastic virtues, such as humility. The author compares secular men to monks; through the metaphor of a soldier cowardly leaving the battlefield, ‘casting away his shield’, which is a vague Archilochean reminiscence, the author introduces the topic of slander and calumny, both forbidden in monastic context. If you were to reproach a friend, that would destroy both yourself and him, as explained by John Klimax, 10.14: ‘To judge others is a shameless arrogation of the Divine prerogative; to condemn is the ruin of one’s soul’. If you do not criticize or prevent another person from doing so, ‘you will achieve two things: you will heal yourself and your neighbour with one plaster’ (*The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, 10.7).

The most interesting reference in the scholia is that to the martyrdom of St Nikephoros and Saprikios, transmitted by the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The scholiast mentions this story because, just as the soldier, Saprikios ‘deserted the fight’

¹⁸² A. Strezova, ‘Byzantine Hesychasm in the 14th and 15th Centuries’, in A. Strezova (ed.), *Hesychasm and Art: The Appearance of New Iconographic Trends in Byzantine and Slavic Lands in the 14th and 15th Centuries* (Canberra, 2014), 9–62, at 17.

¹⁸³ The translation is taken from C. Lubheid/N. Russell, *John Climacus: The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (Mahwah, NJ, 1982), 134.

and agreed to practise idolatry because he did not wish to reconcile himself with St Nikephoros in the hour of his death: παρ' ὅσον ἔμελλε μόνον ἀποτμηθῆναι, νῶτα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁ τρισάθλιος δέδωκε καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἐπιθῦσαι ὑπέσχετο (lines 17–19).¹⁸⁴ What is interesting about this passage is that this story is almost never used or mentioned in Byzantine sources: apart from a fleeting reference in Theodore Prodromos,¹⁸⁵ the most extensive treatment is found in one of Eustathios of Thessaloniki's orations, no. 4, which deals with the topic of προσοχὴ ἔμφοβος καὶ ἀμνησικάκος ('god-fearing and unresenting attention') as preparation for the period of Lent.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Ed. H. Delehay, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris* (Brussels, 1902), 453.6–22.

¹⁸⁵ Ed. C. Giannelli, 'Tetrastici di Teodoro Prodromo sulle feste fisse e sui santi del calendario bizantino', *SBN* 10 (1963), 255–89, at 283 (no. 85).

¹⁸⁶ Ed. S. Schönauer, *Eustathios von Thessalonike: Reden auf di Große Quadregesima* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006): oratio 4 [available in the online *TLC*].

4 Edition and Translation of the Octosyllables

As the dodecasyllables have already been edited twice (partly by Ozbic, completely by Konstantinidis) and as the hexameters merely reproduce those by Gregory of Nazianzos with a few lines unaccounted for (all discussed and presented by Katsaros), I decided to produce an edition of the octosyllables of the Chapters in Four Ways. I also chose to offer a translation as a gesture to the readers because the verses, despite the apparent simplicity of the vocabulary and the use of a low stylistic register, are at times very difficult to understand.

The following edition is based on the two manuscripts P and V: due to the loss of folios, P offers the texts of 32, 35–44, 46–47 and 49–100 while V, equally damaged, offers the texts of 58–100. There is a critical apparatus: common iotacisms and other spelling mistakes (ε/αι, ο/ω, etc.) have not been included unless they are morphologically significant. There is also an apparatus locorum which may help the reader retrieve the literary references of the chapters.

There are earlier editions of some of the octosyllables. Miller published no. 41 on the basis of P; Ciccolella published nos. 60, 64, 66, 76 and 100 on the basis of V; and Simelidis published nos. 52 and 58 on the basis of P and nos. 64, 85 and 93 on the basis of P and V.¹⁸⁷ But this is the first edition of all the poems.

All references are to the online *TLC*.

¹⁸⁷ Miller, ‘Poème moral’, 27; Ciccolella, ‘Per un corpus’, 260–61; and Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 276, 291, 290, 291, and 282. There are no real mistakes in these partial editions, with the exception of the incorrect word division in 66.3 in Ciccolella (κρείττονα συγκρίτως instead of κρείττον ἀσυγκρίτως); the same editor misread φυσαῶν for φυσσῶν (=φυσῶν) in 100.3.

32. λβ' περὶ εὐγενείας

fol. 1^v (P)

1. Εὐγενὴς ἐκ τῶν προγόνων μὴ καυχάσθω κἄν ὑπάρχει.
2. εἰ γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν δόξαν ὥς ἐμφύσημα προσάγει,
3. καὶ γηπόνοι καὶ βουκόλοι πάντες ἂν εὐγενισθῶσιν.
4. εὐγενὴς δ' ὁ πράττων μόνος ἐντολὴν τὴν τοῦ δεσπότου.

On nobility

1. Even if someone is noble by birth, let him not boast.
2. For were he to adduce inner nobility as a reason to gloat,
3. then farmers and shepherds would all be ennobled.
4. Noble is only he who obeys the command of the Lord.

35. λε' περὶ ἐκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου

fol. 2^r (P)

1. Εἰς δισσὰς ὁδοὺς αἱ πράξεις τῶν βρο[τ]ῶν μεριζ[.....].
2. πλὴν ἡ πρώτη καὶ στε[...]ων ἀξιοῦ[ται] καὶ [.....]
3. πικροτάτων ἐτ[ασ]μάτων' ἡ δευτέρ[α] πέλει κο[....]
4. καὶ δαρήσεται συμμέτρως ὅτι πέφευγε τὴν γνῶσιν.

1-2: cf. Matt. 7:13-14 | 2-4: Luke 12:47-48

1-3 partim non leguntur ob maculam

On willingness and unwillingness

1. The deeds of men [are] split [up] into two roads.
2. But the first and [...] deserves and [...]
3. of the hardest trials; the second one is [...]

4. and will be punished moderately because it was unaware [of the gravity of the sin].

36. λζ' περὶ παραλόγου ὀρέξεως fol. 3^r (P)

1. Φίλει πάντων τὸν δεσπότην σῆς ψυχῆς ἐξ ὅλης, φίλος,
2. φίλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας καὶ μὴ μίσει τοὺς μισοῦντας.
3. τὸ γὰρ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φιλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ὑπάρχει·
4. τὸ φθονεῖν δὲ τοὺς φιλοῦντας χεῖρον πέφυκε τῶν χοίρων.

1-2: cf. 1 Joh. 4:7-8 et 20-21 | 2-3. cf. Luke 6:27

On unreasonable desire

1. Love the Lord of everyone with all your heart, friend;
2. love also those who love, but do not hate those who hate.
3. For loving your enemies is superhuman,
4. while hating your friends is worse than pigs.

37. λζ' περὶ γυναικὸς fol. 4^v (P)

1. Γυναικῶν πασῶν τὰς πράξεις ἡ μητράνανδρος καλλύνει·
2. τὴν ἄρὰν καὶ γὰρ τῆς Εὕας ἐκ ριζῶν ἐξαφανίζει·
3. τὰς παρθένους συγκαλεῖται τοῦ κατόπιν πορευθῆναι·
4. τὰς δ' ἁμαρτανούσας ἄγει πρὸς λιμένα σωτηρίας.

On women

1. The virgin-mother beautifies the actions of all women
2. because she eradicates Eve's curse,

3. summons the virgins to follow in her footsteps
4. and leads the sinners to the harbour of salvation.

38. λη' περὶ μνήμης

fol. 6^r (P)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Τρίπλοκον τὴν μνήμην φέρει | ἀπαθῶς ὁ νοῦς· τὴν κρίσιν, |
| 2. τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ θανάτου | καὶ τὴν τῶν πενήτων δόσιν. |
| 3. εἰ δ' ἐκτὸς ἡ μνήμη τούτων, | ἄχρηστος τοῖς κεκτημένοις· |
| 4. τὸν ἀθάνατον οὐ δεῖ γὰρ | φθειρομένων μνήμην ἔχειν. |

On memory

1. The passionless mind remembers three things: the (last) judgement,
2. the day of death and charity to the poor.
3. Without these things, memory is useless to its users:
4. the immortal should not bear material things in mind.

39. λθ' περὶ ἀρχῆς

fol. 7^v (P)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Εἰς μὲν τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρους | καὶ τοὺς ἄρχειν σου λαχόντας |
| 2. ἔχε συστολὴν καὶ φόβον | καὶ τιμὴν, καὶ φείδου γλώττης. |
| 3. εἰ δὲ τύχοις πάλιν ἄρχειν, | εἰς τοὺς ὑποβεβηκότας |
| 4. ἔχε σταθιρὰν ἀγάπην, | μεθ' ὑπεροχῆς γαλήνην. |

On power

1. To those up high, those who have been set to rule over you,
2. show humility, fear and respect, and watch your mouth.
3. If you yourself happen to rule, show unwavering love

4. to those put under your rule, be superior and stay calm.

40. μ' περὶ εὐεργεσίας fol. 9^r (P)

1. Εἰ μὲν δύνασαι, πρὸς πάντας εὐεργετικὸς σὺ γίγνου·
2. εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ πλεῖστον νέμε τοῖς προτείνουσι τὴν χεῖρα.
3. ἄκων γάρ τοι τῶν πραγμάτων ὅσον οὕπω στερηθήσῃ,
4. τὴν δὲ πράξιν εὐρησ μόνην τῶν πτωχῶν ἐν περιστάσει.

2: Matt. 5:42 | 4: Matt. 19:21

On charity

1. If you can, be generous to all;
2. if not, give as much as you can to those asking for help.
3. For soon you will be deprived of your goods, unwillingly,
4. and your only asset will be what you did for the needs of the poor.

41. μα' περὶ κολάκων fol. 10^v (P)

1. Τῶν κολάκων σὺ τοὺς λόγους ἀπὸ σοῦ μακρὰν ἀπόθου·
2. ἐκτυφλοῦσι γὰρ τὰς κόρας τῶν ὁμμάτων τοῦ θυμοῦ σου,
3. ἵνα παρασύρῳσί σε πρὸς τὰς σφῶν ὀρέξεις μᾶλλον.
4. ἐπαινοῦσι σου τὰ χεῖρω, τὰ δὲ κρεῖττονα μωμοῦσιν.

2: Kataskepenos, *Life of St Cyril Phileotes* 32.2.13

On flatterers

1. Push flatterers away from you as far as you can:

2. they blind the pupils of your mind's eyes,
3. so that they may sway you into doing what they want.
4. They praise the worst of you and criticize the best.

42. μβ' περὶ διαβολῆς

fol. 12^r (P)

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ἄ μὴ πράττεις εἴ ποτέ σε | κατακρίνει κακογνώμων, |
| 2. θρήνησον ὡς ὁ προφήτης | τοὺς γεννήτορας τοῦ ψεύδους. |
| 3. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ πρᾶξις, ἴσθι, | κατακρίνει σε καὶ μόνη, |
| 4. οὕτως εἰ τῶν ἀνευθύνων | κἂν εἰ πάντες λοιδοροῦσι. |

2: Jer. 9:5 | 3: Matt. 12:37 et Rom. 2:6

On calumny

1. If an evil person accuses you of something you do not do,
2. bewail, as the prophet did, the fathers of falsehood.
3. Just as only your deeds condemn you, so too know
4. that you are innocent, even if they all revile you.

43. μγ' περὶ αὐταρκείας

fol. 13^r (P)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Λογισμὸς ὑπάρχει κρείττων | ὁ τὸ περιττὸν ἐκτρέχων |
| 2. καὶ φιλῶν πᾶν μέτρον φέρειν | καὶ τροφῶν καὶ σκεπασμάτων. |
| 3. ἔδειξέ σοι τοῦτο Παῦλος | καὶ σοφία Σολομῶντος |
| 4. καὶ πρὸ πάντων ὁ δεσπότης | τὴν στενὴν ὁδὸν τιμήσας. |

2: 1 Tim. 6:8 et Prov. 30:8–9 | 4: Matt. 7:13–14

On self-sufficiency

1. Superior is the mind that flees what is superfluous
2. and loves to limit its intake of food and clothing.
3. St Paul as well as Solomon's wisdom show that
4. and, above all, the Lord, preferring the narrow road.

44. μδ' περὶ εὐτυχίας fol. 14^v (P)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Εἰ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς κατ' ἅμφω, | εὖγε σοι τῆς εὐτυχίας· |
| 2. εἰ δ' ἀδύνατόν σοι πέλει, | σπούδαζε τῆς ἀθανά[του]. |
| 3. τί γὰρ ἀγαθὸν κερδῆσαι | πᾶσαν τὴν φθαρτὴν οὐσίαν, |
| 4. στερηθῆναι δ' ἀθανάτου | καὶ μὴ φθειρομένης δόξης; |

3–4: cf. Matt. 16:26

On good fortune

1. If you are happy in both [body and soul], you're fortunate indeed!
2. But if that is impossible for you, strive after [the happiness of] the immortal [soul].
3. For what good is it to gain all material wealth,
4. but to be deprived of the immortal and immaterial glory?

46. μς' περὶ μετανοίας fol. 15^v (P)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Τὴν μετάνοιαν πρὸ πάντων | ἄσπαζε καὶ κτίζε φίλην. |
| 2. τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀμπλακημάτων | ἃ μὲν λάμπας ὡς φωσφόρος |
| 3. τὴν ἀγλὸν ἐξαφανίζει, | ἃ δὲ σκιρωθέντα φθάσει, |

4. μονιμότητι τοῦ χρόνου τῷ πυρὶ καθαίρει θείῳ.

2. an legendum λάμψασα μὲν ὡς φωσφόρος ? | 4. μονιμόττ P

On repentance

1. Embrace repentance above all and make it your friend.
2. Shining like the sun upon some of the sins,
3. it will disperse their darkness; other sins, which it will find more hardened,
4. it will purify steadily in time with the divine fire.

47. μζ' περὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως fol. 17^v (P)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Πᾶσαι μὲν ὥδαι καὶ πύλαι | τῆς ἀφθάρτου, λέγει, δόξης |
| 2. ἐπιπόνως χορηγοῦσι | τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ κλήρου. |
| 3. ἐξαγόρευσις δὲ μόνη | ἄμισθον παρέχει χάριν· |
| 4. λόγῳ μόνῳ γὰρ παρέχει | πᾶσαν λύσιν ἁμαρτάδων. |

1-2: Ps. 99:4 | 3-4: 1 John 1:9

1. ὥδαι P : an legendum αὐλαὶ (cf. Ps. 99:4)?

On confession

1. All songs and gates, as Scripture says, laboriously provide
2. the pleasure of the inheritance of the immortal glory.
3. Only confession offers grace for free:
4. it offers absolution of all sins for just one word.

49. fol. 19^r (P)

1. Ὕπνος νέκρωσις ὑπάρχει· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τούτου χεῖρον.
2. ὁ νεκρὸς γὰρ οὐ πλανᾶται, ἀλλ' ἐκδέχεται τὸ μέλλον·
3. ὁ δ' ὑπνῶν ἐγείρει πόλεις, καταστρέφει δὲ τὰς οὕσας·
4. ἐν ῥιπῇ πλουτεῖ, στρατεύει, ἀναιρεῖται πρὸ τῆς ὥρας.

tit. deest in P propter lacunam

1. Sleep is like death, or even worse than that.
2. Whereas the dead do not err, but await the future,
3. the sleeper builds cities and destroys existing ones:
4. suddenly rich, he wages war and is killed before his time.

50. ν' περὶ φιλοπονίας

fol. 20^r (P)

1. Τὸ μὲν πράττειν ἔδειξέ σοι καὶ Θεὸς αὐτὸς πρὸ πάντων
2. καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ παιδοτρίβαι, φυσικὸς πρὸ τούτων νόμος.
3. ἐκληρώσω δ' ὡς κατάραν τῇ παρακοῇ πρὸς τοῦτο·
4. μόνον ἔργοις πάλιν βλέπε μὴ βαρύνῃς τὸν δεσπότην.

1–2: Colos. 3:23 et 2 Thess. 3:10 | 3: Gen. 3:17–19

On industry

1. The Lord himself above all, the Scriptures, the teachers,
2. and, before them, the law of nature, tell you to work.
3. You inherited it as your curse because of your disobedience:
4. only take care not to annoy the Lord again with your works.

51. να' περὶ θρασύτητος

fol. 21^v (P)

1. Ἡ θρασύτης παρὰ πάντων ψέγεται τῶν εὖ φρονούντων·
2. βλάπτει γὰρ οὐχὶ τοὺς πέλας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοὺς χρωμένους.
3. θάρσος γὰρ τὸ τῇ φρονήσει μεμιγμένον καὶ τῷ λόγῳ,
4. θράσος δὲ τὸ τούτων ἄνευ ἐνεργούμενον καλεῖται.

 3-4: Greg. Naz. I.2.34, 54-55

3. μεμιγμένον scripsi : μεμιγμένη P

On arrogance

1. Arrogance is blamed by all the wise people:
2. it does not hurt its neighbours, but rather those who have it.
3. For when it is mixed with wisdom and words, it is called courage (θάροςος),
4. but when it operates without them, it is called arrogance (θράσος).

52. νβ' περὶ λύπης

fol. 23^r (P)

1. Τίττει μὲν ἡ πλάνη μόρον, ὁ δὲ μόρος τίττει λύπην·
2. ἀναιρεῖται δ' ὑπὸ τούτων ὡς ἀσπίς ἐκ τῶν ἐκγόνων.
3. πᾶν ἁμάρτημα καὶ γάρ τοι μετὰ λύπης μεμιγμένον·
4. ἡ δὲ λύπη τίττει πάλιν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων λύσιν.

 2. Physiologos 10 | 3-4: 2 Cor. 7:10

On grief

1. Error generates death, and death generates grief,

2. and it (error) is then killed by them like an asp by its own offspring.
3. For every sin is mixed with grief,
4. but grief in turn sets you free from sin.

53. νγ' περὶ νεότητος

fol. 24^v (P)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. ἽΕοικεν ὁ σύμπας χρόνος | πάντων τῶν βροτῶν γηπόνω· |
| 2. ἦν ἐκ πρώτης λάβῃ κόπον, | χαίρει συλλογῇ δραγμάτων· |
| 3. ἂν δὲ ῥέγγων ἐπὶ κλίνης | ἀνακλίνεται πολλάκις, |
| 4. ὥς δρομεὺς καθάπερ ἥξει | τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ στενότης. |

1-2: cf. 2 Tim. 2:6 | 3-4: cf. Prov. 26:13-16, 20:4-5 et 24:30-34 | 4. Prov. 6:11

On youth

1. The time span of all men is like that of a farmer.
2. If he works hard from the first hour, he happily gathers his sheaves;
3. but if he often lies on the couch, all snoring,
4. hard times will be upon him like a fast track runner.

54. νδ' περὶ κάλλους

fol. 25^v (P)

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Κάτοπτρον τὸ κάλλος ἔχε | πάντων σου τῶν πεπραγμένων· |
| 2. δυσειδὲς καὶ γὰρ τυγχάνει | τοὺς μὲν τάφους καλωπίζειν |
| 3. γέμοντας σκωλήκων ἔνδον, | τὴν δ' ἀθάνατον δυσώδεις |
| 4. ὅλους τύπους ἐπιφέρειν. | δὸς ὡς ἔλαβες, καὶ σώζη. |

2-3: Matt. 23:27

2. δυσειδὲς scripsi : διειδὲς P

On beauty

1. Let beauty be the mirror of all your deeds,
2. because it is ugly to adorn [our bodies that are] graves
3. full of worms on the inside, and to cover the immortal [soul]
4. in all sorts of foulness. Return it as you received it, and you will be saved.

55. νε' περὶ προσοχῆς

fol. 27^v (P)

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Πόλις πέφυκεν ἀρίστη | προσοχή τῶν πεπραγμένων. |
| 2. αὕτη τρίβους ὁμαλίζει, | ὑπνον νήδυμον εἰσάγει. |
| 3. οὔ ποτ' ἀγρυπνήσει μάτην | ὁ κτησάμενος εἰς τέλος, |
| 4. ἄρχει τῶν παθῶν ἐκφεύγων, | ἀρετῶν ἐργάτης πέλει. |

2: cf. Homer, Il. 2.2 | 3. Ps. 126:1 | Meletios Homol., Ἀλφαβηταλφάβητον, 30.51

On attention

1. Attention to deeds is the best city to be in.
2. It straightens the paths; it gives a sweet sleep.
3. He who has finally gained it, shall no longer stay awake in vain:
4. he has control over, and is free of, passions, he is a labourer of virtue.

56. νς' περὶ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως

fol. 29^r (P)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Βίβλοι, νόμος καὶ προφῆται, | μύσται πάλιν, παιδοτρίβαι, |
| 2. συμπαρήχθησαν μὴ μόνον | εἰς τὸ ταύτας ἀνελίττειν |
| 3. ἥ καὶ προφωνεῖν πρὸς ὥραν, | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν ἔχειν. |
| 4. ἂν δὲ μή, μειζόνως πάνυ | τὰς κολάσεις ὑποστῶμεν. |

3-4: cf. 2 Tim. 3:14-17

On the final judgement

1. Books, law and prophets, priests and teachers,
2. were brought together, not just for us to thumb through
3. or read out from time to time, but to acquire knowledge.
4. If not, we will be punished so much more severely.

57. νζ' περὶ ἱατρῶν

fol. 30^r (P)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Ὁ μὴδὲν νοσῶν οὐ χρήζει | νοσοκόμων ἢ φαρμάκων, |
| 2. ὁ δὲ πάθος ἔχων χρήζει | καὶν ὑπάρχει νοσοκόμος. |
| 3. ἀπαθῶς γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων | πάντες πράξεις καθορῶσιν· |
| 4. εἰ δοκὸς ἢ κάρφος πέλει, | πρόσδραμε τῷ δυναμένῳ. |

4: Luke 6:41-42

On doctors

1. Who is not ill, does not need nurses or medications;
2. but the patient needs them, even if he were a nurse [himself].
3. Everyone looks calmly at the sufferings of others,
4. but whether it is a beam or a splinter [in the eye], run to who is able [to cure it]!

58. νη' περὶ ἀσωτίας

fol. 31^r (P) fol. 342^v (V)

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Μεμνημένος μὲν ἀσώτου | τῆς παραβολῆς ἐν γῆρα |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|

2. τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν ἐλάσεις ἀπὸ σοῦ μακρὰν καὶ βάλης.
3. ἦν δὲ ταύτης πρὸ τῶν χρόνων, σηπεδόνας ἐπεισάγης
4. ἀντὶ πνεύματος φαρμάκων μισητῶν ἀμαρτημάτων.

1: cf. Luke 15:11–32

tit. omittit V | 1. τῆς παραβολῆς V : τὴν παραβολὴν P | βάλης V : βάλλεις P | 3. ἐπεισάγης P : ἐπεισάγει V | 4. πνεύματος scripsi : τῶν πνευματικῶν contra metrum VP

On profligacy

1. When you remember the parable of the lost son in your old age,
2. you will drive despair away from you and hit the mark.
3. But were you to think of it at too young an age, instead of the spirit's medicine
4. you will apply the festering of hateful sins.

59. νθ' περὶ δυσγενείας fol. 33^r (P) fol. 343^v (V)

1. Δυσγενὴς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα μή σοι κἂν ὑπάρχῃς μέλει.
2. ἂν δὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἴσως ἀμαυρώσῃς τὴν εἰκόνα,
3. θρήνει, στέναζε· καὶ γάρ τοι δυσγενὴς κατὰ τὰς πράξεις.
4. ὁ πηλὸς πηλὸς γὰρ πέλει κἂν ἀπὸ περάτων ἄρξη.

1. μέλει V : μέλλει P | 3. δυσγενὴς V : δυσγενεῖς P

On ugliness

1. Even if you are physically ugly, do not worry about it.
2. But if you were to obscure the image of the Saviour,
3. wail and sigh deeply, because then you are ugly in your deeds.

4. For clay is clay even if you rule from one end [of the earth to the other].

60. ξ' περὶ φιλαυτίας

fol. 35^r (P) fol. 345^v (V)

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ὁ φιλῶν αὐτὸν φιλήσει | τὰ τῶν πέλας, οὐ τοὺς πέλας. |
| 2. ὥσπερ ὁ φιλῶν γὰρ τούτους | θήσει καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα |
| 3. καὶ πραγμάτων ὑποστάσεις, | οὕτως ὁ μισῶν τὰς τούτων |
| 4. ὑποστάσεις ἀγαπήσει, | πρώτως τὸν Χριστὸν μισήσας. |

1. αὐτὸν V : αὐτὸν P

On self-love

1. He who loves himself, shall love not his nearest, but their things.
2. Just as he who loves them shall give soul and body
3. and material things, so too shall he who hates them,
4. love their possessions, having firstly hated Christ.

61. ξα' περὶ μνήμης θανάτου

fol. 36^v (P) fol. 346^v (V)

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Ἄν θανάτου μνήμην ἔχῃς, | τάχ' ἂν καὶ θνητὰ φρονήσῃς. |
| 2. ἂν δὲ ταύτην ὑπεξέλῃς, | κτίσεις οἴκους χρυσορόφους, |
| 3. ἅπαντα χρυσὸν συνέξεις, | κτήσῃ παῖδας καὶ παιδίσκας, |
| 4. ἐν ὑστέροις δ' ὑποστρέφων | πλάνην πάντα συγκατίδῃς. |

 2-4: Eccl. 2:4, 7-8 et 11

1. ἔχῃς P : ἔχεις V

On the thought of death

1. If you have the thought of death, you will also contemplate mortality.

2. But if you put it out of your mind, you may build houses with golden roofs,
3. collect all the gold [in the world] and acquire male and female slaves,
4. but afterwards, repenting, you will understand it was all a mistake.

62. ξβ' περὶ τοῦ ὅτι δυσαπόσπαστος ἡ κακία fol. 38^r (P) fol. 349^v (V)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Τὸ κακὸν καθάπερ ῥάμνος | τοὺς χρωμένους περιπλέκει. |
| 2. εἰ γοῦν ἐκ μακρόθεν ἴδης, | πέφευγας τὴν τούτου πλάνην· |
| 3. ἦν δὲ καὶ περιπλακῇ σε, | δυσαπόσπαστον ὑπάρχει. |
| 4. γνῶθι, φεῦγε πρὸ τῆς πείρας· | δυσαπόσπαστον τὸ χεῖρον. |

On the fact that there is no escape from evil

1. Evil is like a prickly shrub: it clings to those who engage in it.
2. If you look at it from afar, you are free from its deviousness;
3. but if it gets hold of you, there is no escape from it.
4. Know it and flee before trying; there is no escape from evil.

63. ξγ' περὶ φόβου fol. 39^v (P) fol. 351^r (V)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Δεῖ μὲν τίνα τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι, | ἔδειξεν ἡμῶν ὁ πλάστης. |
| 2. φόβος γὰρ γεννήτωρ πέλει | φυλακῆς τῶν ἐνταλμάτων, |
| 3. καθαρσιν αὐτός δε πάλιν | τοῦ γεννᾶν ἐπίσταταί σοι· |
| 4. ῥύεται ψυχὴν καὶ δέμας | ἐκ πυρὸς θανατηφόρου. |

1-4: Luke 12:5 | 2: Proverbs 9:10 et Eccl. 12:13

1. μέν τινα P, μέν τι V

On fear

1. Our creator showed us whom we should fear.
2. Indeed, fear makes us guard the commandments,
3. and it also knows to create purification for you;
4. it saves body and soul from the death-bringing fire.

64. ξδ' περὶ μέθης

fol. 40^v (P) fol. 352^r (V)

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Μέθη τοῖς δυσγενεστέροις | λίκμησις ἐστὶ τοῦ πλούτου, |
| 2. τοῖς εὐγενεστέροις δέ γε | ῥβρις, ὄνειδος καὶ χλεύη. |
| 3. κἀνθων χρήσιμος ἀνθρώποις | ἢ βροτὸς ἀκρατοπότης· |
| 4. βδέλυγμα καὶ γὰρ ὑπάρχει, | γέλως πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων. |

1-2: Prov. 20:1 | 2-3 cf. Greg. Naz. I.2.26, 29-30

On drunkenness

1. For those who are less fortunate, drunkenness is a waste of money,
2. but for the more noble ones, it is an insolence, a source of blame and ridicule.
3. A mule is more useful to mankind than a drunk is:
4. he is indeed an abomination, a laughingstock for all.

65. ξε' περὶ τῶν ταχέως μεταβαλλομένων

fol. 42^r (P) fol. 353^v (V)

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Εἰ μὲν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις | συνεδρεύεις καὶ κακίστοις, |
| 2. ἔγειραι, μὴ κατοκνήσης, | ἀποπήδησον ἐκ τούτου· |
| 3. εἰ δὲ μετὰ διδασκάλων | καὶ γραφῶν τῶν ψυχοτρόφων, |
| 4. μεῖνον μέχρι καὶ θανάτου· | ἄφθαρτον αἰεὶ γὰρ τοῦτο. |

1-2: Ps. 25:4-5 | 2: Prov. 9:18 | 4: cf. John 5:39

On things that rapidly change

1. If you are in the company of evil and mean persons,
2. get up, do not hesitate, jump up from there.
3. But if you are with teachers and life-sustaining scriptures,
4. stay there until death, for this is forever and unchanging.

66. ξζ' περὶ διδαχῆς fol. 43r (P) fol. 354v (V)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Εἰ διδάσκειν βούλει πάντας, | πάντας ὑπερέχειν σπεῦδε, |
| 2. πλὴν τῇ πράξει, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ· | ἔργον γὰρ τῶν μὴ φωνούντων |
| 3. κρεῖττον ἀσυγκρίτως πέλει | λόγου καὶ φωνῆς ἡδίστης. |
| 4. ἡ φωνὴ καὶ γὰρ τοι μόνοις | τοῖς πτηνοῖς ὑπάρχει κούφοις. |

1: cf. Kekaumenos 2.44, 4 | 1-2: James 1:22-25 et 1 John 3:18

On teaching

1. If you wish to teach everyone, hasten to surpass everyone,
2. but in deeds, not in words: the work of those who do not speak
3. is incomparably better than the word and the sweetest voice.
4. In fact, a voice is only good for nimble birds.

67. ξζ' περὶ τοῦ γνῶθι σεαυτόν fol. 44r (P) fol. 355v (V)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Τὰ σαυτοῦ, μὴ τὰ τοῦ πέλας | κρῖνε, πρόβλεπε καὶ γνῶθι. |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|

2. πῶς γὰρ πένης ὦν ἑτέροις προνοήσεις τὰ πρὸς χρήσιν,
3. σὺ λιμώττων πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων σπανιζόντων τῶν πραγμάτων;
4. τὰ σαυτοῦ γάρ, οὐ τῶν πέλας ὁ δεσπότης ἀπαιτήσει.

1: Gal. 6:4–5

On knowing yourself

1. Judge, foresee and know your own things, not those of others.
2. Being poor, how will you take care of necessities for others,
3. starving yourself before others in times of scarcity?
4. Your things, not those of others, is what the Lord shall request.

68. ξη' περὶ συνηθείας fol. 46^r (P) fol. 357^r (V)

1. Τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν αἱ Νύσσαι, δυσανάβατοι, πετρώδεις,
2. ἔπειτ' ἔχουσι λιμένας καὶ ποτιμωτάτας βρύσεις·
3. τῶν δὲ πονηρῶν αἱ Πύλαι, ὀρυκταί, γλυκάζουσαί πως,
4. ἐν ὑστέροις δὲ πικραί τε δυσανάστροφοι τελοῦσαι.

tit. περὶ τοῦ ὅτι δυσαπόσπαστος ἡ κακία (vide 62) V | 3. fortasse legendum ὀρεκταί

On practice

1. The 'Nyssai' (mountain peaks/goals) of the good are hard to climb up to and rocky,
2. but then they offer [access to] harbours and the freshest wells.
3. The 'Pylai' (mountain passes/gates) of the bad are dug out and offer sweet waters,
4. but are bitter in the end and hard to return from.

69. ξθ' περὶ τοῦ διέρχεσθαι τὰς θείας γραφάς fol. 47^r (P) fol. 358^v (V)

1. Εἰ μὲν μάθησιν γραμμάτων ἐκ βρεφόθεν ἐδιδάχθης,
2. τοῦ μαθητιᾶν μὴ φείδου, μὴ δὲ μετ' αἰσχύνῃς φέρῃς.
3. ὑπὲρ γὰρ τὸν φωτοφόρον αἱ γραφαὶ τὰς κόρας κρεῖττον
4. καταλάμπουσιν, εὖ ἴσθι, τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις.

1: 2 Tim. 3:15 | 3-4: Ephes. 1:18, cf. Lapithes 680-82

On reading Holy Scripture

1. If you have learnt to read and write from a young age,
2. do not be shy of learning, nor consider it to be shameful.
3. Know well that the Scriptures enlighten the eyes of the soul
4. and senses more than the sun does.

70. ο' περὶ ἡσυχίας fol. 49^r (P) fol. 359^v (V)

1. Ὅστις εἴπη πάσῃ ὕλῃ χαίρειν τῶν φθαρτῶν καὶ δόξῃ,
2. καὶ τὸν νοῦν ὡς νομοθέτης ὑπὲρ οὐρανὸν ὑψώσει,
3. ἐν τῷ γνώφῳ δ' ἐπεισέλθῃ τῆς γαλήνης ἀκυμάντου,
4. γνώσεται θεὸν δ' ἀμέσως ὥσπερ ὁμιλήσει φίλῳ.

1: cf. Matt. 6:19-21 | 2-3 Ex. 19:18-20 et 20:21 | 3-4: cf. Basil Caes., PG 31.1381

1. εἴπη V : εἴποι P | δόξῃ V : δόξης P | 4. φίλῳ V : φίλον P

On silence

1. Whoever says farewell to all material things and to glory,
2. will elevate his mind higher than the sky, like [Moses] the legislator did,
3. and will enter into the darkness of calm stillness,
4. and will get to know God immediately as if he were to speak with a friend.

71. οα' περὶ αἰσχύνῃς fol. 50^r (P) fol. 361^r (V)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Εἴπερ ἐκφυγεῖν ἐθέλεις | παντελῶς σὺ τὴν αἰσχύνην, |
| 2. πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν τῶν κακίστων | ὥνπερ ἔπραξας αἰσχύνου. |
| 3. εἰ δὲ πράξεις, πάντως ἴσθι, | πρὸς κολάσεις ἀθανάτους |
| 4. ἢ μετ' ἐντροπῆς ἐμπέσης | ἢ μετ' ἐντροπῆς ἐκφύγῃς. |

tit. περὶ ἐντροπῆς V | 2. ὥνπερ P : ὅσπερ V

On shame

1. If you want to be completely free from shame,
2. be ashamed of all the evil deeds you have committed.
3. Were you to commit evil, know very well: whether you descend into or escape
4. eternal punishment, both will be in shame.

72. οβ' περὶ φίλων fol. 51^r (P) fol. 362^r (V)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Φίλους ἢ μὴ κτίσης ὅλως | ἢ τοὺς κρείττονας ἐκλέγου. |
| 2. ἄφιλοι καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλεῖστον | νῦν πεφύκασιν οἱ φίλοι, |
| 3. ἐξαιρέτως οἱ πρὸς χάριν | ἀποβλέποντες καὶ δῶρα. |
| 4. τὸ δὲ πῦρ τῶν δυστυχούντων | λαγαρίζει τοὺς φιλοῦντας. |

1-4: cf. Lapithes 1229-51 | 2-3: Sirac. 6:8

On friends

1. Either do not make friends at all or choose the best friends.
2. Friends are nowadays mostly not friends at all,
3. particularly those who pay attention to favours and gifts.
4. The fire of those in need, however, purifies the friends.

73. ογ' περὶ φιλαδελφίας

fol. 52^v (P) fol. 363^v (V)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Εἴπερ ἀγαπᾶν ἐθέλεις | τὸν Θεὸν τε καὶ δεσπότην, |
| 2. πρῶτον φίλει τοὺς ἐκ τούτου | γεγονότας ἀδελφούς σοι. |
| 3. εἰ γὰρ καταψεύση τούτων | φενακίζων τὴν ἀπάτην, |
| 4. ἀναιρεῖς τὸν μέγαν Παῦλον | καὶ πρὸ τούτου τὸν Σωτῆρα. |

1-4: 1 Cor. 13:1-8 et 1 Joh. 4:20

On brotherly friendship

1. If you want to love our God and Lord,
2. first love the brothers he created for you.
3. But if you speak falsely of them, betraying them,
4. you reject the great Paul and, before him, the Saviour.

74. οδ' περὶ δυστυχίας

fol. 53^v (P) fol. 365^v (V)

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Ὅταν ἴδῃς δυστυχοῦντας, | στέναξον καὶ μὴ χλευάσῃς· |
| 2. κόχλῳ κρύπτεται πορφύρα, | ἐν δ' ὀστράκῳ μαργαρίτης. |
| 3. δυστυχοῦντων γὰρ τυγχάνει | κληρὸς τῆς ἀφθάρτου δόξης. |
| 4. ὁ πλουτῶν δυσκόλως δέ γε | τῷ Χριστῷ συμβασιλεύσει. |

1: Prov. 17:5 | 2: Basilakes, Progymnasmata 12.11, cf. Matt. 13:45–46 | 3: Luke 6:20 | 4: Matt. 19:23–24

3. τυχάνει P

On misfortune

1. When you see unfortunate people, sigh deeply and do not jeer at them:
2. purple dye is hidden in a shell, and pearls in oysters.
3. For the poor will inherit the immortal glory,
4. and a rich person will enter the kingdom of Christ only with difficulty.

75. οε' περὶ ψόγου

fol. 55^v (P) fol. 366^v (V)

1. Ψόγος εἰ μὲν ἀληθεύει, μὴ πρὸς ἔχθραν παρακνίσῃ·
2. οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὸν εὖ φρονοῦντα κότον θέμιδι προσάγειν.
3. χρὴ καὶ γὰρ τὴν νόσον φεύγειν, οὐ τὴν ἔμπλαστον τῆς νόσου·
4. ἴαμα καὶ γὰρ ὑπάρχει ἔλεγχος παραπτωμάτων.

1. ψόγος V : λόγος P

On blame

1. If a reproach is true, do not be provoked to enmity,
2. for a wise person should not bear a grudge against what is just.
3. One should flee from disease, not from its remedy,
4. for the reproof of sins is also their cure.

76. ος' περὶ ἐπαίνου

fol. 57^r (P) fol. 368^r (V)

1. Μὴ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας φίλει καὶ τοὺς κολακεύοντάς σε·
2. ἔστι γὰρ ἐπαίνου ψόγος παρὰ τῶν φιλοῦντων κρείττων.
3. φέρε τοίνυν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τὴν συνείδησιν καὶ κρῖνε
4. μήποτε σε κατὰ χάριν μακαρίζοντες πλανῶσιν.

1: cf. Ps. 11:3 et Prov. 26:28 | 4: Is. 3:12

4. πλανῶσιν V : πεινῶσιν P

On praise

1. You should not love those who praise and flatter you:
2. a friends' reproach is far better than praise.
3. Contemplate their words and see
4. whether those who please you by calling you blessed, are deceiving you.

77. οὕτως περὶ πενίας fol. 58^v (P) fol. 369^r (V)

1. Πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν βίῳ ἴσθι τὴν χρηστὴν πενίαν·
2. πρόκειται καὶ γὰρ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄφθονος ὑπηρεσία.
3. ἄκοντες καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάντες πένητες χρηματιοῦσι,
4. τῶν πλουτούντων δὲ καὶ ζῶντες στερηθήσονται πρὸ πάντων.

1: Luke 6:20

tit. omittit V | 3 χρηματιοῦσι P : διατελοῦσι V

On poverty

1. Know that honest poverty is the best of all the good things in life;

2. for it provides a boundless service to all.
3. They may not wish to, but everybody will be poor,
4. but the rich will be deprived in their lifetime before the others.

78. οἷ' περὶ χάριτος fol. 60^v (P) fol. 370^v (V)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Εἴ ποτέ σοι χάριν φίλος | ὑπισχνεῖται τοῦ παρέξειν, |
| 2. μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον ταύτην νεῖμαι, | πρὶν ἂν λάβῃς, ἐξαγγείλῃς· |
| 3. ἐν ἑτέρου γὰρ τῷ ψεύδει | ψεύστης παρ' ἐλπίδα δόξεις |
| 4. καὶ διπλῶς ἀχθήσῃ τότε | μὴ λαβὼν καὶ μὴ παρέξων. |

On favour

1. If ever a friend promises you to do a favour,
2. do not promise to pass it on to another person before receiving it yourself:
3. contrary to your expectations, through the lie of another you will seem a liar yourself
4. and therefore, you will be vexed doubly: you have not received and you will not give.

79. οἷ' περὶ τοῦ τιμᾶν τοὺς γονεῖς fol. 61^v (P) fol. 371^v (V)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Τὸ γονεῖς τιμᾶν οὐ χάρις· | ἀπαιτεῖ καὶ γὰρ ἡ φύσις, |
| 2. καὶ πρὸ ταύτης ὁ δεσπότης. | τὸ δὲ τὸ τιμᾶν ἀλλήλους |
| 3. χάρις δέδωκε καὶ γνώμη, | τάξις, φρόνησις μερόπων, |
| 4. τὸ διδάσκουσι προφῆται, | Παῦλος καὶ Χριστοῦ τὸ στόμα. |

On respecting your parents

1. Honouring your parents is not a favour: nature itself demands it,
2. and before it the Lord does. But favour and judgement, order and human wisdom
3. has given us the act of honouring each other,
4. which is what the Prophets, Paul and Christ's mouth teach.

80. π' περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης fol. 62^v (P) fol. 372^v (V)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Πᾶσα πολυπραγμοσύνη | ἄχρηστος τοῖς κεκτημένοις |
| 2. δίχα τῆς ἐλπιζομένης | δόξης τε καὶ βασιλείας. |
| 3. ταύτης δὲ τυγχάνει πάλιν | ὁ τὰς ἔξωθεν φροντίδας |
| 4. ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐκσκορακίσας | καὶ πλουτήσας ταύτην μόνην. |

1-2: Luke 12:31-32 | 3-4: cf. Matt. 6:19-21

1. πᾶσα P : omittit V | 2. τῆς ἐλπιζομένης V : τοῖς ἐλπιζομένοις P | 3. δὲ V : δε P

On business

1. Every pursuit is useless for those who are engaged in it
2. without the longed-for [divine] glory and [heavenly] kingdom.
3. But he who has banned earthly concerns from his soul,
4. will obtain that (glory): it will be his only treasure.

81. πα' περὶ πλούτου fol. 63^v (P) fol. 373^v (V)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος τοῖς χρωμένοις | ἡδυσμα τερπνὸν καὶ πόμα |
| 2. τοῖς δὲ παρακεχρημένοις | αὖτὸς θανατηφόρος. |
| 3. ἀγαθὴ γὰρ πᾶσα πρᾶξις | τοῦ Θεοῦ τε καὶ δεσπότου, |

4. Μωυσῆς ἐδίδαξέ σε, Ἄβελ καὶ πρὸ τούτου Κάϊν.

2: cf. 1 Tim. 6:10 | 4: cf. 1 John 3:12

On wealth

1. Wealth is a pleasant delicacy and potion for those who have it,
2. but for those who abuse it, it is a deadly poison.
3. Every deed of our Lord and God is good,
4. [as] Moses, and before him Abel and Cain, taught you.

82. πβ' περὶ ὁμιλίας fol. 65^r (P) fol. 374^v (V)

1. Ὅμιλεῖν ἀνάγκη πᾶσι, τοῖς ἐσθλοῖς καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις·
2. ἐκ μὲν τῶν, λαμβάνειν λόγους· ἐκ δὲ τῶν, ἐκφεύγειν τρόπους.
3. δεῖ καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐξ ἀέρων τοῦ νοὸς ὁ λόγος κρίνειν·
4. ἦθη γὰρ τὰ τῶν χειρόνων φθείρουσι χρηστῶν πολλάκις.

4: 1 Cor. 15:33

2. λόγους P : λόγον V | 4. ἦθη V : ἔθη P | χρηστῶν P : χρηστὰ V

On conversation

1. It is necessary to talk to everyone, both to the best and worst of men:
2. to receive the words of the former and flee the attitude of the latter.
3. The rational mind must discern the airborne ones (i.e. devils),
4. because the manners of the bad often corrupt those of the good ones.

83. πγ' περὶ ἐλέγχου fol. 65^v (P) fol. 375^r (V)

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | Ἐλεγχος εἰ μὲν ἐμπέσῃ | πρὸς ψυχὴν πεπαιδευμένην, |
| 2. | εὐεργετικῶς ἀρπάζει, | περιπτύσσεται, κατέχει. |
| 3. | εἰ δ' εἰς ἄφρονος ἐντύχη, | βλέπεις ὀφθαλμοὺς πυρώδεις, |
| 4. | κάραν ἄστατον σὺν τούτοις, | πάρεσιν μελῶν ἀπάντων. |

1-4: cf. Prov.15:32 et 12

On reprimanding

1. If a reprimand befalls a well-educated soul,
2. he seizes it as a godsend, embraces it and possesses it.
3. But in the case of a fool, one may see red eyes,
4. an unstable head as well, and paralysis of all the limbs.

84. πδ' περὶ γήρωσ fol. 66^v (P) fol. 376^r (V)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | Ἄχρηστον τὸ γῆρας πέλει | πρὸς τὰς κοσμικὰς φροντίδας, |
| 2. | χρήσιμον ὑπάρχει δ' ὁμως | πρὸς πνευματικὰς φροντίδας. |
| 3. | τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἀμπλακημάτων | πολυχρόνιον κακίαν |
| 4. | ὀλιγήμερος θερίσει | στεναγμὸς ψυχῆς ἐκ βάθους. |

tit. γήρωσ V : γήρους P | 3. ἀμπλακημάτων P : ἀμαρτημάτων V | 4. ὀλιγήμερος scripsi : ὀλιγοήμερος
VP ante corr., ὀλιγόμερος P post corr.

On old age

1. Old age is useless for worldly concerns,
2. but it is on the other hand very useful for spiritual ones.

3. A brief sigh from the depths of the soul
4. will slay the long-lived evil of sins.

85. πε' περὶ νόμου fol. 68^r (P) fol. 377^r (V)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Πέφυκεν ἰστὸς ὁ νόμος | ἐξ ἀράχης εἰργασμένος, |
| 2. τοὺς μὲν πένητας καθάπερ | κώνωπας συνέχων μυίας, |
| 3. οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ οἷάπερ | τὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων γένος |
| 4. σχίζουσιν ὀδόντων δίκην | τῇ στερρότητι τοῦ πλούτου. |

1–4: cf. Plutarch, Solon 5.81

3. οἷάπερ P : οἷαπερ V

On law

1. Law is a web woven by a spider
2. which catches poor men as if they were mosquitos.
3. Powerful men, however, like the species of the elephants,
4. tear through [the web] with the strength of wealth as if it was with tusks.

86. πς' περὶ ἀφροσύνης fol. 69^r (P) fol. 378^r (V)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. †Ἀπὸ σταλαγμοῦ ῥανίδος† | ἄφρων ὑπορύττει βόθρον, |
| 2. εἰς αὐτὸν πεσὼν δ' ὑστέρως | αὐτὸς ὁ πόνος ἐπιστρέφει |
| 3. κορυφὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου | πελειᾶς ὡς ὀπισθόπους |
| 4. ἐπὶ κιβωτὸν ἐπέειπερ | τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν οὐχ εὔρεν. |

1–3: Ps. 7:16–17 | 3–4: Gen. 8:8–9

2. ἐπιστρέφει P : ὑποστρέφει V | 3. ὥς scripsi : γὰρ PV

On stupidity

1. [.....] a stupid man digs a hole,
2. and then, having fallen into it, his trouble returns
3. upon his own head, like the dove coming back
4. to the ark because it found no resting place.

87. πζ' περὶ ὑπονοίας

fol. 70^v (P) fol. 379^v (V)

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Εἴ ποτε κοινολογεῖται | ἕτερος ἐτέρῳ κρύφα, |
| 2. μή σοι μέλει περὶ τούτου, | μή δὲ τοῦ μαθεῖν σπουδάσης. |
| 3. τυμβωρύχων γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα | καὶ λωποδυτῶν ὑπάρχει, |
| 4. ὅθεν δῆλοι καὶ πολλάκις | ἐγεγόνεισαν ἐκ τούτου. |

2. τοῦ V : τὸ P

On suspicion

1. If someone secretly consults with someone else,
2. do not care about it, and do not be eager to learn [what they talked about].
3. For it is the behaviour of grave-robbers and thieves,
4. and it is because of this that they are often caught out.

88. πη' περὶ φιλαργυρίας

fol. 71^v (P) fol. 380^v (V)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Ἄλλα μὲν τὰ πάθη πάντα | ἡδονὴ πρὸς δέμας πέλει, |
| 2. μόνον δὲ τῶν φιλαργύρων, | φεῦ, ἀνήδονον κατ' ἄμφω· |
| 3. ἀγρυπνεῖ γὰρ θησαυρίζων, | ὥχρια, φθονεῖ, μισεῖται, |

4. ἡ δὲ χρῆσις μεταπίπτει πρὸς ἑτέρους καὶ μισοῦντας.

1-2: 1 Tim. 6:10

3. γαρ V : γὰρ P

On avarice

1. While all other passions give pleasure to the body [though not to the soul],
2. avarice is the sole passion, alas, to be without pleasure for either [body or soul]:
3. [the miser] spends nights counting his riches, is spiteful and envious, and is hated,
4. but the use [of his wealth] goes to other people even if they hate him.

89. πθ' περὶ νοουθεσίας fol. 73^r (P) fol. 381^v (V)

1. Εἰ μὲν νοουθετήσας σπείρης εἰς ψυχὴν καλὴν τὸν σπόρον,
2. πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν τὸν σπόρον αὐλακίζων ἀπεκδέχου·
3. εἰς δὲ νοῦν ἐσπιλωμένον, ἄγονον, φυρσόν, πετρώδη,
4. τὸν μισθὸν οὐκ ἀποβάλῃ, κἂν τὸν σπόρον ἀπολέσῃς.

1-4: Matt. 13:3-9

1. σπείρης V : σπείρεις P | καλὴν V : καλὸν P | 4. ἀποβάλῃ V : ἀποβάλλῃ P

On admonition

1. If you sow a seed into a good soul through your admonitions,
2. you may expect a hundred-fold yield of seed.
3. But into an unclean mind, barren, confused and stony,
4. even if you lose the seed, you will not lose your reward.

90. Ἡ' περὶ παιδείας fol. 74^r (P) fol. 382^v (V)

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. | Παίδευε σαυτὸν ἐν ἔργοις | ἀγαθοῖς ἐσχολακότα. |
| 2. | ἔστω παιδοτρίβης ὥσπερ | ὁ πνευματικός σοι νόμος. |
| 3. | ῥάβδον τύπτουσάν σε φέρε | τὴν συνείδησιν καθάπερ· |
| 4. | οὕτω γὰρ χρηστὸς ὑπάρξεις | καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ πράξει. |

2: Rom. 7:14 | 3: cf. Prov. 22:15 et Hebr. 13:18

On education

1. Teach yourself to spend time on good works.
2. Let the spiritual law be like a teacher to you
3. and endure your conscience like a rod that beats you:
4. that way you will become good both in words and deeds.

91. Ἡα' περὶ πλεονεξίας fol. 75^v (P) fol. 383^v (V)

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. | Ἀχανὲς ὑπάρχει βάθος | ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον |
| 2. | ἀποβλέπων καθ' ἐκάστην· | χίμαιρα, γοργών, [...], φλόξ τε |
| 3. | ἢ τὰ σύνεγγυς λαβοῦσα | δράττεται τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνα, |
| 4. | περιγενομένη δ' αὖθις | ἄπτεται τῶν μακροτέρων. |

1. ὀφθαλμὸς V : ὀφθαλμοῖς P | 2. deest syllaba

On greed

1. A bottomless depth is the eye that looks every day
2. to get more: a Chimaera, a Gorgon, [...], a fire,

3. which, having seized what is nearby, gets hold of what is next
4. and then, once it has that as well, grabs what is further away.

92 ἡβ' περὶ φιλοτεκνίας fol. 76^v (P) fol. 385^r (V)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Τὸ φιλεῖν ἡμῶν τὰ τέκνα | οὐ τὸ κολακεύειν πέλει, |
| 2. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ παιδεύειν | πράξεις ἀγαθῶν πραγμάτων. |
| 3. βλέπε τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων | καὶ δεσπότην καὶ πατέρα· |
| 4. μέμνησο τοῦ Σολομῶντος | καὶ συνήση τὰ ῥηθέντα. |

1–2: cf. Prov. 3:12 et Eph. 6:1–4

On the love for one's children

1. Loving our children does not mean praising them,
2. but rather teaching them to do good deeds.
3. Look at the Lord and Father whom we all have in common:
4. remember Solomon and you will understand these words.

93. ἡγ' περὶ γέλωτος fol. 78^r (P) fol. 386^r (V)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Φυσικὸς μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις | πέφυκεν ὁ γέλως πᾶσι· |
| 2. τὸ δ' ἀνακαγχάζειν ὄνων | ἢ βροτῶν τυγχάνει μᾶλλον. |
| 3. καὶ γὰρ πτύελον κενοῦσιν, | ὑλὴν καὶ ῥινῶν πολλάκις. |
| 4. κρεῖσσον θρῆνος ἐξ ὀμμάτων | ἢ παράφορος ἡδύτης. |

2: cf. Basil Caes., PG 31.961 et John Dam., PG 96.77 | 4: cf. Greg. Naz, Or. 14, PG 35.875–76

tit. περὶ σωφροσύνης V | 2. ὄνων P : ὄνοις V | βροτῶν P : βροτοῖς V | 3. κενοῦσιν V : κενοῦσι P

On laughing

1. Laughing comes natural to all men,
2. but a wide open grin is more [appropriate] to donkeys than men.
3. For they spit out phlegm, and often stuff from their noses too.
4. A stream of tears from the eyes is better than foolish pleasure.

94. Ἰδ' περὶ ἀντιλογίας

fol. 79^r (P) fol. 387^r (V)

1. Μήτ' ἐρίδαινε πρὸς πάντας, μήτε καταπίπτειν θέλε·
2. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν θηρογνώμων, τὸ δὲ πάλιν θηλυδρῶδες.
3. ὥσπερ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἡττᾶσθαι, οὕτω πέφυκε καὶ χεῖρον
4. τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἐρίζειν· ἔστι καὶ καλῶς ἡττᾶσθαι.

 4: Greg. Naz., Or. 19, PG 35.1053

2. θηλυδρῶδες scripsi : θηλυνδρῶδες P, θηλυνθρῶδες V | 3. οὕτω V : οὕτως P | 4. καλῶς V : καλὸν P

On disagreeing

1. Do not fight against all, but do not give in either:
2. the former is beastly, the latter cowardly.
3. Just as losing is shameful, so too is always putting up a fight
4. a very bad thing; there is such a thing as losing in dignity.

95. Ἦε' περὶ ἐνυπνίων

fol. 80^r (P) fol. 388^r (V)

1. Τοῖς ἀπατηλοῖς ὀνείροις χώραν μὴ παρέξῃς ὅλως,
2. εὖρατο κἂν καὶ ποτέ τις τάχ' ἂν κῦδος ἐξ ὀνείρων.

3. ὁ γὰρ ἡλπικῶς ἐν τούτοις ἔοικεν οἴνοφλυγοῦντι
 4. ὅς πλουτεῖ μὲν ἐξαπίνης, μένει δὲ καθάπερ πάρος.

2. ἐξαπίνης P : ἐξ ἀπίνης V

On dreams

1. Do not give room at all to deceptive dreams,
2. even if some on occasion may have benefitted from dreams.
3. A person who puts faith in dreams looks like a drunk
4. who suddenly gets rich but remains the same as before.

96. ἡζ' περὶ ἀνωμαλίας fol. 82^r (P) fol. 389^r (V)

1. Τὰ συμπίπτοντά σοι φέρε καὶ λυποῦντα μεγαθύμως.
2. δυνατὸν καὶ γὰρ σοι πέλει ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ πενωθῆναι
3. καὶ πτωχὸν πλουτῆσαι πάλιν. πᾶσα κοσμικὴ φροντίς γὰρ
4. ἀστατότερος Εὐρίπου καὶ παλίμβολος τυγχάνει.

4: Greg. Naz., Or. 6, PG 35.748

On unevenness

1. Endure bravely what happens to you, even if it hurts you.
2. With all your wealth you may well become poor
3. or you may become rich in poverty. All worldly cares
4. ebb and flow more than the Euripos: it's all in a flux.

97. ἡζ' περὶ τοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἀεὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἄριστον fol. 83^r (P) fol. 390^v (V)

1. Περιττὸν ἅπαν ὑπάρχει τὸ μὴ κατὰ χρῆσιν πέλον·
2. τοῦτο καὶ Θεὸς διδάσκει, ἀκολούθως δὲ καὶ φύσις.
3. εἰ γὰρ ἀρεστὸν τὸ πλεῖστον, πλῆθος γυναικῶν παρῆξεν
4. πλὴν ἐν τῇ τῆς Εὐας πλάσει. φείδου τῶν συγχωρουμένων.

4: Kataskepenos, *Life of St Cyril Philotes* 3.2.2

4. συγχωρουμένων scripsi : συγκεχωρημένων PV contra metrum

On the fact that more is not always better

1. All that is without use is superfluous:
2. God teaches that, and Nature likewise.
3. Had the ‘most’ been pleasant, He would have produced a multitude of women
4. when he created Eve. Keep to what is allowed.

98. Ἡγ’ περὶ τῆς τοῦ μείζονος προτιμήσεως fol. 84^v (P) fol. 391^v (V)

1. Εἴπερ πορευθῆς εἰς οἶκον μετὰ συνανακειμένων,
2. μὴ προκαθεδρῆσαι πάντων σὺ τῶν δαιτυμόνων σπεύσης,
3. μήποτε σ’ ὁ κεκλημένος τόπον τῆς αἰσχύνης δείξῃ,
4. ὑποκάθισαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἵν’ ἀνέλθῃς μετὰ δόξης.

1–4: Luke 14:8–11

2. προκαθεδρῆσαι P : προκαθεδρίσαι V | 3. μήποτε σ’ V : μήποτε σ’ P

On preferring what is better

1. If you go to a house with fellow diners,

2. do not rush to sit in the place of honour, before the other guests,
3. lest he who has invited you should point you to the place of shame
4. but rather sit at a lower position so that you may ascend with honour.

99. ἡθ' περὶ ἀκριβείας

fol. 86^r (P) fol. 392^v (V)

1. Εἰ μὲν φειδωλὸς χρημάτων, μισητὸς καὶ παραβάτης·
2. εἰ δὲ τύχοι τις εὐλόγως ἀκριβολογῶν τὰς πράξεις,
3. νουνεχῆς ὑπάρχει μᾶλλον καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐργάτης.
4. ἐκ τῶν ἔργων γὰρ ἡ πρᾶξις φανεροῦται τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

On parsimony

1. A miser who inspects his money is hateful and a sinner;
2. but a person who rightly inspects his deeds in detail,
3. is rather wise and a worker of the commandments.
4. For the conduct of men is shown by their works.

100. ρ' περὶ προχαιρετισμοῦ

fol. 87^r (P) fol. 393^v (V)

1. Ὅστις μὲν τῶν δυστυχοῦντων οἶδε τοῦ προχαιρετίζειν,
2. ἀγαπᾶται παρὰ πάντων, κἂν μὴ τῶν ἐνδόξων πέλῃ.
3. ὅστις δὲ φουσῶν ἡγεῖται τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερέχειν,
4. ἄδοξος ἐν πᾶσι πέλει, κἂν μεγαλαυχῇται μόνος.

 3–4: cf. Matt. 19:30 et Luke 14:11

On being the first to greet

1. Whoever of the poor is the first to greet,
2. is loved by everyone, though he is not one of the nobles.
3. But a haughty person who thinks he is better than others,
4. is ignoble in all respects, though he is the only one to brag.

5 The Chapters in Political Verse

It's better not to know authors personally,
because the real person never corresponds
to the image you form of him from reading his books.

Italo Calvino, *If on a Winter's Night a Traveler*

5.1 Introduction

In the two manuscripts, Par. gr. 2750A (P) and Vat. gr. 1898 (V), the *Chapters in Four Ways* (CFW) are immediately followed by the *Chapters in Political Verse* (CPV), a collection of a hundred kephalaia which deal with exactly the same topics and in exactly the same order as the preceding collection. In the present state, the Parisian manuscript has 916 lines and the Vatican one has 804 lines because of a major lacuna between chapters 28.2 and 43.1 (=110 vv. in P): taking into account the c. 110 lines nowadays missing in the Vatican manuscript, P and V have more or less the same size.¹⁸⁸ But as I shall point out in Chapter 5.6, there are major differences in wording and phrasing between P and V, and these are of such a magnitude that we can only speak of two different redactions.

Version P was already edited by Miller in 1875,¹⁸⁹ but version V regrettably still awaits an edition, which I shall provide in Chapter 6. In my edition, I will highlight the differences between P and V so as to enable the reader to understand how different the two versions really are.

Although CFW and CPV are separated from one another by blank pages in the two manuscripts (in P by two folios, in V by one and a half page),¹⁹⁰ the strange thing is

¹⁸⁸ For the lacuna in V, see Chapter 1, p. 23.

¹⁸⁹ Miller, 'Poème moral'.

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter 1, p. 20 and pp. 23–24.

that there is not a title attached to CPV, indicating that this is another text: not even something like ἕτερα κεφάλαια. The text is headless and anonymous. However, despite this anonymity, the text has a distinct authorial voice, not only in the prologue and the epilogue, but also in chapters 1-20; 24; 29-33; 35; 40; 96, in which the author uses the first person singular. The chapters repeatedly begin with the iunctura πῶς followed by the present or future indicative ('how shall I ...?'), so as to emphasize that it is beyond the author's ability to write on such elevated topics because he is a sinner. He usually has a self-deprecating adjective to underline how utterly worthless he is: e.g. 2.1-3 πῶς δὲ τὴν ἀθεώρητον ἀγγελικὴν ἐλπίδα / προτίθημι καὶ φθέγγομαι καὶ γράφω καὶ διδάσκω, / αὐτὸς ὁ τρισταλάντατος μένων ἐκτὸς ἐλπίδος; 3.1-2 πῶς δ' ὁ τοῦ μίσους ἀρχηγὸς κηρύξω τὴν ἀγάπην / ὁ δύσνους, ὁ μισάνθρωπος ἀνὴρ καὶ κακογνώμων; 4.1-2 εἴπω δὲ πῶς ὁ τληπαθὴς περὶ μακροθυμίας / ὁ δύσνους, ὁ μικρόψυχος, ἢ πῶς ἀπλῶς λαλήσω. The use of the first person singular is rather unusual for kephalaia.¹⁹¹ For the voice of the author as well as his literary persona are normally pretty much non-existent: personal views and experiences are disregarded in favour of a more general discussion of humankind as a whole, not seen through the lens of an individual's own involvement and understanding.¹⁹² As is customary in admonitory literature, the author addresses his readers in the second person and offers advice on what they ought, or ought not, to do.

Both in the prologue and the epilogue, the author addresses not prospective readers in general (as he does in the chapters), but a specific individual who had commissioned the text: see prol. 1-5 (V) and epil. 1-5. In the epilogue, he addresses him as θεία κεφαλὴ, φίλη μοι καὶ τιμία (epil. 1). This form of address is common in

¹⁹¹ Rigo, *Mistici Bizantini*, XXXIII.

¹⁹² Lauxtermann, 'Texts and Contexts', 29

Palaeologan literature either for the emperor and members of the imperial family¹⁹³ or for intimate friends.¹⁹⁴ However, in the prologue, he addresses him as πάντων βέλτιστε τῶν κατὰ πνεῦμα ζώντων, which strongly suggests that the addressee of the text is a monk and probably the author's spiritual father.¹⁹⁵ This is also corroborated by lines 6-7 of the epilogue in which the author asks his θεία κεφαλή to reward him for his services with prayers (εὐχάς) and forgiveness (συγχώρησιν). In monastic circles the power to hear confession and offer forgiveness lies with one's spiritual father.¹⁹⁶ In lines 8-9 of the epilogue, the author oddly calls the addressee ἄφθαρτος (oddly because mankind ceased to be incorruptible after the fall from paradise) and μακαρίτης though he hastens to add that his θεία κεφαλή is still very much alive and not yet 'of blessed memory'. To sum up, the addressee is a monk, probably the spiritual father of the writer, and either an intimate friend or a person of imperial lineage.

At first sight the author himself, too, appears to be a monk as he emphasizes the virtue of obedience in the prologue: see, for instance, line 3 in the version of P: ὁδὸν τὴν τῆς ὑπακοῆς ἐπλήρωσα, or in the version of V: θεσμοῖς ὡς θέμις ἐντολῆς ὑπακοῆς ὑπείκων.¹⁹⁷ Obedience was a rule of primary importance, which monks had to observe, along with other monastic virtues such as poverty and chastity; obedience was added to the list of monastic virtues by proponents of cenobitic monasticism.¹⁹⁸ In the prologue, the author illustrates the virtue of obedience by first retelling the book of

¹⁹³ See, for instance, Michael Gabras' letter 433; Demetrios Kydones' letters 60, 211, 308, 336, 430 and 449; Manuel Kalekas' letter 71; Symeon of Thessaloniki's letter b15. See also Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 249.

¹⁹⁴ See, for instance, Nicholas Kabasilas' letter 3, Theodore Laskaris' letter 38; Michael Gabras' letters 26, 79, 128, 350 and 421. It is unclear whether the same Gabras (in letters 370 and 411) addresses Kantakouzenos as θεία κεφαλή because he was a good friend or because, as the megas domestikos, he was the second in command; the same goes for Nikephoros Gregoras' letter 130, which also addresses Kantakouzenos as θεία κεφαλή in the time that he was megas domestikos.

¹⁹⁵ See Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*, 23-25, and Tsolakis, 'Ἡθικὸ ποίημα', 9.

¹⁹⁶ See Kazhdan, 'Confession', *ODB*, vol. I, 493.

¹⁹⁷ See Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*, 24-25, and Tsolakis, 'Ἡθικὸ ποίημα', 9-10.

¹⁹⁸ Talbot, 'An introduction to Byzantine Monasticism', 232.

Exodus as one long story of disobedience and ingratitude on the part of the Jews (lines 11–35) and then presenting ever-obedient Job as the only righteous Jew (lines 36–66). This virulent excursus against the Jewish people calls to mind an equally anti-Semitic text, the *Dialogue against the Jews* by Andronikos Palaiologos, which in the Parisian manuscript (P) follows immediately after the *Chapters in Political Verse*. It stands to reason that there is a connection here (for further discussion, see Chapter 10).

Obedience is not the only monastic virtue highlighted in the prologue; humility is another. Just as in the chapters, the author emphasizes that he is not worthy to discuss monastic virtues: prol. 80–82 πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς καθάρσεως τοὺς καθαρὸς ἀγνίζω /καὶ συνετίζω τοὺς σοφοὺς ὁ σκαφευτῆς ὁ δύσνους, ‘before purifying myself, I purify those who are pure, and a stupid farmhand myself, I make wise those who are wise’. At the end of the epilogue, where he asks his addressee to sing the praises of God together, he once again states that he is not worthy because his lifestyle ‘runs wide of your turning post’ (epil.11) – a metaphor used by Gregory of Nazianzos for people who, in their fervour, behave ‘like thoroughbred colts who run wide of the turning post’ and need to be restrained.¹⁹⁹

However, one could also argue that this is not feigned humility on the part of the author but reveals a certain embarrassment in having to discuss monastic wisdom though not a monk himself, in which case staying far away from ‘*your* turning post’ would acquire a totally different meaning. But even if the author is a monk, which is definitely a possibility, CPV itself is not monastic. Like CFW before it, CPV is a set of paraenetic chapters that are useful to both laymen and monks.

¹⁹⁹ Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homily* 2, §30: PG 35.440A.

5.2 The connection of CPV to CFW

As we have seen in Chapter 1.5, the author of CPV appears to have had access to a manuscript of CFW that had the problem of the misplaced iambic chapter 40. As I noted there, chapters 40 and 78 are very much alike in CPV. In chapter 40, instead of treating the topic of εὐεργεσία, the author of CPV is treating the topic of χάρις. Apparently unaware of the repetition, the author recurs to the topic of χάρις in chapter 78 and produces a text that is quite similar to chapter 40. The only logical explanation for this is that the author of CPV based his own chapters on what he found in the iambic quatrains of CFW 40 and 78. In other words, while composing the text of CPV, he had a copy of CFW on his writing desk and made use of concepts and terms that he found there.

That this is how he proceeded can also be seen in the prologue of CPV. As noted in Chapter 3.2, CFW concludes with an ‘epilogue’ in which its compiler states among other things that he delivered his work ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν (...) δύναμιν (‘to the best of my ability’) and that it is up to the reader to reflect on, and understand, the moral lessons to be drawn from CFW and to apply these in their personal lives: ἐφ’ ὑμῖν οὖν καὶ οὐκ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ ψόγου καὶ ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν (‘therefore, both blame and praise are yours, not mine’).²⁰⁰ The very first lines of the prologue of CPV are quite similar: prol.2 P ὅσον κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ὑπῆρχεν ἡμετέραν (‘to the best of my ability’) and prol.5–6 P ἔργον δὲ πάντως πέφυκεν ἀπάρτι τῶν τῇ δέλτῳ / ἐντυγχανόντων πρὸς τιμὴν ἢ μῶμον περιτρέψαι (‘but surely it is now the task of those who read the book to either honour or disparage it’). But please note that whereas the compiler of CFW tells the readers that a text is as good as its readers (only if they do something with the text, does the text come alive), the author of CPV tells the readers that he leaves it

²⁰⁰ See Chapter 3.2, pp. 47–52, for a detailed discussion of this ‘epilogue’.

to them to decide whether his work is any good or not. So, although the words are quite similar, the two authors are expressing different ideas.

There are numerous instances where a chapter of CPV appears to have been inspired by a corresponding chapter in CFW: for example,

CPV 4.3 P ἐκεῖνος γὰρ μακρόθυμος καὶ μεγαλόνοος πέλει, cf. CFW iambs 4.1 (=K4.1) τὸν μακρόθυμον ὡς μεγάθυμον νόει;

CPV 42.1-2 P μίσησον ὡς τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τὸν διαβεβλημένον/ τοῦ ψεύδους καὶ συνίστορα τούτου μακρὰν καὶ φεῦγε, cf. CFW iambs 42.1-2 (=K22.1-2) Σατὰν τὸ πρῶτον ὡς διαβεβλημένος / διαβολῆς πέφυκε δεινὸς ἐργάτης;

in the same iambic chapter, CFW 42.4 (=K22.4), the danger of slander is compared to that of ‘a submerged rock’ on which ships run aground: similar marine metaphors are used in CPV 42.4 and 8-10 P;

in CPV 46.3-6 P, the author says that not feeling remorse for one’s sins is not human, but is in the nature of demons: (...) τὸ δὲ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων / μόνης ὑπάρχει φύσεως, cf. CFW 46, prose text 3.1-4 (fol.17') ἀμαρτάνειν μὲν χαλεπὸν, ἀνθρώπινον δέ· τὸ δὲ ἀμαρτάνοντας μὴ ἐπιστρέφειν δαιμονιῶδες καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀλλότριον φύσεως;

CPV 57.4 P σπεῦδε πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον νοσοκομεῖν τὸ πάθος, cf. CFW anacr. 57.4, 2nd hemistich: (if you need a doctor) πρόσδραμε τῷ δυναμένῳ;

CPV 69.2-3 P ἂν δὲ τοῖς βίβλοις ἐντρυφᾷς, εὐρήσεις μαργαρίτην / ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς κρυπτόμενον πολύτιμον τὸν μέγαν, cf. CFW iamb 69.2-3 (=K72.2-3) ταύτας [Holy Scripture] δ’ ἐρευνῶν ἀσφαλῶς ὅσον δέον / εὖροις ἐν αὐταῖς μαργαρίτην τὸν μέγαν;

CPV 97.1 P οὐκ ἔστι πᾶν τὸ περιττὸν χρήσιμον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, cf. CFW

anacr. 97.1 περιττὸν ἅπαν ὑπάρχει τὸ μὴ κατὰ χρῆσιν πέλον.

The author of CPV returned to CFW even in his later version V (for which see below Chapter 5.6): e.g. CPV 88.1 V τῷ βίῳ τὸν φιλάργυρον μηδόλως φίλει τρόπον (P has a different text at this point), cf. CFW iamb 88.4 (=K25.4) (greed) ἀεὶ δὲ φιλεῖ τὸν φιλάργυρον τρόπον. As we can see, the text of CFW was still lying on his writing desk when he was revising CPV.

5.3 References to classical mythology

Probably the most unusual feature of the *Chapters in Political Verse* are the many references to classical myths, characters and authors. It is not what one would expect from a paraenetic text written at the behest of a monk. While intellectuals attached to the church, beginning with the Cappadocian church fathers, attempted to reconcile secular and religious traditions, a substantial section of the monastic movement remained hostile to classical paideia.²⁰¹ And even in the heyday of the Palaeologan Renaissance, it is fair to say that pagan beliefs and myths were generally frowned upon in monastic circles.²⁰²

The use of mythological examples is largely restricted to highbrow texts, particularly poetry, rhetorical literature,²⁰³ and epistolography, where ‘what we find is a classical landscape’.²⁰⁴ It is not common in low- to middlebrow paraenetic texts: in *Spaneas* and George Lapithes’ poem, to name two well-known examples, mythical creatures do not appear, pagan authors are not mentioned, and the ancient pantheon is ignored. In sharp contrast, when the author of CPV wishes to explain that the honours

²⁰¹ Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 178–79.

²⁰² Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 374–87.

²⁰³ Hunger, ‘Classical Tradition’, 45.

²⁰⁴ Mullett, ‘Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter’, 75.

and dignities of this world have little intrinsic value, he compares these worthless distinctions to the ‘Colossus’ (of Helios), a statue that may be ‘bigger than Zeus’, but it is the latter who ‘feeds the soul’. Things that seem huge do not add up to much, just as ‘a heavy heap of iron can be got for a little gold’ – ὥς ἔστι κρείττων κολοσσὸς Διὸς τοῦ ψυχοτρόφου / καὶ σίδηρος βαρύτατος μᾶται μικρῷ χρυσίῳ (98.7–8). To call Zeus ‘the feeder of souls’ in a collection of paraenetic chapters is extremely unusual. How unusual this is can be gauged by the reaction of the scribe of V, who initially wrote ψυχοφθόρου (‘soul-destroying’), but then, checking his exemplar, corrected it to ψυχοτρόφου, which is also the reading of P.

Some of these references derive from the author’s favourite source, Manasses, but certainly not all of them. This is what we have:

- ancient gods: Phoebus (24.3), Clotho and Lachesis (65.23), the river-god Alpheus (68.6), Cronus 96.8, Zeus (98.7), and their opponents, the giants: Enceladus (14.2), Atlas (14.4 and 96.7), Typhon (96.7) and Ophion (96.8);
- mythical figures: Hydra (24.3), Minos and Rhadamanthus (56.9), Hippolytus, Penelope and Bellerophon (70.9 and 11), all three singled out as models of chastity,²⁰⁵ and the Sirens (92.7);
- ‘historical’ figures: the descendants of Pelops (32.1), the descendants of Cecrops (32.4 and 34.4), and Xerxes and Cyrus (92.6).

There are also references to pagan literature; the author of CPV explicitly mentions the *Iliad* (55.6) and singles out two passages from Homer: the story of the Trojan horse at *Od.* 8.492–520 (55.7) and the battle of the pygmies with the cranes at *Il.* 3.1–7 (55.5). In connection with chastity, he mentions the *pantarbe*, a mythical stone that is flame-resistant: this is a clear reference to the novel of Heliodoros (8.11.6),

²⁰⁵ In his *Carmina Iliaca*, 17 and 142 (II, 245), John Tzetzes likewise singles out Hippolytus and Bellerophon as victims of unwanted attentions. I owe this reference to Professor Lauxtermann.

where the chaste Charikleia survives with the help of the *pantarbe* that she happened to be wearing (70.10).²⁰⁶ In 65.21–30 he lashes out against all those who refuse to believe in divine providence: those ‘pseudo-philosophers’ and their ‘empty writings’, particularly Plato, Plotinus, Lucian (!) and Aristotle. Though Plato and Platonists, such as Plotinus, were generally appreciated, their philosophical doctrines remained controversial in certain circles.²⁰⁷ Though most Byzantines loved to read him, Arethas and others thought that Lucian deserved to burn in hell for being an atheist and a mocker.²⁰⁸ But in the eyes of CPV’s author, the worst of all was Aristotle: ‘the great Aristotle who stupidly reduced the all-mighty power [of God] to the stars and zealously attempted to contain the infinite One: what an error!’ (65.28–30).

For all his bashing of Aristotle and co, the fact remains that the author does mention them by name in the kind of text that normally steers clear of pagan teachings. And the same goes for the ancient gods and the mythical heroes: they somehow do not fit in. In my view, what the author of CPV is trying to achieve is adapt a traditional genre, that of paraenetic poetry, to the classicistic demands of the Palaeologan Renaissance.

5.4 Manasses rewritten: the main source of CPV

When dealing with Byzantine literature, one must bear in mind that whatever genre they belong to, texts are usually built on multiple layers, making use of literary predecessors. Such multi-layered texts are called ‘hypertextual’ in contemporary literary

²⁰⁶ M. Jones, ‘The Wisdom of Egypt: Base and Heavenly Magic in Heliodoros’ *Aithiopika*’, *AN* 4 (2005), 79–98.

²⁰⁷ The twofold attitude towards Plato and Platonism in general is well summarized by Mariev, *Byzantine Perspectives on Neoplatonism*, 1: ‘On the one hand, Byzantine scholars from all periods showed significant interest in the doctrines of Plato and the Platonists. On the other hand, many of them perceived these doctrines as a source of error and even as the root of all heresies’.

²⁰⁸ See, for instance the *Souda*: *Suidae Lexicon*, vol. 3, λ 683. See Marciniak, ‘Reinventing Lucian’, 211. On Lucian’s role in Byzantine theology, see Baldwin, ‘The Church Fathers and Lucian’ and Zappala, *Lucian of Samosata in the Two Hesperias*.

theory. Hypertextuality is ‘a relation of co-presence between two or more texts, that is to say, eidetically and most often, by the literary presence of one text within another’.²⁰⁹

Although hypertextuality is a modern concept, scholars have identified elements of it in texts as old as the New Testament,²¹⁰ and I believe it could be easily applied to Byzantine literature as well.

In fact, hypertextuality has been around in the field of Byzantine Studies for quite a while, but under a different name, that is, ‘imitation’ or ‘mimesis’.²¹¹ Hunger’s article in 1969 on the imitation of classics opened that Pandora’s box that Byzantine writing represents in regards to the relationship between sources and resulting texts.²¹² For a long period of time the Byzantine way of dealing with their literary sources was largely despised, with the idea in mind that because of their mere imitative character those texts were not worthy to be read, at least not through the Romantic lens of genius and originality. This approach, as Nilsson points out, changed in the twentieth century, with the birth of terms such as *imitatio* and *aemulatio*; the negative connotation turned into a positive one with Genette’s theories and methods, ‘which brings to the fore the complexity of textual relations and the artistic nature of imitation’.²¹³ To disregard the quintessential nature of Byzantine literature, that is to say their controversial relationship with classical literature, is thankfully no longer fashionable; and the concepts of hypertext and hypotext have become crucial in editing and commenting upon texts.

Indeed, as Nilsson points out, in Byzantium ‘imitation was a fundamental method of instruction’ and as such it ‘became a crucial bridge between reading and

²⁰⁹ G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge, 2010), xviii.

²¹⁰ S.E. Porter, ‘The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology’, in A. Evans and J.A. Sanders (eds), *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals* (Sheffield, 1997), 79–96.

²¹¹ Nilsson, ‘The Same Story, but Another’.

²¹² Hunger, ‘On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity’.

²¹³ Hunger, ‘On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity’, 202.

writing'²¹⁴: the Byzantines were conscious of being different from their predecessors and used imitation to give birth to something new, which incorporated the old and the new nature of texts. The resulting product is what scholars call hypertext and the source recalled in it is the hypotext. The latter being defined as 'a text whose form and/or form inspires or is reflected in a later text'²¹⁵ whereas the former are 'literary texts which allude, derive from or relate to an earlier work or hypotext'.²¹⁶ To say it with the words of Lauxtermann, 'The relation that hypo- and hypertext entertain is one of literary imitation, or rivalry; and the chosen means of expression are citation, reference, allusion, parody, subtle subversion, deliberate misquotation, or the ultimate betrayal, embarrassed silence'.²¹⁷ When we apply this concept to the *Chapters in Political Verse*, one can easily understand that Manasses' romance is the hypotext of CPV, and the latter the hypertext.

One of the tasks philologists have to carry out while editing texts is the quest for the quotations embedded in the text, which, depending on the genre and the author, may play a minor or a major role in the construction of the text and may even take up the lion share of the lines (especially in the case of centos). Essential in this regard is the implied reader in the production of literature. For intertextuality to work, the implied reader needs to be able to recognize the source text and determine the style of the work, the register of the language and, more importantly, the structure. In this regard, quotations played a key role, in the sense that they represented a sort of game between the writer and the reader, whose task it was to identify the 'single jewels' in the text.²¹⁸ Mullett, referring to classical quotations, argues that 'they were used to the inner circle of the author's acquaintances', and I believe this statement could also be applied to

²¹⁴ Hunger, 'On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity', 198.

²¹⁵ Martin and Ringham, *Key terms in Semiotics*, 101.

²¹⁶ Martin and Ringham, *Key terms in Semiotics*, 99.

²¹⁷ Lauxtermann, 'Of Cats and Mice'.

²¹⁸ Mullett, 'Classical tradition in the Byzantine Letter', 92.

other kind of quotations, e.g. from other Byzantine authors themselves, but I would not include biblical quotations, whose knowledge by every Byzantine should be somehow taken for granted.

Imitation in itself should not be frowned upon: rewriting is always a creative act. Before Romanticism introduced the cult of the genius and put a heavy premium on 'originality', imitation was not seen as intrinsically bad, for it 'was essential to the creation of a literary work: imitating one's predecessors was in no way incompatible with originality or progress'.²¹⁹ Originality was not in the imitating act itself but in the way authors dealt with their sources, that is to say innovating 'by pretending not to do so'.²²⁰ In fact, one of the genres of classical and medieval literature is entirely based on the productive interaction between hypotexts and hypertexts, that is to say, the genre of 'cento'.²²¹ And a case could be made that the way in which the hexameters of Gregory of Nazianzos are stitched together in the *Chapters in Four Ways* in fact forms a cento (not unlike Empress Eudokia's reworkings of Homer).²²²

The *Chapters in Political Verse*, too, have a certain cento-like character. As is well known, it includes many passages from Manasses' lost romance *Aristandros and Kallithea* and a few from his *Synopsis Chronike*.²²³ P offers 233 verses of Manasses on a total of 916 lines (=25,4%); 23 of these Manassean verses are found in the part that is missing in V. V itself offers 191 verses on a total of 804 lines (=23,8%). If we deduct the twenty-three Manassean verses missing in V, but preserved in P, the difference between P and V is 210 (233 minus 23) vs 191: i.e. a difference of nineteen lines.

²¹⁹ Mullett, 'Imitatio-Aemulatio-Variatio', 280.

²²⁰ P.A. Agapitos, 'Literary Criticism,' in E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), 77-86.

²²¹ See S.J. Harrison, 'Cento', in *The Oxford Classic Dictionary* (Oxford, 2012).

²²² See Usher, *Homeric Stitchings*.

²²³ See Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht'; Mazal, *Der Roman*, 62-69; Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*, 24-34.

It is worth pointing out that the Manassean quotations are always found towards the end, and never at the beginning. The author of CPV always begins in his own words. The borrowings from Manasses serve to illustrate the message that the author wishes to convey; they are not the message themselves. So, as a general rule of thumb, poems that offer lines from Manasses tend to be structured into two parts: a moralizing part by the author, usually consisting of roughly four or five verses, and a cento-like conclusion made up from borrowed lines.²²⁴

As I stated previously, Manasses' text is the hypotext and the CPV the hypertext, but how does this relationship affect the final outcome of the CPV? How does the author use the source? It is fair to say that the author's approach to Manasses' text is innovative and original.²²⁵ The original source is not always respected: the author modifies, changes and manipulates the verses in such a way that they turn into something different. Lines that were once devoted to describing the *furor amoris*, for example, in the CPV lose their essence and are more than often turned into religious apophthegmata. To illustrate this, let us have a look at chapter 91, which focuses on greed.²²⁶ The first lines work as an introductory section describing the behaviour of greedy men and the risk of them learning how to profit from their wicked way of life: 91.1-4 'Get rid of greedy and arrogant manners. Once a rapacious, unhappy and greedy man learns to gain wealth and collect taxes through evil, nothing at all can quench his desire'. Then the following lines (91.5-11) are taken from Manasses' romance (§165.2-4 and 10-13), with a few minor changes. But whereas in the source text these lines are employed to express that the power of love is irresistible and cannot be stopped, here it denotes the rapacious nature of greed: '[Nothing at all can quench his desire], not fire, not water, not snow, not compacted ice, not poison, not the sword,

²²⁴ See also Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 251.

²²⁵ The best study of how the author of CPV uses Manasses is Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 252-265.

²²⁶ See also Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 264.

not Skythian storms, not the tempestuous ocean, not night, not wild beast, not the sea. But he [the greedy character] jumps into swords' double edges and ventures out over deep-plunging craggy ravines, should he hope merely to glimpse the object of his affections, should he imagine what he covets, should he just think about it'.²²⁷ The original fragment of Manasses (§165) consists of thirteen lines, from which the author of the CPV chose seven lines, but left out the beginning and the middle part (lines 1 and 4-9) because they explicitly refer to Eros.

An intelligent re-use of Manasses' source is represented by poem 17, 'on evil'.²²⁸ Again, the introductory verses of the author explain what the chapter is about and roughly summarizes the entire content of the chapter: 17.1-4 'Each of you all should drive away the much-hated and awful evil as a terrible bane. For having fallen into its unescapable traps by my deeds, I am dead inside even if still walk.' In an extremely clever way the author uses Manasses' words (§91) to expand on his own verses and this time they actually fit well into the poetic framework of CPV: 17.5-10 'Thus nothing, no delicacy, no drink, even the most choice, tempts the taste-buds or attracts them, if the heart is not at peace, if bitterness in the soul restricts the appetite; for when it is full of unhappiness, the container that is the heart does not admit food, it spits out drink'.²²⁹

Poem 25 is another good example of how the author re-uses and interprets Manasses.²³⁰ Manasses' fragment (§137.6-10 & 13) focuses on the role of Fate in humankind's life. Manasses writes that Fate cannot be changed and that 'what has once been ordained cannot be undone', in reference to the role of the Moirae in cutting the thread of human's life. The author brilliantly manages to turn this secular concept into a religious one: he leaves out the verse relating to everything secular and uses just the

²²⁷ The translation is borrowed from Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 332, with a few minor adaptations to indicate what the author of CPV is saying.

²²⁸ See also Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 253-54.

²²⁹ Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 311.

²³⁰ See also Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 254.

verses that would easily fit into the poem's context and that would be useful in illustrating his point. Let us see how he does it. Line 7 of Manasses' *AK* §137, 'the daimon's spool cannot be unwound' (οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀναλύσιμον τοῦ δαίμονος ἀμειψαι), is turned into 'destiny cannot be done away' (οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀναλώσιμον οὐκουν τὸ πεπρωμένον): taking out the reference to the daimon, the verse is easily applicable to a monastic context. Similarly line 9 is altered and the reference to the daimon is omitted: 'You do not have the strength to alter the daimon's threads' (μὴ σθένων τὰ κλωστήρια τοῦ δαίμονος ἀμειψαι); this become in CPV 25.7: 'you do not have the strength to undo the decree [signed in] divine ink' (μὴ σθένων πρόσταγμα βαφῆς τῆς θεοκράντου λῦσαι). As we see, the concept of Fate is changed into that of divine Providence.

Chapter 27, which deals with the topic of 'speech', represents another good example of the re-use of Manasses.²³¹ As customary, the first lines introduce the topic: the author discusses the versatility of words, which can change their nature just as a chameleon does (1-2), and then describes the real role played by them, that is to say, to sincerely praise the lord (3-5). The following verses (6-10) are taken from *AK*, VI, 113, a fragment that has come down to us in the prose paraphrase of Planoudes. If one compares the two texts, it is clear that the author of CPV christianizes the original text (as far as it can be reconstructed with the help of Planoudes' paraphrase). Lines 27.6-7, 'For three things flow from the mouth as from a spring - speech, breath and kisses - which are very important to mankind', are almost identical to the beginning of the fragment in Planoudes; and lines 8-9 are also very close to what we find there.²³² The next line (27.9), ἀλλ' ἡ καρδία τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ πικρὸν ἐκβλύζει ('but he heart gushes forth both what is sweet and what is bitter'), differs from what one reads next in

²³¹ See also Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 255-56.

²³² Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 255-56 and Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 317.

Planoudes: ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πηγὴ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ῥεῖ ('but the fountain of pleasure flows from the heart'). The main difference is that the author of CPV emphasizes that it is not only sweetness that flows from the heart.²³³ The author of CPV leaves out the rest of the Planoudean fragment, which first speaks about the role of lips in kissing someone else and then describes the mythological tale of the creation of the gods, each being allotted a special part of the body ('Zeus the head, Hermes the tongue, Athena the shoulders and hands, Poseidon the chest, Ares the heart, Aphrodite the liver, and Eros the lips since they provide kisses for lovers'). Instead he illustrates the fact that sweetness and bitterness may flow from the heart and the lips by a reference to St. Peter and Judas Iscariot: 27.11 Καὶ μάρτυς Πέτρος ἀνυμνῶν, φιλῶν Ἰσκαριώτης ('And witnesses to this are Peter praising [Christ] and Judas kissing [him]'). Both used their lips: Peter to sing the praises of Christ and Judas to betray him for a sum of money. The former lip service represents the sweet side of love and the latter the bitter one. In this way, what was once conceived as a secular description of love is once again turned into a spiritual one.

One of the best examples of how a chapter is built up by the author is chapter 54, 'on beauty' (18 lines), which alternates lines from the author himself (1-2 and 8-12 and 15-16) and lines taken from Manasses' novel (3-7 and 13-14 and 17-18).²³⁴ Beauty is inner beauty, not physical beauty, which is ephemeral and bound to change and to be avoided by monks and also secular men because it leads to lust and sin. This concept is well expressed by the first two verses of chapter 54 in which the author encourages his audience to pursue inner beauty instead of that of the body: 'If you possess inner beauty, exult and rejoy; but if you have physical beauty, consider it shameful without [inner beauty].' The next lines (3-7) borrowed from Manasses first describe how beauty

²³³ Mazal, 'Moralische Leergedicht', 255-56 and Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 317. A similar concept is expressed in *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, lines 21-22.

²³⁴ See also Mazal, 'Moralische Leergedicht', 259.

wounds people and how it reaches the soul by entering the body through the eyes and then explain how a mere glance works as a conduit for Eros and Desire, both concepts alien to monasticism. At first it would seem that the author does not feel the need to change the text of Manasses and turn it into something different, leaving intact their secular meaning. However, lines 8-12 explain what happens if, rather than glorifying the creator and admiring his power, 'you only stare at delightful beauty' because that would be a worse mistake than the error of Eve. The moralizing character of CPV once again comes to the fore in these lines. The author then continues with verses taken from another Manassean fragment, which exalt the power of beauty. Beauty 'enchants and dominates'; it holds sway over men and animals; it 'strikes to the heart, poisons the soul and kills the gaze'.²³⁵ While Manasses is doubtless talking about physical beauty, the author here expands on the theme of original sin and clearly refers to the irresistible beauty of the apple that led Eve to temptation.

Chapter 75 is a very interesting one.²³⁶ It examines the topic of criticism and how to react to it if the critique is not justified. A righteous person will suffer in silence and let God be the judge of it; but a shifty character, evil and hot-tempered, will rage like a mad dog and will hit back if he has the power to do so. The comparison with the mad dog (lines 7-11) derives from Manasses; but the author leaves out the reference to Kerberos because it makes little sense. However, in the source text the behaviour described is that of a woman scorned, not that of a man quick to anger: 'but if it is a woman, and indeed a barbarian, who is rejected, and if fate gives her the power to take revenge, oh woe, what a vengeful and bloodthirsty character she is!'²³⁷ clearly referring to Euripides' Medea. The author of CPV leaves out the gender, the ethnicity and the rejection, because he is teaching the audience, whether secular or monastic, to avoid

²³⁵ Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 259 and Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 285.

²³⁶ See also Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 262-63.

²³⁷ Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 262-63 and Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 333.

anger in general. So the last two verses, though they remain the same, have a slightly different meaning: ‘if fate gives him the power to take revenge, oh woe, what a vengeful and bloodthirsty character he is!’²³⁸

It is worth emphasizing that the author of CPV does not borrow verses from Manasses indiscriminately but works with them and adapts them in such a manner that they fit their new contexts. There are some exceptions, though: poem 77, for example, at first treats the monastic virtue of poverty (lines 1–4) and then offers a pseudo-scientific explanation of why tears will not come (lines 5–19), which the author borrowed from Manasses – the poem would definitely have been better without this intrusion. But as I hope to have shown, the author generally makes a creative use of Manasses and lets him sparkle in a constellation of his own devising. The main difference between the hypotext (Manasses) and the hypertext (CPV) is that the author of CPV leaves out references to physical love and pagan thought and values inner beauty above outer beauty.²³⁹

5.5 Hidden gems: Manasses and other sources

Since Manasses’ novel is lost and only a handful of fragments are indirectly preserved, we do not know what the original text actually looked like. On the basis of the remaining examples, we can only have a general idea of the original work. Because the novel has not come down to us, it is unclear whether the author of CPV had access to the text itself or made use of an already existing collection of excerpts, such as the Palaeologan gnomologies that Mazal and Tsolakis used to reconstruct the novel’s contents (for which see below 5.8).

²³⁸ Mazal, ‘Moralische Lehrgedicht’, 262–63 and Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 333.

²³⁹ See also Mazal, *Der Roman*, 64–65; Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*, 32–34; and Tsolakis, ‘Ηθικό ποίημα’, 17.

To make things even more complicated, since we know that Manasses produced two different versions of his *Hodoiporikon*,²⁴⁰ there is the distinct possibility that he did the same with the novel. There are two passages in CPV that provide food for thought. Towards the end of poem 54, the poet quotes Manasses, fr. 6 (ed. Mazal), lines 1-2 and 5-6, but skips lines 3-4 and offers instead two verses different from what we find in Mazal.²⁴¹ Let me first give lines 1-4 in Elizabeth Jeffreys' translation: 'Beauty that is so vibrant, full of so many graces, / is able to enchant and dominate not only mankind, / but also, I think, the sullen lioness, mother of cubs, / and the tusked boar and the bellowing bull'.²⁴² The two lines that are different read: (54.15-16 P) ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσιν ἅπασαν νηκτὴν, ἀεροβάτην, / χερσαιοπόρον, ἄψυχον, καρποφυτοκομοῦσαν, 'but also the whole of nature, at sea, in the air, / and on land; inanimate nature too, fruits and plants'. The difference between the received text of Manasses and the version of CPV is that the Mazal text contrast mankind in general with three individual animals, whereas CPV sets mankind against the rest of nature, fish, birds, animals, stones and vegetation. CPV's version is in my view poetically more pleasing than the Mazal text. Of course, one could argue that the poet embellished the Manassean excerpt, but this looks like Manasses to me: the curious compounds are typical of his style.

The other passage that may be truly Manassean though it differs from the received text is poem 56, lines 5-9, which follow after a quotation from Manasses, fr. 8, lines 1-2,²⁴³ saying that no evildoer can escape from God's hands. In these lines, the poet uses unusual metaphors to express how ineluctable God is, in language that to me looks like Manasses. However, the Mazal text (fr. 8, lines 3-6) is equally impressive.

²⁴⁰ Chrysogelos, Κωνσταντίνου Μανασσή Οδοιπορικόν, 87-95.

²⁴¹ See Mazal, *Der Roman*, 166.

²⁴² See Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 285.

²⁴³ See Mazal, *Der Roman*, 166.

Once again, we face the same dilemma: is the poet imitating Manasses' style or did he have access to a different text than we find in Mazal and Tsolakis?

Another question that is equally unanswerable because we do not have the full text of Manasses' novel is whether there may be Manassean passages in this collection that have not been identified as yet.²⁴⁴ Given the amount of Byzantine texts that are yet to be discovered and still await to be edited or are lost entirely for various reasons, there is also the possibility that fragments from other unknown works are hidden in the text.

Identifying these hidden gems is fraught with difficulty but taking into account the fact that Manassean quotations tend to be found near the end, not at the beginning of poems, this is where the research should start. Then there is the fact that when the author is not quoting Manasses, the style tends to be slightly less baroque, with fewer compounds and rare words. Particularly interesting is poem 8, which deals with the topic of *phthonos* (envy): lines 4-7, 9 (second hemistich) and 10 are taken from Manasses, fr. 31.5-8 and 15-16. In this Manassean passage, *phthonos* is compared to all sorts of venomous or otherwise deadly animals – some of which the adaptor leaves out (Manasses, fr. 31.9-14 and the first hemistich of 15), while adding a few other scary creatures: θυμομαχῆς μονόκερως, δράκων φαρμακορύκτης, / ἄρκος, ἀσπίς ἀνήμερος (lines 8 and 9). There is a problem at the end of the passage in Manasses: 31.16-17 γὺψ οὐκ ὀρύττων ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐδ' εἰς τὸ δέρτρον δύνων, / [lacuna in the text], ἀλλ' εἰς καρδίαν μέσσην (in Jeffreys' translation: 'a vulture that does not gouge out eyes nor plunge into entrails, <...> but into the very heart'). Mazal suggests that CPV may come to the rescue here: 8.10-11 γὺψ οὐκ εἰσδύνων καλιάν, οὐδ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀρύττων, / ἀλλ' εἰς δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς, εἰς νοῦν, εἰς τὰς αἰσθήσεις, 'a vulture that does not plunge into nests nor gouge out eyes, but [plunges] into the soul's faculties, the

²⁴⁴ See Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht', 251.

mind, the senses’.²⁴⁵ According to him, ἀλλ’ εἰς δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς is exactly what is missing in the lacuna: ‘a vulture (...) that does not plunge into entrails, but into the soul’s faculties, into the very heart’. That is not the only hidden gem here. The scary animals that CPV adds in lines 8 and 9 may very well derive from Manasses as well. As Manasses tends to heap up colourful metaphors, it is certainly possible that these lines were left out by the excerptors but retained by the adaptor of CPV.

There are many other passages in CPV that look distinctly Manassean. Some of these have already been identified by Mazal: 42.3–12 (not in V), 70.8–14, 81.3–12, 92.5–7 and 96.7–8.²⁴⁶ Another passage that looks like something Manasses could have written is found in chapter 3, lines 7a–9 P, where we have the combination of the expression τὸν τοῦ θανάτου σκύφον (attested in the *Synopsis Chronike* 872), the poetic word κακεντρεχῆς and the hapax legomenon πολυλαρυγγίζω. Even in ms. V, a reworked version of the original CPV (see the next section), the influence of Manasses is still very clear. For example, take lines 13.3–5 (V): τότε γὰρ ὄντως φρόνιμος ὁ νοῦς ὁ πανταχύπους / ὅταν τοῖς ἔργοις ἑαυτὸν πῆξι σκηναῖς ἀφθάρτοις, / ἐν αἷς καὶ ζήσεται λυθεὶς τοῦ πηλοφύρτου σκήνους, ‘because the quick-footed mind is only then truly wise when it, through its works, puts itself in the eternal abodes, in which it shall live free from the mud-created body’. Here we have another hapax legomenon, πανταχύπους, and a very rare adjectival compound, πηλόφυρτος, which according to the online *TLG* has six attestations: our poem, two occurrences in the *Synopsis Chronike* (233 and 2374), one in Dellaportas quoting *Synopsis Chronike* 233 and another in the post-Byzantine *Historia Imperatorum* adapting the same line, and only one occurrence in a non-Manassean context – the novel of Niketas Eugenianos (2.153).

²⁴⁵ Mazal, ‘Moralische Lehrgedicht’, 153 and Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 292.

²⁴⁶ See Mazal, ‘Moralische Lehrgedicht’, 257, 262, 263, 264 and 265.

Manasses is not the only source. The end of the prologue offers many instances of intertextuality. The image of the ‘speaking vessel’ (λογικὴ ὀλκάς) in lines 67–71 (V) ultimately goes back to Pisides who uses the collocation λαλοῦσα ὀλκάς four times in his poetry to denote his own eloquent words.²⁴⁷ And Pisides’ metaphor is taken over by Manuel Philes and, via him, Nikephoros Gregoras.²⁴⁸ But it is also found in Neophytos Enkleistos as λογικὴ ὀλκάς, just as in CPV,²⁴⁹ and though there is no reason to believe that Neophytos’ writings were read outside Cyprus, the identical phrasing might indicate a common monastic or ecclesiastical source. In line 69 πτερωτῆς (...) γλυφίδος is borrowed from Euripides, *Orestes* 274 πτερωτὰς γλυφίδας. The second hemistich of line 71 (τοὺς κάλωας, τὰ λαίφη) is once again inspired by Manasses who offers twice οὐ κάλωας, οὐ λαίφη (in the novel, fr. 56.10 and the verse chronicle, v. 427). The first hemistich (καὶ τρέψω τὸ πηδάλιον), however, may well go back to Ps. Chrysostom: πῶς ἢ ποῦ τρέψω τῶν λόγων τὰ πηδάλια οὐχ ἔχω.²⁵⁰

The concluding passage of the prologue (vv. 72–82), in which the author says that he is not worthy to judge others and to offer moral advice because he is a sinner, is clearly modelled on poem no. 9 of Theophylaktos of Ohrid. In the source text, Theophylaktos inveighs against a person who had slandered fellow priests and tells him that he is in no position to judge other people given his own moral flaws (vv.19–24).²⁵¹ He first reminds him of the well-known biblical warning against ‘seeing the speck in your brother’s eye’ but not ‘the plank in your own eye’ (*Matt.* 7:3–5, *Luke* 6:41–42) and then compares him to inferior creatures who dare criticize their superiors: ὕβρισας ὕγρους, βάτραχος, τοὺς ἰχθύας; / καλεῖς, χελώνη, τοὺς βόας βραδυπόρους; / τὸν

²⁴⁷ See Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 155 and n. 22, for a discussion of this metaphor.

²⁴⁸ Philes: Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, vol. II, 216 (no. 203.79). Gregoras: Leone, *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, no. 143, l. 3.

²⁴⁹ Giagkou and Papatriantafyllou-Theodoridi (eds), Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου, III, *Or.* 5.414 and 14.136.

²⁵⁰ *PG* 56, col. 388. line 16.

²⁵¹ Gautier, *Theophylacte d’Achrída*, 361–65.

σὺν λέγεις, πτώξ, δειλὸν ὥς μοναγρότην; / ἥλιον ὥς δύνοντα, κομήτης, ψέγεις,
 ‘You frog, do you revile fish for being water-animals? You turtle, do you call oxen slow-moving? You hare, do you dub the boar a coward for living in the fields? You comet, do you blame the sun for going under?’). The author of CPV uses the same biblical parable in lines 71–72 and uses a strikingly similar language in lines 78–80 (P): τὴν γὰρ ἐγγέλυ βάτραχος βασκαίνω καὶ μωκῶμαι, / ὅπως ὑγρόβιος ἐστὶν ὥς χοῖρος τελματίας / πτώξ ὢν περίφοβος, δειλός, νυκτερινὸς ὁδίτης / τὸν σὺν τὸν καπριόδοντα, τὸν μοναγρότην ψέγω, ‘I the frog mock and insult the eel for living in the water as the muddy pig does; I the hare, anxious, cowardly, and travelling by night, criticize the tusked boar that lives in the fields’.

True to form, the poet of CPV returns to his favourite author in the last line (prol.82) where he calls himself ‘a stupid farmhand’: σκαφευτής (literally, ‘digger’) is found only in Manasses (*Synopsis Chronike* 183 and 6596).

5.6 The two versions P and V

The texts as transmitted by P and V show significant differences. The two manuscripts have so many different readings that it is highly unlikely that both derive from a common exemplar. Take, for instance, the prologue: P has seventy-six lines, V has eighty-two. But it is not just a matter of some lines omitted. If one looks at the lines that are entirely identical (not taking into account obvious scribal mistakes), the number of lines that the manuscripts share is 34 (= c. 41% of the number of lines in V).

The beginning of the prologue (lines 1–10 in V and lines 1–6 in P) is radically different in both manuscripts. In lines 1–4 P and 1–5 V, the author tells the person who had commissioned the text from him (see above Chapter 5.1 for more information)

that he has obeyed his orders and completed the task at hand and that obedience is a holy duty as God and the prophets tell us:

Νῦν ἤδη, πάντων βέλτιστε τῶν κατὰ πνεῦμα ζώντων,
 ὅσον κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ὑπῆρχεν ἡμετέραν,
 ὁδὸν τὴν τῆς ὑπακοῆς ἐπλήρωσα, καθάπερ
 βίβλοι, προφηταὶ καὶ θεὸς ἐδίδαξεν ἀρχῆθεν. (P)

Νῦν οὖν σοι, πάντων βέλτιστε τῶν κατὰ πνεῦμα ζώντων,
 τὸ κατ' ἰσχὺν πεπλήρωκα τοὺς ἐν ἐφέσει λόγους,
 θεσμοῖς ὡς θέμις ἐντολῆς ὑπακοῆς ὑπείκων·
 θεοῦ γὰρ λόγους ἔκρινα δεινὸν ἐξωριάζειν
 καὶ προφητῶν ψυχωφελεῖς ἐν ὑποθήκῃ βίβλους. (V)

The differences are self-evident. V then has three lines for which there is no parallel in P. In these lines (6–8 V), the author states that the text is his own and that the readers may gain knowledge and understanding from it. In the next two lines (5–6 P, 9–10 V), the author tells his readers that it is up to them to decide whether it is any good:

ἔργον δὲ πάντως πέφυκεν ἀπάρτι τῶν τῇ δέλτῳ
 ἐντυγχανόντων πρὸς τιμὴν ἢ μῶμον περιτρέψαι. (P)

τόδε καλὸν ἢ τεχνικὸν ἢ μὴ τοιοῦτον εἶναι

τοῖς βλέπουσι προκίεσται δοῦναι τὰς ἀποφάσεις. (V)

P and V are clearly two different versions. It is reasonable to assume that both versions go back to the author. Probably the best-known example of a Byzantine text circulating in two different versions is Niketas Choniates' *History*.²⁵² As explained by Simpson, Choniates' *History* has come down to us in a shorter and a longer redaction. The main reason pushing Choniates to revise and expand his text 'was to explain the events of 1204'.²⁵³ Just as P and V, the two redactions of the *History* have many differences in style and content, serving, apparently, two different purposes: the longer and later redaction is more emotion-laden, is openly critical of the political establishment, and offers more in the way of rhetorical flourishes, elaborate narratives and psychological insights.

However, authorial redrafting and revising is certainly not restricted to prose. A number of poems such as Manasses' *Hodoiporikon* and Constantine Stilbes' monody on the fire that devastated a city quarter have come down to us in two different redactions, both clearly the work of their authors themselves.²⁵⁴ Reasons for rewriting may be multiple, but it is fair to assume that Manasses, Stilbes and the author of the *Chapters in Political Verse* were not satisfied with the original draft and thought it required revision. Another option would be to see a connection with the lines quoted above, in which the author tells the readers that he leaves it to them whether they wish to praise or criticize his work. As the *Chapters in Political Verse* is a commissioned piece of literature, the most important of these readers was obviously the person who

²⁵² Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*, 68–103.

²⁵³ Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*, 76.

²⁵⁴ See Chrysogelos, *Κωνσταντίνου Μανασσῆ Οδοιπορικόν*, 90–95, and Diethart and Hörandner, *Constantinus Stilbes: Poemata*, xxv–xxvi.

commissioned it, and there is a chance that he was not pleased with the result and asked the author to do it all over again.

But if P and V are different redactions of the same text, which one is the original draft, and which one is the revised version? As I hope to show in Chapter 7.4 ('Stylistic Changes from P to V'), the main difference between P and V lies in the 'demanassification' of the source material and the simplification of the message. As mentioned above, 25.4% of the lines in P and 23.8% of the lines in V derive from Manasses. However, the 'demanassification' is not so much the slightly less prominent presence of Manasses in V (23.8% is still quite significant) as it is an attempt to use the Manassean material in a creative and more considered manner. If one compares V to P, it is clear that the author on second thought realized that some of the Manassean quotations simply do not work in their new contexts. The general impression is that V is an attempt to improve upon P: the message is clearer, the grammar more correct, and the metre runs smoother. It is for this reason that there can be little doubt that P is the original draft and V a revised version.

There is one unique example in which the author of CPV replaces a quotation from Manasses with another quotation: chapter 62.

Ῥάστην μὲν ἴσθι τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ἔνωσιν ὑπάρχειν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσεξάλειπτον εἶναι μετὰ τὴν πεῖραν.
 Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄκρατον ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν
 παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν τῷ τῆς γῆς ἐνστρεφομένων γύρω,
 κἂν πλεῖστα κτήσαιντο τινές, κἂν εὐθηνοῖντο φίλοις,
 κἂν περιρρέοιντο χρυσῷ, κἂν ὀλβῷ καταντλοῖντο. (P)

Ῥάστην μὲν ἴσθι τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ἔνωσιν ὑπάρχειν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσεξάλειπτον εἶναι μετὰ τὴν πεῖραν.

Οὐ γὰρ ψευδὴς ὡς ἔοικεν ὁ γνωματεύων λόγος,
 ὡς ὁ σκαιὸς οὐ δύναται τὴν γνώμην μεταθεῖναι,
 οὐδ' ἐκλαθέσθαι τὴν ὁρμὴν τῆς μοχθηροτροπίας·
 ἔθος καὶ γάρ, ὡς λέγουσιν, ὑπερνικᾷ καὶ φύσεις. (V)

While the first two verses of P are by the author himself, the last four derive from Manasses, fragment 83:²⁵⁵ ‘Know that the union with evil is so easily established but is hard to erase once you have tried it. For it is impossible to find unmixed happiness among any of those caught up in earth’s orbit, even if some attain many possessions, even if they flourish in friends, even if they are swamped with gold, even if they are flooded with bliss’.²⁵⁶ As one can see, the fragment from Manasses does not properly fit into the message expressed in the first two lines of chapter 62, namely that evil habits, once contracted, are difficult to break. The connection between the author’s moralizing message and the lines borrowed from Manasses’ novel is extremely tenuous. The feeling that these lines are out of place in chapter 62, is confirmed by the fact that the exact same lines are used again in chapter 97, where this time they fit perfectly: ‘Not every kind of surplus is useful to mankind. For it is impossible to find unmixed happiness, etcetera’. Here the author states that to possess too much serves no purpose, which he then illustrates with the lines from Manasses, which state that extravagant luxury is no guarantee for happiness.

The rewritten version of V is much better: ‘Know that the union with evil is so easily established but is hard to erase once you have tried it. For, as it seems, the proverbial saying is not untrue that an evil person cannot change his character nor forget his urge to do evil: habit, as they say, even prevails over nature’. Lines 3–5 are

²⁵⁵ See Mazal, *Der Roman*, 185.

²⁵⁶ The translation of the last four verses is by Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 308, apart from line 5 (=Manasses 83.3), where P reads εὐθηνοῖντο while Mazal’s edition offers (incorrectly and against the metre) εὐθύνοιντο.

taken again from a Manassean passage, fragment 132: Ἀλλ' ἀληθής, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ γνωματεύσας λόγος, / ὡς ὁ χρηστὸς οὐ δύναται τὴν γνώμην μεταθεῖναι, / οὐδ' ἐκλαθέσθαι τῆς ῥοπῆς τῆς εἰς ὀρθοτροπίαν, 'But this proverbial saying is true, that the worthy man cannot change his character nor escape his inclination to correct behaviour'.²⁵⁷ It is wonderful to see how the author radically alters the meaning of the original text by changing 'the worthy man' (χρηστὸς) to 'an evil person' (σκαῖος) and turning the 'inclination to correct behaviour' (τῆς ῥοπῆς τῆς εἰς ὀρθοτροπίαν) into 'an urge to do evil' (τὴν ὀρμὴν τῆς μοχθηροτροπίας). This is the only instance where the author replaces Manasses with Manasses. It is also the only place where he lets Manasses say exactly the opposite of what he was actually saying.

5.7 The scholia in manuscript V

Another major difference between P and V is the presence of marginal scholia in the latter version. These scholia are extremely difficult to read, especially in the digitized manuscript available on the website of the Vatican Library. I had hoped to inspect the scholia in situ but was prevented by the outbreak of Covid-19. The following observations are therefore based on what I was able to decipher online.

The scholia leave no doubt that they were specifically composed for version V. Take the very first scholion (on fol. 395^v) which, after a few lines discussed below in Chapter 5.9, continues as follows: τὸ μὲν οὖν πόνημα τῆς παρούσης πυκτίδος ἐμόν· τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ τεχνικὸν ἢ μὴ τοιοῦτον ὑπάρχειν ἢ ἀπόφασις τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι κείσεται· εἴτα εἰς τὴν τοῦ λόγου παράστασιν, τὸν τε Ἰσραὴλ εὐεργητούμενον ἀγνώμονα παριστᾷ, τὸν δὲ Ἰὼβ καὶ μετὰ παιδείας εὐγνώμονα (...), '«The work in this book is mine. Whether or not it is good and skilful, the judgement rests with those

²⁵⁷ Ed. Mazal, *Der Roman*, 198. Translation by Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 322.

who read it». Then in support of his arguments, he presents Israel as being an ungrateful beneficiary and Job as a grateful one with learning (...)' . Before summarizing the anti-Semitic rant about the Jews being ungrateful (lines 11–66 of the prologue), the scholiast quotes line 6 and 9–10 in the version of V almost verbatim (even retaining the first person). As we have seen in Chapter 5.6, the version of P is quite different at this point: so the scholion does not apply to P, but to V. Another good example is the scholion on fol. 404^v, which offers extensive commentary on the word ἤλεκτρος ('amber'), mentioned in line 68.5 of V, while P does not mention ἤλεκτρος at all.

The scholia are not the work of the author of CPV himself, given the fact that the scholiast refers to him in the third person and calls him ὁ συγγραφεύς.²⁵⁸ The scholia are not the work of the scribe of V either. This is once again easy to prove because of the dittography on fol. 403^v: οὐ μόνον τὰ παρόντα ἐνήδονα καὶ αἰσχρὰ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ – the scribe writes these words twice and then continues with the rest of the sentence: φόβου οἱ ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσι.

The scholiast appears to have regarded his work as a running commentary, since he uses the term ἐξήγησις, not σχόλια, for it on fol. 402^v: στεν[ὸς?] ὁ χῶρος τῆς ἐξηγήσεως, 'the space of the commentary [is restricted?]'. As Budelman explains, the term ἐξήγησις in the singular indicates that the commentary, rather than being an atomized collection of σχόλια (plural), must be seen as an organic whole, as an intellectual accomplishment, which if not equal to the text commented upon, is at least worthy of attention.²⁵⁹

The scholiast knows the literary canon. On fol. 404^v, he identifies the literary allusion to Homer (*Il.* 6.146) in chapter 65.15: τὸ ὁμηρικὸν ἐκεῖνο ῥήτόν· τὸ οὔη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. On fol. 402^v, there is a long scholion about the

²⁵⁸ See Chapter 3.2. See also Tsolakīs, 'Ἡθικὸ ποίημα', 13–14.

²⁵⁹ See Budelmann, 'Classical Commentary in Byzantium', 154–55.

Trojan War and, in particular, the Wooden Horse which, according to the scholiast, 'hid three hundred hoplites' (!). On fol. 404^r, the scholiast recounts in detail the myth of Phaethon's death and his weeping sisters, who turned into poplar trees and their tears became amber. On fol. 399^v, he identifies the biblical source for chapter 18.7 (Matt. 6.14-15). On fol. 401^v, he quotes verbatim a passage from *Homily* 46 (*PG* 36.429) of Gregory of Nazianzos (ὁ ἐν θεολογίᾳ μέγας Γρηγόριος). On fol. 403^v, he quotes Basil the Great (ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος), but the interesting thing is that he does not quote the source text itself (*PG* 29.224), which reads: παλαιωθὲν γὰρ πάθος ψυχῆς καὶ κακοῦ μελέτη βεβαιωθεῖσα δυσίατός ἐστιν ἢ καὶ ἀνίατος παντελῶς, but derives the quotation from an early thirteenth-century gnomology, the *Thesaurus* by Theognostos Hieromonachos (18, 6.70): παλαιωθὲν γὰρ πάθος ψυχῆς καὶ κακοῦ μελέτη βεβαιωθὲν δυσίατον ἐστιν ἢ καὶ ἀνίατον παντελῶς – please notice the slight, but tale-tale differences in the wording.²⁶⁰ The author also has some interest in science. On fol. 398^r, in connection to chapter 11.3-5, he refers to experts in astronomy (οἱ τὰς ὁδοῦς τῶν ἀστέρων ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενοι) and what they have to say about the horizon. And on fol. 404^v, he tells us that ἤλεκτρος, 'amber', is also known as λιγγούριον.²⁶¹ While ἤλεκτρος is the literary word for amber, λιγγούριον is the term used by doctors and alchemists.²⁶²

But the most interesting reference is found on fol. 399^v, a scholion on 20.4-6. The scholiast recognizes in this Manassean passage (fragment 124, ed. Mazal) a popular saying (δημοκοπούμενον, as he puts it): ἡ γῆ ὥμοσε τὸν οὐρανόν· μυστήριον οὐ κρύπτεται. This is indeed a proverb. In Krumbacher's edition of medieval proverbs, it

²⁶⁰ Munitiz, *Theognosti Thesaurus*, 18.6, l.71.

²⁶¹ The word is variously spelled as λιγγούριον, λιγκούριον, λυγγούριον and λυγκούριον. See *LBG*, s.v. λυγγούριον.

²⁶² See the online *TLG* for the use of the word (in all four spellings).

reads: ἡ γῆ ὥμοσεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· μυστήριον μὴ κρυβήτω;²⁶³ but as is common with orally transmitted sayings, there are many variant versions, one of which (in Vat. gr. 695) offers a text very similar to that of the scholiast: ἡ γῆ ὥμοσεν τὸν οὐρανόν· μυστήριον οὐ κρύβεται.²⁶⁴ Manasses alludes to the same proverb in fragment 58 (not used by the author of CPV), and it is there that he refers to it being a popular saying: τὸ γὰρ περιφερόμενον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ μῦθος (58.1, ed. Mazal).²⁶⁵

The frequent recourse to classical, biblical, patristic and even popular literary sources, of course, raises the question what the implied audience was. Given the fact that the *Chapters in Political Verse* had been commissioned by a monk (see above Chapter 5.1), one would expect the text to serve a monastic agenda. But if this were the case, the mythological references (see above Chapter 5.3), the frequent use of Manasses and other highbrow sources (see above Chapter 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6) and the recondite vocabulary (see below Chapter 7.2) are difficult to explain. It would appear that the person who had commissioned the text wished to reach a wider audience than just that of a monastic milieu and therefore asked the poet, whoever he was, to incorporate his literary background into the text. If so, the scholiast plays along with it and maintains the high register of the text itself. This would mean that the scholia of the CPV are not actually meant to explain what the text is about, as the use of the word λιγγούριον shows, but rather to give the readers more information on the topic discussed. By explaining the references in the text, e.g. Homer or Basil the Great, the scholiast plays that game of ‘who knows what’ typical of Byzantine literature. While the references to the church fathers and the Bible may satisfy the curiosity of a monastic audience, the references to classical literature clearly aim at a different type of readers. I would say,

²⁶³ See Krumbacher, ‘Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter’, 89, no. 46. I owe this reference to Professor Lauxtermann.

²⁶⁴ See Krumbacher, ‘Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter’, 121.

²⁶⁵ See Kurtz, ‘Zu den παροιμιαὶ δημώδεις’, 457–58.

therefore, that the audience of the CPV, or at least the one the scholiast aimed at, probably consisted of both secular intellectuals and well-educated monks. It is also worth pointing out that the Vatican manuscript is a miscellany of mainly rhetorical and learned texts; it is clearly not monastic.²⁶⁶ This indicates that when the manuscript was put together, the compiler and his intended readers appreciated the two collections of chapters, CFW and CPV, mainly for their literary merits.

5.8 Manasses re-used in Palaeologan sources

Manasses' novel *Aristandros and Kallithea* has not come down to us complete but only in fragments.²⁶⁷ These fragments survived either directly, as a part of a larger collection, or indirectly. Direct quotations are found in: Ῥοδωνιά, a florilegium of prose and metric sayings compiled by Makarios Chrysoskephalos in the mid fourteenth century and preserved in Marc. gr. 452 (s. XIV); another gnomology, Γνωμικά ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Μανασσῆ, called WM after its two principal manuscripts, Vind. Phil. gr. 306 (XIV ex.) and Monac. gr. 281 (s. XVI); and an untitled collection of excerpts, recently discovered by Mazzon in ms. Neap. II C 32 (dating from around 1330), consisting of 200 fragments from the novel, 150 of which are new.²⁶⁸ Manasses' novel is quoted indirectly in a gnomology put together around the year 1300 by Maximos Planoudes, Συναγωγή ἐκλεγεῖσα ἀπὸ διαφόρων βιβλίων πάνυ ὠφέλιμος, who offers prose paraphrases. And, of course, another indirect source is the *Chapters in Political Verse* where we find many quotations from Manasses.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ See Chapter 1, 6–8.

²⁶⁷ There are two contemporary editions of the text: Tsolakis, *Συμβολή* and Mazal, *Der Roman*, and one English translation: Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*.

²⁶⁸ See O. Mazzon, 'Nuovi frammenti di Costantino Manasse dal codice Neap. II C 32' (forthcoming).

²⁶⁹ For all textual witnesses (apart from the recent discovery by Ottavia Mazzon), see Tsolakis, *Συμβολή* and Mazal, *Der Roman*.

The process by which the novel was excerpted in various anthologies and compendia will have been similar to that experienced by Manasses' other major literary work, the *Synopsis Chronike*, which has come down to us in its integrity but also in the form of excerpts. When examining the manuscript tradition of the *Synopsis Chronike*, it is clear that the process started with marginal notes in the manuscripts (γνωμικόν, ὠραῖον, etc.) signalling proverbs, sayings or proverbial expressions of potential interest.²⁷⁰ These marginal notes then merged into gnomologies that were conceived to be 'suitable for everyone for the matter at hand' (to quote the title of one of these gnomologies).²⁷¹ This indicates that some of Manasses quotations, of various length, were to be used by everyone in need of this or that sentence about love, friendship or envy, etc. The same will have happened to the novel: it started with marginal notes and then led to anthologies. Unfortunately, the novel has not survived in its entirety but has come down to us only in fragments, which, as noted, were collected in anthologies or quoted by other authors. It is clear, then, that Manasses' works lend themselves to be re-used. Re-use in itself is a creative act. As noted by Nilsson and Nyström, 'The excerpts are cut out of the original so as to seem as neutral as possible, since this could make them even more useful for the person who was looking for ways to embellish and vary his own letter, speech or whatever he or she was elaborating'.²⁷²

It is difficult to decide whether the author of the *Chapters in Political Verse* had access to the novel itself or to collections of excerpts. Based on the manuscript evidence, it is clear that the gnomonic sayings of the novel enjoyed great popularity in the Palaeologan era: Makarios Chrysoképhalos was active in the fourteenth century, Maximos Planoudes at the end of the thirteenth century, and the anonymous WM anthology in Vind. Phil.gr.306 (XIV ex.) and Monac. gr. 281 (s. XVI) is probably

²⁷⁰ Nilsson and Nyström, 'To compose, read and use a Byzantine text', 53–54.

²⁷¹ Lampsidis, 'Les gnomologia'.

²⁷² Nilsson and Nyström, 'To compose, read and use a Byzantine text', 58.

Palaeologan as well. Makarios, Planoudes and the anonymous anthologist may have made use of the novel itself, being therefore themselves excerptors, or availed themselves of earlier collections of excerpts. According to Mazzon, the “Ροδωνιαὶ are not based on pre-existing anthologies but they are, on the contrary, the result of the long Makarios’ frequentation with literary texts: they reflect his practice of making excerpts that gave birth to an autonomous sylloge’.²⁷³ It is not clear whether the same holds true for Planoudes and the anonymous anthologist. The important thing to note, however, is that the way in which the author of the *Chapters in Political Verse* used Manasses show a striking similarity to what Makarios, Planoudes and the anonymous anthologist did: all four text witnesses reduced the novel of Manasses, either directly or indirectly, to a collection of moral sayings.

Since there appears to be a connection between Andronikos Palaiologos and the compilation of CFW and CPV (see Chapter 10), it is interesting to note that he was acquainted with Maximos Planoudes, as shown by the four letters that Planoudes addressed to him.²⁷⁴ It is reasonable to assume that, as fellow *literatī*, they frequented the same literary circles, exchanged knowledge and shared texts within the cultural milieu to which they belonged. One of these texts may have been the novel of Manasses or a collection of his fragments. There is even some evidence that they may have had access to the same source text. Three fragments of the novel of Manasses have survived only through Planoudes and the *Chapters in Political Verse*.²⁷⁵ These are fragments 113, 126 and 21a in Mazal’s edition: 27.6–10 τρία καὶ γὰρ τοῦ στόματος ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς ἐκρέει, / λόγος, πνοὴ καὶ φίλημα, τὰ παρ’ ἀνθρώποις κρείττω· / καὶ τὸ μὲν στόμα πάροδον ἀπλῆς φωνῆς τυγχάνει / χεῖλεσι δὲ φθεγγόμεθα καὶ χεῖλεσι φιλοῦμεν /

²⁷³ Mazzon, ‘Manuale di sopravvivenza per un giovane monaco’, 210.

²⁷⁴ Treu, *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae*. The letters are number 22, 36, 37 and 41.

²⁷⁵ See Mazal, *Der Roman*, 63–65 and 68.

ἀλλ' ἡ καρδία τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ πικρὸν ἐκβλύζει;²⁷⁶ 60.4-6 ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς τῆς φυτευσίμου γαίας / σκαφευομένης ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ σπειρομένης, / καὶ βάτος ἀναδίδεται καὶ στάχυς σιτοφόρος; and 68.6-7 ὡς ἡ μαγνητὶς σίδηρον, ὡς Ἀλφειὸν ἡ λίμνη, / ὡς ὄφεις ὁ φθοροποιὸς τὴν μύραιναι ἐκ βάθους.

5.9 Is Manasses the author of CPV?

As is well known, the first editor of the *Chapters in Political Verse* (in version P; V was unknown to him), Emmanuel Miller, attributed the text to Constantine Manasses because of the numerous quotations from the novel *Aristandros and Kallithea* and the 'similar' writing style.²⁷⁷ He maintained that authors have the right to use their own words for different purposes: 'Notre poete a usé du droit qu'ont toujours eu les écrivains de se copier eux-mêmes'.²⁷⁸ The first to question Manasses' authorship was Krumbacher who, in his history of Byzantine literature, pointed out that the presence of another work equally structured in hundred chapters and dealing with the same topics in the same manuscript (the *Chapters in Four Ways*) strongly militated against this attribution.²⁷⁹ Though Miller did acknowledge the similarities between the *Chapters in Political Verse* and the *Chapters in Four Ways*, Krumbacher was the first to realize that the two works are intimately connected.

After Krumbacher nobody returned to the issue until 1967 when Mazal first published an article in which he analysed the way in which the author of the *Chapters in Political Verse* incorporated the fragments of Manasses' novel²⁸⁰ and then reiterated his

²⁷⁶ It is worth mentioning that the last line of chapter 27: ἡ καρδία τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ πικρὸν ἐκβλύζει, can be found paraphrased in the novel *Kallimachos and Chrysorroë*, 843-44: Ἀλλ' ὅπερ φέρει τὸ γλυκὺν φέρει καὶ τὴν πικρίαν which is perhaps the work of Andronikos Palaiologos himself (for his disputed authorship, see Chapter 9).

²⁷⁷ Miller, 'Poème moral', 29-30.

²⁷⁸ Miller, 'Poème moral', 29-30.

²⁷⁹ Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 379.

²⁸⁰ Mazal, 'Moralische Lehrgedicht'.

views in the edition of the novel.²⁸¹ Unlike Miller, Mazal thought that the shared verses between the two works must be seen as an argument against Manasses' authorship. Even though authors may copy themselves, Manasses would have never stooped to the level of plundering one fourth of the *Chapters in Political Verse* from an earlier text, the novel, and forcibly pressing these verses into a text with an entirely different meaning. Mazal argued, therefore, that the author was likely to be just a plagiarist of Manasses, perhaps one of his students. Mazal also tried to give a time frame for the writing of the *Chapters in Political Verse*, arguing that they must have been written around the year 1200, when the memory of *Aristandros and Kallithea* was still fresh in people's minds.

However, given the text history of the excerpts from Manasses' novel, Mazal's dating makes little sense: if all the fragments of the novel have come down to us in Palaeologan sources, such as Makarios Chrysokephalos, Maximos Planoudes and the anonymous WM anthology, why should the author of CPV need to be active at least one century earlier? There is no proof that the re-use of Manasses (both his novel and the *Synopsis Chronike*) as a source of moralizing sayings had already begun in the Komnenian period or during the Nicene exile. If Makarios used Manasses' novel in the mid fourteenth century, the compiler of the WM anthology in the same century and Planoudes around the year 1300, it would seem that the 'memory' of Manasses' novel was not restricted to his pupils and first readers, as Mazal assumes, but continued right into the Palaeologan era. Moreover, as we have seen,²⁸² the compilation of the *Chapters in Four Ways* probably dates to the early fourteenth century and if the author of CPV had CFW on his writing desk when he composed his own chapters (see above Chapter 5.2), it follows that CPV dates to the fourteenth century as well.

²⁸¹ Mazal, *Der Roman*, 62–69.

²⁸² See Chapter 3, p. 46.

1967 seems to have been quite a prolific year for studies on Manasses' novel: shortly before Mazal, Tsolakis published his own edition of the novel, but their opinions on the authorship of the *Chapters in Political Verse* could not have been more different.²⁸³ According to Tsolakis, Manasses was in the habit of recycling his own work, as proof of which he adduced the fact that there are shared verses between the novel and the chronicle too. Moreover, the way in which he embedded the verses of his own novel in the *Chapters in Political Verse* – their very incongruity – points towards his authorship: he could not resist the temptation to re-use them, even when they made little sense in their new context.²⁸⁴ What is more, the author of the *Chapters in Political Verse* was clearly a monk – as the prologue shows – and Manasses 'may' have become a monk around the year 1160, since he expressed his discontent about the secular world both in the *Hoidoporiakon*, I.1–4: Ἄρτι θροούσης ἐκφυγὼν ζάλης ῥόθους / καὶ τὴν ἐπαφρίζουσαν ἄλμην πραγμάτων / ὧν μοι προεξένησεν ἀπλότης τρόπου / ἀνθρωπίνης τε κακίας ἀπειρία,²⁸⁵ and in the *Chapters in Political Verse*, 17.1–4: Τὴν περιμίσητον αἰσχρὰν κακίαν ἀπωθεῖτε / ἀπάντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν δεινὴν ὡς ὀλεθρίαν / ἐμπράκτως γὰρ καταπεσὼν εἰς τὰς ἀφύκτους πάγας / νεκρὸς ὑπάρχω τὴν ψυχὴν κἂν τοῖς ποσὶ βαδίζω.²⁸⁶ The first of these arguments is hardly plausible: Manasses was a skilled poet and would not have had any problem giving his verses a new context or meaning as he did when he re-used the verses of the chronicle for his novel. And as for the lack of congruence – both in terms of style and meaning – between the verses of the *Chapters in Political Verse* and those of Manasses' novel, that is not like Manasses at all as he is much too accomplished for that. As for the second argument, Tsolakis tried his hardest to prove that Manasses had become a monk and

²⁸³ Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*.

²⁸⁴ Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*, 27–28.

²⁸⁵ Chrysogelos, *Κωνσταντίνου Μανασσῆ Οδοιπορικόν*, 102.

²⁸⁶ Tsolakis, *Συμβολή*, 17–20 and 30.

had repented having written his ‘erotic’ novel, which was why he re-used the verses of his own novel as a form of self-flagellating penance in the *Chapters in Political Verse*. However, there is no evidence for Manasses ever having been a monk and repenting his former life (nor is there any evidence that writing a novel was considered to be sinful).

In a later article, Tsolakis returned to the problem of the authorship of the *Chapters in Political Verse*. While essentially repeating his earlier views, Tsolakis argued that the presence of the *Chapters in Four Ways* and the *Chapters in Political Verse* in both manuscripts was irrelevant: while CFW was an anthology of various texts, CPV was a unitary poem written by Manasses. According to him, some Palaeologan scholar brought anthology and poem together because he wished to produce a *Πανοπλία*, a moral compendium.²⁸⁷

In the same article, Tsolakis quotes an interesting marginal scholion in the Vatican manuscript, which explicitly states that the *Chapters in Political Verse* were written by the author of the *Chapter in Four Ways*. In Tsolakis’ view, the scholiast was mistaken: he was misled by the fact that the moral panoply (anthology and poem) lacked a title for CPV.²⁸⁸ The scholion (which I have already discussed in Chapter 3.2) is found next to the beginning of the prologue of CPV on fol. 395^v. It reads as follows:

Ἐπειδὴ συνέθετο πᾶσαν τὴν βίβλον ὁ συγγραφεὺς διὰ τε ἡρώων,
 ἰάμβων, ἀνακρεοντείων ἐπῶν καὶ λογογραφίας, ἰδοὺ καὶ διὰ μέτρων
 πολιτικῶν ὡς ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ πᾶσαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐδήλωσε μεταχείρησιν· Οὗ
 δὲ χάριν καὶ ὁ παρὼν πρὸς τὸν προορηθέντα ἐν τῇ τοῦ βιβλίου ἀρχῇ
 μοναχὸν ἐπίλογος ἐξενήνεκται παραδηλῶν ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ
 ἀνίσχυρος πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὑποθήκης ὄγκον ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν περὶ του

²⁸⁷ Tsolakis, ‘Ἡθικό ποίημα’, 10–14.

²⁸⁸ Tsolakis, ‘Ἡθικό ποίημα’, 13–14.

Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρακελευομένην ἐντολὴν ἐκπεπλήρωκε κρίνας
 ὅσον τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνον δεινὸν καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἔξω μένειν τοῦ ὅρου τῆς
 ἐντολῆς.

‘Having composed the whole book in hexameters, iambics, anacreontics and prose, the author now offers a concise treatment of all its topics in political verse. It is for this reason that this prologue, which is addressed to the monk mentioned at the beginning of the book, states that even though [the author] was weak and not strong enough [to sustain] the burden of the promise, he still fulfilled what he had been ordered [to write] about God and other matters, because he deemed it to be terrible and inhuman, had he not, to the best of his ability, obeyed orders’.²⁸⁹

Regardless of the question whether or not the scholiast is right in believing that CFW and CPV were written by one and the same author, his testimony at least rightly points out that the two collections are intimately connected because they treat the same topics in the same order. This is basically the same argument made by Krumbacher. The presence of two collections of *kephalaia*, each consisting of hundred chapters on the same subjects and in the same order, the one right after the other, requires an explanation. If the *Chapters in Political Verse* were indeed by Manasses, then one would have to assume that whoever was responsible for the compilation of the *Chapters in Four Ways* (see Chapter 10 for further discussion) followed his format and then perversely put the *Chapters in Four Ways* first and the *Chapters in Political Verse* second.

Secondly, if the *Chapters in Political Verse* were the work of Manasses, one would expect there to be a title not only stating who the author is, but clearly separating

²⁸⁹ It is not clear why the scholiast calls the prologue an ἐπύλογος. But from what he is saying it is clear that he is referring to lines 1–5 of the prologue of CPV and the word ‘this’ (παρῶν) obviously refers to the text at the centre of the page, i.e. the prologue.

the text from the *Chapters in Four Ways*. Manasses is a popular author in Palaeologan times: there are many manuscripts of the *Synopsis Chronike* and, as we have seen, his novel is popular with compilers of moralizing texts. Surely, if CPV were by Manasses, there would be no reason to hide his authorship in the two manuscripts that transmit the text?

Thirdly, if Manasses was the author of CPV, how would one explain his failure to maintain his stylistic level? If he indeed did recycle his own verses, why would he struggle to adapt them to their new contexts in the original draft (P) only to fix the problem in the final version (V)? It also raises the question why this alleged self-cannibalization is restricted to the second half of the poems. It would be strange for Manasses to use a low to middlebrow stylistic register in the opening lines and then change to his usual highbrow style in the concluding lines.

Fourthly, the author of the *Chapters in Political Verse* occasionally commits grammatical errors that are well below what one would expect from an author as accomplished as Manasses, for instance in chapter 23.3 P: ὁ γὰρ δοξάζων τὸν Θεόν, αὐτὸν ἀντιδοξάζει, literally ‘he who glorifies God – him [God] glorifies in return’. This line is problematic because of the pending nominative that functions as a direct object, the lack of a proper subject (i.e. God), and the fact that the pronoun αὐτὸν refers back to an antecedent that forms part of the same sentence (see Chapter 7.3).

Fifthly, the same author occasionally makes metrical mistakes (see Chapter 8.4). In chapter 62.1: Εἰ μνημονεύεις θανάτου, / φεύξῃ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, the stress before the caesura falls on the seventh syllable, on the paroxytone word θανάτου. As noted by Lauxtermann, stress on the penultimate position before the caesura is a feature of poems in lowbrow Greek, such as the hymns of Symeon the New Theologian, the *Dioptra* of Philippos Monotropos, the poem on fasting by Nicholas III Grammatikos

and the didactic poetry of John Kamateros.²⁹⁰ It is out of the question that Manasses, one of Byzantium's finest poets, would ever have allowed himself to commit such a mistake, even if he had to make amends for his former trespasses.

Sixthly, as I hope to have demonstrated in Chapter 5.2, the author of CPV had CFW in front of him when he wrote his hundred chapters on the same topics. As CFW is a Palaeologan compilation, this automatically excludes the putative authorship of Manasses.

²⁹⁰ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 330.

6 The Chapters in Political Verse: Version V

This is an edition of version V of the *Chapters in Political Verse*. As the later version V differs strongly from the earlier version P (edited by Miller in 1875), I decided to present these authorial changes in a separate apparatus, which I should like to call *apparatus comparationis*. There is obviously also a critical apparatus, listing scribal mistakes in manuscripts V and P and Miller's editorial errors: common iotacisms and other spelling mistakes (ε/αι, ο/ω, etc.) have not been included unless they are morphologically significant. It is important to distinguish between authorial interventions and scribal mistakes because they have a fundamentally different status. There is also an apparatus fontium to help the reader navigate among the quotations in version V, both secular and biblical.

I decided to present the entire prologue of V and P on facing pages, instead of putting the readings of version P in the *apparatus comparationis*. The differences are such, and so many, that it would be fruitless, and not very reader-friendly either, to relegate them to an apparatus at the end of this lengthy text. Whenever version P does not have a particular line (or something very similar), that line is left blank; whenever version P has a line that is not found in version V, that line has the number of the previous line with the letter *a* added.

I have restricted corrections to the absolutely necessary, sometimes based on the text of P if it offered a better reading, and sometimes on conjectural emendation. The text of the two manuscripts and their punctuation have been respected as much as possible. I intervened in the text only if it offered wrong readings from a grammatical and syntactical point of view; for the rest, the resulting text is very much that offered by the two manuscripts.

As there is material loss between fol. 400 and 401 in the manuscript, V lacks chapters 28.3 to 42 in its current state. The first chapter after the lacuna, no. 43, has a wrong number: $\mu\delta'$ instead of $\mu\gamma'$; the problem of misnumbering continues until and including chapter 64: $\xi\epsilon'$ in the ms. – the next chapter, 65, bears the same number $\xi\epsilon'$, but this time correctly. In the edition, I have added the correct Greek numbers between square brackets on the basis of P: e.g. 43 ($\mu\delta'$) [$\mu\gamma'$].

All references are to the online *TLC*.

<πρόλογος>

(P)

1. Νῦν ἤδη, πάντων βέλτιστε τῶν κατὰ πνεῦμα ζώντων,
2. ὅσον κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ὑπῆρχεν ἡμετέραν
3. ὁδὸν τὴν τῆς ὑπακοῆς ἐπλήρωσα, καθάπερ
- 4.
5. βίβλοι, προφῆται καὶ θεὸς ἐδίδαξεν ἀρχῇθεν·
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
9. ἔργον δὲ πάντως πέφυκεν ἀπάρτι τῶν τῇ δέλτῳ
10. ἐντυγχανόντων πρὸς τιμὴν ἢ μῶμον περιτρέψαι.
11. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ παῖδες Ἰσραὴλ οἱ σκληραγνωμονοῦντες
12. οὐκ εἰς διπλοπεντάριθμον τοῦ Φαραὼ παιδεΐαν,
13. οὐκ εἰς τὴν πλούτου συλλογὴν πάντων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων,
14. ὃν δὴ καθάπερ μισθωτοὶ συνέλεξαν ἀθρόον,
15. δοῦλοι κακοὶ τυγχάνοντες καὶ τῶν μεμισημένων,
16. οὐκ εἰς νεφέλης φωταυγοῦς ἔβλεψαν δόξαν θεΐαν,
17. οὐκ εἰς αὔλου φοβεροῦ φύσιν πυρὸς κατεΐδον,
- 17a. πῶς εἰς αὐτοὺς μὲν φωταυγὲς ὑπῆρχε καὶ δροσίζον,
- 18.
- 19.
20. πρὸς δ' Αἰγυπτίους σκότωσιν ἔπεμπεν αἰθομένην,
21. οὐκ εἰς θαλάσσης Ἐρυθρᾶς θαύματος θαῦμα μέγα,
22. πῶς ἡ κατάχυτος ὑγρὰ φύσις ἡ λελυμένη

<πρόλογος>

(V)

1. Νῦν οὖν σοι, πάντων βέλτιστε τῶν κατὰ πνεῦμα ζώντων, (fol. 395')
2. τὸ κατ' ἰσχὺν πεπλήρωκα τοὺς ἐν ἐφέσει λόγους,
3. θεσμοῖς ὡς θέμις ἐντολῆς ὑπακοῆς ὑπέικων·
4. θεοῦ γὰρ λόγους ἔκρινα δεινὸν ἐξωριάζειν
5. καὶ προφητῶν ψυχωφελεῖς ἐν ὑποθήκῃ βίβλους.
6. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πόνημα τουτὶ πάντως ἐμὸν πᾶς θεῖτο,
7. ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων ἄψευστον ἀπολαμβάνων γνῶσιν
8. καὶ νοῦν ἐρανιζόμενος †ἐκ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τῆς ψήφου †.
9. Τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἢ τεχνικὸν ἢ μὴ τοιοῦτον εἶναι
10. τοῖς βλέπουσι προκείσεται δοῦναι τὰς ἀποφάσεις.
11. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ παῖδες Ἰσραὴλ οἱ σκληραγνωμονοῦντες
12. οὐκ εἰς διπλοπεντάριθμον τοῦ Φαραὼ παιδεῖαν,
13. οὐκ εἰς τὴν πλούτου συλλογὴν πάντων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων,
14. ὃν δὴ καθάπερ μισθωτοὶ συνέλεξαν ἀθρόον,
15. δοῦλοι κακοὶ τυγχάνοντες καὶ τῶν μεμισημένων,
16. οὐκ εἰς νεφέλην φωταυγῇ δόξαν κατεΐδον θεῖαν,
17. οὐδ' εἰς ἀφ' ὕψους φεραυγῇ τεραστιώδη στύλον,
18. ᾧ τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰσραὴλ ἐχρῶντο ποδηγέτη
19. φωσφόρου σελαγίζοντι πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας δίκην
20. πρὸς δ' Αἰγυπτίους αἴθοντι καὶ συνιστῶντι γνόφον,
21. οὐκ εἰς θαλάσσης Ἐρυθρᾶς ὑπὲρ τὸ πῶς πρὶν θαῦμα,

22. πῶς καταχύτου φύσεως κυματοτρόφος σάλος
(P)
23. ξηρὰ καθάπερ τμήματα κατὰ φυλὰς ἐτμήθη
- 24.
25. καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῆς ἀποκατέστη φύσιν,
- 26.
27. δούλη καθάπερ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνομένη τούτων.
28. Ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἅπαντα κενὰ καὶ νόμος καὶ προφῆται
29. καὶ βίβλοι καὶ μαθήματα καὶ γνῶσις καὶ σοφία,
30. ἐὼ γὰρ πάντ' ἀπαριθμεῖν καὶ καταμερικεύειν
31. ἅπερ ὁ πάντων αὐτουργὸς κινούμενος ἐκ σπλάγχνων
32. πρὸς τούτους ἐξαπέστειλεν εὐεργετῶν πλουσίως.
33. Ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀταπείνωτος, ὑπέροφρυς καρδία,
34. ἀντιφερίζει καὶ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγαλοδυνάμου,
35. εἰ καὶ πολλῶν γε τεύξεται τούτου τῶν δωρημάτων.
36. Ὅμως οὐχ οὕτω καὶ Ἰὼβ ὥφθη σιδηρογνώμων,
37. ὁ πρὶν γεννήτωρ ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἐργάτης,
38. κἂν καὶ παιδείας ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῦ παντεργάτου,
39. ἵν' ὥς χρυσὸς χοάνοισι λαμπρότερος ὀφθείη,
40. ἀλλ' οὖν ὁ θρέψας πένητας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἄρτων
41. καὶ νῶτα κρυερόεντα θερμάνας ἐξ ἐρίων,
42. ὁ πᾶσι πύλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πένησιν ὑπανοίξας,
43. ἐφημερίους τε ποιῶν θυσίας ὑπὲρ παίδων,
44. καὶ μόσχους θύων ἀπαλοὺς ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐκατόμβας,
45. αἴφνης ὥραθη δύστηνος, γυμνότερος ὑπέρου,

46. γυμνὸς ὁ πολυτάπητας, ὁ πεπλομαργαρόστρους,

(V)

23. εἰς ξένην συμμετέβαλεν ὡς ἐν συστάσει πῆξιν

24. καὶ τοίχων δίκην ἀτρεμῆς ἔνθεν κάκεϊθεν ἔστη

25. ἕως καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν πρὶν ἀποκατέστη φύσιν

26. τῇ νεύσει τοῦ συμπήξαντος πανσθενουργῷ δυνάμει,

27. ὡς ἔμπνους ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς Φαραῶ τριστάτας.

28. Ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἅπαντα κενὰ καὶ νόμος καὶ προφῆται

29. καὶ βίβλοι καὶ μαθήματα καὶ γνῶσις καὶ σοφία,

30. καὶ πᾶν ἀπλῶς τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μὴ πλείω λέγω, (fol. 396')

31. ἅπερ οἰκεία κύριος καμφθεὶς φιλανθρωπία

32. πρὸς τούτους ἐξαπέστειλεν εὐεργετῶν πλουσίως.

33. Ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀταπείνωτος, ὑπέροφρος καρδία,

34. ἀντιφερίζει καὶ Θεοῦ τοῦ μεγαλοδυνάμου,

35. κἂν καὶ μεγίστων τεύξηται τούτου τῶν δωρημάτων.

36. ὅμως οὐχ οὕτω πως Ἰὼβ ὤφθη σιδηρογνώμων,

37. ὁ κολοφῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν, ὁ τῶν καλῶν ἐργάτης,

38. κἂν καὶ παιδείας ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῦ παντεργάτου,

39. ἴν' ὡς χρυσὸς χοάνοισι λαμπρότερος ὀφθείη,

40. ἀλλ' οὖν ὁ θρέψας πένητας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἄρτων

41. καὶ νῶτα κρυερόεντα θερμάνας ἐξ ἐρίων,

42. ὁ πᾶσι πύλας τὰς αὐτοῦ τοῖς πένησιν ἀνοίξας

43. καὶ πανημέρους ἐκτελῶν θυσίας ὑπὲρ παίδων

44. καὶ μόσχους θύων ἀπαλοὺς ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐκατόμβας,

45. αἴφνης ώραθη δύστηνος, γυμνότερος ὑπέρου,
46. γυμνὸς ὁ δόξη γαυριῶν καὶ πλούτῳ μακρῷ βάθει,
- (P)
- 46a. ἔπιε φεῦ τῶν συμφορῶν ὑπερχειλῇ τὸν σκύφον,
47. ἄτεκνος ὁ πολύτεκνος, ὁ πρωτοπάτῳρ ἄπαις,
48. λεπρὸς ὁ καθαρὸσαρκος, ῥικνὸς ὁ τρυφερόχειρ,
49. ὕβρεις † ὁ μὴδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς† παρὰ τῶν φίλων φέρει.
- 50.
51. Τί τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν; ἡ σύννοικος ἀπεῖπε,
52. ἐμίσησε τον φίλτατον, ἠχθέσθη, ἀπεστράφη
53. θανεῖν ἠνάγκαζε σφοδρῶς ὄνπερ ὑπερηγάπα,
54. ἡ μὴδὲ μέχρις ἀκοῆς ἀνεχομένη πάρος·
55. τοιαῦτα γὰρ χαρίζονται τῶν ἀναγκῶν τὰ βάρη.
56. Τί δ' ἄλλ' ὁ μέγας ἀληθῶς ὑπομονῆς ὁ στύλος,
57. ὁ πλέον μεγαλόθυμος τῶν οὐρανοῦ ζωστήρων,
58. μὴ κατεσεῖσθη τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐχάλασε τὸν τόνον;
59. Οὐ, μὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἥλιον τοῦ μάρτυρος ἐλπίδα,
60. ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον γέγονε καὶ βέλτιστος ἐκ τούτων.
61. Ὅσον γὰρ ἡμερος ψυχὴ, καλλίστη, ταπεινόφρων,
62. φίλοικτος, φιλοδέσποτος, εὐγνώμων, καλογνώμων
63. παρὰ θεοῦ παιδεύεται καὶ κάμπτεται καὶ πάσχει,
64. τοσοῦτον νεύει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχουσα τὰς ἐλπίδας,
65. φιλάγαθον, φιλεύσπλαγχον βλέπουσα τοῦτον κτίστην,
66. καὶ πρὸς συμφέρον ἄγοντα τοῦ πλάσματος τὰ πάντα.

67. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐνταῦθα μοι καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε στήσω
 68. τὸν λόγον τὸν ταχύδρομον, τὸν θαλασσόπλουν λόγον,
 69. τὸν πελειᾶς ὀξύτερον, τὸν ὠκυπεροπέτην,

(V)

47. ἄτεκνος ὁ πολύτεκνος, ὁ πρωτοπάτωρ ἄπαις,
 48. λεπρὸς ὁ καθαρόσαρκος, ῥικνὸς οἰδῶν ὁ θάλλων,
 49. τοῖς φίλοις ὑβριζόμενος ὁ τὰ μεγάλα βρέμων,
 50. πιών, παπαῖ, τῶν συμφορῶν ὑπερχειλῇ τὸν σκύφον.
 51. Τί τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν; ἡ σύννοικος ἀπεῖπε,
 52. ἐμίσησε τὸν φίλτατον καὶ θᾶττον ἀπεστράφη·
 53. θανεῖν ἠνάγκαζε σφοδρῶς ὄνπερ ὑπερηγάπα,
 54. ἢ μηδὲ μέχρις ἀκοῆς πάρος ἀνεχομένη·
 55. τοιαῦτα γὰρ χαρίζονται τῶν ἀναγκῶν τὰ βάρη.
 56. Τί δὲ γ' ὁ μέγας ἀληθῶς, ὑπομονῆς ὁ στύλος,
 57. ὁ πλέον μεγαλόθυμος τῶν οὐρανοῦ ζωστήρων,
 58. μὴ κατεσείσθη τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐχάλασε τὸν τόνον; (fol. 396')
 59. Οὐ, μὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἥλιον τοῦ μάρτυρος ἐλπίδα,
 60. ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον γέγονε καὶ βέλτιστος ἐκ τούτων.
 61. Ὅσον γὰρ ἡμερος ψυχὴ, καλλίστη, ταπεινόφρων,
 62. φίλοικτος, φιλοδέσποτος, εὐπρόσιτος, εὐγνώμων,
 63. παρὰ θεοῦ παιδεύεται καὶ κάμπτεται καὶ πάσχει,
 64. τοσοῦτον νεύει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχουσα τὰς ἐλπίδας,
 65. φιλάγαθον, φιλεύσπλαγχον βλέπουσα τοῦτον κτίστην,

66. καὶ πρὸς συμφέρον τείνοντα τὰς τῶν δεινῶν ἐφόδους.

67. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐνταῦθα μοι καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε στήσω

68. τὴν εὐδρομοῦσαν λογικὴν πόθου πνοαῖς ὀλκάδα,

69. τὴν περωτῆς ὀξύτερον γλυφίδος ἵπταμένην,

(P)

70. ἢ μᾶλλον νεύσω τὸ πτερόν, πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐλκύσω

71. καὶ τρέψω τὸ πηδάλιον, τοὺς κάλωας, τὰ λαίφη·

72. ἔδει με γάρ τοι τὴν δοκὸν ὄραῖν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου

73. καὶ μὴ τὰ κάρφη τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου βλέπειν·

74. ἔδει πληγῶν τὰς ὠτειλάς καλῶς ἐναποσμήχειν

75. καὶ μὴ ῥαμνοδοκέντρια τὰ τῶν πλησίον αἶρειν·

76. ἔδει τὴν σβόλωσιν ἐμοῦ βλέπειν ὡς Αἰθιόπων

77. καὶ μὴ τοὺς σπίλους τῶν βροτῶν, εἰ καὶ που καὶ τις φέρει·

78. τὴν γὰρ ἐγγέλυν βάτραχος βασκαίνω καὶ μωκῶμαι,

78a ὅπως ὑγρόβιος ἐστὶν ὡς χοῖρος τελματίας·

79. πτώξ ὦν περίφοβος, δειλός, νυκτερινὸς ὀδίτης

80. τὸν σὺν τὸν καπριόδοντα, τὸν μοναγρότην ψέγω·

81. πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς καθάρσεως τοὺς καθαροὺς ἀγνεύω

82. καὶ συνετίζω τοὺς σοφοὺς ὁ σκαφευτῆς ὁ δύσνους.

(V)

70. ἢ μᾶλλον ἔσω τὸ πτερὸν πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἐλκύσω
71. καὶ τρέψω τὸ πηδάλιον, τοὺς κάλωας, τὰ λαίφη·
72. καὶ γὰρ χρεῶν καὶ τὴν δοκὸν τὴν ἐν ἑμοῖς βλεφάροις
73. καὶ μὴ τὰ κάρφη τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου βλέπειν,
74. δέον πληγῶν τὰς ὠτειλάς καλῶς ἐναποσμήχειν
75. καὶ μὴ τὰ κέντρα νύττοντα τὰ τῶν πλησίων αἶρειν,
76. δέον με τὴν αἰσχύνουσαν ἄσβολον μόνην βλέπειν
77. καὶ μὴ τοὺς σπίλους τῶν βροτῶν εἰ καὶ που καὶ τις φέρει.
78. Βασκαίνω γὰρ τὴν ἔγγελον βάτραχος καὶ μωκῶμαι·
79. ὁ πτώξ τὸν χαυλιόδοντα καὶ τεлмаτίαν χοῖρον
80. μὴ βλέπων καταμέφομαι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν δειλίαν·
81. πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς καθάρσεως τοὺς καθαροὺς ἀγνίζω
82. καὶ συνετίζω τοὺς σοφοὺς ὁ σκαφευτὴς ὁ δύσνους

4: Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 17 | 16-17: cf. Exod. 13:21-22 | 21-24: cf. Exod. 14:21-24 | 39: Greg. Naz. I.1.7, 91 | 41-42: cf. Job 29:12 | 43: cf. Job 1:5 | 45: Prov. 23:31 | 46: cf. Job 1:20-21 | 48: cf. Job 2:7 | 50: Manasses, *Synopsis* 3195 | 51: cf. Job 2:9 | 67: Manasses, *Synopsis* 18 | 68-69: cf. Pisides, *De Van. Vitae* 40 | 69: Euripides, *Orestes*, 274 | 70: John 12:32 | 71: Manasses, *AK*, III, 56.10 | 72-73: cf. Luke 6:41 | 72-73 & 78-79: cf. Theophylaktos of Ohrid 9.19-23 | 74: Psellos, *Or.* 20, line 31

1 (α')

1. Πίστιν διδάσκω τοὺς πιστούς, ὁ μόνη πιστὸς γλώττη, (fol. 397')
2. πᾶσαν δ' αὐτῆς τὴν δύναμιν μακρὰν ἐκσκορακίσας.
3. Ἡ πίστις γάρ, ὡς λέγουσι λόγοι σαφῶς οἱ θεῖοι,
4. μετοχετεύει τοὺς βουνοὺς πρὸς τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν,
5. ἐξ ἀντιστρόφου πάλιν δε τὴν θάλασσαν ξηραίνει,
6. παύει καμίνου φλογερᾶς δραστικωτάτην φλόγα,
7. ἥς φυσητῆρες ἄνεμοι μηχανουργῶν ἀνθρώπων,
8. κατὰγει πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, τοὺς θῆρας ἀναστέλλει,
9. καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς φύσεως κακίαν ἀνατρέπει.

4: Is. 40:4-5 | 5: Exod. 14:22 | 6: Dan. 6:22 | 8: Apoc. 20:10

2. δ' om. V

1. ὁ μόνη πιστὸς γλώττη V : ὁ γλώσση μόνη φέρων P | 6. δραστικωτάτην φλόγα V : θυμὸν κατασβεννύει P

2 (β')

1. Πῶς δὲ τὴν ἀθεώρητον ἀγγελικὴν ἐλπίδα
2. προτίθημι καὶ φθέγγομαι καὶ γράφω καὶ διδάσκω,
3. αὐτὸς ὁ τρισταλάντατος μένων ἐκτὸς ἐλπίδος;
4. Ὁ γὰρ φθαρτοῖς προσκείμενος καὶ τοῖς ἀνυποστάτοις,
5. καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς στερροῖς καὶ βεβηκόσι μένων,
6. οὐδέποτε γενήσεται τοῖς ἀθεάτοις φίλος.
7. Ἄ γὰρ οὐτ' εἶδεν ὀφθαλμὸς, οὐτ' ἤκουσεν ὠτίον,
8. εἰς ἀσυστάτου πῶς ἀνδρὸς εἰσδράμωσι καρδίαν;

9. Ἐλπίς καὶ γὰρ τῆς πίστεως ὑπάρχουσα θυγάτηρ
10. παρὰ μητρὸς παιδεύεται καὶ γαλακτοτροφεῖται.

4-6: Heb. 11:3 | 7-8: 1 Cor 2:9.

1. ἀγγελικὴν ἐλπίδα V : ἐλπίδα καὶ ἀγγέλοις P | 3. αὐτὸς ὁ τρισταλάντατος V : αὐτὸς αὐτὸς ὁ τληπαθὴς P | 4. ὁ γὰρ φθαρτοῖς προσκείμενος V : ὁ πέλων γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς P

3 (γ')

1. Πῶς δ' ὁ τοῦ μίσους ἀρχηγὸς κηρύξω τὴν ἀγάπην,
2. ὁ δύσνους, ὁ μισάνθρωπος ἀνὴρ καὶ κακογνώμων;
3. Ὡςπερ τις κακομήχανος κακεντρεχῆς σκορπίος,
4. οὗ φάρμακον δυσώδυνον ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ νύξει
5. (ὁ μὲν γὰρ κέντρον ὡς δεινὸν κρύπτει μυχοῖς καρδίας
6. ὁ δὲ φαίνει τὸ μάχιμον εὐθύς ἐκ τοῦ προδήλου,
7. καὶ φέρουσι τὸν θάνατον ἀκαταλλήλῳ τρόπῳ),
8. τοιοῦτος ἅπας ἄνθρωπος κακεντρεχῆς ἀπράγμων,
9. κἂν γλώσση μέγα φθέγγηται καὶ πολυλαρυγγίζῃ.
10. Ἀγάπη γὰρ οὐ πρόσωπα λαμβάνει συγγενείας, (fol. 397')
11. οὐ χρυσοδέσμοις ἔπεται, φορολογεῖν οὐκ οἶδε,
12. θυμὸν οὐ φιλοχρήματον, ἀρπακτικὴν οὐ χεῖρα,
13. οὐχ ἔπεται τοῖς κόλαξιν, οὐδὲ στυγεῖ παιδείαν·
14. ἐξ ἴσου πάντας δ' ἀγαπᾷ καὶ κήδεται καὶ στέργει,
15. τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης πρύτανιν πρὸς τοῦτο μιμουμένη,
16. τὸν χορηγὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν ἀληθῶς ἀγάπην.

10-16: cf. 1 Cor 13:1-13

2. ἀνὴρ καὶ κακογνώμων V : ἀνὴρ ὁ κακογνώμων P | 3. ὥσπερ V : ὡς γάρ P | 4. οὗ φάρμακον δυσώδυνον ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ νύξει V: ἡ φάρμακον κακόβουλον, ἐλεβορῶδες πόμα P | 5. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κέντρον ὡς δεινὸν κρύπτει μυχοῖς καρδίας V : ὁ μὲν τὸ κέντρον ἀφειδῶς κρύψας ὑπὸ τὸ δέμας P | 6. ὁ δὲ φαίνει τὸ μάχιμον εὐθύς ἐκ τοῦ προδήλου V : τὰ δὲ, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ, τὸ δὲ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν P | 7. καὶ φέρουσι τὸν θάνατον ἀκαταλλήλῳ τρόπῳ V : εἰσφέρουσι τὸν θάνατον, ἴσος ὁ μόρος πέλει P | 7a. κἂν ἄνισον ἐργάζονται τὸν τοῦ θανάτου σκύφον P | 8. τοιοῦτος ἅπας ἄνθρωπος κακεντρεχῆς ἀπράγμων V : οὕτως ἀπράγμων ἄνθρωπος, κακεντρεχῆς καρδία P

4 (δ')

1. Εἶπω δὲ πῶς ὁ τληπαθὴς περὶ μακροθυμίας,
2. ὁ δύσνους, ὁ μικρόψυχος, ἡ πῶς ἀπλῶς λαλήσω;
3. Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ μακρόθυμος ἐστὶ καὶ μεγαλόνους
4. ὁ πίστιν ἔχων θώρακα καὶ κράνος τὴν ἐλπίδα,
5. ὁ τῆς ἀγάπης τὴν ἰσχὺν φέρων καθάπερ δόρυ,
6. ὁ πρὸς τὰ πάθη τολμηρῶς βαίνων καὶ πρὸς τὰς θλίψεις,
7. καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν βλέπων, οὐ πρὸς τὰ πάθη.

3: Prov. 14:29 | 4: 1 Thess. 5:8-9 | 6-7: 2 Thess. 1:6-8

2. ἡ πῶς ἀπλῶς λαλήσω V : φθέγγομαι, πῶς λαλήσω P | 3. ἐστὶ καὶ μεγαλόνους V : καὶ μεγαλόνους πέλει P

5 (ε')

1. Ὅρκου δὲ πῶς τὴν φυλακὴν, ὁ καθ' ἐκάστην χραίνων
2. ἐνόρκους ῥήμασι, βαβαί, τοὺς τρόπους καὶ τὰς πράξεις,
3. ἐξείπω καὶ προσφθέγγομαι καὶ φράσω καὶ διδάξω;
4. Ὁ γὰρ εἰς ἅπαν ἐκ παντὸς τοῖς λόγοις ἀληθεύων
5. εἰς πάντας ἀναμφίβολος πᾶσιν ἐστὶ τοῖς λόγοις·
6. τὸ γὰρ τῆς πράξεως ἀπλοῦν λόγους συνθέτους λύει.

4-6: Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 685-86

1. καθεκάστην VP

5. εἰς πάντας ἀναμφίβολος πᾶσιν ἐστὶ τοῖς λόγοις V : ἐνόρκους οὐ θεσπίσμασι κυροῖ τὰ πεπραγμένα
P [ἐν ὅρκους, οὐ θεσπίσμασι Miller]

6 (ζ')

1. Ὁ φθονερός καὶ μανικὸς διδάξω πῶς εἰρήνην;
2. Φθείρουσι γὰρ τὰ πράγματα τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λόγων.
3. Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔνδοξον, οὐ χαροπὸν, οὐ πρᾶον,
4. ὥς εἰρηνεύουσα ψυχὴ μετὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου,
5. τὸν εἰρηνάρχην ἐκ παντὸς σωτῆρα μιμουμένη.

2: John 3:18

7 (ζ')

1. Τοῦ δὲ θυμοῦ τὸν ἄσχετον πῶς χαλινώσω δρόμον,
2. αὐτὸς ἀστάθμητον θυμὸν καὶ ἰοβόλον τρέφων;
3. Ἄνῆρ καὶ γὰρ τις μανικός, θυμώδης, τιγρολέων
4. πρῶτον χολάδας τὰς αὐτοῦ, τὴν πιμελήν, τὰ σπλάγχνα,
5. καὶ πᾶν τὸ περικάρδιον συμφλέξας καὶ τεφρώσας, (fol. 398')
6. κατὰ τῶν πέλας ἐξαπλοῖ τὴν φλόγα μετὰ ταῦτα,
7. ἵν' ὥς ἐξ ὕλης ἐκκαυθεῖς καὶ τὰ μακρὰν ὀλέση.
8. Οὗτός γε τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκ τούτων ἀπελαύνει,
9. ἄρματοφόρον τὴν πληθὺν τοῦ δήμου συσκευάζει,
10. ἐν φόνοις χαίρει καὶ χρασμοῖς ἀδελφικῶν αἱμάτων,

11. πατὴρ δὲ μητὴρ οὐ φείδεται, τὴν σύνοικον οὐ στέργει,
12. γλῶσσαν ὡς μάχαιραν πλουτεῖ καὶ βέλη τοὺς ὀδόντας,
13. ὡς νυκτερὶς πορεύεται, λόγους ζοφώδεις πλέκει,
14. φθείρει τὸ προϊστάμενον, ἀναστατεῖ, ταράττει,
15. ἀρνεῖται τὸν κτησάμενον, ἐπιорκεῖ, καχλάζει,
16. καὶ τέλος πάντων βλασφημεῖ, Λόγε, τῆς ἀνοχῆς σου.

3-7: Ps. 27:2 | Ez. 19:1-7 | 8: cf. Joh. Chrys. *In epist. ad Ephesios* 62.106,39 | 10: Prov. 17:5 | 11: 1 Cor. 7:14 | 12: Ps. 57:4 |

8. οὗτος τοὺς οἰκοκῆτορας P

7. ἴν' ὡς ἐξ ὕλης ἐκκαυθεῖς V : ἴν' ὡς ἐξ ὕλης ἐξαφθεῖς P [ἐξαφθῇ Miller] | 14. φθείρει τὸ προϊστάμενον, ἀναστατεῖ, ταράττει V : φθείρει τὸ πᾶν, ἀναστατεῖ, ταράττει, συγκυκίζει P

8 (η')

1. Εἶπω τοῦ φθόνου τὸ δεινόν, ἐκφράσω, στηλιτεύσω,
2. κἂν τοῦτον ἔχων σύνοικον εἶπερ τις ἄλλος τρέφω;
3. Ὁ φθόνος γάρ, ὡς λέγουσιν, οὐκ οἶδε τὸ συμφέρον·
4. ὄφεις ἐστὶ θανάσιμος, δεινός, ἀνθρωποφόντης,
5. ἰὸν ἀπερευγόμενος, φάρμακον ἀποπτύων,
6. φύσαλος θαλασσόβιος, ἀνθρωποφάγον ζῶον,
7. καὶ μαρτιχώρας ἀληθῶς, πυρίπνους τε κατώβλεψ,
8. θυμομαχῆς μονόκερος, δράκων φαρμακορύκτης,
9. ἄρκος, ἀσπίς ἀνήμερος, ἥπατοφάγος λέων,
10. γυψ οὐκ εἰσδύνων καλιάν, οὐδ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀρύττων,
11. ἀλλ' εἰς δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς, εἰς νοῦν, εἰς τὰς αἰσθήσεις.
12. Καὶ γὰρ δεκάκις πέφυκε χείρων ὁ φθόνος φόνου,

13. ὥς λέγουσι τὰ γράμματα, πλήν γε μιᾶς ἐννάδος.

3: Manasses, *Synopsis* 3185 | 4-7: Manasses, *AK*, II, 31, 5-8 | 9-10: Manasses, *AK*, II, 31, 15-16 | 12-13: cf. Pisides, epigramma 28 (ed. Sternbach) et Kassia A 40-42

1. ἐκφράσω, στηλιτεύσω V : ἐλέγξω, στηλιτεύσω P | 2. κἂν τοῦτον ἔχων σύνοικον εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τρέφω V : κἂν ὀλικῶς ἐξέχωμαι, τοῦτον ἐντὸς κἂν τρέφω P | 7. πυρίπνοος τε κατώβλεψ V : πυρίπνοος κατώβλεψ P [πυριπνός κ. Miller] | 13. πλήν γε μιᾶς ἐννάδος V : μόνης μιᾶς λειπούσης P

9 (θ')

1. Νῦν αὖθις τὴν συμπάθειαν συντόνως ἐξυμνήσω,
2. κἂν φύσει τὸν ἀσυμπαθῆ κατασπασάμην βίον;
3. Δανείζειν γὰρ μεμάθηκεν οἶκτος Θεῷ τὸ δῶρον,
4. καὶ τὸ τρωκτὸν καὶ τὸ ποτόν, τοὺς ἐπιχιτωνίσκους, (fol. 398^v)
5. εἰ μόνον σκέπτεται λαιᾶς τὴν ἔπαρσιν ἐκφεύγειν,
6. καὶ μόνος μόνον ὁ διδοὺς τὸν οἶκτον εἰσαγάγει.

3: Prov. 19:17 | 3-4: cf. Is. 58:7 et *Orac. Sibyl* 2.80 | 5: Matt. 6:3

1. νῦν αὖθις τὴν συμπάθειαν V : τὴν ἀγαθὴν συμπάθειαν P | 2. κἂν φύσει τὸν ἀσυμπαθῆ κατασπασάμην βίον V : κἂν ἄσπλαγχος ὁ τληπαθὴς ἀνελεήμων πέλω P

10 (ι')

1. Τὴν παρθενίαν δ' ὁ δεινὸς καὶ βορβορώδης χοῖρος
 2. ποίοις ἐξείπω χεῖλεσι; πῶς παραστήσω δήλην;
 3. Ἄγνους γὰρ ὄντως πέφυκεν ὁ καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἀγνίσας
 4. καὶ μὴ μορφώματα τινὰ τῶν ὑλικῶν πραγμάτων
 5. φέρων ὥς ἄλαλος ἀνὴρ, ὥς ἄψυχος ζωγράφος.
-

3-4: cf. Maximos Homologetes, *Capita de caritate* 2.51.1

1. τὴν παρθενίαν δ' ὁ δεινὸς καὶ βορβορώδης χοῖρος V : τὴν παρθενίαν δ' ὁ δεινὸς τὴν ἄγνοιαν, ὁ χοῖρος P | 2. ποίοις ἐξείπω χεῖλεσι; πῶς παραστήσω δῆλην; V : καὶ βορβορώδης βάτραχος, πῶς δῆλην παραστήσω; P

11 (ια')

1. Ἀκόλαστος ὑπάρχων δὲ περὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης,
2. πῶς νουθετήσω τοὺς σοφοὺς, τοὺς σώφρονας διδάξω;
3. Ὡς ὁδηγὸς γὰρ πέφυκε τοῦ γίγαντος ὀρίζων
4. ἡ σωφροσύνη τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ φίλης τῶν ἀγγέλων
5. καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον λαμπούσης παρθενίας.

3. τοῦ V : ὡς P

12 (ιβ')

1. Δικαιοσύνης φράσω πῶς περὶ τῆς οὐρανίου
2. ἡ δὴ καθάπερ ἥλιος ἐκπέμπει τὰς ἀκτῖνας;
3. Πῶς εἶπω ταύτης τὸ λαμπρὸν ὁ μεμελανωμένος,
4. καὶ τὸ πρὸς πάντας δίκαιον πῶς ἀκριβῶς διδάξω;
5. Ὁ γὰρ φιλῶν τὸ δίκαιον, στυγῶν δὲ τὴν κακίαν,
6. ὄντως ὑπὲρ τὸ δίκαιον τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐρήσει,
7. κριτὴς ὁπόταν ὁ κοινὸς πάντων ἀνερευνήσῃ
8. τῶν ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ σκαιῶν τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους.

1-2: Ps. 37:6 | 5: Ps. 45:7 | 7-8: 2 Cor 5:10

1. δικαιοσύνην P | 5. τὸν δίκαιον P | 7. ἀνερευνήσει P

7. κριτῆς ὁπόταν ὁ κοινὸς V : ὁπόταν ὁ κοινὸς κριτῆς P

13 (ιγ')

1. Πῶς δὲ τὴν περιλάλητον φρόνησιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
2. ἄφρων ἀμύητος καλῶν ἀπάντων ὧν τρανώσω;
3. Τότε γὰρ ὄντως φρόνιμος ὁ νοῦς ὁ πανταχύπους,
4. ὅταν τοῖς ἔργοις ἑαυτὸν πῆξῃ σκηναῖς ἀφθάρτοις,
5. ἐν αἷς καὶ ζήσεται λυθεὶς τοῦ πηλοφύρτου σκήνους.

4-5: 2 Cor. 4:7 et 5:1

2. ἄφρων ἀμύητος καλῶν ἀπάντων ὧν τρανώσω V : ἄφρων καὶ πάντων ἀμαθῆς λέξω, τρανώσω ταύτην P | 3. ὁ νοῦς ὁ πανταχύπους V : ὁ νοῦς ὁ γοργοδρόμος P | 4. ὅταν τοῖς ἔργοις ἑαυτὸν πῆξῃ σκηναῖς ἀφθάρτοις V : ὅταν τὸν δρόμον τὸν αὐτοῦ πῆξῃ πρὸς τὰς ἀφθάρτους P | 5. ἐν αἷς καὶ ζήσεται λυθεὶς V : σκηναὶς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκβολὴν P

14 (ιδ')

1. Ἄκουε δέ μοι νῦν, ἰδοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας.
2. Ἄν ἔχῃς γίγαντος ἰσχὺν, ἂν Ἐγκελάδου χεῖρας,
3. ἂν ὅλους δύνῃ Παρνασσοὺς μετακινεῖν, ἂν Ἄθους, (fol. 399^v)
4. ἂν ὥσπερ Ἄτλας οὐρανοῦ τοὺς κίονας βαστάζειν,
5. καὶ μὴ τὸν ὄφιν τὸν δεινόν, τὸν δράκοντα τὸν μέγαν,
6. τὸν παίκτην τὸν ἀρχέκακον ὀλέσης τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
7. οὐκ ἔχεις κώνωπος ἰσχύν, οὐ μύρμηκος, οὐ σέρφου.

2-4: Manasses, AK, VIII, 149, 12-14 | 7: Manasses, AK, VIII, 149,17

1. ἄκουε δέ μοι νῦν, ἰδοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας V: φράσω φυγὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὧν περὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας; P | 1a. τόλμης ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρων γὰρ σωθήσομαι κινδύνων; P

15 (ιε')

1. Βουλῆς διδάξω τὸ καλὸν τῆς φυλακῆς ἀξίας,
2. κἂν τολμητίας, κἂν σαθρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς τυγχάνω;
3. Πρᾶξις μὲν γὰρ προφθάνουσα τοῦ λογισμοῦ τὴν κρίσιν
4. σφαλερωτέρη τὰ πολλὰ καὶ κινδυνωδεστέρα
5. καὶ ζημιώδης καὶ πολλὴν εἰσάγουσα τὴν βλάβην.
6. Ἄν δέ τις προβουλευσῇ καὶ πάντα δοκιμάσῃ
7. καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σπέρμα θησαυρίσῃ,
8. καλὸν καὶ τὸ γεώργιον καὶ τὸν καρπὸν κερδαίνει.

3-8: Manasses, *AK*, VI, 109, 1-6

8. κερδάνει P

1. τῆς φυλακῆς ἀξίας V : καὶ τὸ πεφυλαγμένον P | 2. κἂν τολμητίας, κἂν σαθρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 τυγχάνω V : ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κἂν σαθρὸς, κἂν τολμητίας πέλων P

16 (ις')

1. Τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθε, φεύγετε τὴν κακίαν,
2. κακίας κἂν ἀντέχωμαι, τὴν ἀρετὴν κἂν φεύγω.
3. Ὁ γὰρ ἐνάρετος ἀνὴρ οὐκ οἶδε κατακρίνειν,
4. κἂν ἔχῃ πᾶσαν μάθησιν καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ γνῶσιν,
5. οὐδ' ὁ γιγαντοδύναμος ἐνδέχεται καυχᾶσθαι,
6. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ πολυκτέανος τὰ τῶν βροτῶν ἀρπάζειν.
7. Λὶς γὰρ μεγαλοδύναμος ἐκ κώνωπος οὐκ οἶδεν
8. ὅλως λαμβάνειν δύναμιν, ἢ γὺψ τὸ φῶς ἐκ βούφου.

1-2: Rom. 12:9 et Lapithes, Στίχοι Πολιτικοί, 541 | 7-8: cf. Aesop, *Fabulae*, 267

2. κἄν φεύγω P : ἐκφεύγω V

6. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ πολυκτέανος V: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ πολυκτήματος P

17 (ιζ')

1. Τὴν περιμίσητον αἰσχρὰν κακίαν ἀπωθεῖτε
2. ἀπάντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν δεινὴν ὥς ὀλεθρίαν·
3. ἐμπράκτως γὰρ καταπεσὼν εἰς τὰς ἀφύκτους πάγας
4. νεκρὸς ὑπάρχω τὴν ψυχὴν κἄν τοῖς ποσὶ βαδίζω.
5. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐφέλκεται τὴν γεῦσιν οὐδὲ θέλγει,
6. οὐχὶ τρωκτὸν οὐδὲ ποτὸν, κἄν ἦ τῶν τιμωμένων,
7. ἂν οὐκ ἐν γαληνότητι μένουσιν αἱ καρδίαι,
8. ἂν τὰς ὀρέξεις εἴργωσιν αἱ τῆς κακίας πράξεις· (fol. 399')
9. μῆνιδος γὰρ ὑπερπλησθὲν τὸ τῆς κακίας ἄγγος,
10. τὴν βρῶσιν οὐ προσίεται, τὴν πόσιν ἀποπτύει.

5-10: Manasses, AK, V, 91

4. τῇ ψυχῇ P | 5. θέλγει V : θέλει P

2. ἀπάντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν δεινὴν ὥς ὀλεθρίαν V : ἕκαστος πάντων ἀφ' ὑμῶν δεινὴν ὥς ὀλετήρα P |

10. τὴν πόσιν ἀποπτύει V : τὴν πόσιν διαπτύει P

18 (ιη')

1. Ἄσπαζ' εὐχῆς· τὴν προσευχὴν ἔχε συνομιλοῦσαν.
2. Τὰς προσευχὰς γὰρ ἀμελῶς πολλάκις προσενέγκας
3. οὐδὲν οὐδόλως ἦνυσα ἐκ τῶν πεφωτισμένων.
4. Λέξω σοι πλὴν ὁ τληπαθὴς ὅθεν ξυνέβη τοῦτο·

5. ἂν τῷ πτερῷ τῆς προσευχῆς κοῦφος πρὸς πόλον θέλεις
6. ἀνέρχεσθαι καὶ πέτασθαι καὶ σῶζειν τὰς αἰτήσεις,
7. ἕασον, ἄνες τὰς πρὸς σὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτίας.
8. Οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πως καὶ Θεὸς ἀντεισακούσεταιί σου.

5-6: Joh. Chrys., *PG* 48.1060, 52 et Mich. Psel. *Poemata* 75.1 | 8: Ps.4:2-3

3. ἦνυσαν V | 4. ξυνέβη V : συνέβη P

3. οὐδὲν οὐδόλως ἦνυσα ἐκ τῶν πεφωτισμένων V : ἦνυσ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν πεφωτισμένων P | 5. ἂν τῷ πτερῷ τῆς προσευχῆς κοῦφος πρὸς πόλον θέλεις V : ἂν τὸ πτερον τῆς προσευχῆς κοῦφον πρὸς πόλον θέλεις P

19 (ιθ')

1. Βαβαὶ τὸ πάθος τῆς ὀργῆς λόγῳ φοιτήσας μόνῳ
2. πᾶσαν ἀνεῖλε καλλονὴν καὶ γινῶσιν τῆς ψυχῆς μου.
3. Ἄν γὰρ τοῦ πέλας τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ διώξης,
4. ἂν εἰρηνεύσης τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸν χόλον ἂν κοιμήσης,
5. τὸ θεῖον ἴλεω σαυτῷ συντόμως καταστήσεις
6. καὶ φύγῃς ἔνδικον θυμὸν χειρὸς βασανιστρίας.

2: Joh. Chrys., *PG* 59.156.45-50 | 3: Ephes. 4:31 et Prov. 29:11

6. χεῖρα βασανιστρίαν P

5. τὸ θεῖον ἴλεω σαυτῷ συντόμως καταστήσεις V : ἐξιλέώσεις πρὸς αὐτόν, τὸ θεῖον ἡμερώσεις P

20 (κ')

1. Μισῶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐκ ψυχῆς, μέσης ἀπὸ καρδίας,
2. κἂν πράγμασιν ἀλίσκωμαι καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ γλώσση·

3. ψεύδεσθαι γὰρ ὁ νουνεχῆς οὐδέποτε θελήσει.
4. Ἡ γῆ γὰρ οὕσα συγγενῆς ἡλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις
5. ἀνακαλύπτει τὰ δεινὰ πάντα καὶ κεκρυμμένα
6. γλώσσαις ἀφθόγοις σιγηραῖς καὶ στόμασιν ἀλάλοις.

4-6: Manasses, *AK*, VII, 124, 1-3

1. μισῶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐκ ψυχῆς V : μίσει τὸ ψεῦδος ἐκ ψυχῆς P

21 (κα')

1. Τήρει σαυτοῦ τὴν δέσποιναν, βλέπε τὸν κυβερνήτην,
2. τὸν ἐκ παντὸς ἡνίοχον ὅρα μὴ περιτρέψης.
3. Δεῖ γὰρ φυλάττειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἣν εἴληφεν εἰκόνα
4. ἄτρωτον, ἀπαράλλακτον, ἀμείωτον καθάπερ
5. ἀρχῆθεν ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ κτίστου.
6. Εἰ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πρωτότυπον μὴ γράφωσι ζωγράφοι, (fol. 400')
7. μάτην ὁ κόπος, εἰς κενὸν τὸ σόφισμα τῆς τέχνης.

1: cf. Joh. Chrys., *PG* 52.413, 9 | 3-5: cf. Gen. 1:26 | 7: cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 28, §25, 22

6. γράφουσι P Miller

2. τὸν ἐκ παντὸς ἡνίοχον V : τὸν ἡνίοχον ἐκ παντὸς P

22 (κβ')

1. Δίδασκε τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ περιπλέκου ταύτην,
2. σαφῶς εἰδὼς τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν
3. δεῖ γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς πάντας ἀληθεύειν,

4. κἂν πρὸς μισοῦντας ὁμιλῇ, κἂν μὴ πρὸς ἀγαπῶντας.
5. Ὡςτιν οὐδὲν γὰρ σκότιον ὅπερ εἰς φῶς οὐχ ἦκει,
6. οὐκ ἔστι κρύφιον οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ πρὸς γνῶσιν φθάνει,
7. κἂν ὑπὸ ρίζας κρύπτοιτο γῆς ὑποπυθμενίους.

5-7: Manasses, *AK*, VII, 130, 1-3

23 (κγ')

1. Δόξαν τὸν ὕμνον γίνωσκε Θεοῦ τοῦ παντεργάτου,
2. κἂν σὺ τυγχάνης ἄδοξος καὶ μὴ τῶν φαινομένων·
3. τὸν γὰρ δοξάζοντα Θεὸν Θεὸς ἀντιδοξάζει,
4. καθὼςπερ ἅπας ἄνθρωπος ὁ μετὰ παρρησίας
5. ὁμολογῆσας τὸν Χριστὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
6. ἀντιμαρτυρηθήσεται πρόσθεν πατρὸς ἀχρόνου.

3: 1 Samuel 2:30 | 4: Greg. Nyss., *PG* 46.764,15 | 5-6: Mat.10:32

2. κἂν σὺ τυγχάνης ἄδοξος V : αὐτὸς κἂν πέλης ἄδοξος P | 3. τὸν γὰρ δοξάζοντα Θεὸν Θεὸς ἀντιδοξάζει V : ὁ γὰρ δοξάζων τὸν Θεὸν, αὐτὸν ἀντιδοξάζει P | 4-6. καθὼςπερ ἅπας ἄνθρωπος ὁ μετὰ παρρησίας / ὁμολογῆσας τὸν Χριστὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων / ἀντιμαρτυρηθήσεται πρόσθεν πατρὸς ἀχρόνου V : ὥςπερ ὁ πᾶς ὁ σταθερὸς ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων / ὁμολογῆσας τὸν Χριστὸν, ἀξίως πάλιν τοῦτον / Χριστὸς πατρὸς ἐνώπιον ὡς εἴρηκε πληρώσει P

24 (κδ')

1. Πῶς ὁ στωμύλος φθέγξομαι βάρος τῆς γλωσσαλγίας,
2. πῶς τραγωδήσω τὰ πικρὰ τῆς ἰογόνου τέκνα;
3. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπλούτουν κεφαλὰς παρὰ τὴν Ὑδραν πλέον,
4. καὶ τὴν στεντόρειον φωνὴν ἣ γλῶσσαν βροντοφῶνον,

5. μόλις ἂν ἐν τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς κακῶν οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν,
6. ἀλλ' ἀμυδρῶς ἐδήλωσα τοῦτο καὶ μετὰ βίας.
7. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν γλῶσσα λοῖδορος πέρπερος συκοφάντης
8. αὐτόπιστος νομίζοιτο κάπῃ τοῖς ψευδομένοις,
9. ἂν ἀκοὰς πετάσωσι κριταὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς
10. καὶ πάντα παραδέχοντο κακῶς τῶν λεγομένων,
11. υἱὸς οὐ φείσεται πατρός, οὐ πενθερᾶς ἢ νύμφης,
12. οὐκ ἀδελφὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οὐ γείτονος ὁ γείτων,
13. ἀλλὰ τῇ μέθῃ τοῦ θυμοῦ πάντες ἀναλωθῶσι
14. ὥς πρόβατα κρινόμενα κακῶς μετὰ τῶν λύκων.

2: cf. Ps. 140:4 | 4: Homer, *Il.* 5.785 | 7-10: Manasses, *AK*, II, 30, 2-5 | 11-12: Matt. 10:35-36 | 14: Luke 10:3

3. κεφαλαῖς V | βροντοφόνῃν P | 12. τὸν ἀδελφὸν P | οὐ γείτονα P

2. τὰ πικρὰ V : τὰ ψυχρὰ P | ἐπλούτουν κεφαλὰς παρὰ τὴν Ὑδραν πλέον V : κατεῖχον κεφαλὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ὑδρας πλέον P | 5. μόλις ἂν ἐν τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς V : μόλις ἂν ἕνα τῶν αὐτῆς P | 10. κακῶς τῶν λεγομένων V : κακῶς θεληματοῦντες P

25 (κε')

1. Προνοίας πέφυκε Θεοῦ τὸ συντηρεῖν τὸν κόσμον, (fol. 400')
2. πρόνοια πάλιν δὲ βροτῶν τὴν ἐντολὴν φυλάττειν.
3. Θεία καὶ γὰρ τις πρόνοια τόδε τὸ πᾶν διέπει
4. καὶ τὸ καθάπαξ κυρωθὲν οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι,
5. οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀναλώσιμον οὕκουν τὸ πεπρωμένον.
6. Καὶ τί ματαίως, ἄνθρωπε, τεχνάζῃ καὶ σοφίζῃ,
7. μὴ σθένων πρόσταγμα βαφῆς τῆς θεοκράντου λῦσαι,

8. κἄν πάντα διαπράξαιο, κἄν εἰ μυρία κάμοις;
9. ἼΗ ψεῦδος πάντα καὶ κενὴ ποιητικὴ τερθρεία.

4-9: Manasses, *AK*, VII, 137, 6-10 & 13 | 7: Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1488

7. θεοκράντου V: ἐνθεκρέων P

26 (κς')

1. Τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἢ πρὸς Θεὸν ἢ πρὸς τὰ κρείττω φέρε.
2. Τῶν γὰρ κακῶν ἀμβλύνουσιν οἱ λογισμοὶ τὸ φάος
3. καὶ συσκοτίζουν ψυχῆς τὸ ζωογόνον φάος,
4. καθάπερ ἀντανάκλασις τοῦ Φοίβου τὴν σελήνην.
5. Αἱ τῶν μεγάλων γάρ, φησί, πραγμάτων ἐγχειρήσεις
6. μεγάλης καὶ συσκέψεως χρήζουσι καὶ φροντίδος.

3-4: *AP*9.525.7 | 5-6: Manasses, *AK*, VI, 108, 1-2

5. ἐγχειρίσεις P Miller

3. τὸ ζωογόνον φάος V : καὶ σβέννυσιν ἄθροον P

27 (κζ')

1. Ὁ λόγος μέσος πέφυκε κρειττόνων καὶ χειρόνων
2. καὶ πρὸς τὰς σφῶν ξυμβάλλεται φύσεις ὥς χαμαιλέων.
3. Τοῖς λόγοις γὰρ ὁ παντουργὸς τοῖς τῶν βροτῶν ὑμνεῖται,
4. ἀλλ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἀπὸ ψυχῆς, ἀπὸ καρδίας μέσης,
5. ἐκχέωνται καὶ πέμπωνται μετὰ σφοδροῦ τοῦ πόθου.
6. Τρία καὶ γὰρ τοῦ στόματος ὥς ἐκ πηγῆς ἐκρέει,

7. λόγος, πνοή καὶ φίλημα, τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώποις κρείττω,
8. καὶ τὸ μὲν στόμα πάροδον ἀπλῆς φωνῆς τυγχάνει,
9. χεῖλεσι δὲ φθεγγόμεθα καὶ χεῖλεσι φιλοῦμεν,
10. ἀλλ' ἡ καρδία τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ πικρὸν ἐκβλύζει.
11. Καὶ μάρτυς Πέτρος ἀνυμνῶν, φιλῶν Ἰσκαριώτης.

6-10: cf. Manasses, *AK*, VI, 113

2. ὡς χαμαιλέων V : καὶ χαμαιλέων P | 3. τοῖς λόγοις γὰρ ὁ παντουργὸς τοῖς τῶν βροτῶν ὑμνεῖται V : λόγοις [ms. λόγων] ὑμνεῖται γὰρ Θεὸς καὶ φίλος ἐπαινεῖται P | 5. ἐκχέωνται καὶ πέμπωνται μετὰ σφοδροῦ τοῦ πόθου V : βαδίζωσι καὶ πέμπωνται καὶ τρέχουσιν ἀφθόνως P | 8. καὶ τὸ μὲν στόμα πάροδον ἀπλῆς φωνῆς τυγχάνει V : καὶ τῷ μὲν στόματι [ms. καὶ τὸ μὲν στόμα τὴν] φωνὴν πέμπομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους P | 9. χεῖλεσι δὲ φθεγγόμεθα V : καὶ χεῖλεσι φθεγγόμεθα P

28 (κη')

1. Ὁ ταπεινόφρων ἐκ ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σχημάτων
 2. γνωρίζεται κἂν πλάττηται πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ Ναβάτου
- <...>

[28.3-42 desunt propter lacunam inter fol. 400 et 401]

43 (μδ') [μγ']

1. Ἄσπαζε τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, τὸν Σολομῶντα φίλει, (fol. 401')
 2. τὰ περιττὰ κατὰπτυσον, τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔχου.
 3. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀναιδέστερον ἐστὶ γαστρὸς θηρίου,
 4. ἂν μέτροις μὴ παιδεύηται, μὴ χαλιναγωγῆται,
 5. κἂν βρίθῃ πλούτῳ καὶ τιμῇ, κἂν πειρασμοῖς παλαίῃ.
-

1-2: cf. Georgios Lapithes 423 | 3: Manasses, *AK*, I, 13, 1

2. κατάπτυσσον P | 4. παιδεύεται P | χαλιναγωγείται P | 5. βρίθαι V

1. τὸν Σολομῶντα φίλει V : φίλει τοῦ Σολομῶντος P | 2. τὰ περιττὰ κατάπτυσσον V : κατάπτυσσον τὰ περιττὰ P | 3. ἐστὶ γαστρός θηρίων V : γαστρός ἐστὶ θηρίων P

44 (με') [μδ']

1. Ὡθει τὸν ὄγκον, ἔκφευγε τῆς ἀσυστάτου τύχης·
2. οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν γὰρ καταντᾷ τὸ τέλος εὐτυχούντων.
3. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ μέγεθος τιμῆς νέκρωσιν οἶδε φέρειν
4. ἐν ὑπερμέτροις ἡδοναῖς τῆς ζωτικῆς ἰσχύος
5. ἀνιεμένων ἐκ τῆς σφῶν θέρμης καὶ κενουμένων.
6. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς τέρψεως μεθύσκειν,
7. ὥς οἴνου πόσις παλαιοῦ τοὺς ἀκρατοποτοῦντας,
8. τοὺς ταῖς ἀφύκτοις ἴγξι καταθηλυνομένους.

3-8: Manasses, *AK*, V, 88, 1-6

2. οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν V : οὐκ εἰς μακράν P | 4. τῆς ζωτικῆς ἰσχύος V: τῶν ζωτικῶν μορίων P | θέρμης καὶ κενουμένων V: θέρμης καὶ ἐκπνοουμένης P (leg. ἐκπνεομένης) | 7 et 8 inverso ordine in P sicut et in Manasse | 7 ὥς οἴνου πόσις παλαιοῦ V : ὥς οἶνος παλαιόθερμος P | 8. καταθηλυνομένους V : αὐτοθηλυνομένους P

45 (μς') [με']

1. Σιγῆς μὴ προτιμήσειας τὸν λόγον, μηδὲ στέρξης.
2. Σιγὴ καὶ γὰρ ἀχείμαστος λιμὴν θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
3. σιγὴ γὰρ κόσμος πέφυκε σὺν γυναιξὶν ἀνδράσιν,
4. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἀληθῶς καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς παρθένοις.
5. Χρεῶν γὰρ ἅπαντας βροτοὺς ὥς ἀληθῶς φρονίμους

6. γλώσσης ἀσκεῖν τὴν σιωπὴν καὶ φεύγειν γλωσσαλγίας
7. καὶ τοῖς μακροῖς καὶ περιττοῖς μὴ ματαιάζειν λόγοις.
8. Ἄνὴρ γὰρ ἀθυρόγλωστος ἀεὶ κακοῖς παλαίει.

3: Sophocles, *Ajax*, 293 | 4: Philes, *Carmīna* E 167.2 | 6-7: Manasses, *AK*, VI, 107, 2-3 | 8: Euripides, *Orestes*, 903

4. ἀληθῆς P | 8. παλαίει : παλάμει V

5-6. χρεὼν γὰρ ἅπαντας βροτοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς φρονίμους / γλώσσης ἀσκεῖν τὴν σιωπὴν καὶ φεύγειν γλωσσαλγίας V : δεῖ γὰρ, ὀφείλει, πρόσεστι, ἀνήκει, χρεωστεῖται / μὴ γλωσσαλγεῖν ἐπὶ κενοῖς, ἀλλὰ θυροῦν τὸ στόμα P | 7. καὶ τοῖς μακροῖς καὶ περιττοῖς μὴ ματαιάζειν λόγοις V: καὶ μὴ μακροῖς καὶ περιττοῖς ἐνδιατρίβειν λόγοις P | 8. deest in P

46 (μζ') [μζ']

1. Τῆς μετανοίας τῶν καλῶν ἐξέχου μετ' εὐνοίας·
2. ἐλπίς γὰρ ἀκαταίσχυντος πάντων ἀμαρτανόντων.
3. Ἄνθρωπον ἀναμάρτητον ὅλως εὐρεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν,
4. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι τελευτῆς αὖθις ψυχὴν κακοῦργον·
5. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, τὸ δὲ δαιμόνων μόνον.

3-4: Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.3,10,7 et John. Chrys., *PG* 55.251, 8

1. τὸ καλὸν P

3. ὅλως εὐρεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν V: εὐρεῖν καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι P | 4. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι τελευτῆς αὖθις ψυχὴν κακοῦργον V : κακοῦργον δ' ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ψυχὴν μέχρι τοῦ τέλους εἶναι P | 5. τὸ δὲ δαιμόνων μόνον V : τὸ δὲ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων P | 5a. μόνης ὑπάρχει φύσεως καὶ σκληρογνωμοσύνης P

47 (μη') [μζ']

1. Δίδου τὴν ἐξαγόρευσιν καὶ λάμβανε τὴν λύσιν·
2. ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ὡς ἐν ῥιπῇ προῖκα τοὺς πάντας σώζει.

3. Ἄν μὲν οὖν ἐξαγόρευσις ἐξ ἁμαρτάδων εἴη (fol. 401^v)
4. μέλαινα, δύσμορφος, αἰσχρά, κακίστη, δεισιδαίμων,
5. δακρυσταλάκτοις ῥαντισμοῖς ἀπολουθήτω τάχος·
6. εἰ δὲ καλλίστη, λαμπραυγής, φαιδρά, μεστή χαρίτων,
7. τῆς ἡδονῆς τὸ δάκρυον τὰς παρειὰς βρεχέτω.
8. Προχεομένης γὰρ πολλῆς τῆς τῶν δακρύων ἄλμης
9. τὸ μὲν λευκὸν παίνεται πλέον εὐθύς αὐγάζον,
10. τὸ μέλαν μεταχρώννυται δ' αὖθις ἐκ τούναντίου,
11. ὥς εοικέναι τὸ λευκὸν ναρκίσσοις λευκοφύλλοις.

1-2: cf. 1 John 1:9 | 7: Homer, *Od.* 8.522 | 8-11: Manasses, *AK*, V, 101, 9 & 11-13

6. εἰ V : ἡ P | 8. προχεομένοις P

1-2. in P perperam positi sunt ad finem prioris poematis | 1. δίδου V : δίδε P | 2. ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ὡς ἐν ῥιπῇ προῖκα τοὺς πάντας σῶζει V : ὡς ἐν ῥιπῇ βραβεύει γὰρ συγχώρησιν πταισμάτων P | 8. προχεομένης γὰρ πολλῆς τῆς τῶν δακρύων ἄλμης V : προχεομένης γὰρ πολλοῖς τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων ἄλμης P | 9. πλέον εὐθύς αὐγάζον V : καὶ λευκανθίζει πλέον P | 10. τὸ μέλαν μεταχρώννυται δ' αὖθις ἐκ τούναντίου V : τὸ μέλαν δὲ πορφύρεται μεταχρωθὲν ἄθρόον P

48 (μθ') [μη']

1. Τὴν ἀκρασίαν φύγωμεν καὶ τὴν ἐκ ταύτης ὕβριν·
2. ὑβρίζει γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ δέμας.
3. Ὅντως οὐδὲν γὰρ κύντερον γαστρός ἐστὶ θηρίον
4. τροφὰς ζητούσης συνεχεῖς καὶ πίνειν ἀπαιτούσης,
5. μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν εἰς κύλικας καὶ πότον στρεφομένης,
6. ὀλίγοις μὲν παυσίπονον συσκευαζούσης βίον,
7. μητρὸς δ' εἰς πλείους συμφορῶν παρούσης καὶ κινδύνων.

3-7: Manasses, *AK*, I, 14

5. στρεφομένην P

6. συσκευαζούσης βίον V : καὶ καταλύτην λύπης P | 7. μητρὸς δ' εἰς πλείους συμφορῶν παρούσης καὶ κινδύνων V : τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ συμφορῶν μητέρα καὶ κινδύνων P

49 (ν') [μθ']

1. Ἐγρηγορέναι σπούδαζε, φεῦγε τὸν ὕπνον, φεῦγε
2. ὥς ἔλαφος θηρατικὰς ὀξυδραμοῦσα κύνας.
3. Ὁ νοῦς γὰρ φανταζόμενος καὶ πάσχων καὶ συμπάσχων
4. τὸ σῶμα πέφυκεν ἀεὶ πρὸς πράξεις ὑπαλείφειν·
5. ἂν δὲ προκρίνοι τὸ ναρκᾶν, πτώξ τις ἐστὶν ἐν κοίτῃ,
6. ὕπνον ὑπνώττων νήγερτον οἷα νεκρὸς ἐν τάφῳ.

2: Euripides, *Bacchae*, 337 et *Dion.* V, 313-36 | 6: cf. Georgios Lapithes 280

2. ὥς ἔλαφος θηρατικὰς ὀξυδραμοῦσα κύνας V : ὥς ἔλαφος ταχύδρομος τοὺς λυσσητῆρας κύνας P | 4. τὸ σῶμα πέφυκεν ἀεὶ πρὸς πράξεις ὑπαλείφειν V : ἐγρηγορέναι πέφυκε τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὰς πράξεις P | 5. ἂν δὲ προκρίνοι τὸ ναρκᾶν, πτώξ τις ἐστὶν ἐν κοίτῃ V : προκρίνοιτο ναρκᾶν πτώξ ἐπὶ κοίτην ὥσπερ P | 6. ὕπνον ὑπνώττων νήγερτον οἷα νεκρὸς ἐν τάφῳ V : εἰς ὕπνον νήγερτον βαθὺ τοῦτον παρασκευάζει P | 6a ναρκωτικὸν τι φάρμακον καθάπερ συσκευάσας P

50 (να') [ν']

1. Ἀεὶ τὸ πράττειν σπούδαζε καὶ τὸ πονεῖν ἀντέχου·
2. ἅπας γὰρ ὄκνος ἀσφαλῆς πέφυκε βίου βλάβῃ.
3. Τὸ γὰρ πονεῖν οὐ μωμητὸν οὐδ' ἀπηγορευμένον,
4. εἰ μὴ βεβήλως καὶ κακῶς καὶ πρὸς ἀλόγους πράξεις.

1-2: Phil. 2:14-15 et Ps. 108:2 | 2: Prov. 21:25 | 1-4: cf. Georgios Lapithes 294-97

2. ἅπας γὰρ ὄκνος ἀσφαλῆς πέφυκε βίου βλάβη V : πᾶς γὰρ ὄκνός καὶ ῥάθυμος ἐνδύσεται ῥακώδη
[ms. ἐνδύσεται ῥικνώδη] P | 3 τὸ γὰρ πονεῖν οὐ μωμητὸν V : τὸ γὰρ πονεῖν οὐ δύστροπον P

51 (νβ') [να']

1. Εἶναι θρασὺς μὴ σπούδαζε μηδ' ἀλαζῶν πρὸς πάντας,
2. ἀλλ' ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ χρηστός, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντας πρᾶος.
3. Πᾶς γὰρ θρασὺς ἀνόητος κρίνεται παρὰ πάντων, (fol. 402')
4. ὥς ὁ τολμηροκάρδιος μετὰ βουλῆς ἀνδρεῖος.

1-3: Prov. 21:24

3. πᾶς γὰρ θρασὺς ἀνόητος V : πᾶς γὰρ θρασὺς ἀπρόσεκτος P

52 (νγ') [νβ']

1. Βούλει κρατεῖν τῶν λυπηρῶν; φεῦγε τὴν ἀμαρτίαν·
2. ῥίζα γὰρ αὕτη καὶ πηγὴ τῆς λύπης καὶ τιθήνη.
3. Καὶ γὰρ τῆς λύπης ὁ χειμὼν ἀπονεκροῖ καρδίαν
4. καὶ κρυσταλλοῖ τὸ ζωτικόν, κἂν πέφυκεν ἀκμαῖον,
5. ὥς εἶναι ταύτην οὐ μικρὸν τῶν θανατούντων πάθος.
6. Τὸ πάθος γὰρ πετόμενον ὥς πτερωτόν τι βέλος
7. ψυχὰς τιτρώσκειν εἴωθε τὰς τὸ παρὸν βλεπούσας.

1-2: 2 Cor. 7:10 et John Chrys., *PG* 49.332, 10 | 3-4 & 6: Manasses, *AK*, IV, 82, 1-3 | 7: 2 Cor. 4:8

6. πετόμενον P

1. βούλει κρατεῖν τῶν λυπηρῶν V : ἂν μὴ λυπεῖσθαι βούλεσαι P | 2. ῥίζα γὰρ αὕτη καὶ πηγὴ τῆς
λύπης καὶ τιθήνη V : ῥίζα γὰρ λύπης καὶ πηγὴ καὶ τιθηνὸς καὶ μήτηρ P | 4. κἂν πέφυκεν ἀκμαῖον
V : καὶ πηγνυσι καὶ ψύχει P | 5. deest in P | 6. ὥς πτερωτόν τι βέλος V : ὥς λίθος πυργοσειστής P

| 7. ψυχὰς τιτρώσκειν εἴωθε τὰς τὸ παρὸν βλεπούσας V : καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κριοκοπεῖ καὶ κατασεῖει σπλάγχνα P

53 (νδ') [νγ']

- 1 Εἰ νέος εἶ καὶ φρόνιμος, πράττε τὰ τῶν γερόντων,
- 2 ἢ γέρων τοῖς ἀθύρμασι μὴ σπούδαζε τῶν νέων.
- 3 Καὶ γὰρ νεότητος ἀκμὴν ἢ μνήμη τοῦ θανάτου
- 4 συντρίβειν οἶδεν, ἀμαυροῦν καὶ τὴν μορφὴν αἰσχύνειν,
- 5 καὶ κάμινος ἐρίβρομος ἢ τῶν πειρατηρίων
- 6 ὥς ρόδον ὃ φασὶ Λοκρὸν ἅπαν μαραίνει κάλλος.

2: Euripides, Fr. 272.1 | 3: Eccl. 12:1-2 | 4-6: Manasses, AK, VIII, 149, 2-4

4. αἰσχύνειν P | 5. ἐριβρόμος P | 6. Λοκροῦν P

1. εἰ νέος εἶ καὶ φρόνιμος V : ἢ νέος ὦν ὥς φρόνιμος P | 6. ὥς ρόδον ὃ φασὶ Λοκρὸν ἅπαν μαραίνει κάλλος V : Λοκρὸν ὥς ρόδον δύναται τὸ πρόσωπον συμφρύγειν P

54 (νε') [νδ']

- 1 Τὸ κάλλος εἰ μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχεις, ἀγάλλου, σκίρτα·
- 2 εἰ δὲ τοῦ σώματος, αἰσχροὺς δίχα λογίζου τούτου.
- 3 Τὸ κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει καὶ βελέμνου
- 4 καὶ δι' ὁμμάτων εἰς ψυχὴν ἐπιρροιοῦν εἰσρέει,
- 5 ἔρωτος δὲ τοῖς ὀχετοῖς καὶ ταῖς ῥοαῖς τοῦ πόθου
- 6 καθάπερ ὑδραγωγίον καθίσταται τὸ βλέμμα·
- 7 τῶν γὰρ ἐρώτων εἰς ψυχὴν τὸν ῥοῦν ἐποχετεύει.
- 8 Ἄν γὰρ οὐκ εἰς τὸν πλαστουργὸν τὴν δόξαν ἀναφέρεις,
- 9 ἂν μὴ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ γνωρίσης καὶ θαυμάσης,

- 10 ἄλλ' ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ τερπνῷ τοῦ κάλλους ἀτενίζης,
 11 ἴσθι πολλοῦ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς μᾶλλον διαμαρτάνων,
 12 χείρονα τῆς προμήτορος ἀπατηθεὶς ἀπάτην.
 13 Κάλλος καὶ γὰρ τοι θαλερόν, πληρὲς πολλῶν χαρίτων,
 14 θέλγειν οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τυραννεῖν ἰσχύει, (fol. 402^v)
 15 ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσιν ἅπασαν νηκτὴν, ἀεροβάτην,
 16 χερσαίοπορον ἔμψυχον εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμπίπτει.
 17 Βέλος ἐστὶν ἀσίδηρον, ἄλλ' εἰς καρδίαν πλήττει
 18 καὶ φαρμακεύει τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ θανατοῖ καὶ σφάττει.

3-7: Manasses, *AK*, V, 89 | 10-12: cf. Joh. Chrys., *PG* 53.130, 14 | 13-14 & 17-18: Manasses, *AK*, I, 6, 1-2 & 5-6

8. ἂν γὰρ οὐκ εἰς V : ἂν γὰρ εἰ μὴ P | 13. τοι : τι P

1. σκίρτα V : χαῖρε P | 2. δίχα λογίζου τούτου V : ἄνευ αὐτοῦ λογίζου P | 7. τῶν γὰρ ἐρώτων εἰς ψυχὴν V : καὶ τῶν ἐρώτων εἰς ψυχὴν P | 10. ἄλλ' ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ τερπνῷ τοῦ κάλλους ἀτενίζης V : ἄλλ' ὡς αὐτόχρημα τερπνὸν μόνον ἐνατενίσης P | 11. deest in P | 16. ἔμψυχον εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμπίπτει V : ἄψυχον καρποφυτοκομοῦσαν P | 17. βέλος ἐστὶν ἀσίδηρον V : βέλος εἰ γὰρ ἀσίδηρον P

55 (νς') [νε']

1. Οὐ πύργος ἐξ ἀδάμαντος, οὐκ ἐκ σιδήρου πόλις,
2. ὥς προσοχὴ τὸν ἔχοντα συνέχει καὶ φυλάσσει.
3. Ὅτι καλὸν γὰρ προσοχή, καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ δῆμοι
4. καὶ ναύαρχοι καὶ φύλακες φρουρίων παριστῶσι,
5. καὶ τῶν γεράνων ἢ πληθὺς τῶν μακροσκελοράμφων,
6. καὶ ξυμβολὴ πολύπονος τῆς Ἰλιάδος πλέον,
7. καὶ βίος βλάξ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δούριός τις ἵππος,

8. ὥς εἶναι τὸ παρὰ πολλῶν θρυλλούμενον οὐ ψεῦδος·
9. ὃ προσεκτίσατο σπουδῇ, φθείρει τὸ τάχος ὄκνος.

5. cf. Manasses, *Description of a Crane Hunt*, 214-15 | 7: Homer, *Od.* 8.492-93 | 9: Greg. Naz., *Or.* 40, *PG* 36.401

3. γὰρ P : δὲ V | 7. δούριός τις V : δουριῖτης P

1. οὐ πύργος ἐξ ἀδάμαντος, οὐκ ἐκ σιδήρου πόλις V : οὐ πύργος σιδηρόκτιστος, πυκνόπυργος οὐ πόλις P | 3. καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ δῆμοι V : καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ δῆμος P | 7. καὶ βίος βλάξ τῆς πόλεως V : καὶ βλακισμὸς τῆς πόλεως P | 9. φθείρει τὸ τάχος ὄκνος V : ἔφθειρεν ὄκνος τάχει P

56 (νζ') [νς']

1. Φοβοῦ τὴν κρίσιν, πρόβλεπε, πρόσεχε, τρέμε, στένε·
2. οὕτω γάρ, ἴσθι, τὸν αὐτῆς οἶκτον ἐλκύσας λάβης.
3. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ διαδιδράσκει χεῖρας,
4. οὐ δύσοργος, οὐ δυσσεβής, οὐ φονουργός, οὐ γόης,
5. κἂν ὠκυπέτης χελιδὼν ὑπάρχη, κἂν γοργόπους
6. ὥς ἡ δορκὰς ἀνάλλεται, κἂν ὥς ἡ σαλαμάνδρα
7. εἰς πῦρ εἰσέλθοι πρὸ καιροῦ, κἂν εἰς ἀβύσσου χάσμα
8. καθάπερ ὁ κροκόδειλος τοῖς ὕδασι λουθείη,
9. κἂν Μίνως, κἂν Ῥαδάμανθυς κρίνων νεκροὺς εἰς Ἄδου.
10. Εἰς οὐρανοὺς γὰρ κατοικεῖ τὸ πλήρωμα τὸ θεῖον,
11. εἰς γῆν, εἰς Ἄδην, εἰς βυθὸν κατὰ τὸν ψαλμογράφον.

3-4: Manasses, *AK*, I, 8, 1-2 | 6-7: cf. Manasses, *AK*, I, 11, 7 | 7: cf. Rom. 10:7 | 10-11: cf. Ps. 88:12 et 138:7-10

3. διαδράσκει P | 6. ἀνάλλεται P | 7. χάσμα P

4. φονουργός V : φθονερός P

57 (νη') [νζ']

1. Εἰ μὲν σπουδάζεις τὴν διπλὴν ὁμοῦ φέρειν ὑγείαν,
2. τῆς εὐτυχίας εὗγε σοι καὶ καλοκαγαθίας!
3. Εἰ δὲ νοσεῖς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἢ τραυματίας φαίνῃ,
4. σπεῦδε πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον νοσοκομεῖν τὸ πάθος. (fol. 403')
5. Διπλὴ καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἱατρῶν ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων
6. ἡ δύναμις καθέστηκε πρὸς ἴασιν καὶ ῥῶσιν.

3-4: Luke 6:39-42

2. εὖ γέ σοι P

1. ὁμοῦ φέρειν ὑγείαν V : φέρων ὑγείαν ἄμφω P | 3. ἡ τραυματίας φαίνῃ V: φέρεις μωλωπάδας P

58 (νθ') [νη']

1. Τῆς ἀσωτίας τῶν βρασμῶν φεῦγε τὴν δυσωδίαν
2. ἵνα σου μετὰ θάνατον τὸ δέμας εὐοδμήσῃ.
3. Ἀπὸ τεσσάρων γὰρ βρασμῶν ἐξάπτεται πορνεία,
4. ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀπὸ τρυφῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς φιλαυτίας,
5. ἀπὸ βεβήλων μαστροπῶν συμπόρνων συμπρακτόρων.
6. Ἐξέλε γοῦν τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ἔπεχε τὴν γαστέρα,
7. μίσει σαυτόν, μονώθητι, φεῦγε τὰς ξυναυλίας,
8. καὶ χρηματίσεις νικητῆς δαίμονος πορνοκόπου.

4: Eccl. 26:9.1 | 6: Matt. 5:29 |

1. τὸν βρασμόν VP | 5. ἀπὸ P : καὶ τῶν V | 6. οὖν P

59 (ξ') [νθ']

1. Τοὺς χθαμαλοὺς ὥς δυσγενεῖς μηδόλως ἀποστρέφου.
2. Τὸ γὰρ δημοκοπούμενον, ὥς ἔοικεν, οὐ ψεῦδος·
3. ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γὰρ καὶ μιᾶς ζύμης τῆς χωματίνης,
4. ὥς ἐκ πηγῆς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ φυτευσίμου γαίας,
5. σκαφευομένης ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ σπειρομένης,
6. καὶ βάτος ἀναδίδεται καὶ στάχυς σιτοφόρος,
7. οὐδέ τις φέρειν ἴσχυσεν ἐκ μονωτάτου πίθου
8. δύσοδμον οἶνον καὶ χρηστὸν, ὀξίνην ἀνθοσμίαν.

2: Manasses, *AK*, VII, 133, 1 | 3: cf. Rom. 9:21 | 4-6: cf. Manasses, *AK*, VII, 126

4. καὶ φ. γ. P : τῆς φ. γ. V

7. οὐδέ τις φέρειν ἴσχυσεν V : οὐδέ τις φέρειν δυνατὸν P | 8. ὀξίνην ἀνθοσμίαν V : πέμπελον ἀνθοσμίαν P

60 (ξα') [ξ']

1. Φίλει τὴν σὴν καὶ μὴ τὸ σὸν εὐλαβεστέρω τρόπῳ,
2. εἰ βούλει μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ δέμας ἀφθαρτίσαι.
3. Δεῖ γὰρ γινώσκειν ἀκριβῶς τὴν φίλαυτον καρδίαν,
4. ὥς ἄρα πόθος ἀκραιφνῆς ἀψάμενος καρδίας
5. οὐκ ἐπιστρέφεται τινὸς τὸν ἐραστὴν ἑτέρου,
6. οὐ δυναστείας, οὐ χειρὸς ἐᾷ μεγαλοπλούτου,
7. οὐ καλλονῆς μορφώματος, οὐκ εὐπρεπείας ἄνθους,
8. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ποθούμενον μόνον καταναγκάζει

9. καὶ πνέειν καὶ φαντάζεσθαι καὶ πρὸ βλεφάρων ἔχειν.

4-9: Manasses, *AK*, VI, 115

8. insertum est ἄνθος ante αὐτὸ in V | καταναγκάζειν P

1. εὐλαβεστέρω τρόπῳ V : μάλλον δὲ τοῦτο μίσει P

61 (ξβ') [ξα']

1. Εἰ μνημονεύεις θανάτου, φεύξῃ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν·
2. εἰ δ' ὥς ἀθάνατος τρυφᾷς, ἄληκτα κολασθήσῃ. (fol. 403^v)
3. Πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ τελευτὴ ζωῆς εὐκταιοτέρα
4. καὶ θάνατος λυσίφροντις καὶ παύων ἀλγηδόνας,
5. πολλῶ κερδαλεώτερος μεγαλοπόνου βίου·
6. καὶ πάντως οἷς βαρύμοχθος ὁ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας βίος,
7. ὁ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας θάνατος ἐκείνοις εὐεργέτης
8. παυσώδυνος γενόμενος καὶ πόνου λύσιν φέρων.

1-2: cf. Sirac. 14:12 | 3-8: Manasses, *AK*, VI, 122, 1-6

2. ἄληκτα κολασθήσῃ V : ἀθάνατα κολάζῃ P

62 (ξγ') [ξβ']

1. ῥάστην μὲν ἴσθι τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ἔνωσιν ὑπάρχειν,
2. ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσεξάλειπτον εἶναι μετὰ τὴν πεῖραν.
3. Οὐ γὰρ ψευδὴς ὡς ἔοικεν ὁ γνωματεύων λόγος,
4. ὡς ὁ σκαιὸς οὐ δύναται τὴν γνώμην μεταθεῖναι
5. οὐδ' ἐκλαθέσθαι τὴν ὁρμὴν τῆς μοχθηροτροπίας·

6. ἔθος καὶ γάρ, ὥς λέγουσιν, ὑπερνικᾶ καὶ φύσεις.

3-5: Manasses, *AK*, VII, 132 | 4: cf. Symeon NTh, *Hymn* 43.140-41 | 6: cf. Julian, *Misopogon* 353a

3-6. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄκρατον ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν / παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν τῷ τῆς γῆς ἐνστρεφομένων
γύρω, / κἂν πλεῖστα κτήσαιντο τινές, κἂν εὐθηνοῖντο φίλοις, / κἂν περιρρέοιντο χρυσῷ, κἂν
ὄλβῳ καταντλοῖντο P (cf. *infra* 97.2-5)

63 (ξδ') [ξγ']

1. Φοβοῦ τὸν μὴ φοβούμενον· τρέμε τὸν πᾶσαν κτίσιν
2. ἐκ μόνης τῆς ὀράσεως τρέμειν οἰκονομοῦντα.
3. Καὶ γὰρ πολλάκις τοῖς πολλοῖς οἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φόβοι
4. ἐμποδιστὰι καθίστανται τῆς μοχθηροτροπίας.
5. Εἰ γὰρ τις σφύζει πρὸς αἰσχροῦ καὶ πρὸς ἀθέσμους πράξεις,
6. ὥς πῶλος τις δυσήνιος, ἀποπτυστὴρ ῥυτήρων,
7. καὶ μήθ' αὐτὸν αἰδούμενος μήτε τὸ θεῖον τρέμων,
8. ἂν ἔχῃ φόβον σύνοικον, ἂν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πτήσῃ,
9. ἐκ τῶν ἀτάκτων εἴργεται καὶ φαύλων σκιρτημάτων
10. κημὸν τὸν βαρυσίδηρον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ δέους φέρων·
11. Φύσιν καὶ γὰρ περίφοβον ἀνθρώπων φιλοσάρκων
12. ὑπέστρεψεν ὑλακισμὸς ἐχθίστων κυναρίων.

3-10: Manasses, *AK*, V, 102, 1-8 | 11-12: cf. Manasses, *AK*, V, 102, 9-11

7. μήτ' αὐτὸν P | 9. εἴργεται P

1-2. τρέμε τὸν πᾶσαν κτίσιν / ἐκ μόνης τῆς ὀράσεως V : καὶ τρέμε νῦν τὸν πᾶσαν / τὴν κτίσιν
μόνον ὀφθαλμῷ P | 5. εἰ γὰρ τις σφύζει πρὸς αἰσχροῦ καὶ πρὸς ἀθέσμους πράξεις V : εἰ γὰρ τις
σφύζει πρὸς αἰσχροῦ πράξεις καὶ πρὸς ἀθέσμους P | 6. ὥς πῶλος τις δυσήνιος, ἀποπτυστὴρ
ῥυτήρων V : ὥς πῶλος πυριμάλακτον στόμιον ἀποπτύων P | 8. ἂν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πτήσῃ V : ἂν

ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πτοίαν P | 10. κημὸν τὸν βαρυσίδηρον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ δέους φέρων V : κημὸν γὰρ βαρυσίδηρον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ δέους φέρει P

64 ξε' [ξδ']

1. Ἡ μέθη ζάλη πέφυκε, παρατροπή τῶν πάντων·
2. ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἀπασβολωθεὶς ἐξ ἀκρατοποσίας
3. παύει καὶ λόγον καὶ θυμὸν καὶ κίνησιν καὶ πρᾶξιν.
4. Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ γέλωτος βρασμὸς καὶ τὸ συχνῶς κλονεῖσθαι
5. καὶ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ βάδισμα καὶ λαλιὰν καὶ βλέμμα (fol. 404^v)
6. καὶ τὸ τὰς κόρας ἀναιδῶς τῇδε κάκεῖσε στρέφειν
7. ἐγγράφουσι τὸν μέθυσον καὶ τὸν ἀκρατόπτην.

1-7: cf. Georgios Lapithes 267-71 | 4-6: cf. Georgios Lapithes 255-57

2. ἄπας σβολωθεὶς V, ἀποσβολωθεὶς P

6. τῇδε κάκεῖσε στρέφειν V : τῇδε κάκεῖ δινεύειν P

65 (ξε')

1. Μήτε πλουτῶν κατεπαρθῆς, μήτ' ἀθυμῶν ὀκλάσης·
2. καὶ γὰρ τοι μεταβάλλονται τὰ τῶν βροτῶν ταχέως.
3. Τί γὰρ τοι τὸ ταχυπετὲς βούλεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων;
4. καὶ βέβαιον οὐδέν ἐστιν, οὐ στάσιμον ἀνθρώποις,
5. ἀλλὰ καπνὸς τὰ τῶν θνητῶν, ἀλλὰ σκιά τὰ πάντα.
6. Τίς οὗτος ὁ πολύστροφος κύλινδρος ὁ τοῦ βίου,
7. ὁ κυκλοδρόμος ὡς τροχὸς καὶ ῥέων ὑπὲρ ὕδωρ,
8. καὶ κοῦφος ὡς κονίσσαλος, ὡς πάππος ἀπ' ἀκάνθης;
9. Ἄρ' ἐφορᾷ τις τὰ θνητῶν, ἢ λόγος ἄλλος ταῦτα;

10. Ἡ πάντα φύρδην στρέφεται καὶ φθείρεται ταχέως
11. ὥς σκάφος θαλασσόπλοον ἔρημον ἰθυντῆρος,
12. ἢ μόνον εἶδωλον ἐσμέν, πνοή, σκιά καὶ τέφρα,
13. ἢ βάρος γῆς ἐτώσιον, ἵχνος <νηός>, πομφόλυξ,
14. ἄνθος τῆς γῆς αὐτόματον ἅμα τῷ φῦναι πίπτον·
15. ὄντως τοῖς <φύλλοις ἔ>οικεν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις,
16. ὧν ἔραζε, καθά φησιν, ὥρα πιπτόντων ψύχους
17. ἕτερα πάλιν δείκνυσι φθάσας <...>.
18. Καὶ τί φυσώμεθα τινές καὶ τί μεγαλαυχοῦμεν,
19. ὥς βιωσόμενοι μακροὺς πολυειλίκτους χρόνους,
20. ἢ μᾶλλον ὥς ἀθάνατοι καὶ παῖδες ἀθανάτων;
21. Ἀλλ' ἔρρετε κακόχαρτοι τῶν ψευδοφιλοσόφων
22. γλῶσσαι καὶ γράμματα κενὰ καὶ λῆροι καὶ σοφία.
23. Οὐ γὰρ Κλωθὴ καὶ Λάχεσις τὰ πάντα μεταστρέφει,
24. οὐ γὰρ ἀστέρες ἔφοροι τῶν χθαμαλῶν προστάται,
25. προνοίας δὲ συνεκτικὸν πάντα συνέχει κράτος.
26. Ἦστι Θεὸς ὁ κυβερνῶν πάντα τηλόθεν πέλας, (fol. 404^v)
27. κἂν ἐκραγῶσι Πλάτωνα, Λουκιανοὶ, Πλωτῖνοι,
28. Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ δεινὸς ὁ μέχρι τῶν ἀστέρων
29. τὴν παντοδύναμον ἰσχὺν καταγαγὼν ἀφρόνως,
30. στενῶσαι τὸν ἀχώρητον φιλονεικῶν, ὦ πλάνης!

4-5: Manasses, *AK*, IX, 160, 1-2 | 8: Athenaeus, *Deípn.*, 10.71,32 | 11: cf. Manasses, *AK*, III, 56, 9-10 | 12: Pindar, *Pythia*, 8.95 | 14-15: Homer, *Il.* 6.146-49 | 16: Hesiod, *Opera*, l.421

literae in versibus 13, 15, 17 ob maculam non leguntur | 8. ἀπὸ κάνθης VP | 14. τῷ: τὸ P | 21. ἔρρετε : ἔρεσθε P | 21. κακόχαρται P | 23. Λάχησις VP

7. ὁ κυκλοδρόμος ὡς τροχὸς V : ὁ δρομικὸς ὡς ὁ τροχὸς P | 11. ὡς σκάφος θαλασσόπλοον V : ὡς σκάφος θαλασσόπληκτον P | 13. ἔχνος <νηός>, πομφόλυξ V : ὡς φιλοχόον δένδρον P | 14. ἄνθος τῆς γῆς αὐτόματον V : ὡς ἄνθος γῆς αὐτόματον P | 15. ὄντως τοῖς <φύλλοις ἔ>οικεν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις V : ὡς οἷα φύλλων γενεὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιαύτη P | 16-17 desunt in P | 22. γλῶσσαι καὶ γράμματα κενὰ καὶ λῆροι καὶ σοφία V : γλῶσσαι καὶ γράμματα κενὰ καὶ ληρικὴ σοφία P | 25. προνοίας δὲ συνεκτικὸν πάντα συνέχει κράτος V : ἀλλ' ἔστι πρόνοια τὸ πᾶν συνέχουσα καὶ φύσις P | 26. πάντα τηλόθεν πέλας V : πάντων ὁ παντεργάτης P | 27. κἂν ἐκραγῶσι Πλάτῳνες V : κἂν Πλάτῳνες ἐκρήξωσι P | 29. καταγαγὼν ἀφρόνως V : καταγαγὼν καὶ μόνον P | 30. στενῶσαι τὸν ἀχώρητον φιλονεικῶν, ὃ πλάνης V : στενώσας τὸν ἀχώρητον, ὁ νοῦς ὁ βορβορώδης P

66 ξς'

1. Ἡ δίδασκε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἢ τὸ σιγᾶν προτίμα·
2. τὸ γὰρ διδάσκειν τοὺς κακοὺς κίνδυνον φέρει μέγαν.
3. Ὁ γὰρ εἰς ἀχαρίτωτον κακεντρεχῇ καρδίαν
4. λόγους προτείνων, νουθετῶν καὶ λέγων καὶ διδάσκων
5. ἔοικε γράφειν γράμματα καθ' ὕδατος θαλάσσης
6. ἢ πλοῖον ὑγροκέλευθον κατὰ ξηρᾶς καθέλκειν
7. ἢ σπεῖρειν αὖ κατὰ πετρῶν ἢ τὸν ἀέρα παίζειν.

1-2: Prov. 9:8-9 | 5: Sophocles, *Fragm.* 811 | 6: Manasses, *Synopsis* 421 | 7: Matt. 13:20-21 et 1 Cor. 9:26

7. σπέρειν P

6. ἢ πλοῖον ὑγροκέλευθον κατὰ ξηρᾶς καθέλκειν V : ἢ πλοῖον μεγαλόλαιφον κατὰ ξηρᾶς ναυτίζειν P

67 (ξζ')

1. Εἰ βούλει γνῶναι μυστικούς καὶ θειοτέρους τρόπους,
2. γνῶθι σαυτὸν καὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ καὶ γνῶσιν θεῖαν μάθοις.
3. Ὅρα γὰρ πάντα τὰ θνητῶν καὶ γνῶθι σου τὴν φύσιν·
4. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀκιδνότερον ἀνθρώπου γαῖα τρέφει.

1-2: Greg. Nyss., *PG* 44.1332, 14 | 4: Manasses, *AK*, IX, 159, 4

4. ἀκεδνότερον P

2. γνῶσιν θεῖαν μάθοις V : μάθοις γνῶσιν θεῖαν P | 3a. ὥς οὐ φυτὸν οὐράνιον, ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲ θεῖον, / 3b. οὐ δένδρον κηπευόμενον τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ παλάμῃ, / 3c. ἀλλὰ θεοῦ διατριβὴ καὶ παίγνιον τῆς τύχης P

68 (ξη')

1. Ἄν ἐθισθῇς ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς, ἀεὶ τούτων ἐξέχου·
2. ἂν δὲ κακοῖς, ἀπόστηθι καὶ φεῦγε, μὴ χρονίσῃς.
3. Τὰ γὰρ τῆς ἕξεως ἀπλᾶ εὐκόλως παγιοῦνται
4. καὶ θᾶπτον γίνεται βροτοῖς ἄλλη δευτέρα φύσις,
5. πλὴν καὶ καθέλκειν πέφυκεν, ὥς ἤλεκτρος τις κάρφους,
6. ὥς ἡ μαγνήτις σίδηρον, ὥς Ἀλφειὸν ἡ λίμνη,
7. ὥς ὄφεις ὁ φθοροποιὸς τὴν μύραιναν ἐκ βάθους.

1-2: Ps. 26:4-5 | 3-4: Joh. Damasc., *PG* 96.333, 1.14 | 6-7: cf. Manasses, *AK*, I, 21a

6. ὁ μαγνίτης P | 6. τὸν Ἀλφειὸν P

1. ἂν ἐθισθῇς ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς, ἀεὶ τούτων ἐξέχου V : ἂν συνηθίσῃς ἐν καλοῖς, ἐξέχου τοῖς πρακτέοις P | 2. καὶ φεῦγε V: ἔκφευγε P | 3-4. desunt in P | 5. πλὴν καὶ καθέλκειν πέφυκεν, ὥς ἤλεκτρος τις κάρφους V : ἔθος γὰρ δύναται τοὺς σφῶν γεννήτορας καθέλκειν P | 6. ὥς ἡ μαγνήτις σίδηρον V : ὥς ὁ μαγνίτης σίδηρον P

69 (ξθ')

1. Ἄν ἀύλακίσῃς τὴν πυράν, δρέψεις πολύχουν στάχυν,
2. ἂν δὲ τοῖς βίβλοις ἐντρυφᾷς ἀκμαιοτέρῳ τόνῳ,
3. ἐν ταύταις τὸν πολύτιμον εὐρήσεις μαργαρίτην
4. καὶ δοὺς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λάβῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ.
5. Ὡσπερ γὰρ οἶνος παλαιός, τὴν φύσιν ἀνθοσμίας,
6. καὶ τῶν αἰγῶν τὰ λιπαρὰ γαλακτοφάγα βρέφη (fol. 405')
7. καὶ στέαρ σίτου φυραθὲν εἰς χιονώδεις ἄρτους
8. παίνουσι καὶ τρέφουσι τὸ σῶμα κατὰ κράτος,
9. οὕτω καὶ λόγοι τῶν γραφῶν τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις
10. ἀνάγουσι, φωτίζουν καὶ πρὸς καλλίους πράξεις
11. χοροστατεῖν ἐργάζονται μετὰ τῶν θείων νόων.

3: Matt. 13:44-45 | 5-7: cf. Nonnos, *Dion.* XVII, 78-79 | 6: Manasses, *Synopsis* 3646 | 9-10: Ps. 19:8

1. ἀβλακίσῃς P, βλακίσῃς Miller | 4. λάβοις V | 10. καλλίτους V, καλλίστους P | 11. χειροστατεῖν V

1. δρέψεις V: δρέψη P | 2-3. ἂν δὲ τοῖς βίβλοις ἐντρυφᾷς ἀκμαιοτέρῳ τόνῳ, / ἐν ταύταις τὸν πολύτιμον εὐρήσεις μαργαρίτην V : ἂν δὲ τοῖς βίβλοις ἐντρυφᾷς, εὐρήσεις μαργαρίτην / ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς κρυπτόμενον πολύτιμον τὸν μέγαν P | 5. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἶνος παλαιός, τὴν φύσιν ἀνθοσμίας V : ὥσπερ γὰρ οἶνος πέμπελος τριγέρων ἀνθοσμίας P

70 (ο')

1. Τύμπανα μὲν καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ σάλπιγγες καὶ κρότοι
2. τὸν σαρκικὸν ὀτρύνουσι πρὸς πόλεμον ὀπλίτην,
3. ἥρεμον μέλος δὲ φωνῆς καὶ τόπος ἡσυχίας
4. ἔνωσιν φέρουσι Θεοῦ καὶ σταθιρὰν γαλήνην.

5. Εἰ γὰρ ἀνύσαι τὴν ζωὴν μετὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης
6. ἔχεις εἰς νοῦν, ἐπιλαβοῦ φιλεῖν τὴν ἡσυχίαν·
7. εἰ δὲ φροντίδων κοσμικῶν ἐφίη μετὰ κρότων,
8. νικᾷς καὶ φύσιν τὴν ψυχρὰν τῆς γλίσχρου σαλαμάνδρας,
9. νικᾷς καὶ τὸν Ἰππόλυτον, νικᾷς τὴν ἐξ Ἰθάκης,
10. νικᾷς καὶ τὸν ἀδάμαντα καὶ τὸν παντάρβην λίθον,
11. εὐρίσκη σωφρονέστερος αὐτοῦ Βελλεροφόντου,
12. ἀλλὰ ψευδῆς, οὐκ ἀληθῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἡ φύσις.
13. Ὅσασι γὰρ τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς βαδίζειν,
14. καὶ σχήματα πρὸς τὴν γραμμὴν, πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ὁ στάχυς.

1-2. Joh. Chrys., *PG* 55.615, 47-48 | 2: Homer, *Il.* 17.383 | 9 & 11: cf. Michael Choniates, *Or.* 21 (353.12) | 10: cf. Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 8.11.6

4. φέρουσι P: φέρωσι V | 9. τὸν ἐξ Ἰ. P

7. ἐφίη μετὰ κρότων V : βούλει καὶ μετὰ κρότων P

71 (οα')

1. Ὡ φεῦγε πᾶσαν κάκωσιν αἰσχύνης πεπλησμένην,
2. ἥ κἂν ἐκείνης τῆς φρικτῆς φεῦγε καὶ τελευταίας·
3. ὁ γὰρ διώκων ἐντροπὴν ἐκφεύγει τὰς συνάξεις
4. ὥς τίγρεις, ὥς ἐλέφαντας, ὥς ψυχοφθόρους κύνας.
5. Τὸ κάλλος γάρ τοι τύραννος, βαρὺς καρδιοκράτωρ,
6. βέλος ἐστὶν ἀσίδηρον, ἀλλ' εἰς ψυχὴν εἰσβάλλει,
7. ἰὸν ἀσπίδος δίδωσι θανάσιμον ἐκβλύζον,
8. κἂν ὁ βαλὼν ἀθέατος, κἂν ἄχαλκον τὸ βέλος.

5-8: Manasses, *AK*, VI, 116, 1-2, 4 & 6-7

7. δίδωσι θανάσιμον ἐκβλύζον V : ρεύγεται θανάσιμον καὶ βλύζει P

72 <οβ'>

1. Ἡ ποίει φίλους τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἢ φεῦγε τὴν φιλίαν· (fol. 405^v)
- 2 σαθροὶ καὶ γὰρ πεφύκασι οἱ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον φίλοι.
- 3 Τῆς γὰρ ἀνάγκης ὁ καιρὸς ἔλεγχος φίλων γνώμης,
- 4 εἰ πλάττεται τὸν φίλιον, εἰ κατὰ βάθος ἔχει·
- 5 καὶ χρή τὸν φίλον συμπονεῖν ἐν συμφοραῖς τῷ φίλῳ.

2. Prov. 19:4 | 3-5: Manasses, *AK*, VIII, 151

5. τὸ φίλον P, συμπονεῖν P, συμφοραῖς P

1. Ἡ ποίει φίλους τοὺς χρηστοὺς V : φίλους ἢ κτῆσαι τοὺς χρηστοὺς P | 2. σαθροὶ καὶ γὰρ πεφύκασι V : σαθροὶ πεφύκασι καὶ γὰρ P | 3. τῆς γὰρ ἀνάγκης ὁ καιρὸς ἔλεγχος φίλων γνώμης V : καὶ γὰρ ὁ φίλος ἐν κακοῖς ἐλέγχεται τοῦ φίλου P

73 <ογ'>

1. Ἀγάπα πάντας τοὺς βροτοὺς ὡς ἀδελφοὺς γνησίους,
2. πλὴν ὡς μὴ παραβλάπτεσθαι κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐκ τούτων.
3. Πολλὴν γὰρ πρὸς ὁμαίμονας ἐνδείκνυσθαι προσήκει
4. ρόπην καὶ σχέσιν ἀγαθὴν καὶ σὺν στοργῇ φιλίαν,
5. εἰς τὸ συγκάμνειν ἀδελφῷ παλαίοντι κινδύνους.
6. Εἰ γὰρ προθεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν χάριν τοῦ φίλου μόνοι
7. προσῆκειν διδασκόμεθα παρὰ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου,
8. πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον ἀδελφῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ συγγόνων.

1-2: cf. 1 John 4:20-21 | 5: cf. Euripides, *Alceſtis*, 212 et Greg. Naz., *Epist.* 225.1-2 | 6: John 15:12-13

3. τὸν ὁμαῖμον' P, τὸν ὁμαιμον Miller | 7. προσήκει P

1. ὡς ἀδελφοὺς γνησίους V : ὡς ἀδελφοὺς λογίζου P | 4. καὶ σὺν στοργῇ φιλίαν V : καὶ πρᾶξιν τῆς φιλίας P

74 <οδ'>

1. Ἄν δυστυχῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν, οὐαὶ τῆς δυστυχίας·
2. ἂν δ' εἰς τὴν ποριμότητα τοῦ πλούτου, μὴ ῥαθύμει·
3. ἂν δὲ πλουτῆς, τοὺς πένητας παρηγορῶν συνθλίβου.
4. Οἶδε καὶ γὰρ ἀκρόασις θλίψεων ἀλλοτρίων
5. συγχέειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ συγκινεῖν εἰς πένθος,
6. τὸ μὲν ὑπαναξαίνουσα τὰς ἐν ἐκείνοις πάθας,
7. τὸ δέ γε καὶ κατελεεῖν πείθουσα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων.
8. Καλὸν μὲν γὰρ συμμεθεῖς, ἀλλὰ γεννᾷ καὶ φθόνον·
9. ὅποσοι δ' ἂν μετάσχωσι ταυτοπαθῶν καμάτων,
10. ἀλλήλοις τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἀντιφιλοτιμοῦνται
11. καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλων συμφορὰς οἰκτεῖραντες ἀλλήλοις
12. ἀντιπροπίνουσι πικρὰν πένθους φιλοτησίαν.

4-12: Manasses, *AK*, V, 87

4. ἴδε P | 5. πένθος VP : πάθος Miller | 6. πάθας P : πάγας V | 10. ἀντιφιλοτιμοῦντες P

7. τὸ δέ γε καὶ κατελεεῖν V : τὸ δέ καὶ κατοικτιζεσθαι P | 8. καλὸν μὲν γὰρ συμμεθεῖς, ἀλλὰ γεννᾷ καὶ φθόνον V : καλῶν [ms. καλὸν] μὲν γὰρ συμμεθεῖς τίκτει ποτὲ καὶ φθόνον P

75 <οε'>

1. Εἰ ψέγεσθαι μὴ βούλεσαι, πράττε μὴ τὰ τοῦ ψόγου·
2. εἰ δὲ μὴ πράττων λοιδορῇ, μετὰ χαρᾶς προσδέχου.
3. Ὁ ψόγῳ γὰρ ἀτιμασθεῖς ὕβρεσι ψευδωνύμοις,
4. εἰ μὲν χρηστὸς σιωπηλὸν, ἄλαλον στόμα φέρων, (fol. 406')
5. Θεῷ τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ μόνῳ τὴν κρίσιν νέμε·
6. ἂν δὲ πολύτροπος ἀνὴρ, μισόκαλος, θυμώδης,
7. ὥς κύων κάρχαρος λυττῶν ἐκμαίνεται καὶ δάκνει,
8. καὶ τῆς μανίας τὸν ἀφρὸν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ χόλου
9. ψυχρὸν ἐκβλύζει καὶ σκαιὸν ὥσπερ λυσσῶν τις κύων·
10. ἂν δὲ καὶ τύχην ἔλαχε κυρίαν τοῦ κολάζειν,
11. ἱαττατὰι κολαστικῆς καὶ μαιφόνου γνώμης!

4: Ps. 38:14.2 | 7-11: Manasses, *AK*, IX, 166, 2-4, 6-7

2. λοιδορῇ V : ψέγεσαι P | 9. ψυχρὸν ἐκβλύζει καὶ σκαιὸν ὥσπερ λυσσῶν τις κύων V : ψυχρὸν ἐκβλύζει σίελον ὡς λυσοδοάκτης κύων P | 10. τύχην ἔλαχε κυρίαν V : τύχης ἔλαχε κυρίας P

76 (οζ')

1. Ἐπαινον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, μὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, θέλε·
2. ἄνισος γὰρ τῆς πράξεως ἢ μισθαποδοσία.
3. Οὐ ψόγος γάρ, οὐκ ἔπαινος, οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸς, οὐ δόσις,
4. τοὺς πέλας ἄγειν δύναται πρὸς τὰς ἐτέρων γνώμας·
5. μόνον τὸ πνεῦμα γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἐκάστου τῶν ἀνθρώπων
6. τῶν ἐπταισμένων σύννοιδε πᾶσαν ἐντὸς κηλῖδα,
7. ὥς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐδίδαξεν ὁ τοὺς νεφροὺς ἐτάζων.
8. Οἱ λόγοι γὰρ τοῖς πράγμασιν· οὕκουν αὐτὰ τοῖς λόγοις

9. τὰ πράγματα συνέπονται καὶ συνακολουθοῦσιν.
10. Ἐλέγχει μόνον ἔπαινος τὴν καλογνωμοσύνην,
11. ὥσπερ ὁ ψόγος ἀληθῶς τὴν κακογνωμοσύνην.

1: Rom. 2:29 | 3-7: cf. 1 Cor. 2:11 | 8-9: cf. Greg. Naz., *PG* 37.1169, 6

3. ὁ ψόγος P, οὐχ' ἔπαινος P

5. μόνον τὸ πνεῦμα γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἐκάστου τῶν ἀνθρώπων V : μόνον τὸ πνεῦμα γὰρ Αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθ' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου P | 6. τῶν ἐπαισιμένων σύννοιδε πᾶσαν ἐντὸς κηλίδας V : εἰδέναι τὰ κρυπτήρια δύναται τῶν ἀνθρώπων P | 7. ὁ τοὺς νεφροὺς ἐτάζων V : καὶ μυστηπόλοι τούτου P | 8. οὐκ οὐκ αὐτὰ τοῖς λόγοις V : ἔπετ' οὐκ τοῖς λόγοις P

77 (οζ')

1. Πενίαν μίσει τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν χρημάτων
2. πλουτοποιοῦσι μάλιστα τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας.
3. Ἦ τί γὰρ ἄλλο φθαρτικὸν ἴσον πενίας πάθος
4. ἂν νόσοις μᾶλλον καὶ πληγαῖς, ἂν συμφοραῖς παλαίῃ;
5. Εἰσὶ καὶ γὰρ τοὶ συμφοραὶ καὶ τῶν δακρύων μείζους·
6. ἔχει γὰρ οὕτω φύσεως τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάθη·
7. ἐν μὲν τοῖς κούφοις πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς μετρίοις βλάβαις
8. ἄφθονα καταστάζουσι τὰ τῶν δακρύων ρεῖθρα
9. καὶ λύουσι τὰ βλέφαρα καὶ καταντλοῦσι κόρας,
10. ὥς ἔκ τινος προρέοντα πηγῆς εὐϋδροτάτης, (fol. 406^v)
11. καὶ τοῖς ἀλγοῦσι παύουσι τῶν ὀδυνῶν τὰ βάρη,
12. ὥς ἐξοιδοῦντος τραύματος ἀποκουφίζομένοις·
13. ἐν ἀφορήτοις δὲ κακοῖς καὶ πόνοις ἀκαμάτοις
14. φεύγουσι καὶ τὰ δάκρυα τὰς κόρας προδιδόντα

15. καὶ φθάνουσι χωρήσαντα μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ βάθος·
16. συναντωμένη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πυρφοροῦσα λύπη
17. ἀντανακλᾷ καὶ σβέννυσιν ὥστε μὴ πόρρω βαίνειν,
18. ἀντεκपुरοῖ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς φρυγανῖτιν ὕλην
19. καὶ χαλεπώτερον ποιεῖ τὸ τῆς καρδίας τραῦμα.

1-2: 2 Cor. 8-9 | 5-15, 16 & 19: Manasses, *AK*, VI, 121, 1-11, 13 & 20

10. εὐυδροστάτης P

1. καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν χρημάτων V : καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν χρημάτων P | 2. πλουτοποιοῦσι μάλιστα τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας V : πλοῦτον χαρίζετ' ἄφθαρτον ἂν μετ' εὐχαριστίας P | 3. ἡ τί γὰρ ἄλλο φθαρτικὸν ἴσον πενίας πάθος V : καὶ τί γὰρ ἡ τρισέχθιστον ἴσον πενίας ἄλγος P | 7. ἐν μὲν τοῖς κούφοις πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς μετρίοις βλάβαις V : ἐν μὲν εὐφόροις πάθεσιν ἀλγέσι τε μετρίοις P | 13. ἐν ἀφορήτοις δὲ κακοῖς καὶ πόνοις ἀκαμάτοις V : ἐν δυσκομίστοις δὲ κακοῖς καὶ πόνοις δυσαγκάλαις P | 15a ἡ πρόσωπον ῥάνισαντα ῥανίσι λευκοθρόμβοις P [ῥαντίσαντα Miller] | 16. ἡ πυρφοροῦσα λύπη V : ἡ σπλαγχνοφάγος λύπη P | 16a ἀναδραμεῖν σφιδάζουσιν εἰς βλέφαρα καὶ κόρας, / 16b. τὴν ῥύμην τούτων ἴστησι πρὶν ἔξω παρακύψαι / 16c. σφοδρῶς ἀναπιδύοντα κάτω μετοχετεύει / 16d. τὸ δάκρυ δ' ἐκτρεπόμενον ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς τὰς κόρας, / 16e. εἰργόμενόν τε τῆς φορᾶς τῆς εἰς τὰς βλεφαρίδας P | 17. *deest in* P | 18. ἀντεκपुरοῖ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς φρυγανῖτιν ὕλην V : ἀντιपुरεῖ πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἐν παλιρροίᾳ P [ἀντεπιρρεῖ Manasses]

78 <ση'>

1. Δεῖ τὸ τῆς χάριτος καλὸν τινὰ μὴ καπηλεύειν,
2. μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλην ἀφορᾶν ἀντίδοσιν καὶ χάριν.
3. Τότε γὰρ χάρις πέφυκεν ὅταν τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης
4. σῶζῃ καλῶς κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ δόντος τὴν ἀγάπην.

1: cf. 2 Cor. 2:17

4. σῶζει P

4. σώζῃ καλῶς κατ' ἐντολὴν V : σώζει καλὸν κατ' ἐντολὴν P

79 <οθ'>

1. Ὁ τοὺς γεννήτορας τιμῶν δοξάζει τὸν Σωτῆρα·
2. πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν γὰρ ἡ τιμὴ τῶν γεννητόρων τρέχει·
3. ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐσχίκαμεν τὴν πλάσιν,
4. οὕτω καὶ πάλιν δεύτερον ἐκ τῶν γεγεννηκότων.
5. Ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνων οὖν Αὐτῷ τὸ φίλτρον χρεωστεῖται,
6. οὕτω καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας.

1-2: Col. 3:20 | 3-4: Eph. 3:14

5. ἐξ ἐκείνοις P

3. ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐσχίκαμεν τὴν πλάσιν V : ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν λαβόντες P | 4. οὕτω καὶ πάλιν δεύτερον ἐκ τῶν γεγεννηκότων V : εἰς τοὺς γονεῖς τὸ δεύτερον ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου πρῶτον P | 5. ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνων οὖν αὐτῷ V : ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνων οὖν ἡμῖν P

80 (π')

1. Οὐ δεῖ τὸν μεγαλόφρονα καὶ τὸν ἐκ πρώτου γένους
2. τὰ πάντα πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν.
3. Τὰ γάρ τοι μελετώμενα πρὸς τῶν ταπεινοτέρων
4. ῥᾶστα γὰρ ἂν τις ταπεινὸς ἅπαντα πάντων μάθοι·
5. τὸν δ' εὐγενῆ, τὸν δ' ὑψηλόν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἄνω μοίρας
6. πολλὰ πολλῶν ἂν λάθοιε, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν ἐν σκότει
7. κρυφίως πως ὑπὸ τινων τολμῶνται φαυλοτέρων.

3-7: Manasses, AK, III, 62

6. post ἄν literae forma apparet quae legi non potest V

4. ῥᾶστα γὰρ ἄν τις ταπεινὸς ἅπαντα πάντων μάθοι V : σύγκλυσ [ms. σύγκλεις] μὲν ἄν καὶ ταπεινὸς ἄνθρωπος ῥᾶστα μάθοι P | 6. πολλὰ πολλῶν ἄν λάθοιε V : πολλοὺς πολλὰ καὶ λάθοιεν P | 7. κρυφίως πως ὑπὸ τινων V : καὶ μᾶλλον ἄν ὑπὸ τινων P

81 (πα')

1. Ἡ πλούτου τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀντέχου κατὰ κράτος
2. ἣ φεῦγε τὸν φιλόρπαγα καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀδικίας. (fol. 407')
3. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο γέννημα χεῖρον ἢ γαῖα φέρει,
4. οὐ σμερδαλέους δράκοντας, τίγρεις, οὐ βασιλίσκους,
5. οὐ βαρυκακοδαίμονας παναπηνεῖς τυράννους,
6. ὥς πλοῦτος πᾶν ἀπόλλυσι καὶ φθείρει καὶ δαμάζει.
7. Πλοῦτος εἰσάγει τὰ κακὰ καὶ παραλλάσσει φρένας,
8. ψεύδους πατὴρ γνωρίζεται, φίλος συκοφαντίας,
9. δουλοῖ τὸν σκληρογνώμονα, τὸν ἱλαρὸν κακίζει,
10. τοὺς χθαμαλοὺς ὑπερνεφεῖς ἐργάζεται καὶ γαύρους,
11. καὶ ταπεινοῖ τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς καὶ φθείρει καὶ δαμάζει.
12. Αἰ αἰ, καλῶν ἀντίπαλε, κακίας ὑπηρέτα!

1-2: Matt. 16:19-21 | 4: Homer, *Il.* 2.309 | 4-6: cf. Joh. Chrys., *PG* 61.305, 38 | 9: Prov. 22:7

1. πλούτου τοῦ τῶν V ex dittographia | 4. σκερδαλέους V | 5. βαρυκακοδαίμονα V, πάνθ' ἀπηνεῖς V

1. Ἡ πλούτου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ V : ἣ πλοῦτον τὸν οὐράνιον P | 4. οὐ σμερδαλέους δράκοντας V : οὐ δράκοντας ψολόεντας [ms. φολόεντας] P | 5. παναπηνεῖς τυράννους V : τύραννους κακορύκτας P | 6. ὥς πλοῦτος πᾶν ἀπόλλυσι V : πλοῦτος τὸ πᾶν ἀπόλλυσι P

82 (πβ')

1. Ὅμιλει πᾶσι προσηνῶς, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μόνοις·
2. ἦθη γὰρ ὄλλυσι χρηστὰ χειρόνων ὁμιλία.
3. Ὁ γὰρ πλασμάτων πόρρωθεν λόγος ὥς ὄντως λόγος
4. παντάπαν ψεύδους ἀμιγῆς εὐσκαιουργὸς ἐπλάσθη,
5. κἂν πράγματα ποικίλλωσι καὶ τὸν ἀπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν.

2: 1 Cor. 15:33

4. fortasse legendum est ἀσκαίουργος

1. ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῖς καὶ μόνοις V : ἀλλ' ἀγαθὰ καὶ μόνον P | 2. ἦθη γὰρ ὄλλυσι χρηστὰ χειρόνων ὁμιλία V : φθείρουσι γὰρ τὰς τῶν χρηστῶν πράξεις κακῶν οἱ λόγοι P | 3. ὁ γὰρ πλασμάτων πόρρωθεν λόγος ὥς ὄντως λόγος V : οἶδεν ὁ λόγος ὁμιλεῖν οὐ πλάττεσθαι καὶ πλάτει P | 4. παντάπαν ψεύδους ἀμιγῆς εὐσκαιουργὸς ἐπλάσθη V : ἐπλάσθη γὰρ ἀπλότητος πόρρω κακοῦ καὶ ψεύδους P | 5. κἂν πράγματα ποικίλλωσι καὶ τὸν ἀπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν V : ποικίλον τῶν πραγμάτων δε τοῦτον ἐργάζει φύσις P

83 (πγ')

1. Ἐλεγχος μέντοι τὰς ψυχὰς δάκνει τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
2. τὰς δὲ κακῶν πρὸς ἄμυναν ὀξύνων παροτρύνει.
3. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ξίφος οὕτω πως σῶμα τιτρώσκειν οἶδεν,
4. ὥς λόγος δακεκάρδια ἐλέγχων φέρει κέντρα.

3-4: Menander, *Sententiae* 393

3. πως : πῶς V

3. οὐδὲν γὰρ ξίφος οὕτω πως σῶμα τιτρώσκειν οἶδεν V : οὐδὲν γὰρ ξίφος φάσανον τιτρώσκει τὸ σῶμα P | 4. ὥς λόγος δακεκάρδια ἐλέγχων φέρει κέντρα V : ὥς λόγος ἔχων ἔλεγχον βαρύποτμον ὥς ὄφεις P | 4a οἶδε ψυχὴν τοῦ δαπανᾶν, κριοκοπεῖν καὶ τρύχειν P

84 (πδ')

1. Δεῖ τὸν πολὺν ὑπάρχοντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν
2. πλουτεῖν ἐν τούτοις τὴν ζωὴν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς τρόποις.
3. Οὐ δεῖ τὸ γῆρας γέροντας κερνᾶν μετὰ κακίας
4. ὥς οὐδὲ μέλιτος ὀλκὴν μετὰ δηλητηρίων.
5. Ἄν ζῶντα γάρ τινα κακῶς ἢ μοῖρα προαρπάσῃ,
6. ὁ θάνατος οὐ θάνατος, ὁ πότμος οὐχὶ πότμος,
7. ἡ νέκρωσις οὐ νέκρωσις, ἀλλὰ τῶν πόνων παῦλα.

5-7: Manasses, *AK*, III, 50

2. ζωνὴν Miller | 5. κακῶν P | 7. παῦλα : πάντα P

2. πλουτεῖν ἐν τούτοις τὴν ζωὴν V : πλουτεῖν καθάπερ τὴν ζωὴν P | 3. οὐ δεῖ τὸ γῆρας γέροντας κερνᾶν μετὰ κακίας V : γῆρας οὐδὲν γὰρ πέφυκε κακίᾳ μεμιγμένον P | 4. ὥς οὐδὲ μέλιτος ὀλκὴν μετὰ δηλητηρίων V : ὥς καὶ τὸ μέλι ἄβρωτον μετὰ πικρίας πέλειν P

85 (πε')

1. Φύλαττε νόμους τοῦ Θεοῦ· μηδόλως καταφρόνει.
2. Τῷ γὰρ εἰς πόλον ὃ φασι προῖεμένῳ βέλη (fol. 407')
3. κοῦφον ἐστὶ τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ συστραφὲν τὸ βέλος
4. καιρίαν δίδωσι πληγὴν ἔνθα που τυχεῖν φθάσῃ.

1: Prov. 7:2 | 2-3: cf. Manasses, *AK*, IX, 162, 1-2

2. βέλει V

2. τῷ γὰρ εἰς πόλον ὃ φασι προῖεμένῳ βέλη V : τῷ γὰρ τοξεύοντι φησὶν εἰς οὐρανοῦ τὸ βάθος P | 3. κοῦφον ἐστὶ τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ συστραφὲν τὸ βέλος V : εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ βέλος ἀναστρέφει P | 3a. ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τοῦ βάλλοντος τὸ στέρνον διαπεῖρει, / 3b. ἀναστραφὲν ὥς ἔκ τινος γίγαντος εὐπαλάμου P | 4. deest in P

86 (πς')

1. Τὴν ἀφροσύνην ἔκφευγε θυμοῦ θαλάσσης πλέον,
2. ἥ καὶ θαλάσσης χείρονας οἶδεν ἐγείρειν τρόπους
3. καὶ κύματα πολύφλοισβον ἀποκτυποῦντα ῥόθον,
4. ἐξ ὧν ἀφρόνως πταίσμασι πάντα κυκᾷ τὰ πέλας.
5. Πλὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἀσεβοῦς πάντων ὑπάρχει χεῖρον.

3. πολύφλοισβον: πολύσφλοιβον V

1. θυμοῦ θαλάσσης πλέον V : θυμὸν ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης P | 2. ἥ καὶ θαλάσσης χείρονας οἶδεν ἐγείρειν τρόπους V : οἶδε γὰρ χείρονα πολλῶ θαλάσσης ἐξεγείρειν P | 3. καὶ κύματα πολύφλοισβον ἀποκτυποῦντα ῥόθον V : φλοῖσβον πταισμάτων κύματα καὶ συσκευάζειν πόντον P | 4. ἐξ ὧν ἀφρόνως πταίσμασι πάντα κυκᾷ τὰ πέλας V : ἄφρονα μὲν τὸν ἀμαθὴ ἴσασι πάντες λέγειν P | 5. πάντων ὑπάρχει χεῖρον V : ἄφρων ὑπάρχει χεῖρον P

87 (πζ')

1. Χείρονα πάντων γίνωσκε πολλῶ τὴν ὑποψίαν,
2. ἥ τις θυγάτηρ πέφυκε ψεύδους καὶ φαντασίας.
3. Καὶ ταύτην λέγουσι γεννᾶν ἰὸν θανατηφόρον,
4. τοῦ τῆς ἀσπίδος χείρονα καὶ τῆς κωφῆς βυούσης·
5. τὸν νοῦν σκοτοῖ, τὰ βλέφαρα, τὰς φρένας, τὰς αἰσθήσεις·
6. ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξαπατᾷ τὰς κόρας,
7. τῷ μήκει τῆς ὀράσεως τούτων ἀμβλυνομένων.
8. Ὅ γὰρ περίφοβος θυμὸς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοῦτον δέος
9. ἐχεμυθεῖν οὐ δύναται τὰ κεκρυμμένα φέρειν·
10. τὸ γὰρ τοι πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς νεκροῖ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις
11. καὶ τὴν καρδίαν δυσαχθῆς ὡς λίθος συμπίεζει
12. καὶ στόμα τὸ λαλίστατον εἰς εὐφωνίαν τρέπει.

4: Ps. 57:5 | 6-7: Manasses, *AK*, I, 1, 1-2 | 10-12: Manasses, *AK*, I, 3

1. πολλῶ τὴν ὑποψίαν V : τὴν ὑποψίαν εἶναι P | 2. ἡ τις θυγάτηρ πέφυκε ψεύδους καὶ φαντασίας V : οὕσα θυγάτηρ ψεύδους γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ἀληθεύειν P | 3. καὶ ταύτην λέγουσι γεννᾶν ἰὸν θανατηφόρον V : φασὶ γὰρ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἰὸν θανατηφόρον P | 4. τοῦ τῆς ἀσπίδος χεῖρονα καὶ τῆς κωφῆς βουούσης V : χεῖρον [ms. χεῖραν] ἐχίδνης πέφυκεν ἀσπίδος βασιλίσκου P | 5. τὰς φρένας, τὰς αἰσθήσεις V : τὸν μήνιγγα, τὰς φρένας P | 6. ἐξαπατᾷ τὰς κόρας V : ἐξαπατᾷ τὰ κύκλα P

88 (πη')

1. Τῷ βίῳ τὸν φιλάργυρον μηδόλως φίλει τρόπον.
2. Κόνις γὰρ πέφυκε τῆς γῆς χρυσὸς, ἄργυρος, λίθοι·
3. χοὸς οὖν εὐτελέστερον τί τῶν ἐνταῦθα, φράσον.
4. Ἄφρονα γὰρ τὸν δυσσεβῆ καὶ ψεύδορκον τὸν ψεύστην
5. ὄντως ὑπάρχειν λέγουσι καὶ ψεύδεσθαι δικαίως,
6. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀρπάζοντα πέλειν εἰδωλολάτρην·
7. Παῦλος γὰρ ταύτην δέδωκε τὴν κρίσιν ἀποτόμως.

1: Heb. 13:5 | 2: Dan. 2.35,2 | 4: Ps. 14.1 | 6: Col. 3:5

3. χοὸς V : χνὸς P, χνόου Miller, εὐτελέστερος V

1. τῷ βίῳ τὸν φιλάργυρον μηδόλως φίλει τρόπον V : φεῦγε φιλεῖν τὸν ἄργυρον κἂν λευκανθίζῃ πλέον P | 2. κόνις γὰρ πέφυκε τῆς γῆς V : χώματα πέλουσι τῆς γῆς P | 3. χοὸς οὖν εὐτελέστερον τί τῶν ἐνταῦθα, φράσον V : χοὸς οὖν εὐτελέστερον δεῖξον, εἰπεῖν ἂν ἔχῃς P | 4. ψεύδορκον V : δύσορκον P | 5. ὄντως ὑπάρχειν λέγουσι καὶ ψεύδεσθαι δικαίως V : ὄντως ὑπάρχειν λέγεσθαι καὶ ψεύδεσθαι δικαίως P

89 <πθ'>

1. Ἄν νουθετήσῃς τὸν σοφόν, εὐρῆς εἰρήνης χάριν·
2. ἂν δὲ μωρὸν ἀσύνετον, ὑπέροφρυν, κακόνουν, (fol. 408')

3. μῖσος καὶ μᾶλλον ἔλαβες ἀντίχαριν ἐκ τούτου·
4. μισεῖ γὰρ νουθετούμενος καὶ νουθετῶν μισεῖται.

1: Sirac. 21:12-15 | 2: cf. Euripides, *Iphigenia Aul.* 1.691 et cf. Rom. 1:31

3. μίσους P

90 <4'>

1. Δίδου παιδείας φρόνησιν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι ταύτην·
2. οὔτε γὰρ κύων φυλακῆς ἐξίσταται προβάτων,
3. οὔτε μωρὸς παιδεύεται τούτου μὴ βουλομένου.

1: Dan. 2:21

2. ἐξίσταται προβάτων V : προίσταται προβάτων P | 3. τούτου μὴ βουλομένου V : τούτων μὴ βουλομένων P [τούτων καὶ βουλομένων perperam legit Miller]

91 <4α'>

1. Ἀπόθου τὸν φιλάρπαγα καὶ πλεονέκτην τρόπον.
2. Εἰ γὰρ τις ἄρπαξ ἄνθρωπος, δυσδαίμων, πλεονέκτης
3. συλλέγειν καὶ φορολογεῖν ἐκ κακουργίας μάθοι,
4. οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων δύναται τοῦτο τὸ πάθος σβέσαι,
5. οὐ πῦρ, οὐχ ὕδωρ, οὐ χιῶν, οὐ σύμμηξις κρυστάλλου,
6. οὐ φάρμακον, οὐ σπάθη τις, οὐ Σκυθικοὶ χειμῶνες,
7. οὐ πέλαγος δυσχείμερον, οὐ νύξ, οὐ θήρ, οὐ πόντος,
8. ἀλλ' εἰσπηδᾷ κατὰ πολλῶν φασγάνων ἀμφιτόμων,
9. κατατολμᾷ καὶ χαραδρῶν, μεγαλοκρήμνων βόθρων,
10. ἂν τὸ ποθούμενον αὐτὸ μόνον ἰδεῖν ἐλπίζῃ,

11. ἂν φαντασθῇ τὸ φίλιον, εἰς νοῦν ἂν μόνον λάβοι.

2: cf. 1 Cor. 5:11.3 | 2-5: Eccl. 5:10-12 | 5-11: Manasses, *AK*, IX, 165, 2-4 & 10-13

3. μάθει P | 11. τὸν φίλιον VP

4. τοῦτο τὸ πάθος σβέσαι V : τὸν πόθον κατασβέσαι P | 6. οὐ φάρμακον, οὐ σπάθη τις V : οὐ φάρμακον, οὐ μάχαιρα P | 9. κατατολμᾷ καὶ χαραδρῶν, μεγαλοκρήμνων βόθρων V : κατατολμᾷ καὶ κρημνωδῶν μεγαλοχάων βόθρων P

92 <4β'>

1. Φιλεῖν τὰ τέκνα πᾶς βροτὸς ὀφείλει καὶ παιδεύειν·

2. κρεῖσσον παιδεύειν ἀληθῶς ἢ γε φιλεῖν ἀκαίρως.

3. Καὶ γάρ τοι τὸ φιλοτεκνεῖν ἐδίδαξεν ἡ φύσις,

4. τὸ δὲ καλῶς φιλοτεκνεῖν καὶ νόμος καὶ προφῆται.

5. Τιμὴ πατρὸς γὰρ ἀγαθὸς παῖς ὑπὲρ πλοῦτον μέγαν,

6. ὑπὲρ τὴν σοβαρότητα Ξέρξου καὶ Κύρου πᾶσαν,

7. ὑπὲρ θελκτήριον ᾠδὴν, ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς Σειρήνας.

2: cf. *Mantissa Proverb.* 3.37.1 | 3-4: Georgios Lapithes 670 | 5: Prov. 15:20 | 6: cf. Manasses, *Synopsis* 6173 et Simokattes, *Quaestiones Phys.* 37.9 | 7: cf. Simokattes, *Epistulae*, 21.3

5. τιμὴ V : εἰ μὴ P, μέγα P | 6. σοβαρότητα P

2. κρεῖσσον παιδεύειν ἀληθῶς ἢ γε φιλεῖν ἀκαίρως V : κρεῖσσον παιδεύειν τοῦ φιλεῖν ἢ τὸ φιλεῖν ἀκαίρως P | 4. καὶ νόμος καὶ προφῆται V : καὶ νόμοι καὶ προφῆται P | 7. ὑπὲρ θελκτήριον ᾠδὴν V : πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ γλυκύτητα P

93 <4γ'>

1. Γέλα τῆς τύχης τὸν τροχὸν περιφρονῶν καὶ παῖζε

2. καὶ τὴν ἀστάθμητον φορὰν τῶν κοσμικῶν πραγμάτων,

3. πτώμα τοῦ πέλας δ', ἄνθρωπε, βλέπε μὴ καταπαίξῃς·
4. οὔτε γὰρ φύσις δέδωκεν οὔτε πραγμάτων τέχνη·
5. κρεῖσσον γελαῖν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἢ παίζειν τὸν πλησίον. (fol. 408^v)
6. Μὴ κρίνειν οὖν ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην ἔδειξέ σοι
7. Παύλου φωνή, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγοι σαφῶς οἱ θεῖοι.

3: Prov. 24:17 | 6: Rom. 2:1

94 <4δ'>

1. Μήτε πρὸς πάντας αὐστηρόν, ζάκοτον λόγον χέης,
2. μήτε γλυκὺν πρὸς ἅπαντας καὶ μεμαλακισμένον,
3. ἀλλ' ἄγε, πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα φέρε τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.
4. Ἄν γὰρ ψεκάδας ἡδονῆς, ἂν τῆς χαρᾶς ῥανίδας
5. ἐνστάζωσί σου τῇ ψυχῇ, λάμβανε, δίδου πράως,
6. ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ πράξει·
7. ἂν δὲ καρδίαν δαπανᾷν βούλεται δακεθύμως
8. πικρολογῶν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ὥς ξυλοφάγος σκώληξ,
9. τὴν μέντοι βλάβην ἀπὸ σοῦ βάλε, μακρὰν ἀπόθου,
10. αὐτὸν δὲ λόγοις αὐστηροῖς μὴ βάλε μηδὲ πλήξῃς.
11. Στόμα καὶ γὰρ σιωπηλὸν οἶδε Θεὸς οἰκτεῖρειν
12. καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ τιμωρεῖν ταχέως.

3: cf. 1 Pet. 3:15 | 9: cf. Matt. 5:29 | 10: cf. Prov. 15:1-2

1. χέεις P | 2. μὴ μαλακισμένον P

4. ἂν γὰρ ψεκᾶδας ἡδονῆς, ἂν τῆς χαρᾶς ῥανίδας V: ἂν γὰρ χαρᾶς ὀχέτιον, ἂν ἡδονῆς ῥανίδας P | 5.
ἐνστάζωσί σου τῇ ψυχῇ V : ἐνστάζουσι πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν P

95 <4ε'>

1. Μὴ χρῶ τοῖς ὕπνοις εἰς μακρὸν εἴ γε μισεῖς ὀνείρους·
2. καὶ γὰρ παράτασις μιᾶς νυκτὸς ὀλιγομέτρου,
3. ὅλος αἰὼν νομίζεται τοῖς ὀνειροπολοῦσιν.

2-3: Manasses, *AK*, V, 90

2. ὀλιγομέτρου V : ὀλιγομέτρα P

1. μὴ χρῶ τοῖς ὕπνοις εἰς μακρὸν εἴ γε μισεῖς ὀνείρους V : ὁ τοῖς ὀνείρασι μισῶν σφόδρα μὴ
καθυπνίζει P

96 <4ζ'>

1. <M>ὴ θέλε τὸν ἀνώμαλον καὶ παίκτην βροτῶν βίον
2. ὥς δοῦλον καθυπείκειν σοι καὶ στέργειν ὥς δεσπότην,
3. ἀλλὰ μὴ νέμε ἀφορμάς, βλέπε τὰς μεταβλήσεις.
4. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ γενησόμενον καὶ τὸ μεμοιραμένον
5. οὐ σχήσει φάλαγξ ὀπλιτῶν, οὐδὲ πυρὸς αἱ γνάθοι,
6. οὐ λογισμὸς ἀνθρώπινος ἰσχύσει περιτρέψαι,
7. κἂν πέλη παλαιότερος Ἄτλαντος καὶ Τυφῶνος,
8. κἂν ἀρχαιογονώτερος Ὀφίωνος καὶ Κρόνου.
9. Νομίζω τοῦτο καὶ Θεὸς ἐπίτηδες μηνίει
10. καὶ καταβάλλει τὰ θνητῶν καὶ ταπεινοῖ καὶ φθείρει,
11. ὥς μή τις λέγῃ τὸ καλὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κεκτηῖσθαι. (fol. 409')

4-6: Manasses, *AK*, VIII, 154, 1-3 | 9-11: Manasses, *AK*, IV, 76, 14-16

3. μεταβλήσεις P : μετακλήσους V | 5. σχίσει VP | 6. ού V : ούδὲ P Miller contra metrum | 10. καταβάλει VP

1. καὶ παίκτην βροτῶν βίον V : παίκτην βροτῶν τὸν βίον P | 3. ἀλλὰ μὴ νέμε ἀφορμάς V : ἀλλὰ μὴ νέμειν ἀφορμάς P | 8. κἂν ἀρχαιογονώτερος V : κἂν ἀρχαιογενέστερος P | 9. ἐπίτηδες μηνίει V : ἐπίτηδες κωλύει P | 11. λέγει V : λέγειν P

97 (47')

1. Οὐκ ἔστι πᾶν τὸ περιττὸν χρήσιμον ἐν ἀνθρώποις·
2. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄκρατον ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν
3. παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν τῷ τῆς γῆς ἐνστρεφομένων κύκλῳ,
4. κἂν πλεῖστα κτήσαιντο τινές, κἂν εὐθηνοῖντο φίλοις,
5. κἂν περιρρέοιντο χρυσῷ, κἂν ὄλβῳ καταντλοῖντο.

2-5: Manasses, AK, IV, 83

3. ἐστρεφομένων VP

3. κύκλῳ V : γύρῳ P

98 (48')

1. Προτίμα σου τοὺς μείζονας καὶ τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρους.
2. Δοκοῦσι γὰρ οἱ τὰ θνητὰ θνητοὶ καθὰ φρονοῦντες
3. ὑπάρχειν ὡς ἐξαίσιον τοῖς μείζοσι προτρέπειν
4. ἔδρας καὶ στάσεις καὶ τιμάς, εἰ καὶ τῶν φθειρομένων
5. τυγχάνουσι καὶ βδελυκτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνυποστάτων,
6. μὴ συνιέντες ἀληθῶς μηδ' εἰς ψυχὴν εἰδότες
7. ὡς ἔστι κρείττων κολοσσὸς Διὸς τοῦ ψυχοτρόφου
8. καὶ σίδηρος βαρύτατος μνᾶται μικρῷ χρυσίῳ.

9. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μόχθος τῶν βροτῶν ἐν πράγμασιν ἀστάτοις
10. παίζειν αὐτοὺς ἐπίσταται ἄνω καὶ κάτω στρέφων.

1: Rom. 13:1-7 | 4: cf. Luke 14:7-11 |

2. καθὰ φρονοῦντες V : καταφρονοῦντες P | 7. κρείττω VP, ψυχοτρόφου P : τρόφου supra ψυχοφθόρου, id est ψυχοτρόφου V | 8. καὶ σίδηρος V : ἔστι δὴ ὡς P | 9. [...] γὰρ ὁ μ[.]θος P, [μέ]γας ὁ [μόχ]θος legit Miller

99 (4θ')

1. Μήτ' ἀκριβὴς ὡς φειδωλός, μήτ' εὐεργέτης πάλιν
2. ὡς ἄσωτος τὰ κτέανα κακῶς καταναλίσκης·
3. Τίς γὰρ ἡ τόση τοῦ χρυσοῦ περιπλοκή καὶ σχέσις;
4. καὶ πῶς τὸν φίλιον τινὲς τυμβόχωστον ὀρῶσι
5. καὶ κλεῖθρα περισφίγγουσι καὶ βάλλουσι σφραγίδας;
6. Εἰ γὰρ εἰς γῆν τυμβόχωστον μέλλομεν τοῦτον θεῖναι,
7. τί τῶν μετάλλων τῶν αὐτῆς ἀνάγωμεν σπουδαίως;
8. Αἴ αἴ, θυμὲ φιλάργυρε, πατήρ θησαυρισμάτων!

6: cf. Matt. 25:18

1. ἀκριβὸς P

2. ὡς ἄσωτος τὰ κτέανα κακῶς καταναλίσκης V : ὡς ἄσωτος ἀναλωτὴς κἂν πολυκτῆμων πέλης P

100 (ρ')

1. Προχαιρετίζειν οὐ δεινόν, οὐ τῶν μεμισημένων,
2. ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔνδοξον καὶ προσηνὲς καὶ πρᾶον.
3. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἶ τῶν εὐγενῶν, ηὐξήθη τὰ τῆς δόξης,
4. εἰ δὲ γηπόνων τεχνιτῶν καὶ τῶν χθαμαλωτέρων,
5. αὐτόφυτον τῆς ἀρετῆς πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν ἔχεις.

1: cf. *Phlorios kai Platzialflore*, 1183

3. ηὐξήνηθη VP | 5. αὐτόφυτον P : αὐτόφωτον V

<ἐπίλογος>

1. <Ε>χων, ὧ θεία κεφαλή, φίλη μοι καὶ τιμία, (fol. 409')
2. τῶν πόνων μου τὰ δράγματα, τοὺς σιτοφόρους στάχυν,
3. ὡς σῖτον ὥσπερ ἐκ παντὸς καθάπερ φυραθέντα,
4. ὡς διπυρίτας καθαρούς, ὡς φωτοφόρους ἄρτους
5. ἄρτον πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον ὀρῶντας μετ' εὐνοίας,
6. εὐχὰς καλῶς τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀπὸ καρδίας δίδου·
7. δίδου μοι τὴν συγχώρησιν λαμβάνων τὴν ἀγάπην.
8. Ὑπάρχεις ἄφθαρτος καὶ γάρ· ὑπάρχεις μακαρίτης,
9. εἰ καὶ τοῖς ζῶσι μέχρι νῦν καὶ φθέγγῃ καὶ βαδίζῃ.
10. Δεῦρο, κοινὸν στησώμεθα χορὸν καὶ μέλος θεῖον,

11. βαδίζω πόρρω κἄν τῆς σῆς νύσσης μακρὰν καὶ θέω·
12. δεῦρο, δοξάσωμεν κοινῶς τὸν ἄναρχον πατέρα
13. καὶ τὸν συνάναρχον υἱὸν, πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον ἅμα.
14. Εἰ γὰρ Τριάς ἀμέριστος Θεὸς μεμερισμένος,
15. τὸ μὲν ὡς ὁμοδύναμος τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῇ φύσει,
16. τὸ δὲ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι νοούμενος ταῖς θεαίαις,
17. ὕμνον διὸ προσφέρωμεν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν μίαν
18. εἰς ὁμοδύναμον ἀρχὴν καὶ πάντων βασιλέα.

2. Meletios Homologetes, *Ἀλφαβηταλφάβητον*, epil. 1, 193 | 5: John 6:50 | 11: Greg. Naz., *Or.* 27, §5, 5
| 18 Joseph Hymn., *Kanon on St Basil*, ode 8, line 33

5. ὁρῶντας : ὁρῶντα V | 15. ὁμοδύναμος : ὁμοδύναμον V

1. ἔχων V : ἔχεις P | 3. ὡς σῖτον ὥσπερ ἐκ παντὸς V : ἔχεις ὡς σῖτον ἐκ παντὸς P | 6. εὐχὰς καλῶς
τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀπὸ καρδίας δίδου V : δίδου λοιπὸν τὴν ἀμοιβὴν εὐχὰς ἀπὸ καρδίας P | 7. λαμβάνων
τὴν ἀγάπην V : λάμβανε τὴν ἀγάπην P | 18. εἰς ὁμοδύναμον ἀρχὴν καὶ πάντων βασιλέα V : ὡς
ποιητῇ καὶ βασιλεῖ πάντων καὶ κηδεμόνι P

7 Language and Style

That was a way of putting it—not very satisfactory:
A periphrastic study in a worn-out poetical fashion,
Leaving one still with the intolerable wrestle
With words and meanings. The poetry does not matter.
It was not (to start again) what one had expected.

T.S. Eliot, *East Coker*

7.1 Introduction

Diglossia is a linguistic phenomenon common to many languages. Byzantine Greek is a good example, as it shows a clear distinction between ‘high’ language and ‘low’ language; the former was used for formal purposes and the latter for ‘normal every day and mostly oral use’.²⁹¹ In turn, the high language itself may be subdivided into different registers. These different registers of style were analysed by Ševčenko in an article that still remains the default theoretical work one should turn to when dealing with stylistic analysis.²⁹² Using the *Rethorica ad Herennium* and Byzantine sources such as Psellos, Ševčenko suggested the division of the Byzantine literary output into three levels: high, medium and low. While the vocabulary of the high level is ‘puristic and recondite’ and uses very few scriptural quotations but plenty of classical ones, the middle ‘requires the use of a Patristic lexicon’ and the low uses ‘paratactic structures and quotations from the New Testament and Psalter’.²⁹³ These criteria are not easily applicable to poetry. The problem is that whatever the metre may be, the syntax is largely paratactic in poetry given the isometric nature of Byzantine versification: as Lauxtermann has shown, typical of Byzantine poetry is the segmentation of sentences into short colons, semi-

²⁹¹ Toufexis, ‘Diglossia and Register Variation’, 209. On literacy in Byzantium, see Browning, ‘Literacy in the Byzantine World’.

²⁹² Ševčenko, ‘Levels of Style’.

²⁹³ Ševčenko, ‘Levels of Style’, 291.

autonomous and juxtaposed one to the next, like ‘tiny tesserae into a mosaic’.²⁹⁴ Another of Ševčenko’s criteria, the quotations from Scripture, is not relevant either because Byzantine poets, regardless of stylistic register, regularly quote the Psalms verbatim.

In general, poetry tends to be less demanding than prose because its vocabulary is more simple and straightforward.²⁹⁵ This obviously does not mean that there are no stylistic differences in poetry; but these are above all genre-related: hexameters and elegiac distichs, for instance, make use of Homeric Greek, whereas dodecasyllables employ a more atticistic or even Koine-like idiom.²⁹⁶ This said, it is worth emphasizing that within the limits of a certain metre, individual stylistic choices may differ strongly: the language of Manasses, for instance, is much more elaborate and baroque, full of fanciful compounds, than that of other practitioners of political verse.²⁹⁷ The most informative and exhaustive study of the language of Byzantine poetry is by Hinterberger, who focuses on two aspects: vocabulary and syntax.²⁹⁸ Rare words and ‘poetic’ compounds are typical of highbrow Greek; simple and scriptural language is typical of a lower stylistic register. Grammatical sloppiness is avoided by the likes of Prodromos and Philes, but is not uncommon in less educated authors, and the author of the texts I am editing is sadly no exception. The use of the perfect and pluperfect instead of the aorist is a widespread phenomenon; so too is the use of the aorist subjunctive instead of the future tense, but the frequent appearance of the latter is more common in low stylistic registers.

In the case of the *Chapters in Political Verse*, things are even more complicated because the author so often quotes Manasses, which immediately puts him in a

²⁹⁴ See Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm*, 83.

²⁹⁵ See Jeffreys, ‘The Nature and Origins’, at 156 and 174.

²⁹⁶ See Hinterberger, ‘The Language of Byzantine Poetry’, 40 and 55–56.

²⁹⁷ See Hinterberger, ‘The Language of Byzantine Poetry’, 46.

²⁹⁸ See Hinterberger, ‘The Language of Byzantine Poetry’.

different category than where he rightfully belongs. There is in fact a constant interplay of two different stylistic registers in the text. There are also two different versions of the poem, each going back to the author, but still displaying significant differences, which makes the discussion of the author's style slightly more intricate. Then there are obvious differences between the *Chapters in Four Ways* (CFW) and the *Chapters in Political Verse* (CPV). I shall not discuss the hexameters, which as Katsaros and Simelidis have shown,²⁹⁹ are mostly taken from the poetic oeuvre of Gregory of Nazianzos, with some rather painful misunderstandings of what the church father was actually trying to say: the only thing one can say is that the hexameter was clearly well beyond the author's ability. As for the octosyllables and dodecasyllables, however, there are some striking differences with the political verses, as I shall argue below.

All references below are to the online *TLG*.

7.2 The vocabulary of CPV

When working on the authorship of a previously unedited text, one of the first things one should look at is language and style. For every author has his own way of writing, one would say a signature, whose characteristics make authors differ from one another. In contemporary linguistics, scholars argue that 'every native speaker has their own distinct and individual version of the language they speak and write, their own idiolect, and this idiolect will manifest itself through distinctive and idiosyncratic choices in texts'.³⁰⁰ While this concept cannot be entirely applied to Byzantine Greek, given the differences between the spoken language and the written one, yet one could argue that indeed every Byzantine author had his own style, which manifests itself through

²⁹⁹ Katsaros, 'Οι εξαμέτροι στίχοι', and Simelidis, 'Lustrous Verse', 275–77.

³⁰⁰ M. Coulthard, 'Author Identification, Idiolect, and Linguistic Uniqueness', *Applied Linguistics* 25 (2004), 431–47, at 431.

linguistic choices that are peculiar to every author. Some authors adopt a highbrow language, others would use a given grammar or syntactic structure more than once or prefer more common words to rare ones. Manasses' style can be seen as an example of this. As Hinterberger argues, 'Manasses' neologisms stretch over five and six syllables, [...] and many of his new words can be grouped according to their second component. [...] Such compounds appear both in Manasses' chronicle and his novel, indicating that these words constitute a very specific characteristic of Manasses' personal style'.³⁰¹

The linguistic analysis, therefore, has to come to fore if one wants to find out more about the author of a text. By this is meant, firstly, the analysis of the linguistic register, e.g. defining whether we are looking at a highbrow, middlebrow or lowbrow text, and secondly the examination of the vocabulary adopted by the author, e.g. the use of hapax legomena and rare words. The analysis of the hapax legomena, for example, could be very relevant in regard to the authorship of a text and, if dealing with more than one text, could be useful to determine whether or not such texts were written by the same author. Some scholars working on Homer, for example, 'claimed that hapax were highly significant in identifying the different compositional strata of the Homeric poems'.³⁰² For modern and contemporary texts, for example, 'the amount of the shared hapaxes is supposed to be quite powerful in establishing authorial distinctiveness: the more there is, the less the authorial differentiation', as Ali and Hussein point out.³⁰³ To some extent, the same holds true for medieval texts as well. The hapax legomena are not only useful in determining the authorship of given texts, but they also play a key role in determining the cultural level of the author, the readings he has done, and, more

³⁰¹ Hinterberger, 'The Language of Byzantine Poetry', 46.

³⁰² E. van Emde Boas, *Clusters of Hapax Legomena: An examination of hapax-dense passages in the Iliad* (Amsterdam, 2004), 5.

³⁰³ S.M. Ali and K.S. Hussein, 'The Comparative Power of Type/Token and Hapax Legomena/Type Ratios: A Corpus-based Study of Authorial Differentiation', *Advances in Language and Literary Studies* 5.3 (2014), 112-19, at 113.

broadly, the stylistic register he was aiming for. In the following, I shall discuss the hapax legomena and the rare words of the *Chapters in Political Verse*.

There are quite a number of hapax legomena in the prologue, such as σκληραγνωμονῶ (prol.11, ‘to be hard-hearted and ungrateful’); διπλοπεντάριθμος (prol.12, ‘twice the number five’, therefore ‘ten’); καθαρόσαρκος (prol.48, ‘healthy’); τελματίας (prol.79, ‘that lives in the mud’); and the remarkably vulgar form σβόλωσις (prol.76 (P), ‘blackness’; ‘corrected’ in V to ἄσβολον), deriving from the verb (ἄ)σβολόω, with word-initial vowel deletion;³⁰⁴ cf. 64.2 ἀποσβολωθείς in P and ἄπας σβολωθείς in V (instead of ἀπασβολωθείς).

Further hapax legomena include πολυλαρυγίζω (3.9, ‘to scream loudly’); the compound γιγαντοδύναμος (16.5, ‘with the strength of a giant’); περιμίσητος (17.1, ‘very much hated’); ἀντεισακούομαι (18.8, ‘to repay by listening’); ἀναλώσιμος (25.5, ‘disposable’); χερσαιοπόρος (54.16, ‘earthly’) referring to animals; μακροσκελόραμφος (55.5, ‘with long legs and a beak’); πολυείλικτος (65.19, ‘circuitous’); and πικρολογέω (94.8, ‘to speak bitterly’).

Among hapax legomena attested only in P, one may note καταμερικεύειν (prol.30, ‘to go into detail’); καπριόδους (prol.80, ‘boar-toothed’); θεληματόω (24.10, ‘to act arbitrarily’); πλουτόχειρ (29.3, ‘generous’); ἀνεμοφθόρητος (32.9, ‘destroyed by the wind’); ἐφευρεσιλογέω (35.5, ‘to invent excuses’); πυκνόπυργος (55.1, ‘with many towers’); μεγαλόλαιφος (66.6, ‘with big sails’); ναυτίζω (66.6, ‘to navigate’); λυσσοδάκτης (75.9, ‘rabid’); and καθυπνίζω (95.1, ‘to fall deeply asleep’).

Unique to V are the following hapax legomena: the adjectives τρισταλάντατος (2.3, ‘thrice unhappy’), which replaces τληπαθής in P; δυσώδυνος (3.4, ‘very painful

³⁰⁴ See I. Manolessou, ‘Phonology’, in D. Holton, G. Horrocks, M. Janssen, T. Lendari, I. Manolessou and N. Toufexis, *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 2019), vol. I, 1–222, at 60–63.

for the body’), replacing the more common κακόβουλον; and κυκλοδρόμος 65.7 (‘running in circle’); and the verb ἀντεκπυρῶ in 77.18 (‘to put aflame’). The hapax εὔσκαιουργός in 82.4 is difficult to explain: as it replaces πόρρω κακοῦ καὶ ψεύδους in P, it must mean ‘true’. But the components (‘well-bad-made’) seem to indicate the opposite. As the prefixes εὖ- and α- are often misread (both by scribes and editors), I would suggest reading ἀσκαίουργος, cf. ἀκάκουργος – yet another hapax. Another hapax, the participle ὀξυδραμοῦσα (‘running fast’) at 49.2 (only in V), may be a scribal mistake for ὀξυδρομοῦσα, from the verb ὀξυδρομῶ, which is at least safely attested. But it may be a legitimate form that has not survived or has been polished away by editors: cf. εὐδραμοῦντα in Philes and εὐδραμοῦσιν in George Metochites, where the regular form is εὐδρομῶ, not εὐδραμῶ.

Sometimes V replaces a hapax in P with another hapax: for instance, the adjective παναπηνής (81.5, ‘very cruel’) in reference to tyrants, which replaces the hapax κακορύκτης in P. Though it is a hapax, παναπηνής is easier to understand than κακορύκτης because the adjective ἀπηνής, from which παναπηνής derives, is quite often used for tyrants: e.g. Souda E 3996 about the Homeric Echetus, the evil king of Epirus (<Ἐχέτος> τύραννος ἀπηνής καὶ σκληρός). Another example is πανταχύπους (13.3, ‘with all-swift feet’) in V and γοργοδρόμος (‘running fast’) in P. There is no good explanation why the author changed γοργοδρόμος to πανταχύπους since both are stylistically, semantically and metrically equivalent.

As for the less common and rare words, an interesting one is the verb ἐξωριάζειν (prol.4 V, ‘to neglect’), attested in many manuscripts of Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* 17 (in modern editions emendated to εὐωριάζειν) as well as in the *Scholia vetera* (verse 12a, line 7). The text of the scholion is quite similar to CPV, for it reads: τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἐξωριάζειν πατρὸς λόγους, while CPV has θεοῦ γάρ

λόγους ἔκρινα δεινὸν ἐξωριάζειν. Since πατρὸς in the scholion refers to Zeus, the author of CPV clearly christianizes the reference by using θεοῦ. In her *Life of the Graptoi* (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 188.30), Theodora Raoulaina uses the very same phrase: ὁ δὲ βαρὺ πατρικὸς εἰδὼς λόγους ἐξωριάζειν.

Another classical word that is extremely rare is διπυρίτης (epil.14, ‘twice-baked bread’): it is only attested in Hippocrates and the dictionary of Pollux. Equally rare is δακεκάρδιος (83.4, ‘heart-vexing’), found only in the *Etymologicum Magnum*.

The author of CPV shares most of his more unusual vocabulary with other Byzantine writers. The adjective τεραστιώδης (prol.17), instead of τερατώδης, is attested in Tzetzes, Chrysoberges and Theodore Laskaris. The verb ἐναποσμήχω (prol.74, ‘to wipe’) is found in Chrysostom and Psellos, and the poetic compound κυματοτρόφος (prol.22) is attested in Psellos and elsewhere. The word χρυσόδεσμος (3.11, ‘golden clasp’) is extremely rare: it is only found in Byzantine dictionaries. The word χρασμός (7.10, ‘stain, defilement’), is equally rare: it is attested in Kantakouzenos and in Ps. Kydones. The noun ἐπιχιτωνίσκος (9.4, ‘shirt’) is found only in Prodromos’ poetry. The use of the verb εὐοδμῶ (58.2, ‘to smell good’) is restricted to Tzetzes, and that of συμπόρνος (58.5, ‘partner in fornication’) to Neophytos Enkleistos. The words ποριμότης (74.2, ‘availability’) and πανσθενουργός (prol.26, ‘almighty’) appear to be Byzantine: the former is attested in Attaleiates, Eustathios of Thessaloniki, Kamateros and others; the latter in John of Damascus, Niketas Paphlagon, and others. The noun καλογνωμοσύνη (76.10, ‘well-advisedness’) is found in Hermoniakos and Byzantine legal documents. The noun μετάβλησις (96.3, ‘change’) is found in a book epigram on Pachymeres’ commentary on Aristotle (Laur. 87.5: see Bandini, III, 386) and in a marginal note in the *Life of Andrew the Fool* (ed. Rydén, 752 app.): compounds in -

βλησις instead of -βολή are relatively rare in Byzantine Greek (the most prominent example is πρόβλησις instead of προβολή).

The verb φιλοτεκνῶ (92.3 and 4, ‘to love your children’) is relatively rare: it is found in Origenes, Philostratus, Niketas Choniates, George Bardanes and George Lapithes. The attestation in Lapithes’ paraenetic poem is interesting because it is very close to what CPV offers. For in Lapithes one reads ‘Nature and every law teach you to love your children’ (v. 670, ‘φιλοτεκνεῖν διδάσκει σε φύσις καὶ νόμος ἅπας’) and in CPV: ‘For nature teaches us to love our children, and the law and the prophets how to do so in the best way’ (92.3–4, καὶ γὰρ τοι τὸ φιλοτεκνεῖν ἐδίδαξεν ἡ φύσις / τὸ δὲ καλῶς φιλοτεκνεῖν καὶ νόμος καὶ προφηταί). It is worth remembering that while the Bible commands children to love their parents and vice versa, the Holy Scripture also tells not to love your nearest, e.g. your parents, more than you love God, because otherwise you are not worthy of him (Matthew 10.37). Given the similarity between the two passages one may wonder if George Lapithes (active in the mid 14th century) had access to CPV and imitated it. The most likely scenario, however, is that since both poems are paraenetic works in political verse, they made use of the same florilegia of sayings.

Given the fact that the author of CPV was an avid reader of Manasses and lifted whole passages from his novel, it does not come as a surprise that he shares many words with Manasses.³⁰⁵ Take, for instance, the adjective πολυκτήματος in P (16.6, ‘exceedingly rich’); according to *LBG*, it is found in a twelfth-century document, in Kamateros’ astrological poem and as a variant reading in Manasses’ *Synopsis Chronike* (v. 2566). The choice of the Aristophanean adjective βασανίστρια (19.6, ‘punishing’), which is found twice in Byzantine sources, in Tzetzes’ *Historiai* and in a prose monody

³⁰⁵ As already observed by Mazal, ‘Moralische Lehrgedicht’, 251.

by Manasses, is also interesting. The word σκαφευτής (prol.82, ‘digger’) is only found in Manasses’ *Synopsis Chronike* (v. 183 and 6596). In 51.4 the adjective τολμηροκάρδιος is clearly taken from Manasses, who uses it five times in the *Synopsis Chronike* (1050, 1353, 1823, 4154 and 5664); the only other places where it is found is the chronicle of Glykas (who quotes Manasses) and the *War of Troy*. The adjective πηλόφυρτος (13.5, ‘created from mud’) is likewise borrowed from the *Synopsis Chronike* (233 and 2374). The word μοχθηροτροπία (62.5, ‘evil’) is a Manassean creation: it is attested twice in his novel (84.11 and 102.2) – the latter attestation is copied verbatim at 63.4. The adjective ὕγκοκέλευθος (‘seafaring’), popular in late antique epic poetry, reached our author via Manasses: *Synopsis Chronike* 491: ὡς πλοῖον ὕγκοκέλευθον, and CPV 66.6 (only in V): ἥ πλοῖον ὕγκοκέλευθον. The verb κριοκοπῶ in P (52.7 and 83.4a, ‘to batter with a battering-ram’) is a Manassean borrowing: it occurs in the *Synopsis Chronike* (3501, 4076, 6608), in Manasses’ letter 1 and one of his monodies. The author derived the adjective φρυγανῖτις (77.18, ‘inflammable’) from Manasses’ *Synopsis Chronike* (4228) and the adjective δύσορκος (88.4, ‘perjurious’) from the latter’s novel (8.2). The adjective τυμβόχωστος (99.4 and 99.6, ‘heaped up into a cairn’) is found once in Sophocles and four times in Manasses. The comparative of the adjective ἀρχαιόγονος in V (96.8, ‘ancient’) occurs twice, in a monody by Manasses and in one of Basilakes’ *Progymnasmata* (51.32–33); the latter attestation is very similar to what we find in CPV: καὶ Κρόνου ἀρχαιότερος καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀρχαιογονώτερος and κἄν ἀρχαιογονώτερος Ὀφίονος καὶ Κρόνου.³⁰⁶

The influence of Manasses is also noticeable in words that in themselves are not unusual. Take the word ξυλοφάγος (94.8, ‘eating wood’). The adjective itself is attested

³⁰⁶ The reading of P, ἀρχαιογενέστερος, may be a scribal mistake: ἀρχαιογενής, though rare, is attested, but the literary parallel is so striking that ἀρχαιογονώτερος looks like the better text.

in multiple sources, among which one finds Manasses' *Synopsis Chronike* (4341). If one compares the Manassean passage with the chapter of the CPV, one may promptly note that the author is once again plundering the source. For the Manassean passage reads 'They destroyed his heart with their fawning just as woodworms destroy trees with sweet sap' (καὶ δαπανώντων τὴν αὐτοῦ καρδίαν κολακείαις / ὡς δένδρα τὰ γλυκύχυμα σκώληκες ξυλοφάγοι) and CPV: 'But if he wants to consume the heart in an insulting way, speaking bitterly to the ears like a woodworm' (ἂν δὲ καρδίαν δαπανᾷ βούλεται δακεθύμως / πικρολογῶν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ὡς ξυλοφάγος σκώληξ).

Another example is the lexical collocation γυμνότερος ὑπέρου (prol.45, literally 'more naked than a pestle', i.e. 'stark naked'), which derives from *Proverbs* 23.31. As it is a striking image, this biblical quotation can be found in many Byzantine authors, including Manasses, who uses it in the famous passage in the *Synopsis Chronike* that laments the machinations of *Phthonos* (Envy) which led to the downfall of General Belisarios (line 3194).³⁰⁷ It is clear that the author of CPV had this passage in mind when he discussed the fate of Job, given that at prol.50, he quotes verbatim the line that immediately follows after γυμνότερος ὑπέρου in the *Synopsis Chronike* (line 3195). So, while the expression itself is not particularly Manassean, the source is once again Manasses.

7.3 The language of CPV

This section briefly discusses a few grammatical issues. A more detailed investigation, covering more aspects than I am able to, is at this stage not feasible because the

³⁰⁷ See Hinterberger, 'Phthonos as treibende Kraft', esp. p. 93.

language of Byzantine texts forms a seriously understudied topic, and we therefore sadly lack the research tools to undertake such an investigation.³⁰⁸

As for phonology, I have already discussed the deletion of word-initial vowel in σβόλωσις and ἀπο-σβολῶ (both in P, prol.76 and 64.2). Another example of the same phenomenon is 65.8 πάππος ἀπὸ κάνθης (instead of ἀπ' ἀκάνθης), 'thistle fluff': the collocation derives from a comic fragment by Eubulus, quoted by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistai*. This is almost certainly a scribal error.

As for morphology, one may note 18.2 προσενέγκας: a Koine form instead of Attic προσενεγκών; 52.1 (P) and 75.1 (PV) βούλεσαι and 75.2 (P) ψέγσαι : -εσαι is equally a post-classical form, which only gradually replaced the ending in -ει/-η.³⁰⁹ Both forms are uncommon in Byzantine learned poetry. In 69.2 we have change of grammatical gender: τοῖς βίβλοις: τοῖς instead of ταῖς βίβλοις is also found in Euthymios Zigabenos, Meletios Homologetes, and the novel *Imberios and Margarona*. In 95.2, P offers ὀλιγομέτρα (instead of ὀλιγόμετρος): this is corrected to ὀλιγομέτρου in V. In 24.4, P offers βροντοφώνην (instead of βροντόφωνον); this is 'corrected' to βροντοφῶνον in V.

It must be stressed that these lowbrow features are hardly typical of the author's language, which tends to be quite formal. Take, for instance, compounds with ξύν- instead of σύν-, which is generally considered an 'hallmark of correct Attic usage' by Atticist authors, precisely because it does not occur in Koine and post-classical Greek.³¹⁰ Byzantine highbrow authors who wished to imitate the classical language, specifically the

³⁰⁸ See Hinterberger (ed.), *The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature*.

³⁰⁹ For the latter, see G.N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1892), 188.

³¹⁰ S. Gammage, *Atticism in Achilles Tatius: an examination of linguistic purism in Achilles Tatius' Leucippus and Clitophon*, Unpublished PhD Thesis (Univ. of KwaZulu-Natal, 2018), 34. See also G.C. Horrocks, *Greek: a history of the language and its speakers* (Chichester, 2010), 138.

Attic dialect, likewise regularly made use of ξύν rather than σύν.³¹¹ The prefix can be found in several passages of CPV, such as 18.4 λέξω σοι πλὴν ὁ τηλεπαθῆς ὅθεν ξυνέβη τοῦτο (V only), 27.2 καὶ πρὸς τὰς σφῶν ξυμβάλλεται φύσεις ὡς χαμαιλέων, 55.6 καὶ ξυμβολή πολύπονος τῆς Ἰλιάδος πλέον, 58.7 μίσει σαυτόν, μονώθητι, φεῦγε τὰς ξυναυλίας, and 72.5 καὶ χρή τὸν φίλον ξυμπονεῖν ἐν ξυμφοραῖς τῷ φίλῳ (V only). The Aeolic dative χοάνοισι (prol.39), though rather surprising for a poem in political verse, is a quotation from Gregory of Nazianzos.

As for syntax, the general impression is once again of a well-educated author, with a fairly good understanding of the grammatical rules and writing the kind of Greek that looks distinctly classical without being classical Greek. He only occasionally makes ‘mistakes’: for example, in government, prol.34 ἀντιφερίζω plus genitive, whereas the verb ordinarily takes a dative or πρὸς plus accusative; or in voice, 18.1 and 43.1 ἀσπάζω and 69.1 δρέπω (rather than the more common ἀσπάζομαι and δρέπομαι). He is certainly not alone in not always respecting the rule of ‘Attic syntax’ (neuter plural subjects having the verb in the singular): see 6.2 φθείρουσι γὰρ τὰ πράγματα τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λόγων; 70.13 ἴσασι γὰρ τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς βαδίζειν; 76.9 τὰ πράγματα συνέπονται καὶ συνακολουθοῦσιν; and 82.5 κἂν πράγματα ποικίλλωσι καὶ τὸν ἀπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν.

A peculiarity of the author appears to be the use of the substantivized genitive plural as a predicate: e.g. prol.15 δοῦλοι κακοὶ τυγχάνοντες καὶ τῶν μεμισημένων (‘being evil slaves and hated’ [literally, ‘of the hated ones’]), 23.2 κἂν σὺ τυγχάνῃς ἄδοξος καὶ μὴ τῶν φαινομένων (‘even if you are low-born and not famous’), and 100.1 προχαιρετίζειν οὐ δεινόν, οὐ τῶν μεμισημένων (‘to be the first to greet is not

³¹¹ See Hunger, ‘On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity’, 30: ‘The strictly and stiffly preserved Attic model affected phonetics, morphology, and stylistics. Until the end of the Byzantine Empire educated authors took pains, though with varying consistency, to write double tau instead of double sigma [...] as well as occasionally ξύν instead of σύν’.

bad and is not to be abhorred'). In a slightly different way, chapter 18.3 also shows this predicative use of the substantivized genitive plural: οὐδὲν οὐδόλως ἥνυσα ἐκ τῶν πεφωτισμένων ('I did not accomplish anything of spiritual worth at all').

There are two linguistic markers that clearly indicate that the author of CPV, however highbrow he may be in his vocabulary, strives to achieve the middle style: the use of the aorist subjunctive instead of the monolectic future tense and the avoidance of the monolectic perfect and pluperfect. Let us begin with the aorist subjunctive which is mostly indistinguishable from the future indicative and, precisely for that reason, would eventually replace it, either without or with (ἵ)να: see for example: 5.3 ἐξείπω καὶ προσφθέξομαι καὶ φράσω καὶ διδάξω and 8.1 εἴπω τοῦ φθόνου τὸ δεινόν, ἐκφράσω, στηλιτεύσω.³¹² The use of ἐξείπω in 5.3 is particularly relevant because it is followed by προσφθέξομαι, which is clearly a future tense, and two verbs that could be either aorist subjunctive or future indicative. The same thing happens in chapter 8, where one finds the aorist subjunctive εἴπω with ἐκφράσω and στηλιτεύσω which may be either aorist subjunctive or future indicative. In poetry, the expression of futurity with the aorist subjunctive is a sign that the author strives after a lower stylistic register than most members of the intellectual elite.³¹³

Then there is the restricted and correct use of the perfect, which is a feature of low or middle style rather than high. As Hinterberger has shown, highbrow authors tend to make abundant use of the perfect or the pluperfect, even where classical Greek would demand an aorist.³¹⁴ The reason is very simple: with the disappearance of the (plu)perfect from the spoken language, the aorist and the imperfect were the only tenses

³¹² For this complex issue, see M. Janssen, 'Verb Morphology', in D. Holton, G. Horrocks, M. Janssen, T. Lendari, I. Manolassou and N. Tournfexis, *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 2019), vol. III, 1767–70.

³¹³ See Hinterberger, 'The Language of Byzantine Poetry', 52–53.

³¹⁴ See Hinterberger, 'The Synthetic Perfect'.

available to express anteriority,³¹⁵ which led to the misguided idea that the (plu)perfect of Ancient Greek, morphologically speaking, was a kind of second aorist (or, more rarely, second imperfect). This overuse of perfect and pluperfect is typical of the high style. As the low and the middle styles are closer to the spoken language (though still being learned Greek), they make little to no use of these synthetic forms. The author of CPV has very few (plu)perfects: forms of οἶδα and ἔοικα, both equivalent to the present tense, and πέφυκα and καθέστηκα which, likewise, function as alternatives to εἰμι. More interesting are 23.6 εἶρηκε (only in P) and 88.7 δέδωκε, where the perfects indicate that we still can read the words he ‘spoke’ and the advice he ‘gave’: in other words, they denote the result of an action. In prol.2, V offers a perfect: τὸ κατ’ ἰσχὺν πεπλήρωκα τοὺς ἐν ἐφέσει λόγους, and P an aorist: ὁδὸν τὴν τῆς ὑπακοῆς ἐπλήρωσα καθάπερ. Here V clearly improves on the earlier version P because the perfect indicates that the author has obeyed the order of his superior and written the text we hold in our hands (whereas the aorist simply expresses that at some point in time he obeyed his superior). The only obvious misuse of the perfect is prol.60 γέγονε, which clearly means ‘he became’: ἐγένετο would have been much better, but did not fit in the metre.

The author occasionally struggles with syntax. In 19.1 βαβαὶ τὸ πάθος τῆς ὀργῆς λόγῳ φοιτήσας μόνῳ (‘ah me! the passion of anger, expressing itself in words only’) the participle does not agree in case with the subject. In 60.1 φίλει τὴν σὴν καὶ μὴ τὸ σὸν εὐλαβεστέρῳ τρόπῳ / εἰ βούλει μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ δέμας ἀφθαρτίσαι (‘love your [soul] and not your [body] in a more pious way, if you want both to be incorruptible’): here the problem is that τὴν σὴν and τὸ σὸν have no real antecedents, but refer to ψυχῆς and δέμας in the next line, which goes against logic. In 76.8–9 οἱ

³¹⁵ See Janssen, ‘Verb Morphology’, III, 1814–18 and 1831–33.

λόγοι γὰρ τοῖς πράγμασιν· οὐκ οὖν αὐτὰ τοῖς λόγοις / τὰ πράγματα συνέπονται καὶ συνακολουθοῦσιν ('because words [follow] deeds; they [do] not [follow] words – deeds [do not] follow and accompany [words]'), there is a textual problem: the Greek would have been awkward even without the repetition of τὰ πράγματα, but now, with αὐτὰ and τὰ πράγματα in the same sentence, the syntax definitely goes astray. And in 23.3 the author wrote in his initial version P: ὁ γὰρ δοξάζων τὸν Θεὸν, αὐτὸν ἀντιδοξάζει, which he corrected in the later version V: τὸν γὰρ δοξάζοντα Θεὸν Θεὸς ἀντιδοξάζει. The original version's problems are the pending nominative that functions as a direct object, the lack of a proper subject (i.e. God), and the fact that the pronoun αὐτὸν refers back to an antecedent that forms part of the same sentence.

7.4 Stylistic changes from P to V

The main differences between the two versions are the demanassification of the source material and the simplification of the message. But it must be said that these are gradual changes: V still has a tremendous lot of Manasses, and certain passages remain elusive and difficult to interpret.

Some of the changes are purely lexical. Line 57.3 in P reads: εἰ δὲ νοσεῖς ὡς ἄνθρωπος φέρεις μωλωπάδας ('if you are physically ill, you bear bruises'), with an otherwise not attested word μωλωπάς (<μώλωψ), which the author may have created himself. In V, apparently no longer satisfied with this lexical innovation, he changed the line to: εἰ δὲ νοσεῖς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἢ τραυματίας φαίνῃ ('if you are physically ill or injured'). In prol.75, P offers the idiotic compound ῥαμνωδοκέντρια ('prickly shrub-points'), which V changes to: τὰ κέντρα νύττοντα ('the prickly points'). It is idiotic because ῥαμνώδης is not attested and even if it were attested, it cannot easily form the first part of a compound.

Generally speaking, the text of V tends to have fewer ‘poetic’ compounds. Take 55.1 P οὐ πύργος σιδηρόκτιστος, πυκνόπυργος οὐ πόλις (‘no iron-made fortress, no well-fortified city’) vs V οὐ πύργος ἐξ ἀδάμαντος, οὐκ ἐκ σιδήρου πόλις (‘no fortress made of steel, no city made of iron’). And where V offers compounds, they tend to be slightly more common than those in P: see line 16.6, where V replaces the rarely attested πολυκτήματος (‘very wealthy’) with the more common πολυκτέανος. The language of V is somewhat more subdued, less baroque: where P has 24.10 καὶ πάντα παραδέχονται κακῶς θεληματοῦντες (‘they would wrongly accept everything in an arbitrary fashion’)³¹⁶, V offers καὶ πάντα παραδέχονται κακῶς τῶν λεγομένων (‘they would wrongly accept anything that was said’) – θεληματῶ (instead of θεληματαίνω) is a hapax and must have sounded too idiosyncratic.

The same goes for 81.4 οὐ δράκοντας ψολόεντας, τίγρεις, οὐ βασιλίσκους (‘no sooty serpents, tigers nor basilisks’) in P.³¹⁷ The ‘sooty serpents’ ultimately derive from Nicander (*Theriaca* 288). It is unclear whether the author borrowed the word ψολόεις directly from Nicander or, perhaps, from some intermediate source. But one thing is certain: most Byzantines would not have been familiar with the word or at least not with this particular meaning because, apart from Nicander, ψολόεις always goes with κεραυνός (‘a lurid lightning’). This is why the author in the end decided to use a more recognizable lexical collocation in V: οὐ σμερδαλέους δράκοντας (‘no horrifying serpents’) – σμερδαλέος is a well-known Homeric word which will have been familiar to anyone with a classical training.

The reworked version V is not only simpler, it is also more to the point. Chapter 50, which deals with the virtue of industry, warns against laziness in its second

³¹⁶ The first hemistich is borrowed from Manasses, *AK*, II, 30, 5; cf. Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 291; but the second hemistich, both in P and V, is the poet’s own invention.

³¹⁷ The manuscript (and Miller’s edition) offers φολόεντας; but the text has rightly been emended in the online version of the *TLC*.

line. P has *πᾶς γὰρ ὀκνὸς καὶ ῥάθυμος ἐνδύσεται ῥακώδη* ('every lazy idler shall wear rags'), referring to *Proverbs* 23.21 *καὶ ἐνδύσεται διερρηγμένα καὶ ῥακώδη πᾶς ὑπνώδης*.³¹⁸ This becomes in V: *ἅπας γὰρ ὀκνος ἀσφαλὴς πέφυκε βίου βλάβη* ('all laziness is a definite harm to life'). The message that one should not be lazy is much clearer in V than it is in P, which is too literary and too vague. In the next line, too, V improves on P: *τὸ γὰρ πονεῖν οὐ μωμητὸν οὐδ' ἀπηγορευμένον* ('working hard is not reprehensible nor forbidden'), where P reads *τὸ γὰρ πονεῖν οὐ δύστροπον* etc. ('working hard is not ill-tempered') – *δύστροπος* is not the right adjective here.

As for the demanassification, most of the changes reflect a different approach to the source text. While P tends to leave entire passages of Manasses unaltered, V quite often simplifies Manasses' baroque vocabulary. There is also a stronger awareness that, however beautiful and striking Manasses' poetry may be, it is not always appropriate for what the author wants to say. Take chapter 67 which emphasizes that knowing oneself (*γνῶθι σεαυτόν*) is the beginning of wisdom. Line 3 reads: *ὄρα γὰρ πάντα τὰ θνητῶν καὶ γνῶθι σου τὴν φύσιν* ('examine all aspects of human life and learn your nature'). This then is followed in P by four lines from Manasses, which in the translation of Elizabeth Jeffreys read: 'Indeed man is not a heavenly plant or a divine one, / nor a tree tended by god's hand, / but god's pastime and the plaything of fate! / 'Indeed earth nurtures nothing more feeble than man'.³¹⁹ V leaves out the first three of these lines and retains the last one. The reason for this omission is that the Manassean verses do not add anything of substance to the message and are, in fact, almost counter-productive. Surely monks do not wish to hear that human misery is the pastime of a

³¹⁸ The manuscript incorrectly reads: *πᾶς γὰρ ὀκνὸς καὶ ῥάθυμος ἐνδύσεται ῥικνώδη*, which makes no sense whatsoever. Once one identifies the source text, the emendation is self-evident.

³¹⁹ AKIX, 159, 1-4. Translation by Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 331.

malicious God and that human beings are the plaything of pagan *Tyche*. By leaving out these verses, which border on the blasphemous, the author strengthened his message.

The case of chapter 77 is somewhat different. This chapter at first deals with the monastic virtue of poverty (lines 1-4) and then, rather illogically, follows with a long Manassean passage about how sadness can be so great that tears will not come: fragment 121 in Mazal's edition. P offers the whole passage; V skips a line (15a in my edition) and then starts summarizing: line 17 in V corresponds to 16a-e in P. The question is not why the author decided to offer an abbreviated version of Manasses, but why he thought that he should keep Manasses in the first place, given the fact that the topic is poverty and not the tears of love. The reason is probably that tears – not the tears of love but of repentance – are highly valued in monastic circles because contrition befits the monk and tears cleanse the soul.³²⁰

What happens in lines 77.16 and 77.18 is very interesting because it shows that the author is aware of textual inconsistencies and tries to remedy them by altering the text. Line 19 of Manasses' fragment 121 reads: ἀντεπιρρεῖ πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἐν παλλιρροΐᾳ ('[the tear] flows to the soul with a backwards eddy', in Jeffreys' translation). However, the author had access to a manuscript of Manasses' novel or an already existing collection of excerpts, which offered an incorrect reading: ἀντιπυρεῖ in P. Though this reading makes little sense, he left it as it was in his original version. But when he rewrote the whole passage in V, he changed the subject from τὸ δάκρυ to ἡ λύπη, 'emendated' ἀντιπυρεῖ to ἀντεκπυροῖ (a new compound derived from ἀντί and ἐκπυρόω), and removed the backwards eddy: 77.18 ἀντεκπυροῖ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς φρυγανῖτιν ὕλην ('and ignites the soul as if it were firewood'). But if grief (λύπη) sets

³²⁰ See Hinterberger, 'Tränen in der byzantinischen Literatur'.

fire to the soul, then it deserves a different epithet than σπλαγχνοφάγος, ‘gut-devouring’: this becomes πυρφοροῦσα, ‘fiery’, in 77.16. These are excellent changes.

7.5 Octosyllables in CFW: vocabulary and language

The style of the octosyllabic verses varies from low to middle, with a few highbrow flourishes in some chapters. Despite the apparent simplicity of the vocabulary, the interpretation of this part of the *Chapters in Four Ways* can be very difficult (which is why I provided a facing translation in my edition). I shall first list hapax legomena, rare words, literary gems and technical terms, and then continue with a description of the language.

There are but a few hapax legomena in the octosyllables. The most interesting is 89.3 φυρσός, ‘confused’, which is a variant form for φυρτός (from φύρω). *LBG* lists the compounds φυρσολογῶ, ‘talk nonsense’, attested once in Theodore Stoudites, and Φυρσόστομος, a nickname coined to make fun of John Chrysostom (Χρυσόστομος); it also mentions φύρσα, ‘confusion’, found in the *Taktikon* of Nikon of the Black Mountain.³²¹ The only other source to mention φυρσός is post-Byzantine: it is the dictionary of Gerasimos Vlachos, published in Venice in 1659, who offers it as a synonym for συγχυσμένος (‘confused’).³²² The word appears to be colloquial. The adjective θηρόγνωμος, ‘beastly’ (94.2), is attested nowhere else; the usual word in Greek is θηριογνώμων (found in Manasses and other Byzantine authors), with a rare variant form θηριόγνωμος. The only other hapax is 68.4 δυσανάστροφος (‘hard to return from’), for which there appear to be no further attestations.³²³

³²¹ See *LBG*, vol. 8, 1963, for φύρσα, φυρσολογέω, φυρσόστομος and φυρτός.

³²² The 1659 edition of the *Θησαυρός Τετραγλωσσος* was inaccessible to me; but see: Gerasimi Vlachi Cretensis, *Thesaurus Quattuor Linguarum* (Venice, 1723), 495.

³²³ As *LBG*, vol. 2, 415, s.v. δυσανάτροφος, explains, the reading (τὰ γεννώμενα) δυσανάστροφα in a thirteenth-century *selenodromion* is a mistake for δυσανάτροφα, ‘difficult to rear’.

The category of the rare words includes, among others, ἔτασμα ('trial, affliction') at 35.3, θηλυδρώδης ('effeminate') at 94.2, and προχαιρετίζω ('to be the first to greet') at 100.1: ἔτασμα is attested only once in the *Life of Basil the Young* – the usual word is ἔτασμός, found in the Septuagint and hence in many Christian authors; θηλυδρώδης is attested only twice, in John of Damascus' *Sacra Parallela* and Ignatios the Deacon' *Life of Tarasios* – the usual word is θηλυδριώδης; and προχαιρετίζω oddly enough occurs only in vernacular texts (*Spaneas*, *Phlorios*, *Digenes Akrites*). One may also note the verb ἐκσκορακίζω ('to curse, to damn') at 80.4, which is only found in the letters and the catecheses of Theodore of Stoudios – the usual word is ἀποσκορακίζω. The same verb ἐκσκορακίζω is also used in the iambic verses of the *Chapters in Four Ways* (32.4)³²⁴ and in the *Chapters in Political Verse* (1.2).

The word λίκμησις ('waste') at 64.1 is relatively rare. As Simelidis indicates, the word was probably coined by Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.* 21.22: ἡ κατὰ πάντα ἄνεμον λίκμησις, which alludes to Sir. 5:9 μὴ λίκμα ἐν παντὶ ἀνέμῳ ('do not winnow in every wind'). As he explains, the verb λικμάω ('to winnow') is often used metaphorically in the Septuagint, meaning 'to scatter like chaff' or 'to ruin'.³²⁵ Another word that is relatively rare is εὐγενίζω ('to ennoble') at 32.3; so too are the verbs αὐλακίζω ('to plough') at 89.2 and οἶνοφλυγῶ ('to be drunk') at 95.3.

There are quite a number of technical terms. The most unusual one is λαγαρίζω at 72.4: this verb is only found in alchemistic texts, meaning 'to purify (gold)'.³²⁶ Here it is used in a metaphorical sense: misfortune 'purifies' one's friends because it shows who is truly a friend and who is not, just as the alchemist separates

³²⁴ The reading ἐκσκορακίζειν is found in mss. P and V; the third ms., W, offers ἐκκορακίζειν, and it is this reading that was adopted by the editor, Konstantinides, though ἐκκορακίζω is found only in Byzantine dictionaries and in Theophylaktos Simokattes, whose stylistic register is well above that of the author of the iambs.

³²⁵ See Simelidis, 'Lustrous verse', 290.

³²⁶ See *LBG*, vol. 5, 908, for λαγαρίζω, λαγάρισμαν and λαγαριάζομαι.

gold from base metal. The author of the octosyllables is clearly familiar with medical texts: see 46.3 σκιρ(ρ)ῶμαι, ‘to become indurated’; 58.3 σηπεδών, ‘putrefaction’; 75.3 ἔμπλαστρος, ‘plaster’; 83.4 πάρεσις, ‘paralysis’; and 84.4 ὀλιγήμερος, ‘in a few days’, an adjective that is primarily found in medical literature. At 32.2 the author derives the word ἐμφύσημα from medicine. The word has basically two meanings: ‘inspiration’ or, more specifically, ‘breath’ (of God) in Christian contexts, and ‘swelling’ in medical texts. The author’s metaphorical use of ἐμφύσημα, that is ‘arrogance’, derives from the latter meaning. The last two verses of chapter 75 develop the theme of medicine: *χρὴ καὶ γὰρ τὴν νόσον φεύγειν, οὐ τὸν ἔμπλαστρον τῆς νόσου* / *ἴαμα καὶ γὰρ ὑπάρχει ἔλεγχος παραπτωμάτων*.

Some of the author’s vocabulary is slightly more learned: for example, 46.3 ἀχλύς, ‘mist’; 64.3 ἀκρατοπότης, ‘drunk’ (used thrice by Manasses); 64.3 κάνθων, ‘donkey’; the Homeric adjective νήδυμος, ‘sweet’, at 55.2; 65.3 ψυχοτρόφος, ‘feeding the soul’; 68.1 δυσανάβατος, ‘hard to climb’; 88.1 δέμας, ‘body’ and 83.4 κάρα, ‘head’. The word ὀπισθόπους, ‘coming back’, at 86.3 derives from Attic tragedy. The use of the epic αἰεῖ in 65.4, instead of αἰέ, is also quite poetic. In contrast to the *Chapters in Political Verse*, the octosyllables do not refer to classical mythology. The closest their author comes to the imagery of Greek paideia is at 96.4, where he refers to the Euripos, the strait that separates Euboeia from the Greek mainland, which is well known for its tidal currents. In classical literature, the tides of the Euripos were seen as a ‘byway of changeability’.³²⁷

At 82.3 the author refers to the demons as τοὺς ἐξ ἀέρων, referring to the idea that evil enters the body via the mouth.³²⁸ Though the belief in airborne demons was

³²⁷ D. Whitehead, *Hypereides: The Forensic Speeches* (Oxford, 2000), 423.

³²⁸ The idea of demons in the air is firstly to be found in the life of St. Anthony. With the words of C. Mango, ‘Diabolus Byzantinus’, *DOP* 46, 215–33, at 215: ‘conception of the demonic realm, which is

widespread, the phrase οἱ ἐξ ἀέρων appears to be without parallel. But the line ἀρχὰς λαθὼν παρηλθε τὰς ἐν ἀέρι, ‘he secretly escaped the powers in the air’, is found in a twelfth-century epitaph.³²⁹

As for morphology, one may note the Koine form εὔρατο in 95.2, the vernacular relative pronoun τό (instead of ὃ) in 78.4 and the equally vernacular aorist imperative ὑποκάθισαι (=ὑποκάθισε) in 98.4.³³⁰ The non-contracted infinitive φιλέειν in 36.3 is probably chosen to fill up the verse, but it may be a literary reminiscence, which refers to the arch-father of the anacreontic tradition in Byzantium, Sophronios of Jerusalem, who has φιλέειν in poem 17.91.

The style is generally low. Worth noting are the following features: 62.3 περιπλέκομαι + acc. (cf. ἐπεριπλάκηκέν τον *Achilleid* N 1159); 44.2 σπουδάζω + gen., for which there appears to be no parallel; 83.1 ἐμπίπτω πρὸς (instead of dative or εἰς); 54.4 ἐπιφέρω with two accusatives, both for the direct and the indirect object; 41.4 μωμῶ instead of the regular μωμῶμαι; 46.1 ἀσπάζω instead of the much more common ἀσπάζομαι (see above for the use of ἀσπάζω in CPV); 69.1 ἐκ βρεφόθεν, a tautological construction often encountered in lowbrow texts (cf. *Ptochoprodromika* III.56 app. crit. ἀπὸ μικρόθεν μὲ ἔλεγεν); 56.4 redundant δέ; 74.4 δέ not in its usual position: ὁ πλουτῶν δυσκόλως δέ γε τῷ Χριστῷ συμβασιλεύσει; 53.4 ὡς δρομεὺς καθάπερ: double comparison; 82.4 no Attic syntax (ἦθη ... φθείρουσι); 86.2 a pending nominative instead of a genitive absolute: εἰς αὐτὸν πεσὼν δ’ ὑστέρω, ‘and then,

located in the air below the visible heaven. Demons are in the air as a result of their fall and they are constantly tossed by the turbulence of the winds’. More on the topic see: R. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988) and ‘Fallen into Outer Darkness: Later Byzantine Depictions and Conceptions of the Devil and the Demons’, *Etnofoor* 5 (1992), 61–80.

³²⁹ S. Lambros, ‘Ο Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ 524’, *NH* 8 (1911), 145, no. 242.42. I owe this reference to Professor Lauxtermann.

³³⁰ For another example of the spelling with -αι instead of -ε (as if it were a non-existent middle aorist imperative), see παράκυψαι (=παράκυψε) in *Dig. Akrites G* 4.282, discussed by Janssen, ‘Verb Morphology’, 1660.

when he falls into it’ [also note the position of δέ]; and 44.1 lack of antecedent in κατ’ ἄμφω, ‘in both’.

Like CPV, this text has quite a number of instances where the aorist subjunctive expresses futurity in the main clause: e.g. 40.4 εὔρης, 58.2 βάλης and 61.4 συγκατίδης. As I pointed out, this is typical of the low style in Byzantine Greek. And like CPV as well, the author of the octosyllables makes restrictive use of the monolectic perfect and pluperfect, and where he does use it, he uses it correctly: e.g. 62.2 πέφευγας indicating the result of an action. There is only one real mistake: 87.4 ἐγεγόνεισαν, used for a habitual action in the present – the correct form would have been γίγνονται. The restricted use of the (plu)perfect is indicative of the low and middle styles.

A typical feature of the octosyllables is the frequent use of the articular infinitive: e.g. 36.3 τὸ γὰρ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φιλέειν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ὑπάρχει or 92.1 τὸ φιλεῖν ἡμῶν τὰ τέκνα, οὐ τὸ κολακεύειν, πέλει, cf. lines 36.4, 79.1–2, and 93.2. Whereas the articular infinitive is quite common in low and middle styles (but less so in the high style), there is a particular usage that puts the octosyllables squarely in the category of the sub-standard: the use of τοῦ + infinitive after control verbs. Control predicates usually take the form of a bare infinitive in Greek, without the article.³³¹ The construction τοῦ + infinitive occurs seven times in the octosyllables: 37.3 τὰς παρθένους συγκαλεῖται τοῦ κατόπιν πορευθῆναι, ‘(the Mother of God) summons the virgins to follow in her footsteps’; 63.1 δεῖ μὲν τίνα τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι ἔδειξεν ἡμῶν ὁ πλάστης, ‘our creator showed us whom we should fear’; 63.3 κάθαρσιν αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τοῦ γεννᾶν ἐπίσταταί σοι, ‘and (fear) also knows to create purification for you’;

³³¹ See the discussion in G. Horrocks, ‘Syntax’, in D. Holton, G. Horrocks, M. Janssen, T. Lendari, I. Manolassou and N. Tournidis, *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 2019), 1859–2022, 1888.

69.2 τοῦ μαθητιᾶν μὴ φείδου, ‘do not be shy of learning’; 78.1 εἴ ποτέ σοι χάριν φίλος ὑπισχνεῖται τοῦ παρέξειν, ‘if ever a friend promises you to do a favour’; 87.2 μὴ δὲ τοῦ μαθεῖν σπουδάσης, ‘do not be eager to learn’; and 100.1 ὅστις μὲν τῶν δυστυχούντων οἶδε τοῦ προχαιρετίζειν, ‘whoever of the poor is the first to greet’.

This syntactic peculiarity is not found in the dodecasyllables of CFW nor in the political verses of CPV, with one exception: 85.4a P (omitted in V) οἶδε ψυχὴν τοῦ δαπανᾶν, κριοκοπεῖν καὶ τρύχειν, ‘(a word of rebuke) can waste, batter and wear down a soul’. The fact that V leaves out line 85.4a seems to indicate that the author of CPV on second thoughts realized that the construction was rather lowbrow.

The author’s Greek is quite often sloppy, and his syntax awkward. Take for instance 46.2 τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀμπλακημάτων ᾧ μὲν λάμπας ὡς φωσφόρος, ‘shining like the sun upon some of the sins’: the subject is μετάνοια, feminine, not masculine, and it is not clear what ᾧ μὲν is supposed to mean. Chapter 54 is nearly incomprehensible: see the edition and my very tentative translation.

7.6 Dodecasyllables in CFW: vocabulary and language

The style of the dodecasyllables of CFW is fairly low.³³² There are no hapax legomena and only a small sample of less frequently used words: e.g. 6.4 ἀρρύπαρος (‘undefiled’); 11.4 ἀριστοπραξία (‘doing good deeds’); 16.1 προκατατίθεμαι (‘to give in advance’); 26.3 παρέκκλισις (‘deviation’); 45.2 ἀνεξάγγελτος (‘unspoken’); and 69.1 δυσεξάλειπτος (‘indelible’). Slightly more unusual are 42.2 διεκκλίνω (‘to escape’),

³³² The references are to the edition of Konstantinidis. Please bear in mind that Konstantinidis’ numbering of the iambs is based on W, not on P and V.

attested only twice,³³³ and 71.4 κερδάνω ('to gain'), a rare variant form of κερδαίνω, created in the middle ages (also found in CPV 15.8).³³⁴ Another post-classical word is πεισματικός (80.4, 'stubborn').³³⁵ The author occasionally resorts to verse fillers, such as 82.4 ἐς αὔριον instead of simply αὔριον and the unique 17.1 καθόσον τάχος instead of the usual ὅσον τάχος, 'as soon as possible'. He has one instance of pedantic ξυν-: 30.3 ξυνέβη.

The vocabulary is otherwise unassuming. It lacks any literary pretension. The author uses plain words and the monastic message is plain as well. There are quite a great number of scriptural quotations, which Konstantinides, the editor, has identified: they range from *Proverbs* and the *Wisdom of Siracides* to the writings of St Paul.³³⁶

As for morphology, it is all very standard. The only thing to note are the Koine forms 11.3 ἀνεύρατο and 51.4 ἀνεύραντο.

The syntax is generally perfectly acceptable. There is only one peculiarity: 8.1 δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις ἀγαπῶν ἔχει – a periphrastic construction of ἔχω plus present participle to denote the present tense. As to be expected from a text in the low style, the author sometimes uses the subjunctive *pro futuro*: e.g. 19.4 τύχης and 51.3 μάθης. As for the use of the monolectic perfect, the author quite often treats it as if it were a present tense: not only verbs that generally function as present tenses (the category of οἶδα, ἔστηκα, τέθνηκα), such as πέφυκα = 'to be' (22.2, 49.1), μέμνημαι = 'to remember' (58.1) and κέχρημαι = 'to use' (33.4), but also verbs that normally do not employ the perfect in such a manner: 3.4 ὑπερβέβηκεν = ὑπερβαίνει, 29.3

³³³ See *LBG*, vol. 2, 381, s.v. διεκκλίνομαι, with one attestation from the scholia on Apollonius Rhodius. But the active form is also found: *TLG* offers an example from John of Damascus' *Homily on the Hypapante*, §8, line 47 διεκκλίνασιν.

³³⁴ See *LBG*, vol. 4, 823, s.v. *TLG* offers four attestations.

³³⁵ See *LBG*, vol. 6, 1253, s.v. *TLG* offers forty-one attestations, all of them late.

³³⁶ See the apparatus locorum in his edition: Konstantinides, 'Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας', 194–206. See also Ozbic, 'I kephalaia', 411–12.

διηνώχληκεν = διενοχλεῖ. There is one example of the incorrect use of the perfect as an aorist, which is typical of the high style and, therefore, not what one would expect from this text: 74.1 πέπραχας = ἔπραξας. In contrast to the octosyllables and, to a slighter degree, the political verses, there are no serious grammatical solecisms in the iambic verses.

If one compares the dodecasyllables with the octosyllables and the political verses, one may note three striking differences: (i) the frequent use of verbal adjectives in -τέος, (ii) the use of the optative and (iii) the use of subjunctive + ἄν in the main clause. To begin with the verbal adjectives, there are quite a number of them in the iambic chapters: 13.2 λογιστέον, 24.2 τιμητέος, 30.2 and 46.1 προσδεκτέον, 62.4 and 80.1 προσδεκτέος, 43.4 βδελυκτέον, 45.2 ιατέον, 46.2 αποπεμπτέον, 50.2 ἀγαπητέος, 50.3 μισητέος, 52.2 εύλαβητέον, 56.3 στερκτέαν, 64.4 χρηστέον, 75.4 νομιστέον, 77.1 φυλακτέον, 78.1 ἡγητέον, 83.2 σπουδαστέον and 85.1 τηρητέον. As a frequent use of the verbal adjective is exactly what one would expect from a moralizing work, it is surprising that the dodecasyllables are the only metre to make use of it. The verbal adjective would not only fit semantically but also metrically in CPV and the octosyllables, given the need of a paroxytone stress at the end of the line. But neither of the two metres has it.

The second difference is the use of the optative in the main clause, either with or without ἄν. Just as in classical Greek, the optative clearly has a potential sense with ἄν (25.2, 28.3, 39.4, 43.1 and 81.3). But even without the particle ἄν, it retains its potential sense in 65.4, 82.4, 84.4 and 85.3. In 34.4 and 72.3, however, the optative appears to function as an alternative to the future tense, and in 21.2 it has a deontic meaning. There are no optatives in the main clause in the octosyllables and there are

only two examples of the optative with *ǣv* in the political verses of CPV (80.4 and 6, both with a potential meaning).

The third difference is the use of the subjunctive with *ǣv* in the main clause. There are seven occurrences in the dodecasyllables: 19.2, 21.3, 40.2, 59.2, 62.3, 63.4 and 85.2. In all cases, the construction has a potential sense; it is basically identical to optative with *ǣv*. The same construction is found twice in the octosyllables (32.3 and 61.1), but nowhere in the political verses of CPV. Though CPV is much longer, it only has five instances of the particle *ǣv* in the main clause, twice with the optative to denote potentiality (see above), once with the future tense to denote potentiality as well (18.8), once with the present indicative to denote habituality (77.2 P), and once with the aorist to denote counterfactuality, just as in classical Greek (24.5–6).

8 Metre

<If>, however, <someone> has a notable <knowledge> of both <arts>, the metric and the rhythmic, that is lofty and theoretical understanding concerning meters and feet, it is not very difficult to find some difference between the two and to grant the prize of victory to one over the other.

Michael Psellos, *To One Asking*
‘Who Wrote Verse Better, Euripides
or Pisides?’

8.1 Introduction

The *Collection in Four Ways* is unique in combining prose with three different types of metre: hexameter, dodecasyllable and (paired) octosyllable. The *Collection in Political Verse* adds the decapentasyllable to this colourful mixture of multifarious metres. If one were to see the two collections as a collective project, one may distinguish a kind of descending climax, from the hardest to the simplest, beginning with the hexameter (a metre hardly recognizable to the Byzantine ear), then proceeding with the prosodic dodecasyllable (difficult to master, but not beyond the grasp of the average intellectual), and then finishing with two metres that have shed the burden of prosody: the paired octosyllable (8 + 8) and the political verse (8 + 7), both commonly used for oral performance. This somehow seems to reflect Planoudes’ hierarchy of metrical forms, as he describes it in his dialogue between a teacher and a pupil, where he argues, as summarized by Michael Jeffreys: ‘At the top are hexameters and elegiacs. Below them come iambics – in practice nearly always iambic trimeters – written at several different

levels of accuracy. Yet even faulty iambics are respectable. Beneath them, a large step down in the hierarchy, lie political verses’.³³⁷

While most of the hexameters merely reproduce those of Gregory of Nazianzos, who is for ‘middle and late Byzantine poetry what was Homer for Classical and Hellenistic poetry’,³³⁸ it is fair to say that the author of this cento-like composition lacked the metrical expertise of the church father because he makes really awful mistakes.³³⁹ He is not the only one in the Palaeologan period to struggle with the prosodic and rhythmical rules of the hexameter. In general, the hexameter is beyond the ken of most practitioners in the post-1204 era.³⁴⁰

In the following, I shall first analyse prosody and metre in the dodecasyllables as edited by Konstantinidis, then proceed to a metrical analysis of the octosyllables based on my edition, and then discuss metre in the political verses, first of version P based on Miller’s edition and then version V based on mine. As I hope to show, there are considerable differences in the treatment of these three metres, especially as regards isometry.

The methodological framework and the terminology I use is that of the most comprehensive introduction to the field of Byzantine metrics, Lauxtermann’s ‘Appendix Metrica’.³⁴¹ Crucial to his account are the three principles of Byzantine metre: isosyllaby, stress regulation, and isometry. The terms ‘isosyllaby’ and ‘stress regulation’ probably do not require further explanation. ‘Isometry’ (a term coined by the anthropologist Kyriakidis) indicates that syntax and metre coincide. As Lauxtermann points out paraphrasing the mid thirteenth-century treatise *On the Four Parts of Perfect Speech*, “‘The primary virtue of poetry is that it encompasses one or

³³⁷ Jeffreys, ‘The Nature and Origins’, 146.

³³⁸ Zagklas, ‘Byzantine poetry: An Introduction’, 4.

³³⁹ Simelidis, ‘Lustrous Verse’, 289.

³⁴⁰ See M.D. Lauxtermann, *JÖB* 51 (2001), 463, for the hexameters of Metochites.

³⁴¹ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, 265–383.

more ἔννοιαι ('constituents') within the space of the line and that it does not allow these ἔννοιαι ('meanings') to run over from one line to the next".³⁴² This means that in poetry enjambment is generally avoided.

8.2 Dodecasyllable

§8.2.1 *Prosody*. There are a few serious prosodic errors, such as omicron treated as long in 3.1 κρεῖσσον and 81.4 γενομένους; epsilon treated as long in 3.3 Θεοῦ and 68.4 σε; omega treated as short in 18.4 οὕτως; and the diphthong -ου- treated as short in 61.3 ωραίους.

As usual in Byzantine poetry, word-internal dichrona are arbitrarily treated as short or long and do not respect ancient prosody. The Byzantines' understanding of dichrona is well summed up by John Botaneiates who says: 'Take these as long or short, just as you like, where it fits and tails in best'.³⁴³ Here are some examples:

Πίστις ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν πρώτη βάσις,

(l) (l) (s) (l) (l) (l) (s) (l) (l) (l) (s) (x)

πίστις ἀκραιφνής, δημιουργὸς θαυμάτων

(l) (l) (s) (l) (l) (l) (s) (l) (l) (l) (s) (x)

ἡ πίστις ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς συνημμένη

(l) (l) (s) (l) (l) (l) (s) (l) (s) (l) (s) (x)

ἅπαντ' ἐνεργεῖ, συν θεῷ δυναμένη

(s) (l) (s) (l) (l) (l) (s) (l) (s) (l) (s) (x)

³⁴² Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, 348.

³⁴³ Bernard, 'Rhythm in the Byzantine Dodecasyllable', 18. For an edition of Botaneiates' text, see E. Cougny, 'Théorie du vers iambique. Poème de Jean Nonicos le Botaniate', *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 9 (1875), 90–96.

As one can see, the alphas of ἀγαθοῖς and δυναμένη, traditionally considered short, are measured as long, and the second iota of πίστις is twice incorrectly measured as long and once correctly as short.

While most Byzantines do a ‘pretty decent job’ at handling the dichrona, some others, like this poet, do not.³⁴⁴ The degree of seriousness in prosodic errors is measured by the position in which the vowel is found. To mistake a short dichronon for a long one, or vice versa, at the beginning or in the middle of the word is understandable, but to do the same with the last syllable is not, as it ‘is not difficult to learn the prosodic length of a restricted number of inflections’.³⁴⁵ In the dodecasyllables there are quite a few occasions in which Andronikos measured short alpha as long in inflected endings: for example, 5.1 χεῖρα, 21.1 ψεκτά, 66.1 εἰκόνα, 81.1 ἐνόπνια (see also 3.4, 9.3, 12.1, 15.3, 64.2, and 80.3) or long alpha as short: for example, 51.2 ῥαδίαν, 60.2 ἀπαρχάς, 60.3 παιδεία (see also 10.1, 32.4, 52.3, and 54.1). The same happens with short iota, measured as long: for example: 15.4 κτῆσιν, 30.1 πᾶσιν, 77.1 ᾄφρονι (see also 11.1, 30.2, 49.2, 79.4, 82.2, and 84.1).

Since the metrical unit is not the single word but the word cluster (the word together with its pre- or postpositives), one should make an exception for cluster-internal endings.³⁴⁶ A good example is the article τὰ measured as long in 2.1, 9.4, 15.3, 46.1, 56.4, and 78.3, which is a grave error, but somehow attenuated by the fact that the article is a prepositive and, therefore, cluster-internal. The same holds true for other cluster-internal words, such as conjunctions, adverbs and prepositions (the so-called ‘free words’): short alphas measured as long at 33.2, 36.1, 42.1, 47.2, 80.4, 82.3 and

³⁴⁴ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, 272.

³⁴⁵ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, 271.

³⁴⁶ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, 271–72.

short iotas measured as long as well at 33.2, 74.1, 84.4). These arbitrary lengthenings are not ‘horribly wrong’.³⁴⁷

Another quite serious prosodic error is that there is no lengthening before the consonant clusters in 52.4 ἔνθεν καὶ and 65.4 ἐκεῖθεν λάβοις. Apart from the usual Attic correptions, there is also a possible correption before ζ in 32.4 ἐκκορακίζειν and before σμ in 61.1 πλάσμα.³⁴⁸

§8.2.2 *Isosyllaby*. Needless to say, Byzantine poetry is based on the number of metrical syllables. To lack a syllable (hypometry) or to have one more than necessary (hypermetry) is a serious error, which would be enough to consider a poet not terribly competent. As these dodecasyllables are generally well-built, one would not be surprised to see that there are only a few issues with isosyllaby. There is just one actual error, which, rather than authorial, may safely be ascribed to the scribe: 44.3 εἰρηνικῶς [...] πᾶσιν ἐκβοῶν μέγα – the verse is hypometric. Konstantinidis suggests to add τοῖς, and Ozbic δέ;³⁴⁹ but ᾗπασιν would probably work better because it is easier for a scribe to forget an alpha that does not alter the meaning at all (πᾶσιν = ᾗπασιν) than an article or a particle. Konstantinidis wrongly reads τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ δέ in 43.2 rather than τὴν ἐκ κακοῦ δέ (the reading of all three mss.), thus rendering the verse hypermetric.

Hiatus is generally avoided in the prosodic dodecasyllable, but Andronikos Palaiologos has one example: 52.4 καταφρονητοῦ ἔνθεν.³⁵⁰ Most of the cases of elision are fairly normal: 1.4 ᾗπαντ’ ἐνεργεῖ; 35.2 τοῦτ’ ἔστιν; 63.4 and 81.3: τάχ’ ἄν. The only exception to the rule that strong elisions are avoided in the dodecasyllable is γένοιτ’ ἄν in 39.1, but this is a standard collocation in literary Greek. Apart from

³⁴⁷ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, 272.

³⁴⁸ For correption before ζ and σμ, see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, 278.

³⁴⁹ Konstantinidis, ‘Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας’, 200, and Ozbic, ‘I Kephalaia’, 420.

³⁵⁰ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 300

inherited forms, such as κᾶν and τούναντίον, the author uses crasis three times: 43.2 and 55.4 τάγαθόν and 43.3 τάγαθοῦ.³⁵¹

The author has a tendency to fill up the verse with little words that are void of meaning, such as αῖ, γε and τε. This is not uncommon in Byzantine lowbrow poetry, such as, for instance, book epigrams and verse inscriptions.

§8.2.3 *Stress Regulation*. In the dodecasyllable, the caesura falls either after the fifth (C5) or the seventh syllable (C7). Before C5, proparoxytone stress (5pp) is avoided and paroxytone and oxytone stress (5p and 5 ox) occur in more or less equal numbers. Before C7, proparoxytone stress (7pp) is clearly favoured, paroxytone stress (7p) is allowed, and oxytone stress (7ox) is strictly avoided.³⁵² In this regard, the dodecasyllables of Andronikos Palaiologos are no exception:

5ox	5p	5pp	7pp	7p	7ox
37%	55.5%	7.5%	79.5%	20.5%	0%

§8.2.4 *Isometry*. The dodecasyllable ‘does not have a fixed caesura but alternates between C5 (caesura after the fifth syllable) and C7 (caesura after the seventh syllable)’; in case of doubt, the decision whether it is C5 or C7 is based on syntax and semantics. In early Byzantine poetry, up to the ninth century, C7 is adopted in c. 12 to 20% of cases, with the frequency rapidly increasing in later times (up to c. 50%): in general, the rule is that the more rhetorical and highbrow a text is, the more C7 there is.³⁵³ Since C5 is adopted in 77.3% of cases and C7 in only 22.7% of cases in CFW, it would seem that

³⁵¹ For crasis and elision in the dodecasyllable, see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 296–98.

³⁵² Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 326–28.

³⁵³ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 357–59.

Andronikos Palaiologos represents an exception to the widespread practice of later centuries, being rather conservative.

Although the caesura is not fixed, it is an integral part of the isometric structure of the dodecasyllable, and the lack of caesura should therefore be considered a serious anomaly. There is only one instance in which there is no real caesura: 62.3 τῶν κατὰ νοῦν οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἀποτυγχάνῃ; if there is one, it is after the fourth syllable. Lack of caesura is usually caused by the presence of a long compound word; yet this is not the case here. I would rule out the hypothesis of textual corruption, since the verse is the same in the two hyparchetypes, W and PV (see Chapter 1). This means, therefore, that it goes back to the archetype and, presumably, to the author.

There are only two instances of enjambment: 43.3–4 and 84.2–3,³⁵⁴ but otherwise the dodecasyllables are perfectly isometric. As we shall see, the iambs are the most isometric metre of all in CFW and CPV.

8.3 Paired Octosyllable

All octosyllables are paired.³⁵⁵ Whereas this paired structure is usually not visually represented in the case of prosodic octosyllables (also known as anacreontics), it is very common to find in manuscripts that unprosodic octosyllables are paired up, basically forming sixteen-syllable lines.³⁵⁶ This is also the case with the octosyllables of CFW in the two manuscripts P and V.

§8.3.1 *Isosyllaby*. There are two hypermetric verses in the octosyllables. In 84.4 the word ὀλιγοήμερος has one syllable too many: since synizesis is not common in poetry

³⁵⁴ Please note that the punctuation in Konstantinidis' edition is quite often erratic. There is no enjambment in 70.1–2: put a high dot at the end of 70.1 and remove the comma after πράττειν, and the problem is solved.

³⁵⁵ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 371–72, and Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 84–86.

³⁵⁶ See Ciccolella, 'Per un corpus', 255–61, and Simelidis, 'Lustrous verse', 289–90.

in learned Greek, one should rather read ὀλιγήμερος.³⁵⁷ And in 58.4 one reads τῶν πνικῶν, which is the shortened form of the *nomen sacrum* τῶν πνευματικῶν. According to Simelidis, the author ‘fails to count the full syllables of the *nomen sacrum*’.³⁵⁸ However, as he does this nowhere else, I would rather consider it as a case of textual corruption and read πνεύματος instead. There is one hypometric verse: 91.2 lacks a monosyllabic word before φλόξ τε (perhaps καὶ or πῦρ), but this is clearly another textual corruption.

There is only one example of hiatus: 85.3 οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ οἰάπερ. This is surprising because hiatus is in fact allowed in unprosodic (not in prosodic) metres.³⁵⁹ There are multiple instances of hiatus across the caesura (e.g. 47.3, 49.2, 49.4, 55.2, 63.1, 64.2, 65.4, 66.2, 75.1, 81.4, 88.1, 92.1, 93.3, 94.3, 96.2, 97.2), which is perfectly acceptable in isometric poetry where there is a clear pause in the middle. As Lauxtermann explains, ‘if there is a real stop between two half-lines, vowels cannot possibly clash’.³⁶⁰

All the examples of elision are fairly regular (e.g. τάχ’ ἄν in 61.1 and 95.2), except for ἔπειτ’ in 68.2.

§8.3.2 *Stress Regulation*. As is customary from the poetry of Symeon the New Theologian onward, the unprosodic octosyllable has a duple rhythm with metrical stress falling on the uneven syllables.³⁶¹ Stress is obligatory at line end (on the penultimate); the distribution of stresses on other metrical positions is as follows: on 3 in 62.2% of cases, on 5 in 44.4% of cases, and on 1 in 34.6% of cases. A good example of the

³⁵⁷ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 293–96.

³⁵⁸ Simelidis, ‘Lustrous verse’, 291.

³⁵⁹ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 299. There is obviously no hiatus after φεῦ (88.2) and αῶ (81.2, 86.2): see *ibidem*, 298–99.

³⁶⁰ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 345 and 302–03.

³⁶¹ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 333–36.

predominance of additional stress on position 3 is: 32.1 εὐγενῆς ἐκ τῶν προγόνων /
μὴ καυχάσθω κἄν ὑπάρχει.³⁶²

The rhythmical stress patterns are as follows:

- only one metrical stress (on 7): 2%
- two metrical stresses: 54.8%, namely on 1 + 7 6%, on 3 + 7 38.2%, and on 5 + 7 10.6%
- three metrical stresses: 43.2%, namely on 1 + 3 + 7 9.4%, on 1 + 5 + 7 19.2%, and on 3 + 5 + 7 14.6%.

§8.3.3 *Isometry*. The paired octosyllable has a medium pause in the middle and a strong pause at line end. This means that enjambment is not allowed between lines and is generally avoided across the caesura.³⁶³

The octosyllables of CFW, however, show little understanding of the isometric structure of the paired octosyllable. There are quite a number of enjambments between lines: e.g. 38.1-2, 46.3-4, 54.3-4, 56.2-3, 58.3-4, 60.2-3, 60.3-4, 69.3-4, 80.3-4, 86.2-3, 86.3-4, 91.1-2, 93.3-4 and 97.3-4. There is also a lot of enjambment across the caesura: e.g. 38.1, 39.2, 42.1, 46.3, 51.3, 51.4, 56.2, 57.3, 58.2, 59.3, 63.3, 70.1, 73.2, 80.2, 82.3, 85.2, 85.3, 86.2, 86.4, 89.3, 90.3, 93.1, 96.1 and 96.3. The position of αὖ at the beginning of the second hemistich in 81.2 and 86.2 is peculiar because it is a postpositive and, by putting it there, the caesura is basically abolished: 81.2 τοῖς δὲ παρακεχρημένοις / αὖ ἰὸς θανατηφόρος and 86.2 εἰς αὐτὸν πεσὼν δ' ὑστέρως / αὖ ὁ πόνος ἐπιστρέφει.

In other words, there are multiple infringements of the rule of isometry and the author does not appear to be terribly competent in building up verses. To illustrate this

³⁶² Please note that the other accented syllables in this line do not bear stress: see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 306-07.

³⁶³ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 351 and 353-55.

point, let us have a look at chapter 86 where we find enjambment between lines 2 and 3 and between lines 3 and 4, enjambment across the caesura in both line 3 and line 4, and lack of caesura because of the position of αὖ in line 2:

† Ἀπὸ σταλαγμοῦ ράνιδος† ἄφρων ὑπορύττει βόθρον,
 εἰς αὐτὸν πεσὼν δ' ὑστέρως αὖ ὁ πόνος ἐπιστρέφει
 κορυφὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου πελειὰς ὡς ὀπισθόπους
 ἐπὶ κιβωτὸν ἐπείπερ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν οὐχ εὔρεν.

[.....] a stupid man digs a hole,
 and then, having fallen into it, his trouble returns
 upon his own head, like the dove coming back
 to the ark because it found no resting place.

8.4 Political verse: version P

The 'evil practice', as Planoudes regards it, of using stress accents instead of long and short syllables led to the birth of the political verse, which is the verse used in the second collection. The structure of the political verse is quite simple: the verse is divided into two metrical cola, one of eight syllables and one of seven, which are divided by a caesura after the eighth syllable. Like the octosyllable, political verse has a duple rhythm, with metrical stress on the even syllables, with an obligatory stress at line end on the penultimate and another obligatory stress before the caesura, either on the sixth syllable or the eighth.

As there are huge differences, metrically speaking, between versions P and V, I shall discuss them separately. In the following discussion of version P, which is based on Miller's edition, M stands for Miller; * denotes a metrical phenomenon not found in V; () gives the corresponding verse number in V; and [] indicates that the verse is

missing in V because of the major lacuna between fol. 400 and 401 (between 28.2 and 43.1) and cannot therefore be compared.

§8.4.1 *Isosyllaby*. All instances of hypermetric and hypometric lines in P are scribal errors: *M 632 (68.6) ὡς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἢ λίμνη (V does not have τὸν); *M 865 (96.6) οὐδὲ λογισμὸς ἀνθρώπινος (read with V οὐ); and *M 808 (88.3): χνὸς οὖν εὐτελέστερον (read with V χοὸς).

P has quite a few examples of hiatus: *M 45 (prol. 52) (but please note that the ms. has ἡχθέσθην, not ἡχθέσθη); *M 274 (24.12); [M 338]; [M 343] (but please note that the ms. has ἀσθενῆν, not ἀσθενῆ); [M 347]; *M 780 (84.4); and *M 883 (98.8); there is also hiatus after καὶ: *M 86 (2.1) and M 132 (7.2). There is obviously no hiatus after ἄνευ: *M 487 (54.2). As noted above (in §8.2.1), hiatus across the caesura is allowed: it occurs in lines [M 359]; *M 511 (55.9); *M 630 (68.2); *M 792 (86.4); *M 837 (92.7); and M 885 (98.10).

Just as is the case with the dodecasyllable and the octosyllable, political verse makes limited use of elision. Apart from the usual elisions that one also finds in prose (after prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, particles, etc), there are a number of harsh elisions in P, such as *M 23 (prol. 30) πάντ'; M 223 (18.1) ἄσπαζ'; *M 225 (18.3) ἦνυσ'; *674 (73.3) ὁμαίμον'; *M 710 (76.8) ἔπετ'; and *M 705 (77.2) χαρίζετ'. The elision at 674 ὁμαίμον' is even across the caesura, which is absolutely not allowed in isometric poetry.³⁶⁴ The use of crasis is restricted to inherited forms such as κάῶν, ὅταν, κάπί, κάκεῖσε, τούναντίου, etc.

³⁶⁴ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 301–02.

§8.4.2 *Stress Regulation*. All the verses have an obligatory stress on the penultimate. Before the caesura, 448 out of 916 lines have a proparoxytone stress and 466 have an oxytone stress: so, 8pp = 49% and 8 ox = 51%. If one leaves out the quotations from Manasses, the numbers are as follows: 683 lines of which 321 have 8pp = 47% and 361 have 8ox = 53%. The reason for this slight disparity is that Manasses tends to have more cases of proparoxytone stress at the caesura than is normal in Byzantine poetry: according to Lampsidis, the *Synopsis Chronike* has 8pp in 56.2% of cases.³⁶⁵ The figures for most Byzantine poets vary between c. 40 and 50% for 8pp.³⁶⁶ In other words, when the author of CPV is writing his own verses, his use of proparoxytone stress before the caesura is in line with most other Byzantine poets.

The same cannot be said for M 554 (61.1) εἰ μνημονεύεις θανάτου, / φεύξη τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, where we have paroxytone stress before the caesura. This metrical phenomenon is quite rare and is restricted to lowbrow Byzantine poetry.³⁶⁷ There is possibly another example in P: *M 674 (73.3) τὸν ὁμαῖμον' before the caesura (with a really awful elision across the caesura). Miller emends this to τὸν ὄμαιμον, probably correctly (V has a different reading here: ὁμαῖμονας). *M 484 (53.5) ἐριβρόμος is a scribal error; read with V ἐρίβρομος. [M 347] δέσμου is a mistake by Miller: the ms. reads δεσμου (without accent); read δεσμοῦ.

As for rhythmical patterns within the verse,³⁶⁸ stress on the third position (the so-called 'anapaestic verse beginning') is restricted to just one example: *244 (21.2) τὸν ἡνίοχον. Stress on the same position, but after the caesura (i.e. position 11) is not attested.³⁶⁹ Inversion (stress on the first syllable, either at the beginning of the line or

³⁶⁵ Lampsidis, *Constantini Manassi Breviarium Chronicum*, lxiii–lxv.

³⁶⁶ Jeffreys, 'Nature and Origins', 141 and Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 330.

³⁶⁷ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 330.

³⁶⁸ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 336–38.

³⁶⁹ Miller has εἴπερ ἄλλος τις after the caesura at line 322, but the manuscript reads εἴπερ ἄλλός τις: so stress on position 12, not 11. For enclisis after ἄλλο see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, II, 318.

after the caesura – i.e. on positions 1 and 9) occurs regularly: 22% in the first hemistich and 20% in the second hemistich. As Lauxtermann explains, inversion is usually resolved in the next metrical position, i.e. position 4 and, after the caesura, position 12: for example, M 76 (1.1) πίστιν διδάσκω τοὺς πιστοὺς, / ὁ γλώσση μόνη φέρων and M 78 (1.3) ἡ πίστις γάρ, ὡς λέγουσι / λόγοι σαφῶς οἱ θεῖοι. Inversion is occasionally used to highlight the key words of the admonition. In such cases the imperative is put in first position: see, for example, M 223 (18.1) Ἀσπαζ' εὐχῆς τὴν προσευχὴν / ἔχε συνομιλοῦσαν.

§8.4.3 *Isometry*. There are multiple infringements of the rule of isometry in P. It is worth pointing out that almost all cases of enjambment that I shall note here are eliminated in V. Enjambment between the two hemistichs of the political verse is less harsh than enjambment between lines, which is why examples can be found in all major Byzantine poets, including Manasses as we shall see:

M 97 (3.2); M 182 (12.7); *M 189 (14.1); M 267 (24.5); M 291 (26.6); M 424 (44.5); M 429 (45.2); M 458 (48.7); M 486 (54.1); M 539 (59.3); M 541 (59.5); *M 631 (68.5); M 650 (70.6); *M 665 (71.7); *M 715 (77.2); *M 768 (82.2); M 793 (86.5); M 844 (93.7); M 853 (94.9); M 858 (95.2); and M 909 (epil. 11). Of these twenty-one cases of enjambment, six are found in verses borrowed from Manasses: M 424 (44.5); M 539 (59.3); M 541 (59.5); *M 631 (68.5); *M 665 (71.7); M 858 (95.2).

Enjambment across the line is a serious shortcoming in poetry in political verse, which is why it is seldom encountered in the work of competent practitioners, such as Manasses. It is found in the following lines:

*M 5-6 (prol. 9-10); *M 187-8 (13.4-5); *M 261-2 (23.5-6); [M 304-5]; [M 397-8]; M 568-9 (63.1-2); *M 613-4 (65.29-30); M 710-1 (76.8-9) [there is a textual problem in both P and V]; and *M 740-1 (78.3-4). As for M 568-9 (63.1-2), the enjambment is much less harsh in V than it is in P: καὶ τρέμε νῦν τὸν πᾶσαν // κτίσιν ἐκ μόνης τῆς ὀράσεως τρέμειν οἰκονομοῦντα (P) vs τρέμε τὸν πᾶσαν κτίσιν // ἐκ μόνης τῆς ὀράσεως τρέμειν οἰκονομοῦντα (V). There are also two instances where the conjunction καθάπερ is found at the end of the line, with the subordinate clause in the next: *M 3 (prol. 3) and M 246 (21.4). Similar harsh enjambments are found after the conjunctions ὅτι, ὅταν and ὅπου in the iambic poetry of Pisides, Geometres and other major poets: so this phenomenon does not appear to be illicit.³⁷⁰

The worst infringement of isometry, however, does not concern enjambment, but lack of caesura, which is not allowed in isometric poetry and, therefore systematically avoided by the major poets:³⁷¹ [M 344] δόξαν κενὴν τὸ φύσημα γὰρ φέρει τῶν ἀνθρώπων (please note that γὰρ is a postpositive) and [M 382] τὸ μέλλον ἄδηλον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσυστάτου τύχης (please note that ἐπὶ is a prepositive).

8.5 Political verse: version V

§8.5.1 *Isosyllaby*. There are no hypo- or hypermetric lines in V. There are considerably fewer instances of hiatus, namely just one: after καὶ in 7.2. Although hiatus across the caesura is allowed, this too has been reduced to just one example: 98.10. Apart from

³⁷⁰ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 353, n. 199.

³⁷¹ Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 356-57.

the usual elisions, there is again just one harsh elision: 18.1 ἄσπαζ' (πάνθ' in 81.5 is a scribal error).

The elision in 47.10, τὸ μέλαν μεταχρώννυται δ' / αὖθις ἐκ τούναντίου, is rather peculiar. Though elision across the caesura is not allowed in isometric poetry, elision of δὲ is occasionally attested at this point in the verse. This usually happens in didactic poetry.³⁷² Since CPV belongs to paraenetic literature, one might argue that this explains the metrical oddity.

§8.5.2 *Stress Regulation*. All the verses have an obligatory stress on the penultimate. Before the caesura, 399 out of 804 lines have a proparoxytone stress and 405 have an oxytone stress: so, 8pp = 49.6% and 8 ox = 50.4%. If one leaves out the quotations from Manasses, the numbers are as follows: 616 lines of which 300 have 8pp = 48.7% and 316 have 8ox = 51.3%. The latter figures are roughly comparable to those for P (without Manasses), which are 47% and 53% respectively.

In 61.1, V retains the word θανάτου, leading to stress on the penultimate before the caesura (on position 7), just as we have seen in P. There is one example of stress on position 3 (the 'anapaestic' verse beginning), but a different one than what we saw in P: 3.6 ὁ δὲ φαίνει τὸ μάχιμον εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ προδήλου.

Inversion (stress on positions 1 and 9) occurs regularly: 18% in the first hemistich and 21% in the second hemistich. As I argued above, inversion is occasionally used to highlight the key words of the admonition: see, for example, 52.1 βούλει κρατεῖν τῶν λυπηρῶν; φεῦγε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. In another case, in a sort of chiasmic way, the author highlights the main concept of the chapter by having inversion

³⁷² Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, vol. II, 301-02.

in consecutive lines: 23.5–6 ὁμολογήσας τὸν Χριστὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων // ἀντιμαρτυρηθήσεται πρὸςθεν πατρὸς ἀχρόνου.

§8.5.3 *Isometry*. V does not offer any instance of enjambment that cannot be found in P. Not only that, it has fewer instances of enjambment than P. Whereas P has twenty-one cases of enjambment between hemistichs (six of which derive from Manasses), V has sixteen examples (four of which are from Manasses): 3.2; 12.7; 24.5; 26.6; 44.5; 45.2; 48.7; 54.1; 59.3; 59.5; 70.6; 86.5; 93.7; 94.9; 95.2; and epil. 11.

As for enjambment at line end, V has only two examples: 63.1–2 and 76.8–9, whereas P has nine. And as noted above, the enjambment at 63.1–2 is less harsh than in P. The text is corrupt at 76.8–9. As for the position of the conjunction καθάπερ at line, resulting in enjambment, V retains the one at 21.4, but changes the text in prol.3.

To conclude, V is clearly improving on P: it makes considerably less use of enjambment, it does not have lines without caesura, and it systematically avoids hiatus and harsh elisions. The verses run much smoother. This is in line with what we have seen in previous chapters of this thesis, where I argued that version V should be considered an improved and final authorial redaction of CPV.

Another general observation concerns the differences in the isometric structure of the dodecasyllables, octosyllables and political verses. In particular, as we have seen, the octosyllables have numerous infringements of isometry: in fact, so many that it raises the question whether their author can be the same person as Andronikos Palaiologos who, in his iambics, has hardly any infringement (for further discussion, see Chapter 10). If one compares CPV with CFW as for the observance of isometry, then it is fair to say that version V has more infringements than the iambics of Andronikos and version P has more infringements than V, but not as many as the paired octosyllables.

9 Life and works of Andronikos Palaiologos

The life and works of Andronikos Palaiologos have not attracted much attention, apart from the entry in *PLP*, Pichard's introduction to *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, and the papers by Konstantinidis and Ozbic.³⁷³ He is known to the scholarly world mostly for his literary works: the *Dialogue against the Jews* which he wrote in 1310, the *Iambic Chapters* which, as we have seen, were incorporated into the *Chapters in Four Ways*, and the romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorroë*, which he may or may not have written (for this hotly disputed issue, see below 9.2).

9.1 A short biography of Andronikos Palaiologos

This is how Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Branas Palaiologos, to give him his full name, was remembered by Manuel Philes in a book epigram celebrating a romance written by Andronikos:

Ἵσως μαθεῖν, βέλτιστε, τὸν πλάστην θέλεις;
 Κομνηνοφυῆς Ἀνδρόνικος γεννάδας·
 πλήρης χαρίτων οὗτος· ἥρως ἐν μάχαις,
 ῥήτωρ φυσικός, ἐν γραφαῖς φλόγα πνέων,
 ἐν συλλογισμοῖς, ἐν στρατηγικοῖς πόνοις
 ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς τε καὶ δειναῖς δίκαις,
 ἐν πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς καλοῖς ὄλβος βρύων·
 ὅς τίκτεται μὲν ἐκ σεβαστοκράτορος
 ἀνακταδέλφου σώφρονος Κωνσταντίνου,

³⁷³ *PLP* 21439; Pichard, *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, xxiii-xxxi; Konstantinidis, 'Κεφάλαια περί αρετῆς και κακίας', 179-81; and Ozbic, 'I Kephalaia', 406-11. See also Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 91, 778 and 780; Polemis, *The Doukai*, 161-62; Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, 124-25.

φρονήσεως δὲ πᾶν ὑποσπᾶσας γάλα
τοῦ συμφυοῦς ἔμεινε κοσμήτωρ γένους.

‘My good fellow, would you perhaps wish to learn who the creator is? / It is the noble Andronikos Komnenos. / He is full of graces: a hero in battles, / a natural rhetor, breathing fire in his writings, / in his reasonings, in his military undertakings, / in public debates and trials, / simply brimming with bliss in all good things, / the child of the sebastokrator, / wise Constantine, brother of the Emperor, / who, having suckled all the milk of wisdom, / has become the ornament of his whole family’.³⁷⁴

Son of Constantine Palaiologos *sebastokrator* and Eirene Branaina,³⁷⁵ Andronikos Palaiologos was related to the imperial family on his father’s side, being the nephew of the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and cousin of the Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos. There is no certainty about the date of his birth. His parents married in late 1258 or early 1259.³⁷⁶ The oldest child, Michael, was probably born in c. 1261: consequently, Andronikos, who was their second child, must have been born after 1261, perhaps in 1262 or 1263, though a later date cannot be excluded.³⁷⁷ There were five siblings, of whom the best-known are Theodora Synadene and Smiltzaina, the wife of the Bulgarian tzar.³⁷⁸ His parents appear to have died in the early 1270s when the children were still very young.³⁷⁹

The date of his death is unknown; but we know that it must have happened on the 28th of June because, in the famous *Lincoln Typikon*, Theodora Synadene stipulates that her brother ought to be commemorated on that day.³⁸⁰ The *terminus ante*

³⁷⁴ Martini, ‘A proposito di una poesia inedita’, 460–71, at 469: M-ap 1.152–59.

³⁷⁵ See PLP 21498 and 3149.

³⁷⁶ Ozbic, ‘I Kephalaia’, 406–07.

³⁷⁷ Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, 7.

³⁷⁸ See PLP 21381 and 26265. The other two were Michael Palaiologos Komnenos (PLP 21530) and Maria Palaiologina Komnene (PLP 21396).

³⁷⁹ See PLP 3149 and 21498.

³⁸⁰ Delehaye, *Deux typika byzantins de l’époque des Paléologues*, 92 (§138). For an English translation see Talbot, ‘Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene’, 1561.

quem is c. 1328–31, when, according to Hutter, Theodora rewrote certain parts of the typikon, including the paragraphs that dealt with the memorial rites of her family members.³⁸¹ The *terminus post quem* for Andronikos' death is 1310, the year in which he wrote the *Dialogue against the Jews* (for the date, see below).

The *Lincoln Typikon* is the most important source for Andronikos and his family. They are all commemorated in the liturgical calendar of the monastery and they are all said to have taken the monastic habit, whether at the moment of their death, as common in Byzantium, or earlier in life.³⁸² Andronikos is no exception; his monastic name was Arsenios, as Theodora Synadene tells us: 'In like manner my other brother, lord Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos Palaiologos, who took the monastic name of Arsenios, offered to the convent on behalf of his spiritual salvation an oil vessel of pure gold which is called *malagma*, [adorned] with a jasper lid and the nine ranks of the heavenly powers, and 100 *hyperpyra*. He should be commemorated on the 28th of June. The illumination should be more lavish than customary, and there should be four liturgies'.³⁸³

After the death of her husband John Komnenos Synadenos, Theodora took the monastic habit along with her daughter and founded the monastery of Bebaia Elpis; after her death the monastery passed into the hands of her daughter, as we learn from the *Lincoln Typikon*.³⁸⁴ It was not uncommon for Byzantine aristocratic families to have their own family monastery, where they were usually buried all together. Building their own monastery was for such families a religious and financial investment through which

³⁸¹ See Hutter, 'Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons', 79–114. According to Gaul, 'Writing with Joyful and Leaping Soul', 243–72, at 250–51, n. 52, the date of rewriting may have been one or two years earlier.

³⁸² Delehaye, *Deux typika byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*, 91–94 (§134–44). For an English translation see Talbot, 'Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene', 1560–63.

³⁸³ Talbot, 'Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene', 1561.

³⁸⁴ The bibliography on the typikon is vast. The most informative studies are Hutter, 'Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons'; Talbot, 'Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene'; and Gaul, 'Writing with Joyful and Leaping Soul'.

they acquired religious capital and hopefully a place in heaven; but there were also political motives: they could always retire to their own monastery if there were political problems.³⁸⁵ As for the place in heaven, layman founders usually were more philanthropic than monks: 'lay persons [were] eager to show the philanthropy which could help atone for their sins'.³⁸⁶ Years later the sons of Theodora, Theodore and John Synadenos were in possession of some properties adjacent to the monastery: it seems that the entire area was inherited from their grandfather, the Sebastokrator Constantine, because 'right adjacent to Bebaia Elpis was a monastery founded by Constantine's other daughter, Glabaina'.³⁸⁷

Some members of the family appear to have been buried together in the Bebaia Elpis monastery, as shown by three epigrams written by Manuel Philes in honour of Constantine Sebastokrator. The first describes an image that adorned the funerary chapel of Constantine Sebastokrator (P127) and the other two are epitaphs (P128 and P129).³⁸⁸ During the early Palaeologan period, many churches were built and restored including funerary chapels with commemorative monuments; many of which appear to have been inscribed with epigrams by Manuel Philes.³⁸⁹ The funerary chapel of Constantine Sebastokrator, his wife Eirene and other family members, was built long after their deaths by their daughter Theodora Synadene, who 'took over the reworking of her father's funerary portrait and monument' after c. 1321.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁵ On the relationship between patrons, founders, monasteries and money invested, see the words of Mullett, 'Founders, Refounders, Second Founders, Patrons', 7; 'If the provision of a retirement home for embarrassing members of the imperial family or tied cottages for imperial poets is a desideratum then the foundation will reflect and define this need. [...] It is an upfront exchange between cash and credit. This kind of founder gets the commemoration he pays rather than the one he deserves'.

³⁸⁶ Mullett, 'Founders, Refounders, Second Founders, Patrons', 30.

³⁸⁷ Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, 99.

³⁸⁸ Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, vol. II, 162-67 (P 127-29). All translations are taken from Brooks, 'Poetry and Female Patronage'.

³⁸⁹ Brooks, 'Poetry and Female Patronage', 224-25.

³⁹⁰ Brooks, 'Poetry and Female Patronage', 229 and 238-39.

As Brooks explains, the first of the three epigrams (P127) describes a ‘portable panel encased by a repoussé metal cover’.³⁹¹ It tells us that Constantine and his wife Eirene were buried together, most probably in a newly decorated funerary chapel in Theodora’s monastery (P127.24–25): ‘and sadly now with his wife / [Constantine] dwells in the wedding chamber of the corrupting temporary abode’.³⁹² They were not the only ones buried there: (P127.35–38) ‘[Michael, their son], as by natural reverence for his parents, / did not desire the same tomb with them, / but he withdraws and shares a single tomb / with the consort of his noble sister’. The two other epigrams, P128 and P129, confirm this situation. In the latter (P129.1–2), Philes states that the funerary chapel holds the tombs of two great generals, Constantine Sebastokrator and John Synadenos. In the former (P128.1–5), Philes addresses Constantine and tells him that from his grave he can see the burial place of his son Michael and his son-in-law John Synadenos, who were buried together.³⁹³ In P128.9–12, Philes appears to say that it was uncommon for two relatives to be buried in the same tomb: ‘but that to the point of burial and decay and earthly remains / a brother-in-law dwells together with the brother of his wife / in a stifling house built for the two, / you alone showed to be quite well.’³⁹⁴ It is not known whether Andronikos Palaiologos at some stage (either shortly or long after his death) was laid to rest in this family funerary chapel; the fact that he was commemorated along with his whole family in the Bebaia Elpis monastery does not constitute proof of this.

To return to the life of Andronikos Palaiologos, we do not know much about his early years. Perhaps the first dateable reference to him is a Genovese document from the year 1294, in which we read that ‘the son of the Sebastokrator’ had harmed

³⁹¹ Brooks, ‘Poetry and Female Patronage’, 238.

³⁹² Brooks, ‘Poetry and Female Patronage’, 239.

³⁹³ Brooks, ‘Poetry and Female Patronage’, 246.

³⁹⁴ Kubina, *Die enkomiasische Dichtung des Manuel Philes*, 53.

two merchants from Genoa by not paying the full price for the grain he had bought from them at some point in the past.³⁹⁵ If this is indeed Andronikos Palaiologos (and not his brother Michael), it means that, as a young man, he had been investing some of the family capital in the grain trade.

However, the trade in grain was certainly not his main employment. All the sources at our disposal concur in stating that in the fifty to sixty years of his life (born c. 1262–3, died c. 1310–28), Andronikos Palaiologos played a significant role in the army, as was customary for ‘the male offspring of high aristocratic families’,³⁹⁶ serving as second-in-command under his father-in-law, Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes (c. 1235–after 1304).³⁹⁷ The family link is highlighted in a book epigram by Manuel Philes celebrating a compilation of military *kephalaia* put together by Glabas.³⁹⁸ The book, so we are told, is particularly useful for ‘his dearest relatives and, above all, the most military man (στρατηγικωτάτῳ), Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos, the nephew of the Emperor of the Romans, who bears the name of Andronikos because of his innate courage’ (vv. 29–34). Glabas loved Andronikos so much that he gave his daughter in marriage to him and sent him off to fight against all the enemies (of the empire): τῇ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτον ἄρθροῖ φιλότατῃ / καὶ κατὰ παντὸς δυσμενοῦς ἀντεξάγει (vv. 35–6). The two were even so close that they were like father and son, and it was because of their harmonious cooperation that the position of the family was secure and military affairs were taken care of (vv. 37–46).

Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes was active in the Balkans during the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II.³⁹⁹ Military feats that Andronikos Palaiologos as his second-in-command may have witnessed include: Glabas led Tartar mercenaries into

³⁹⁵ Bertolotto - Sanguineti, ‘Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova’, 526 (no. 21).

³⁹⁶ Kyritses, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 257.

³⁹⁷ For Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes, see PLP 27504.

³⁹⁸ Martini, ‘A proposito di una poesia inedita’, 470–71: no. M-ap 2.

³⁹⁹ See *ODB*, s.v. Glabas, Michael Tarchaneiotes.

Serbia in 1282;⁴⁰⁰ he was stationed as the leader of the western army in Thessaly in the 1280s and 1290s, at first as grand constable, later as protostrator;⁴⁰¹ when Metochites went on a diplomatic mission to Serbia in late 1298, he met Glabas in Thessaloniki, who served as ‘the governor of (the western) cities and lands’ – during this meeting, Glabas spoke about the anarchy in the West and described the natives as ‘wild men, warlike and fond of plunder’;⁴⁰² Glabas reconquered Demetrias in 1283 and Durazzo and Berat between 1281 and 1294,⁴⁰³ and reported some success in the military expedition of 1304 against the Bulgarians if we are to believe Manuel Philes (P 237.245–250).⁴⁰⁴ Glabas died after 1304 and was buried in the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos monastery he had restored together with his wife.

It is not known exactly when Andronikos Palaiologos married the daughter of Glabas. In the epitaph written for her by Manuel Philes,⁴⁰⁵ we read that she (her name is not given) died at a relatively young age, probably while giving birth. As her death occurred when Glabas held the rank of protostrator (M54.27) – a title he gained some time after 1297 – her death must have taken place around the year 1300. Unlike other members of the family, including her brother, she was not laid to rest in the Pammakaristos.⁴⁰⁶ If she indeed died c. 1300, then the marriage must have taken place in the later part of the 1290s. The epitaph tells that she and Andronikos had one child at the time of her death (M54.43–4).

As stated above, there are numerous references in the poetry of Manuel Philes to the military exploits of Andronikos Palaiologos. The exaltation of manly virtues does not come as a surprise in Philes’ writings, where ‘valour in combat, as well as excellence

⁴⁰⁰ Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 30.

⁴⁰¹ Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 94–95, n. 27.

⁴⁰² Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 96–97.

⁴⁰³ Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 94–95, n. 27, and 99.

⁴⁰⁴ Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 160–61.

⁴⁰⁵ Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, 63–65: M54.

⁴⁰⁶ See Schreiner, ‘Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche’, 230–33.

in physical activity in general, permeate his laudatory poems'.⁴⁰⁷ The epitaph to Andronikos' wife says that her husband 'skilfully fights against the barbarians' (M54.39) and that he and her father would have defeated Death, if they had been present when she died: so valiant generals are the two (M54.48-50).⁴⁰⁸ The book epigram on the romance Andronikos had written mentions his 'military undertakings' (στρατηγικοῖς πόνοις).⁴⁰⁹ In the book epigram on the *Dialogue against the Jews*, Philes calls Andronikos a *tagmatarches*, courageous and astute in warfare, a true son of his father the Sebastokrator (M65.9-13).⁴¹⁰ And in a series of epistolary poems, M11-15, Philes calls him a 'famous general' (M11.2, M15.2, cf. M14.22), 'valiant lion of the Romans' (M14.1-2), 'harder in battle than a stone (M14.5), attacking the enemies in regular combat (M11.12-15) and bathing them in blood' (M13.3 and M14.18-20).⁴¹¹

These epistles in verse were written when Andronikos served in Thessaly (see M11.4). In another poem Philes tells us that Andronikos was about to leave for Thrace, presumably on a military expedition (M97.3-4).⁴¹² Given his connection to Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotēs, both personally and professionally, it is not surprising that Andronikos Palaiologos served in the West. Another indication that he spent most of his time as a commander in Thrace and Thessaly can be found in his *Dialogue against the Jews* where he tells us that he had religious debates with Jews in Orestias (Adrianople) and Thessaly: ὥς δ' ἐνέτυχον οὐ μόνον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ περιφήμῳ καὶ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ὁρεστιάδι καὶ Θετταλίᾳ σοφισταῖς καὶ νομομαθέσι τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀντιποιοιμένοις θρησκείας.⁴¹³ Indirect evidence can also be found in a letter by Maximos Planoudes (*Ep.* 37.9), complaining that he had not

⁴⁰⁷ Kyritsēs, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 258.

⁴⁰⁸ Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, 63-65.

⁴⁰⁹ Martini, 'A proposito di una poesia inedita', 460-71.

⁴¹⁰ Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, 84-86.

⁴¹¹ Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, 17-21.

⁴¹² Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, 141.

⁴¹³ PG 133.798B.

received news from Andronikos for a long time but that he at least had not forgotten him: ‘even if you were to march to Mount Athos, I at least would not forget you’ (9–10: ἐμοῦ γὰρ αὐτός, οὐδ’ ἂν πρὸς τὸν Ἄθω βαδίζῃς, ἐπιλήσμονος τεύξῃ).⁴¹⁴

But Andronikos Palaiologos also served in other parts of the Empire. In letter no. 41, 29–30, Planoudes addresses Andronikos as if he were on a military campaign, wishing him the best of success: ‘but now I have sent you by God’s help the ‘symbols of the campaign and generalship: may you command, win, be proclaimed and stay healthy’.⁴¹⁵ What Planoudes means by τὰ τῆς στρατείας καὶ στρατηγίας [...] σύμβολα is difficult to say. The word σύμβολον has a plethora of meanings, ranging from ‘token’, ‘proof of identity’, to ‘guarantee’ and ‘omen’ and ‘insignia’; perhaps it is the latter meaning that is the most fitting one.

Konstantinidis and Ozbic assume that Andronikos Palaiologos donned the monastic habit at some point in his life.⁴¹⁶ True enough, the *Lincoln Typikon* mentions his monastic name: Arsenios. But was this a true vocation or the pangs of death? It is worth noting that all the relatives of Theodora Synadene are given monastic names in the *Lincoln Typikon*, and the most likely solution for this outburst of piety among her relatives is that most if not all of them became monks only on their deathbeds so as to assure a place in heaven. Andronikos Palaiologos may have been an exception, but there is no proof for it. The only thing we can say for certain is that the two literary works that bear his name, one of which dates to 1310 (see below), call him Andronikos, not Arsenios. So, if he did become a monk, it must have happened after 1310; but he may very well have waited till the very last moment.

9.2 The literary works of Andronikos Palaiologos

⁴¹⁴ Treu, *Maximi monachi Planudis Epistulae*, 56.

⁴¹⁵ Treu, *Maximi monachi Planudis Epistulae*, 60.

⁴¹⁶ Konstantinidis, ‘Κεφάλαια περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας’, 180 and Ozbic, ‘I Kephalaia’, 408.

Andronikos Palaiologos is the author of at least three works: the iambic chapters that form part of CFW (for which see above Chapter 3.4), the *Dialogue against the Jews*, and an ἐρωτικὸν βιβλίον that may or may not be identical to the romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* (see below).

The *Dialogue against the Jews* has come down to us in several manuscripts, the two oldest of which are Vindob. Theol. gr. 118 and Paris. gr. 2750A. All these manuscripts have a heading in verse, framed by an ornamental *pyle*, which reads:

Ἦ δογματικὴ τῶνδε τῶν λόγων χάρις
 τὴν ἐβραϊκὴν ἐξελέγχουσα πλάνην
 τὰς εὐσεβεῖς δείκνυσι τοῖς πιστοῖς τρίβους.
 ἔγραψα δ' αὐτὴν Ἀνδρόνικος ἐκ πόθου,
 ἀδελφόπαις ἄνακτος Αὐσόνων γένους,
 Κομνηνοφυοῦς ἐκ σεβαστοκράτορος
 εἰς γῆν προαχθεὶς καὶ γλυκὺ βλέψας φάος.

‘The doctrinal grace of this work, / which refutes the errors of the Jews, / shows the roads of piety to the faithful. / I, Andronikos, wrote it with loving zeal, / I, the nephew of the emperor of the Romans, / who by the Sebastokrator, scion of the Komnenoi, / was brought into this world and saw the sweet light’.⁴¹⁷

While the first three lines of this book epigram summarize the contents of the text, the last four give the name of the author: Andronikos, the son of the Sebastokrator (a Komnenos) and the nephew of the Emperor. This is very similar to the title of the iambic chapters in Vindob. Phil. gr. 149: κεφάλαια διὰ στίχων ἱαμβικῶν περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας τοῦ Παλαιολόγου κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ τρισμακαρίστου αἰοδίου σεβαστοκράτορος, ‘iambic chapters on virtue and

⁴¹⁷ Pichard, *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, xxvi.

wickedness by kyr Andronikos Komnenos Palaiologos, the son of the three-times venerable Sebastokrator'. In the book that Manuel Philes wrote for the *Dialogue*, we find the same accumulation of names and affiliations: the book is the work of Andronikos, the son of the Sebastokrator, who holds the rank of *tagmatarches* (M65.9–10 and 12), a Komnenos, Angelos, Doukas and Palaiologos (M65.50–51).⁴¹⁸

It is perhaps slightly surprising that the heading of the *Dialogue against the Jews*, dating to 1310 (see below), refers to Andronikos as the nephew of the Emperor rather than his cousin. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, he was known to all and sundry as 'the son of the Sebastokrator', even though his father had died already in the early 1270s: see the heading of the iambic chapters, the book epigrams and other poems by Philes, and the archival document in Genoa. Since the title of sebastokrator 'was always given to close relatives, sons and brothers of the emperors',⁴¹⁹ it linked Andronikos by implication directly to the imperial family. It lent him status. Calling him the 'nephew of the emperor' (i.e. Michael VIII) emphasizes that Andronikos Palaiologos is the son of a Sebastokrator. Secondly, in Byzantium 'degrees of family relation to the emperor counted as much as, and frequently more than, court dignities and offices'.⁴²⁰ Both Michael VIII and Andronikos II tried to build a solid aristocratic clan by marrying female relatives to important personalities of their time, and 'second-generation descendants of these matches were frequently referred to as 'nephews of the emperor'.⁴²¹

How important the Palaeologan system of names and titles was, is also reflected in the principal manuscript of the *Dialogue against the Jews*, Vindob. Theol. gr. 118 (early 14th c.), which on its last folio (138^v) bears four monograms of Andronikos Palaiologos, with all his usual epithets, arranged on the page in the form of a cross.

⁴¹⁸ Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, 84–86: no. M65.

⁴¹⁹ Kyrtses, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 40.

⁴²⁰ Gaul, 'All the Emperor's Men (and his Nephews)', 247.

⁴²¹ Gaul, 'All the Emperor's Men (and his Nephews)', 257.

Each of the monograms looks like a *sphragis*, such as we may find on lead seals or ceremonial coins.⁴²² In the Palaeologan period, there were no ‘umbrella’ family monograms, but each member of the family chose his own as a means of self-representation.⁴²³ This appears to be the case here as well. Vindob. Theol. gr. 118 looks like a presentation copy: it only contains the *Dialogue*, the handwriting is that of the ‘Kaiserkanzlei’ (the imperial chancellery) and it has those monograms.⁴²⁴ The fact that the other manuscript, Par. gr. 2750A, combines the *Dialogue* with the *Collection in Four Ways*, of which Andronikos’ iambic chapters form a part (see Chapter 1), seems to indicate that Andronikos was somehow involved in the production of this manuscript as well. The *Dialogue* was clearly dear to his heart.

The *Dialogue* can be dated precisely. The author states that he is writing in AM 6818 (= AD 1310), that the Fall of Jerusalem took place in AM 5563, and that 1255 years have passed since the Fall of Jerusalem: $5563 + 1255 = 6818$.⁴²⁵ As there is nothing wrong with the arithmetic and as we may suppose that a person knows in which year he is living, the only problem is the annus mundi date for the Fall of Jerusalem: AM 5563 is AD 55. But as Pichard rightly observed, the solution to this riddle is actually very simple: Andronikos consulted a chronicle that used the Alexandrian calendar, such as that of George Synkellos or Theophanes, and did not realize that there was a discrepancy of sixteen years.⁴²⁶

The *Dialogue* still awaits a proper edition: the only text available in print is a Latin translation.⁴²⁷ It belongs to what is called ‘adversus Judaeos literature’.⁴²⁸ The genre

⁴²² All of the details are taken from De Gregorio’s abstract for the conference *Bisanzio nello Spazio e nel tempo. Costantinopoli e la Siria*. (Roma, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 10–11 novembre 2017).

⁴²³ Kyritses, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 249–50.

⁴²⁴ See Hunger, *Codices Theologici 101–120*, 53–55.

⁴²⁵ For the text, see Pichard, *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, xxvi–xxvii, n. 4.

⁴²⁶ Pichard, *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, xxvi–xxvii.

⁴²⁷ *Andronici Comneni imperatoris dialogus contra judaeos*. Reprinted in *PG* 133.795–924. For a good summary of its contents, Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 181–87.

was practised throughout the history of Byzantium because of religious animosity against the Jews, but witnessed a renewed interest in the fourteenth century, when four anti-Jewish dialogues saw the light of the day: Andronikos Palaiologos, Matthew Blastares, John Kantakouzenos and Theophanes of Nicaea.⁴²⁹ According to Bowman, the reason for this is that the church became more proselytizing in its attitude towards the Jews: with the rise of hesychasm, monks became gradually more influential, and in their traditional 'battle between Christ and the devil, they saw the Jews as visible allies of the latter'.⁴³⁰ In the worldly sphere, however, the situation was rather calm, apart from economic controversies between Andronikos II and the Venetian Jews.⁴³¹ In fact, whereas in earlier centuries some emperors, such as Herakleios, Basil I and John Vatatzes, had attempted to eradicate Judaism by forcing the Jews to be baptized,⁴³² the Palaeologan dynasty were far more lenient towards the Jews and supported their commercial enterprises because these benefitted the empire.⁴³³

As Andronikos Palaiologos tells in the preface to the *Dialogue*, he had had debates with Jewish scholars in Constantinople itself, but also in Adrianople and in Thessaly.⁴³⁴ Bowman suggests that Andronikos wrote the treatise because he was urged by the Emperor Andronikos II to instruct his sons, who, in his turn, was under pressure from the Patriarchate.⁴³⁵ In a letter of c. 1305, the Patriarch Athanasios encourages the Emperor to raise his children as good Christians, adding that the church is undermined

⁴²⁸ See Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, Kümper, 'Adversus Judaeos Literature', and, above all, A. Külzer, 'Adversus Judaeos', at 98–99.

⁴²⁹ See Külzer, 'Adversus Judaeos'.

⁴³⁰ Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, 29.

⁴³¹ Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, 19–20: 'There were two different type of Jewish communities living in Byzantium: the first one, the Byzantine Jews, lived in the Vlanka quarter while the other, the Venetian Jews, lived both in the Vlanka quarter and elsewhere in the city. A controversy started when the Venetian Jews began to do the job that was of the other group, namely, to prepare skins. The emperor had to intervene and to promise bureaucratic repercussions. To avoid controversies about the living place, since Venetian and Byzantine Jews living in the same quarter may have clouded the distinction between them, Andronikos II settled by imperial order the Venetian Jews in a specific place'.

⁴³² See Sharf, *Jews and Other Minorities*.

⁴³³ Külzer, 'Adversus Judaeos', 98.

⁴³⁴ Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 181.

⁴³⁵ Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, 34.

both by unworthy priests and the presence of Jews and Armenians in the city, which leaves the faithful without a guide (5-6 ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀδίδακτος κατελείφθη ὁ κοινὸς λαός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ εἰσαγωγῇ ὥς οὐκ ὄφειλεν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀρμενίων καταμιαίνεται).⁴³⁶ At the end of the letter, the Patriarch draws a parallel between the ancient Jews and the Byzantines: the latter could suffer the same fate as the Jews if this iniquity is not stopped. The same intolerant attitude is reflected in the treatises: by underlining the errors of the Jews, the authors extol Christianity in an attempt to bring back the more honourable ancient customs.

The *Dialogue* is structured in the form of questions and answers between Andronikos and some Jews and touches upon topics, such as the nature of Christ, the trinitarian Godhead, idolatry, baptism, the cult of the icons, etc.⁴³⁷ Whereas the text begins as a real dialogue, it soon turns into a one-sided exposition of the Christian truths, with the Jewish interrogators only intervening to ask questions and nod assent to what Andronikos is saying.⁴³⁸ The theology is rather superficial and Andronikos does not appear to have a good knowledge of Judaism.⁴³⁹ It is worth noting that Manuel Philes, for all his praise of the *Dialogue*, singles out the literary, not the theological, qualities of the work: prose rhythm, good syntax, literary adornment and charm, well-ordered structure and skilful argumentation, so that ‘the whole textual body stays free of any blemish’ (M 65.41-48). Andronikos Palaiologos may have been a good writer, but a profound thinker he was not.

Apart from the *Dialogue against the Jews* and the iambic chapters that we find in CFW, Andronikos Palaiologos is also credited with the composition of an ἐρωτικόν

⁴³⁶ For the letter, see *PG* 142, col. 512. For an English translation, see Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasius*, 77.

⁴³⁷ Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 186.

⁴³⁸ Külzer, ‘*Adversus Judaeos*’, 99.

⁴³⁹ Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 182.

βιβλίον, for which Philes wrote a book epigram.⁴⁴⁰ The plot of this ‘book of love’ is very similar to that of the Palaeologan romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorroë*, but there are also a number of discrepancies.⁴⁴¹ This has led to a lively scholarly debate, with most scholars attributing the romance to Andronikos (though acknowledging the differences between the plot described in the epigram and the romance itself) and some denying the ascription. The editor of *Kallimachos and Chrysorroë*, Pichard, strongly supports Andronikos’ authorship.⁴⁴² Knös and Agapitos/Smith are more sceptical, believing that the differences are such that one cannot use the book epigram by Philes as proof of Andronikos’ authorship: in the words of Agapitos and Smith, the romance ‘described in Philes’ poem does bear some resemblance to the *Kallimachos*, but it is impossible to identify the two’.⁴⁴³ Beaton argues that the ‘small discrepancies’ are possibly ‘due to the transmission of the text’ of *Kallimachos*, but are certainly the result of ‘[Philes] allegorical reading’.⁴⁴⁴ Cupane’s verdict is very similar: ‘Small differences in details do not detract from the fundamental similarity of the plot nor do they necessarily contradict the authorship of Andronikos; they may just as well be ascribed to the constraints of allegorical interpretation’.⁴⁴⁵ Entering the debate on the authorship goes beyond the scope of this thesis; yet I agree with the majority opinion that Philes’ book epigram does relate to *Kallimachos and Chrysorroë*.⁴⁴⁶

But regardless of the question whether or not Andronikos Palaiologos is the author of *Kallimachos and Chrysorroë*, the important thing to note is that Philes’ epigram leaves no doubt that he wrote a romance, which is perhaps not what one would

⁴⁴⁰ Ed. Martini, ‘A proposito di una poesia inedita’, 467–79; no. M-ap 1. Republished by Knös, ‘Qui est l’auteur du roman’, 280–84.

⁴⁴¹ See Knös, ‘Qui est l’auteur du roman’, 287–91.

⁴⁴² Pichard, *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, xvi–xxiii.

⁴⁴³ Knös, ‘Qui est l’auteur’, 291–95. Agapitos and Smith, *The Study of Medieval Greek Romance*, 56.

⁴⁴⁴ Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, 190.

⁴⁴⁵ Cupane, ‘In the Realm of Eros’, 95–97 and 114–15; quotation on p. 114.

⁴⁴⁶ There are some similarities between *Kallimachos* and the *Chapters in Political Verse*: e.g. K&C 1755–6 ἐγὼ δὲ ζῶ καὶ φαίνομαι, περιπατῶ καὶ βλέπω / ἀλλὰ κἄν ζῶ, τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀπονεκρώθην ὅλη, cf. CPV17.4 νεκρὸς ὑπάρχω τὴν ψυχὴν κἄν τοῖς ποσὶ βαδίζω.

have expected of the author of paraenetic poetry (the iambic chapters) and religious treatises (the *Dialogue against the Jews*). Philes' interpretation is entirely allegorical: the hero's father stands for God, the object of the hero's love is his soul, the ogre he slays is a symbol of Satan and sex, etc. In Byzantine discussions of fictional literature, it was not uncommon to 'invest' such texts 'with a Christian meaning that transfers [them] from their "base" status to an elevated level'.⁴⁴⁷ As Roilos writes, 'We cannot be sure whether this interpretation was an arbitrary twist of the original story reflecting only Philes' own whimsical approach to it, or if it was shared by other readers of the text as well. (...) Philes' encomiastic references to the author of the text, who belonged to the highest Byzantine aristocracy, suggest that at least, even if not fully endorsed, this allegorization must not have been received with surprise by members of such circles'.⁴⁴⁸ Odorico emphasizes that Manuel Philes makes a distinction between perceptive readers who do not stay at the surface but probe deeper, on the one hand, and lazy readers eagerly thumbing through the book to find the saucy passages, on the other.⁴⁴⁹

Another issue to be dealt with regarding the literary works of Andronikos Palaiologos is their chronology. Pichard argues that the romance was written after the *Dialogue against the Jews*, because he thinks that we can reconstruct his military career on the basis of Manuel Philes' poetry, from *tagmatarches* to *strategos*, and hence reconstruct his literary career.⁴⁵⁰ But we cannot. Any commander of whatever rank can be called a στρατηγός in Byzantine laudatory poetry. All we can say is that he served in the army from a young age.

The only secure date is 1310 for the *Dialogue*. The date of ms. P (c. 1310–20; see Chapter 1.1) is the *terminus ante quem* for the compilation of CFW and since it

⁴⁴⁷ For an excellent study of allegorical interpretations in Byzantium, see Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 130–39; for the quotation, see 135.

⁴⁴⁸ Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 136.

⁴⁴⁹ Odorico, 'Καλλίμαχος, Χρυσορρόη και ένας πολύ μοναχικός αναγνώστης', 282–84.

⁴⁵⁰ Pichard, *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, xxvii–xxviii.

incorporates the iambic chapters, which already circulated as an independent literary work (see Chapter 1.5), the iambic chapters are likely to date from before 1310. As for the romance, it is impossible to say. It may have been a juvenile work or the work of a mature author, but either option is difficult to prove or disprove. One thing is certain, though: since Philes was born c. 1270 and started making his career as a literator in the 1290s, the book epigram on Andronikos' ἐρωτικὸν βιβλίον cannot date from before the early 1290s.

9.3 The literary network of Andronikos Palaiologos

After the reconquest of Constantinople, Byzantine culture witnessed a sudden and short-lived renaissance between c. 1261 and 1340 while the Empire itself slowly fell to pieces. During this Indian summer, poets, writers and scholars produced an impressive quantity of works, resulting in new texts and new editions of older texts; art flourished; and intellectuals held lively debates on philosophical and religious matters.⁴⁵¹ The number of people producing literature, with the 'ratio being one writer to 2500–4500 inhabitants of the city', illustrates the popularity of literature in those years.⁴⁵² Some of the writers belonged to the upper echelons of society: for example, Metochites, Choumnos, Kantakouzenos, Michael Glabas and our very own Andronikos Palaiologos, but most were 'individuals who moved into the fringes of the aristocracy and came from the middle classes'.⁴⁵³ And not a few had to make a living with their writings, such as Manuel Philes, who performed a balancing act between pleading for

⁴⁵¹ Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, 5.

⁴⁵² Ševčenko, *Society and Intellectual Life*, 69.

⁴⁵³ Kyritses, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 278.

financial support and preserving his dignity.⁴⁵⁴ To sum up, ‘intellectuals either belonged to the top level of society or associated with men who belonged to these levels’.⁴⁵⁵

These Palaeologan intellectuals formed a close-knit group, a network in which all communicated with one another in letters.⁴⁵⁶ To distinguish between real friendship and friendship on paper is hardly possible, as Bourbouhakis rightly points out; they were as close as they could be, yet in their exchanges they seem ‘to have approached each other with considerable circumspection and rhetorical pomp’.⁴⁵⁷ Although this is true of Planoudes’ epistolography as well, his letters offer precious information on Andronikos Palaiologos’ contacts with outstanding intellectuals and poets and more in general on literary and cultural life in Byzantium in the early Palaeologan period.⁴⁵⁸

Planoudes’ letters addressed to Andronikos are nos. 22, 36, 37 and 41 in Treu’s edition.⁴⁵⁹ It appears the two did not discuss literary topics but rather their own relationship, at least as viewed through the lens of Planoudes. He laments Andronikos’ lack of interest in their epistolography exchange (Ep. 36, 1–2 and 23–25; 37.1–2 and 6–8) and his prolonged absence as an army officer (37.6–9). In a ‘social structure that inhibits social and geographical mobility’, friendship was sometimes born out of the need to access resources.⁴⁶⁰ Therefore, separation was one of the main reasons for writing letters, since Byzantine educated men, when they were posted in the provinces, were frequently separated by distance.⁴⁶¹ The isolation lamented by Planoudes is a common topos, although ‘ideas of exile and isolation found a place in the letter not only by literary convention but because men were actually lonely [...] they wrote letters

⁴⁵⁴ See Bazzani, ‘The Art of Requesting’ and Kubina, ‘Manuel Philes - a Begging Poet?’.

⁴⁵⁵ Ševčenko, *Society and Intellectual Life*, 76.

⁴⁵⁶ Ševčenko, *Society and Intellectual Life*, 70.

⁴⁵⁷ Bourbouhakis, ‘Epistolary Culture and Friendship’, 283.

⁴⁵⁸ Treu, *Maximi monachi Planudis Epistulae*.

⁴⁵⁹ Treu, *Maximi monachi Planudis Epistulae*, 39–40, 55–56, 56–57 and 60.

⁴⁶⁰ Wolf, ‘Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies’, 7.

⁴⁶¹ Bourbouhakis, ‘Epistolary Culture and Friendship’, 279.

which could unite them'.⁴⁶² The two seemed to be very close; yet there is a big difference between them. Planoudes always 'remained aloof from political and ecclesiastical affairs',⁴⁶³ while Andronikos did not, since he was involved in imperial affairs as an in-law of the emperors, in military actions as a commander and in the religious sphere as a writer of an anti-Semitic dialogue.

Letters were not the only means to reach out to a friend, praise him or ask for something in return. Poetry also worked very well. Manuel Philes, another brilliant intellectual who belonged to the same close-knit milieu, was most probably one of the court poets who saw a suitable patron in Andronikos. Philes is generally known as a 'begging poet', a pejorative term that does not do justice to the multifaceted relation between patron and poet.⁴⁶⁴ In his poetry, Philes addresses 'patrons of different social status, starting from the highest levels of the imperial family, moving down to ecclesiastical figures, powerful officers and some of his friends'.⁴⁶⁵ This private relation between patron and client seems to have been developed during the reign of Andronikos II, in which 'it appears that the government was no longer able to finance teachers' as they were 'almost never employed by the state on a regular basis'.⁴⁶⁶ Philes represents a many-sided figure in Andronikos' life: a friend, a court poet and a literary critic, according to his own needs and the occasion he is writing for.

As we have seen, Philes wrote quite a number of epigrams and poems for Andronikos Palaiologos, not only celebrating his literary works (the *Dialogue* and the ἐρωτικὸν βιβλίον), but also writing verse epistles to him. In one of these, he addresses Andronikos as follows: 'Lover of the Muses, Komnenos, full of charms, I am your friend but you are more than a friend [to me]' (Κομνηνὲ φιλόμουσε, μεστὲ χαρίτων,

⁴⁶² Mullett, *Letters, Literacy and Literature*, 80.

⁴⁶³ Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium*, 66

⁴⁶⁴ Kubina, 'Manuel Philes - A Begging poet?'.
⁴⁶⁵ Bazzani, 'The Art of Requesting', 184.

⁴⁶⁶ Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium*, 95.

/ ἐγὼ φίλος σου, σὺ δὲ καὶ φίλου πλέον), alluding not only to the rules of epistolary friendship, but also to his own name (Φιλῆς), and highlighting Andronikos' involvement in literature.⁴⁶⁷ The latter is a recurring theme in Philes' poetry: for example, '[Andronikos] who ennobles nature everywhere through his intellectual endeavours' (ὃς τὴν φύσιν τίθησιν εὐγενεστέραν / ἐκ τῶν λογικῶν πανταχῇ σπουδασμάτων).⁴⁶⁸ This shared interest in literature puts Andronikos above the level of the average Palaeologan patron of the arts and explains why Philes treasures him as a true friend and, therefore, dares to criticize him on occasion as only good friends may. In M15, Philes rebukes Andronikos for presenting him with a worthless saddlecloth – a gift of no value whatsoever, in his view.⁴⁶⁹ As he explains in P79, a verse epistle to Michael Glabas, his mangy horse had been rubbing his back against the doorpost and ripped the saddlecloth to pieces: could Glabas perhaps send him a new one?⁴⁷⁰ Apparently it was not Glabas, but his second-in-command, his son-in-law Andronikos Palaiologos, who responded to this request and sent a second-hand saddlecloth while they were both on an expedition somewhere in the Balkans.

Another literary figure close to Andronikos Palaiologos was in fact his own father-in-law, Michael Glabas, the author of two collections of *kephalaia*, the first a compilation of military precepts, the second a compilation of extracts from church fathers and monastic thinkers.⁴⁷¹ In the first epigram, Philes celebrates Glabas as a great general and the liberator of the West, praises him for his strategic insights and military expertise, and says that the book is a treasure-trove, beneficial to all but especially his

⁴⁶⁷ Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, 141: M97.1–2.

⁴⁶⁸ Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, 86: M65.52–53.

⁴⁶⁹ Martini, *Manuelis Philae Carmina Inedita*, 18–20: M15. For a discussion of this poem see Kubina, *Die enkomiasische Dichtung des Manuel Philes*, 207–08.

⁴⁷⁰ Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, vol. II, 139–40: P79.

⁴⁷¹ For these book epigrams by Glabas as well as those by Andronikos Palaiologos, see Kubina, *Die enkomiasische Dichtung des Manuel Philes*, 64–66.

son-in-law and second-in-command.⁴⁷² In the second epigram, Philes once again extols Glabas' victories in the West and then presents the contents of the book, enumerating a list of authors from whom Glabas culled his spiritual chapters: Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos, Maximos Confessor, Gregory of Nyssa, John Klimax, Isaac Syros, Neilos of Ankyra, Hesychios Sinaites, Niketas Stethatos, Markos Monachos, Philotheos Sinaites, and in addition a few of the Hellenes (for, even in a well-tended garden, wild thyme grows near roses, as Philes hastens to explain in vv. 62–64).⁴⁷³

Andronikos Palaiologos' literary network consisted not only of scholars and poets, such as Planoudes and Philes,⁴⁷⁴ but also of monastic writers, such as the compiler of CFW who made use of Andronikos' iambic chapters. As the Parisian manuscript of CFW was copied in c. 1310–20 (see Chapter 1.1), i.e. during the lifetime of Andronikos, Katsaros is most probably right in assuming that CFW was put together in the milieu of Andronikos Palaiologos.⁴⁷⁵ Further proof is that the same Parisian manuscript also contains the *Dialogue against the Jews*. Another indirect link is the use of Manasses' novel in both CPV and Planoudes' collection of moral sayings, the *Συναγωγή* (see Chapter 5.8). Since the author of CPV calls his own verses 'double-baked loaves of pure quality' (διπυρίτας καθαρούς), indicating that he is re-baking bread of the finest quality that has already been in the oven –read: the moral sayings of CFW–,⁴⁷⁶ he must have moved in the same circle of literati as the 'bread baker' of CFW did and thus been part of the literary network that connects CFW's compiler to

⁴⁷² Martini, 'A proposito di una poesia inedita', 470–71: no. M-ap 2.

⁴⁷³ Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, vol. II, 230–33: P 219.

⁴⁷⁴ The entry in PLP for Andronikos Palaiologos (no. 21439) mentions a letter by Theodore Hyrtakenos to him, but that appears to be a mistake. In their recent edition of Hyrtakenos' letters, Karpozilos and Fatouros argue that the addressee is not this Andronikos, but Andronikos Angelos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos (PLP 21435): Fatouros and Karpozilos, *The Letters of Theodoros Hyrtakenos*, 38–39.

⁴⁷⁵ Katsaros, 'Οι εξάμετροι στίχοι', 86, n. 47.

⁴⁷⁶ See CPV, ἐπίλογος, 4. As Tsolakis thinks that Manasses is the author of CPV, he interprets the διπυρίται as a reference to Manasses' re-use of his own verses: Tsolakis, 'Το λεγόμενο ηθικό ποίημα', 18.

Andronikos Palaiologos and, via him, to Michael Glabas, Manuel Philes, Maximos Planoudes, and other literati with an interest in Manasses.

different stages of production that one can recognize in the two manuscripts (see Chapter 1.3). The analysis has shown that the compilation of CFW formed stage α and that in the next stage β the scholia were added. The following step was the addition of version P of CPV: stage γ . Then the tradition diverges into two: ms. P on the one hand and δ on the other, the last one being the stage during which the author of CPV produced the final and improved version. In stage ε the scholia were added to version V of CPV, and this then leads to manuscript V. As for the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos, which is also transmitted in Vindob. Phil. gr. 149 (W), the analysis has shown that this collection already existed when CFW was put together: it predates stage α (see Chapter 1.5).

As for the second issue, that of the literary character of the two collections, I hope to have demonstrated in Chapter 2 that CFW and CPV are collections of paraenetic chapters, not spiritual chapters. Although both collections have a monastic addressee (see Chapters 3.1 and 5.1), they do not discuss spirituality in the ‘Evagrian’ mould and occasionally address topics that are of no interest to monks, such as marriage, children and worldly wealth. The whole of CPV, including its scholia, is non-monastic (see 5.1, 5.3–5 and 5.7). Things are slightly different for CFW. While the iambs, the hexameters and the octosyllables appear to address laics, the prose texts and the scholia clearly serve a monastic agenda (see 2.1, 3.4 and 3.7).

The fifth issue I addressed in this thesis has been the precise relation between CFW and CPV. Although Krumbacher already argued that CFW and CPV are intimately connected because they treat the same one hundred topics in exactly the same order, scholarship has been misled by the misattribution of CPV to Manasses which resulted in fruitless efforts to disentangle the two. As the literary analysis has shown in Chapter 5.2, the author of CPV had CFW lying on his writing desk when he

composed his own chapters. CPV is clearly a sequel. And not only that: the fact that, both in P and V, CPV follows right after CFW without a heading separating the two collections, leaves no doubt that the two belong together. CPV is basically an appendix to CFW.

The third issue, that of authorship, is the most complicated and though this thesis offers many clues as to the genesis of the two collections, I do not think that one can reach absolute certainty in the present state of knowledge. The easy part is to demonstrate that CPV is not by Manasses (see Chapter 5.9); but the rest is clad in darkness. So what follows is a hypothetical account, based on the evidence I have culled from a close reading and literary analysis of CFW and CPV.

The question of authorship is difficult because bad luck has it that CFW lacks its heading, and perhaps also its prologue (if there was one: see Chapter 3.4), in both P and V; and CPV has no heading because it is a sequel or appendix to CFW. The only secure piece of information is the attribution of the iambic chapters to Andronikos Palaiologos in ms. W. And as there is no difference in style, language and metre between the fifty-three iambs of W and the thirty-three not in W, but only in P and V, is beyond doubt that all the iambic chapters in CFW are the work of Andronikos Palaiologos. Does this mean that he is also responsible for the other parts of CFW and perhaps even of CPV? The answer is a resounding no. As the analysis of the language and metre of the iambs (dodecasyllables) and anacreontics (paired octosyllables) of CFW as well as the political verses of CPV has shown, there are considerable differences (see Chapters 7 and 8). Let me sum up my findings.

The iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos make use of a consistently low stylistic register, without many frills, but perfectly acceptable: the vocabulary is simple, and the grammar generally faultless. What set the iambs apart from the other two

metres, is its predilection for verbal adjectives in -τέος and its use of the moods (with and without ᾄν). The octosyllables aim for the same lowbrow stylistic register, but do not always attain the level of correctness that one finds in Andronikos: the vocabulary is rather plain and on occasion even colloquial, the grammar is shaky, and the meaning of the verses is sometimes rather obscure – this is an author who struggles to express himself properly and accurately. The use of the articular infinitive after control verbs is a distinctive feature of his language. The political verses of CPV strive to achieve a slightly higher stylistic register, somewhere between lowbrow and middlebrow. The author of CPV has a predilection for unusual words, including *hapax legomena*, some of which may have been coined by himself; his vocabulary has a distinctly poetic feeling, even when he is not quoting Manasses, and his verses abound with classical and mythological references. His grammar is not always correct, at least not in version P, and tends to be plainer than his vocabulary is.

Like most Byzantine authors, Andronikos Palaiologos commits a number of prosodic errors and treats the dichrona freely. Apart from a tendency to fill up his verses with little words that have little or no meaning, his metre is generally correct. Isosyllaby is generally respected, as is stress regulation (though he is rather conservative in having so little C7). There is hardly any enjambment and only one case of lack of caesura; in other words, his verses are perfectly isometric. The octosyllables offer a different scenario. Isosyllaby is maintained; the only thing to note is that there is surprisingly little use of hiatus. Stress regulation is maintained as well, with stresses on the uneven positions. Isometry is regularly infringed: there are frequent instances of enjambment both across the caesura and between verses. Version P of CPV has a lot of hiatus and harsh elisions; version V has fewer of both. Isosyllaby is otherwise maintained. Stress regulation is the usual one, apart from stress on the penultimate

before the caesura at 61.1. There are multiple infringements on the rule of isometry in version P: the later version V is much better in this respect. The most important of these metrical differences pertains to the rule of isometry: the octosyllables disregard isometry, version P of CPV has quite a number of infringements, version V has much fewer, and the iambs of Andronikos Palaiologos are perfectly shaped.

Looking at the linguistic and metrical data, the only conclusion can be that we are dealing with at least three different authors: Andronikos Palaiologos, the octosyllabist, and the author of CPV. And there are probably more because as we have seen, some of the texts are clearly monastic and others are not. While Andronikos and the octosyllabist offer moral advice to laics, the prose writer of CFW addresses monks. Leaving aside CPV for a moment, it is clear that CFW is a compilation of various texts: the hexameters of Gregory of Nazianzos, the iambs of Andronikos Palaiologos, the octosyllables of someone who is definitely not Andronikos, the prose texts, and the scholia. It is also clear that the author of the prose texts is the compiler of CFW, as he himself states in the epilogue to CFW: ‘Here is the [book] of the Chapters in multifarious ways, which I presented to the best of my ability’ (see Chapter 3.2–4).

It is the scholiasts of CFW and CPV who call this compiler a συγγραφεύς, a ‘writer’ (see Chapter 3.3). But his literary ambitions appear to have been more modest: he says that he ‘presented’ (παρεστήσαμεν) his multifarious compilation to the readers – it is a literary offering. In the same epilogue he tells his readers that the text comes to life only if they engage with it: they have to listen to the moral message of CFW and adopt its lessons in their own lives (see Chapter 3.2). Readership is thus more important than authorship.

Apart from the authors and the compiler of CFW, there is a third party involved in its creation: the monastic figure to whom CFW is dedicated. According to

the scholiast of CPV, he is the very same person who commissioned CPV (see Chapter 3.4). So who is he? The author of CPV calls him a *θεία κεφαλή*: a usual address for the emperor and members of the imperial family in the Palaeologan period, but also for intimate friends (see Chapter 5.1). Their relationship is hierarchical: the commissioner is the spiritual father of the author – he orders, the other obeys. One could argue that a hierarchical relation excludes intimacy, in which case *θεία κεφαλή* must have its imperial connotations in this context. But one could also argue that, however hierarchical the relationship may have been, it is intimate because the commissioner is the author's spiritual father. If one were to interpret *θεία κεφαλή* as referring to an emperor or a member of the imperial family, then the identification would be straightforward: this must be Andronikos Palaiologos. But this is not certain. It is also not known whether Andronikos donned the monastic habit during his lifetime or whether he founded his own monastery, just as his sister and his father-in-law had (which would explain how he could be somebody's spiritual father).

One thing is certain, though. Andronikos Palaiologos must be somehow involved in the creation of CFW and CPV. First of all, P is a luxuriously crafted manuscript which contains, apart from CFW and CPV, the *Dialogue against the Jews* by Andronikos Palaiologos. It looks like an author's copy of his literary works (like Mauroπους' in Vat. gr. 676). Secondly, the unexpected rant against the Jews in the prologue of CPV makes little sense unless we assume that it is an indirect compliment to Andronikos Palaiologos, the author of the *Dialogue* which in P follows immediately after CPV (see Chapter 5.1). Thirdly, CFW was put together during the lifetime of Andronikos and its compiler can hardly have borrowed the iambic chapters of Andronikos Palaiologos without his consent or at least his knowledge. And fourthly, since we know that Andronikos played an important role as literary patron in the early

Palaeologan period, it is very likely that the compiler belonged to his literary circle (see Chapter 9.3).

To summarize my findings: CFW is the work of a compiler whose identity will remain a mystery. He produced a highly unusual work: one hundred chapters, divided into three quatrains (in hexameters, iambs and anacreontics) and three prose texts. While he was the author of the prose texts, he borrowed the iambs from Andronikos Palaiologos, the anacreontics from someone else, and the hexameters from Gregory of Nazianzos. Although a monk himself, he had no problem with non-monastic texts, such as the verses of Andronikos. He dedicated his compilation to another monk who may or may not be identical to Andronikos Palaiologos. If he is not the dedicatee, we have to assume that CFW was at least produced with his support. When CFW was finished, yet another monk added scholia in the margin.

Then the dedicatee of CFW decided that the project deserved to be enlarged and embellished with chapters in political verse treating the same topics as CFW. He commissioned his spiritual child (possibly a monk himself) to produce this text. He did as he was told, and the result was version P of CPV. Either the person who had commissioned CPV or the author himself was not satisfied with the literary quality – so the author rewrote the text, and this became version V. At some point someone added scholia to version V and as this person was clearly not a monk, it seems that CFW and CPV by then had moved outside the monastic milieu.

CFW and CPV can best be described as a mega project, with many hands involved: authors, compilers, commissioners, dedicatees, scholiasts. All those involved in this unusual project will probably always remain nameless – with one exception, of course: Andronikos Palaiologos.

There are still many questions unanswered, partly due to the time limitations inherent in any DPhil thesis which did not allow me to make a proper study of the prose chapters of CFW and the scholia of CFW and CPV, partly due to the lacunary nature of the evidence at our disposal. Further study will need to be carried out to enhance the results obtained in this thesis; in particular, a critical edition of the complete CFW is urgently needed. I hope that my thesis may give the impetus to further study of these two remarkable collections of paraenetic chapters and their literary contexts. I also hope that my thesis may shed some light on aspects of Palaeologan literature that have not attracted as much scholarly attention as they deserve: in particular, intertextuality, reader response and reception theory, the genre of paraenesis, and the contribution of monks to what is called the Palaeologan Renaissance.

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