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On the issue of irony in Michael Psellos's encomium on Michael Keroularios

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As is well known, the most conspicuous feature in Michael Psellos's manifold literary works is the fact that the authorial self constitutes their focal point.[1] According to the argumentation of Stratis Papaioannou in his unpublished PhD thesis entitled "Writing the *Ego*. Michael Psellos's Rhetorical Autography", Psellos develops on the basis of traditional rhetorical and philosophical theories an individual rhetorical and aesthetic theory of the textual self as an artistic creation of the author.[2] Text and

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[1] See for instance my earlier monograph dealing with Psellos's self-display in his *Chronographia*: E. Pietsch, *Die Chronographia des Michael Psellos. Kaisergeschichte, Autobiographie und Apologie.* Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2005. (Serta Graeca; 20), especially 66–97. For complete recent bibliography (since 1998) on Michael Psellos and his works, see http://proteus.brown.edu/psellos/8126.

[2] E. N. Papaioannou, *Writing the Ego: Michael Psellos's rhetorical Autography.* Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of Vienna, 2000. See also idem, "Der Glasort des Textes: Selbstheit und Ontotypologie im byzantinischen Briefschreiben (10. und 11. Jh.)," in W. Hörandner, J. Koder, and M. Stassinopoulou (eds.), *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposion Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien. Im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger (Wien, 4.-7. Dezember 2002)* (Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia 24; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004) 324–336; idem, "Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and the Self in Byzantine Epistolography," in W. Hörandner and M. Grünbart (eds.), *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: Projets actuels et questions de méthodologie. Actes de la 16e Table ronde du XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines* (Dossiers byzantins 3; Paris: Centre d'études Byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2003) 75–83.

Since the present article was written as long ago as spring 2011, I would like to add at this point Papaioannou's recently published monograph based on the initial

textual self are directed towards exteriority and appearance rather than inwardness, while the notions of mixture (*mixis*) and change (*metabole*)[3] represent the ideal virtues of text and textual self alike. Thus, Psellos's aesthetic of the textual self as implemented by means of rhetoric displays a performative character.

In the sense of the textual representation of the authorial self as described by Papaioannou, Psellos constructs for himself in several passages of his works the image of a hybrid creature which has a share in the divine sphere of the pure spirit, as well as in the sphere of corporeality,[4] possesses intelligence, as well as feelings,[5] incorporates "masculinity", as well as "femininity".[6] Not only philosophy and the devotion to God as an expression of the spirit are his field, but also the communication of the spiritual by means of literature and what the Byzantines call ῥητορική.[7] Not pure, self-centered intellectuality is his ideal, but life

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concept of his doctoral thesis: *Michael Psellos. Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium.* Cambridge [et al.]: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

[3] On the notion of change (*metabole*) see also E. N. Papaioannou, "Από τη ρητορική στη λογοτεχνία: η έννοια της μεταβολής στον Μιχαήλ Ψελλό και η αναβίωση της μυθοπλασίας," in E. Chrysos (ed.), *The Empire in Crisis? Byzantium in the Eleventh Century (1025–1081)* (Διεθνή Συμπόσια 11; Athens: Hellenic National Research Foundation, 2003) 473–482.

[4] See e.g. C. N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi.* Athens – Paris: Maissoneuve [et al.], 1876. V, ep. 207, 505–513, here 506, 2–3; 506, 13–15 = *Michele Psello. Epistola a Michele Cerulario. A cura di Ugo Criscuolo. 2. ed. riveduta e ampliata.* Naples: Bibliopolis, 1990. (Hellenica et Byzantina Neapolitana; 15). 22, 20–21: ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὅπερ εἰμί, φύσις λογικὴ μετὰ σώματος; ibidem, 22, 32–35: Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ, ζῷον ἀλλοιωτὸν καὶ τρεπτόν, ψυχὴ λογικὴ χρωμένη σώματι, κρᾶμα καινὸν ἐξ ἀναρμόστων τῶν συνελθόντων.

[5] See e.g. Sathas, V, ep. 72, 307, 22–24: Ἔδει με γὰρ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαγγελόμενον […] μόνης τῆς χρυσῆς σειρᾶς ἐξηρτῆσθαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; ibidem, 308, 5–7: οὐ γὰρ Σκύθης εἰμὶ τὴν ψυχήν, οὐδ' ἀπὸ δρυός, ἢ πέτρας γεγένημαι, ἀλλὰ φύσεώς εἰμι τῆς ἁπαλῆς βλάστημα, καὶ τοῖς φυσικοῖς πάθεσι μαλθακίζομαι.

[6] See Sathas V, ep. 72, 307, 25–26: Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ πρὸς μὲν τὰς μαθήσεις ἀρρενωπότερον διάκειμαι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν φύσιν θῆλύς εἰμι· (cf. E. N. Papaioannou, "Michael Psellos's Rhetorical Gender," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 24 [2000] 133–146; idem, "Feminine *Physis* in Michael Psellos's Literary Work," *Twenty-Fifth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts, The University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 4–7 November 1999* [Washington, D.C., 1999] 103).

[7] See e.g. one of Psellos's letters to Leon Paraspondylos, in which the author reproaches

in the human community.[8] Not an ascetic lifestyle and uncompromising consistency at any price correspond to his concept of correct living, but the ideal of the πολιτικὸς ἀνήρ who communicates with his fellow humans, responds to them in a proper manner and adapts his behaviour each time to the particular circumstances and interlocutors.[9]

the addressee for not answering his letters, ed. Sathas V, ep. 9, 238, 20–28: Μήποτε ἄρα, θεία ψυχή, σὺ μὲν τὴν ἀσώματον οἶδας διάλεκτον καὶ διὰ τῶν νοημάτων συγγίνη τοῖς νοητοῖς, ἡμεῖς δὲ μάτην γλώσσῃ καὶ πνεύματι χρώμεθα καὶ γράμμασι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς σοι γνώμας ἐνσημαινόμεθα; ἰδοὺ γάρ σοι τὰς πάσας μετηλλαξάμην φωνάς, βαρβαρίσας, ἑλληνίσας, ἀττικίσας, ἵν' εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῃ ἢ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ἀνθομιλήσεις καὶ ἀντιφθέγξαιο, σὺ δ' ἄρα ἐλελήθεις ἑτέρους λόγους εἰδὼς ἁπλοῦς τε καὶ ἀσυνθέτους καὶ μὴ οὓς αὐτοὶ ἴσμεν, τοὺς ἐξ ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων φημί·

[8] See e.g. Psellos's encomium on John Mauropous, in which the author tries to stir the *laudandus* from his resolve to resign from his position as metropolitan of Euchaita, ed. Sathas, V, 166, 14–16 = *Michaelis Pselli orationes panegyricae*. Ed. George T. Dennis. Stutgardiae [et al.]: Teubner, 1994. 173, 830–832: ἔοικας δέ μοι οἴεσθαι τὸν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας βίον αὐτόχρημα ὁμιλίαν τε πρὸς θεὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτυχίαν κρειττόνων, καὶ λογισμῶν ἔπαρσιν ἢ ἀνάπαυσιν; ibidem, ed. Sathas, V, 165, 17–20 = ed. Dennis, 172, 798–800: ὥστ' εἰ μὲν εὖ ἔχων σώματος, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας τοῖς πράγμασι, τὴν μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐκκλίνεις διατριβήν, ἐντολὴν ἀθετεῖς, καὶ νόμων καταφρονεῖς ἱερῶν.

[9] For instance, Psellos develops in his *Chronographia* (VIa 8) with reference to the head of government during the reign of empress Theodora, Leon Paraspondylos, a theory of the different conditions of souls and associates the man of public affairs with the soul which keeps the middle course between passionlessness and submission to passions, while he describes absolut unworldliness as an unrealistic ideal (*Michele Psello. Imperatori di Bisanzio [Cronografia]. Introd. di Dario Del Corno. Testo critico a cura di Salvatore Impellizzeri. Commento di Ugo Criscuolo. Trad. di Silvia Ronchey. II [Libri VI, 76–VII]*. Milano: Mondadori, 1984. 160–162): Τρεῖς γὰρ μερίδας ταῖς τῶν ψυχῶν προσαρμόζω κατανοῶν καταστάσεσι […] εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν μέσην στᾶσα ζωὴν μεγαλοπαθείας τε καὶ πολυπαθείας, ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ ἀκριβὲς κέντρον αἴροιτο, τὸν πολιτικὸν ἀπεργάζεται ἄνθρωπον, οὔτε θεία τις ἀκριβῶς γενομένη ἢ νοερὰ οὔτε φιλοσώματος καὶ πολυπαθής· […] εἰ δέ τις τῶν πάντων ὑπερκύψαι δυνηθείη τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς νοερᾶς ἐπ' ἄκρον σταίη ζωῆς, τί κοινὸν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν; […] ἀναβήτω γὰρ ἐπ' ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ μετέωρον καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων στήτω, ἵνα φωτὶ καταλάμποιτο μείζονι, ἀπόστροφον ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀπότροφον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καταστήσας· εἰ δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν πάντων τῆς φύσεως τοσοῦτον κατεκαυχήσατο, εἰ πολιτικὰς ὑποθέσεις τυχὸν οὗτος πολιτευθείη, πολιτικῶς μεταχειριζέσθω τὰ πράγματα, μηδὲ ὑποκρινέσθω τὴν τοῦ κανόνος εὐθύτητα […]. See also Psellos's encomium on Konstantinos Leichoudes, ed. Sathas, IV (1874), 388–421, here 413, 17–20: οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπερπετόμενοι τὸν ἀέρα χαιρέτωσαν ἢ ἐρρέτωσαν, ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τῶν συμπαθεστέρων ταττοίμην, καὶ αἰτίαν ἔχοιμι τοῦ μὴ τελέως φιλοσοφεῖν, ἢ τοῦ ἀναλγὴς δεδόχθαι καὶ

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On the other hand, some of Psellos's rivals in the shark tank of the Byzantine centre of power correspond according to Psellos (but to some extent also confirmed by other sources) to the contrastive image of the rigorous, uncompromising type of human being, who at least creates the impression of belonging only to the higher spiritual sphere.[10] This applies among others on Michael Keroularios, patriarch of Constantinople in the years 1043–1058, as Jakov Ljubarskij has correctly pointed out in the relevant chapter of his monograph entitled "Personality and Works of Michael Psellos".[11]

Michael Keroularios (born between 1005 and 1010) was an ambitious person, who already as a young court official strove after political power.[12] At the incidence of the conspiracy against emperor Michael IV Paphlagon in 1040, Keroularios was the contender for the throne.[13] While

πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἀσυμπαθής; Psellos's encomium on Michael Keroularios, ed. Sathas, IV 319, 7–11: τὸ γὰρ πάντη πρὸς ἅπασαν σχέσιν ἀπαθές τε καὶ ἀμετάκλητον, δέδοικα μὴ ἀναλγήτου ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλοσόφου ἔργον εἴη καὶ ἀποτέλεσμα· οὔπω γὰρ παρ᾽ οὐδενὶ τὴν τοιαύτην φιλοσοφίαν διέγνωκα, εἰ μὴ παρ᾽ ὅσοις ἡ φύσις ἀπότομος πρὸς τὰς συμπαθείας ἐκ πρώτης ἐγεγόνει καταβολῆς; ibidem, 329, 29–31: οὕτω τριῶν οὐσῶν τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν φερουσῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ τῆς γε τρίτης ἢ μέσης τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβεστέρας καθεστηκυίας καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κρείττοσι τῆς μείζονος εὐφημίας ἀξιουμένης […].

[10] This is for instance the case of Leon Paraspondylos, see J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού. Συνεισφορά στην ιστορία του βυζαντινού ουμανισμού. Μετάφραση: Αργυρώ Τζέλεσι.* Athens: Kanakē, 2004. 140–149 (Original edition: J. N. Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell. Ličnost' i tvorčestvo. K istorii vizantijskogo predgumanizma.* Moscow: Nauka, 1978); E. de Vries-van der Velden, "Les amitiés dangereuses: Psellos et Léon Paraspondylos," *Byzantinoslavica* 60 (1999) 315–350; E. Pietsch, *Die Chronographia des Michael Psellos*, 98–102; D. R. Reinsch, "The venomous praise. Some remarks concerning Michael Psellos's letters to Leon Paraspondylos." To be published in the papers of the International Workshop on Psellos's Letters held in Oxford, 6th–7th November 2010.

[11] J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 125–140. On patriarch Keroularios's personality and his relationship to Psellos see also Ugo Criscuolo, "Πολιτικὸς ἀνήρ: Contributo al pensiero politico di Michele Psello". *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e belle Arti, Napoli* n.s. 57 (1982) 129–163, here 144–155.

[12] See F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Keroularios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043–1058). Kritische Überlegungen zu einer Biographie". *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 39 (1989) 95–127, here 99.

[13] See Psellos's encomium on Michael Keroularios, ed. Sathas, IV, 303–387, here 314;

Keroularios was in prison because of his involvement in this conspiracy, he became a monk forced by circumstances.[14] He stayed away from the palace, until in 1042 Konstantinos Monomachos was proclaimed emperor. Keroularios sought and actually gained the favour of the new ruler, who granted him his previous post at court again[15] and soon raised him to an even higher position.[16] A little later, when the patriarch of Constantinople, Alexios Studites, died (in 1043), Keroularios succeeded him to the patriarchal throne at the instigation of emperor Konstantinos Monomachos, who managed to assert his will against the resistance of the clergy.[17] Once the headstrong Keroularios became patriarch, he followed his own independent course with respect to his imperial supporter, whenever he deemed it necessary. Consequently, he also dared to tangle with declared imperial favourites as for example Michael Psellos, whose influence on emperor Monomachos was great.[18] Keroularios even suspected Psellos of being an antireligious philosopher and for that reason forced him to submit an orthodox confession of faith.[19]

It is not clear when exactly Psellos and Keroularios got to know each other, but presumably they met already as young court officials.[20]

cf. *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum. Rec. Ioannes Thurn.* Berolini [et al.]: De Gruyter, 1973. (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae; 5: Series Beroliniensis). 412, 78.

[14] See Sathas, IV, encomium on Michael Keroularios, 321; cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Keroularios", 99–100.

[15] See Sathas, IV, encomium on Michael Keroularios, 324.

[16] See Sathas, IV, encomium on Michael Keroularios, 325, 5–8; cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Keroularios", 100 note 38.

[17] See Sathas, IV, encomium on Michael Keroularios, 326; cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Keroularios", 100 note 41.

[18] See F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Keroularios", 101 note 45.

[19] A. Garzya, "On Michael Psellus' Admission of Faith". *Epetēris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 35 (1966/7) 41–46.

[20] Psellos recalls that he discerned the patriarch's true character "from the beginning" (see Psellos's letter to Keroularios edited by G. Weiss, "Forschungen zu den noch nicht edierten Schriften des Michael Psellos." *Byzantina* 4 [1972] 9–52, here 46, 15–18: ἐγώ σε ὁμοῦ τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶδον καὶ ἐπιτεθαύμακα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὥσπερ ἀνάθημά σοι προσαρτώμενος ἦν καὶ εἰπόμην καὶ περιεῖπον πρὸς τὸ σὸν ἦθος ἀνακιρνώμενος) and tells about his aquaintance with Keroularios's elder brother (see Psellos's letter to Keroularios's nephews, ed. Sathas, V, ep. 208, 522) who died before 1041 (see Sathas,

Shortly after Keroularios had become patriarch, the honorific title of "consul of philosophers" was bestowed upon Psellos. At the same time, Psellos functioned as a tutor to the nephews of the patriarch. As a result, contact between Psellos and the patriarch must have been inevitable.[21] Considering the difficult relationship between patriarch and emperor, as described by Psellos in his later encomium on Keroularios,[22] the conclusion seems to immediately suggest itself, that Psellos's own position as an imperial favourite was not exactly easy with regard to the patriarch either.[23] According to Jakov Ljubarskij, a passage of Psellos's encomium on Keroularios referring to emperor Konstantinos Monomachos (Sathas, IV, 355, 26 – 356, 18) bears witness to tensions between the philosopher and the patriarch as early as during Monomachos's reign.[24] Furthermore, a letter of Psellos to Keroularios (Sathas, V, ep. 160, 414–416) dating to the reign of empress Theodora, the successor of Monomachos, illustrates the tense relationship between the two men. Finally, when Keroularios's claims to political power led to his deposition by emperor Isaak I Komnenos in 1058, nobody else but Psellos was commissioned by the emperor to compose the prosecution speech against the patriarch – which was eventually never delivered, since Keroularios died before he could be put on trial (on January, 21st 1059).[25] This speech contains

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IV, encomium on Michael Keroularios, 320). Cf. J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 128.

[21] On the relationship between Psellos and the patriarch during the reign of emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos see Sathas, IV, encomium on Michael Keroularios, 332, 339, 355, 368. Cf. J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 128.

[22] See Sathas, IV, encomium on Michael Keroularios, 326, 334, 341, 357. Cf. J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 128.

[23] See Sathas, IV, encomium on Michael Keroularios, 355, 26 – 356, 18. Cf. J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 128–129.

[24] Psellos's statements on his relationship to Keroularios entailed in this passage seem according to Ljubarskij (*Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 129–130) to be confirmed by similar statements of the author in two letters of his, dating from emperor Monomachos's time: in a letter to Keroularios himself (ed. Sathas, V, ep. 159, 412–414), as well as in a letter to the patriarch's two nephews (ed. Sathas, V, ep. 208, 513–523) to whom Psellos was a tutor.

[25] See J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 135; F. Tin-

invented heavy charges against the patriarch, to the end that the emperor would be in this way able to declare him officially deposed, for the patriarch refused to abdicate of his own accord. Ljubarskij discerns in Psellos's prosecution speech against Keroularios the consequence and "the last stage of an old enmity".[26]

Psellos expresses explicitly his real, hostile feelings towards Keroularios in a rhetorical writing in the form of a letter (Sathas, V, ep. 207, 505–513 = Epistola a Michele Cerulario. Ed. Criscuolo). It is not known when and under what circumstances it was composed.[27] Concerning the style of this writing, Ljubarskij has already pointed out that it is designed as an ironical comparison between Psellos's own and Keroularios's personality. Thus, Psellos conveys the impression of praising Keroularios while belittling himself. Keroularios is according to Psellos a heavenly, angelic creature of an immovable and immutable disposition. Psellos, on the contrary, is only a human being with a body and with the faculty of reason and therefore a mutable, unsteady creature.[28] The two of them were fundamentally different characters, mountains, seas, and continents stood between them.[29] Keroularios's lineage was noble, whereas Psellos's lineage was humble.[30] Keroularios obtained wisdom effortlessly, whereas Psellos acquired knowledge of philosophy and

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nefeld, "Michael I. Keroularios", 122–123; D. Krallis, "Sacred Emperor, Holy Patriarch: A New Reading of the Clash between Emperor Isaakios I Komnenos and Patriarch Michael Keroularios in Attaleiates' History." *Byzantinoslavica* 67 (2009) 169–190. For the edition of the text of Psellos's prosecution speech against Keroularios see below, note 30.

[26] See J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 139.

[27] See J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 132.

[28] Ed. Sathas, V, ep. 207, 505–513, here 506, 13–15 = ed. Criscuolo, 22, 32–35. Cf. above, note 3.

[29] Ed. Sathas, V, ep. 207, 507, 15–18 = ed. Criscuolo, 24, 69–72.

[30] Ed. Sathas, V, ep. 207, 507, 19 – 508, 5 = ed. Criscuolo, 24, 73–90. Cf. Psellos's prosecution speech against Keroularios: *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora: magnam partem adhuc inedita. Ed. recognovitque Eduardus Kurtz. Ex schedis eius relictis in lucem emisit Franciscus Drexl. I: Orationes et dissertationes.* Milan: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero", 1936. (Orbis Romanus; 5). 232–328, here 318, 24 – 319, 6 = *Michaelis Pselli orationes forenses et acta.* Ed. George T. Dennis. Stutgardiae [et al.]: Teubner, 1994. Or. 1, 1–103, here 93, 2558 – 94, 2570.

rhetoric only by means of intensive studies. Keroularios looked upon literature as being useless, whereas Psellos attached great importance to it. Keroularios was a polemic misanthropist, whereas Psellos was a philanthropist full of compassion and so forth.[31] By means of comparison between their respective characters, Psellos effectively depicts Keroularios as an uneducated, intolerant, authoritative and unsociable person.

Such comparison between Psellos and Keroularios follows a recurring, stereotypical pattern of antithesis between two specific types of persons, which is very common in Psellos's works: that is, the antithesis between the "spiritual" and the "worldly" type of person.[32] The "spiritual" type is austere, obstinate, rigid, and inexorable. He spurns all external and earthly things, he is directed towards the internal and the divine, while he places no value on his fellow humans, neither on friendship nor on culture or education. In contrast, the "worldly" type is flexible, adaptive, humane, and an admirer of literature and rhetoric. This second type of person corresponds to Psellos's ideal.

A similarly negative image of Keroularios is being conveyed also in Psellos's letter to the two nephews of the patriarch by means of an unfavourable comparison of Keroularios to his deceased elder brother, the father of the letter's addressees.[33] Keroularios's negative image shines even through the encomium composed later by Psellos in commemoration of the departed patriarch possibly by order of emperor Konstantinos X Doukas (reigned 1059–1067) who was married to Keroularios's niece,[34] Eudokia Makrembolitissa. As can be gathered from the

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[31] Ed. Sathas, ep. 207, passim = ed. Criscuolo, passim.

[32] Cf. J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 133–134. Also in his encomium on his mother, Psellos describes himself in contrast to his mother's ascetic ideal as a "worldly" type of person who loves secular learning passionately: Sathas, V, 3–61. 54, 5 to the end = *Michele Psello. Autobiografia: encomio per la madre. Testo crit., introd., trad. e commentario a cura di Ugo Criscuolo*. Naples: D'Auria, 1989. 144, 1685 to the end.

[33] Sathas, V, ep. 208, 513–523, here 521–523. A similar comparison between the two brothers is also found in Sathas, IV, encomium on Keroularios, 310, 12 – 312, 26. Cf. J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 246.

[34] His sister's daughter, see Sathas, IV, encomium on Keroularios, 381, 1–2: καὶ τὴν ἀδελφιδὴν κόσμον βασίλειον προητοίμασας.

encomium itself, it was delivered on the occasion of the annual memorial in honour of the late Keroularios introduced by his successor to the patriarchal throne, Konstantinos Leichoudes.[35] As Ljubarskij observes, the praise for Keroularios expressed by Psellos in this encomium of course does not reflect the author's honest feelings towards the patriarch, but simply conforms to the rules of the literary genre in question and bows to the pressure of the current circumstances.[36] Nevertheless, according to Ljubarskij's further argumentation, the encomium contains several clear hints at the real, misanthropic and polemic character of Keroularios, as it had been described by Psellos earlier in his polemic letter to the patriarch (Sathas, V, ep. 207, 505–513 = Epistola a Michele Cerulario. Ed. Criscuolo).[37] Psellos remarks for instance in referring to Keroularios's occupation with rhetoric, that the patriarch did not place value on the external beauty of discourse, but rather on the presence or absence of philosophical qualities in it, such as truth and firmness (310, 5–9).[38] This remark is in its turn to be understood as a hint at the severity of Keroularios's character. Elsewhere, Psellos remarks that emperor Konstantinos Monomachos, who made to everybody a charming and sweet-tempered impression, appeared to be sorrowful and anxious every

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[35] Sathas, IV, encomium on Keroularios, 381, 14–19: Τοῦ δὲ μετὰ σὲ θείου θύτου καὶ ἱεροῦ θύματος, τῆς μεγάλης τῶν κρειττόνων σάλπιγγος καὶ πάντα περιηχούσης τὰ πέρατα, πῶς ἄν τις τὴν περὶ σὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐνδείξαιτο; ὃς δὴ τῶν πάντων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερκείμενος παραχωρεῖ σοι τοῦ πρωτείου καὶ τελευτήσαντι, καὶ ἐτησίοις τιμᾷ πανηγύρεσι, τοῦτο τοῖς πᾶσι νομοθετῶν καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ποιῶν. Ljubarskij (Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού, 367) ascribes the introduction of the annual memorial in honour of Michael Keroularios erroneously to emperor Konstantinos Doukas thereby citing a passage of the encomium (Sathas, IV, 380, 23–27) which actually refers to emperor Isaak Komnenos and his remorse for having exiled Keroularios.

[36] J. N. Ljubarskij, Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού, 245–247.

[37] Psellos points out the same negative character features of Keroularios in his prosecution speech against the patriarch with respect to the accusation of ἀδιαφορία, that is "culpable indifference about conduct". See Michaelis Pselli scripta minora, edd. Kurtz – Drexl. I 315, 19 – 321, 10 = *Michaelis Pselli orationes forenses et acta.* Ed. Dennis. Or. 1, 90, 2464 – 96, 2634. Cf. J. N. Ljubarskij, Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού, 139–140.

[38] Cf. J. N. Ljubarskij, Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού, 246.

time he met Keroularios (325, 10). Apparently, the author implies it was the patriarch's behaviour that provoked such reaction on the part of the emperor. Keroularios's virtues enumerated by Psellos in the encomium in a laudatory manner (pp. 330–333), as for instance austerity, steadfastness and the like, are exactly those qualities distinctive of the "spiritual", obstinate and rigid type of person. Subsequently, Psellos touches openly upon the fact that Keroularios behaved during his lifetime in an uncompromising and irascible manner.[39] Those are exactly the character flaws of Keroularios criticised emphatically by Psellos earlier in his polemic letter to him (Sathas, V, ep. 207 = Epistola a Michele Cerulario. Ed. Criscuolo, 27, 170 – 28, 185; 29, 223 – 30, 229). However, Psellos explains in the encomium, in conformity with the rules of the genre, that the patriarch aimed by this kind of behaviour to teach discipline to people (342, 14 – 343, 5).

The discrepancy between the forced praise of Keroularios and the negative opinion Psellos in reality had about him comes out clearly in that passage of the encomium, where Keroularios is being compared to his elder brother to whom Psellos gives preference in a subtle manner:[40] Keroularios was according to Psellos more fervent than his brother regarding religion, he behaved towards others in an unfriendly and severe manner, whereas his brother's behaviour was charming and friendly. Keroularios's prudence was excessive, whereas his brother's prudence was tempered. Keroularios's speech was cultivated, whereas his brother's speech was elaborate. Keroularios's attire and lifestyle were plain, whereas his brother was fond of luxury. Keroularios strove to live against nature, whereas his brother was married and father of children. Keroularios's brother was directed towards the earthly world and placed value on secular learning, whereas Keroularios had dismissed all earthly things and had devoted himself to the divine.

Ljubarskij discerns a flagrant inconsistency between Keroularios's real character and the ideal image Psellos draws of him in some pas-

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[39] Sathas, IV, encomium on Keroularios, 342–344, especially 342, 16–17: βαρὺς καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἔμμονος.

[40] Sathas, IV, encomium on Keroularios, 310–312, cf. J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 246.

sages of the encomium under the pressure of the rules of the genre.[41] For instance, Keroularios, who was actually described as uncouth and unsociable in comparison to his brother, a few passages later suddenly mutates into a friendly and charming person supposed to incorporate the exact opposite of the rigid misanthropist:[42]

"I know that those who confront desires with so much hostility are sweating due to the strain and are grumpy in other ways as well. Their eyes are dry, their brows are grimly frowned and they avoid communication and familiar contact with other people completely. Although Keroularios himself had been an ascetic person, his manner was nonetheless full of charming kindness. His speech was pleasant and resembled drinkable water, the look in his eyes was friendly and his spirit was full of joy. He had struggled to gain passionlessness and thereby he had turned smooth. He did not complain about those things he had combatted with, but he rejoiced in the spiritual qualities he had gained." (My own translation – E. B.)

The obvious inconsistency of this praise is in Ljubarskij's opinion not intended by the author: Psellos tried to conform to the rules of the encomium, but in the end he was not able to "adapt" Keroularios's sinister personality in a proper manner to the ideal image prescribed by the encomiastic genre.[43]

However, it is well known that the literary form of the encomium could be indeed used ironically in the manner of blame disguised as praise.[44] This emerges basically from surviving encomia on "unworthy"

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[41] J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 247.

[42] Sathas, IV, encomium on Keroularios, 332, 15–24. Cf. D. C. Muecke, *The Compass of Irony*. London: Methuen, 1969. 73: "Misrepresentation, or false statement: the author asserts what is known to be false and relies upon the reader's or listener's prior knowledge for the contradiction."

[43] J. N. Ljubarskij, *Η προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού*, 247: "Φαίνεται πως ο Ψελλός δεν μπορεί να αρνηθεί εντελώς τα εγκωμιαστικά κλισέ, αλλά την ίδια στιγμή δεν μπορεί και να «προσαρμόσει» απολύτως τον ήρωά του σε αυτά. Τα αντιφατικά στοιχεία ανάμεσα στο ιδανικό σχήμα και τον αληθινό Κηρουλάριο μένουν να συνυπάρχουν στα πλαίσια ενός και του αυτού έργου, και είναι ορατά με γυμνό οφθαλμό."

[44] On this kind of manifestation of irony see for instance D. C. Muecke, *The Compass*

subjects, as for instance the louse or the flea.[45] Moreover, the rhetorical piece by emperor Julian from the year 363 entitled *Antiochikos* or *Misopogon* provides a well known illustrative example for the ironical use of the encomiastic genre.[46] In this case, emperor Julian reacts by means of literature to the scoffing verses the Antiochenes had directed against his lifestyle and appearance. According to his purpose, Julian inverts the genre of the praise of a city and makes of it instead the blame on a city, and in a double manner at that: on the one hand, by employing irony while ostensibly justifying and confirming the reproaches of the Antiochenes against him, and on the other hand, by using explicit invective (especially in the second part of the speech) combined with interweaved ironical passages on his own allegedly uncouth appearance and barbaric taste, justifiably despised by the delicate, effeminate, and sensual Antiochenes.[47] A further example for the inversion of the encomiastic genre is to be found in the satirical dialogue entitled *Timarion* from the 12th century.[48] According to the argumentation of Margaret

of Irony, 67.

[45] See e.g. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner.* Munich: Beck, 1978. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft: Abteilung 12, Byzantinisches Handbuch; 5). Vol. I, 131–132.

[46] *L'Empereur Julien: Oeuvres complètes, tome II-2e partie. Discours de Julien Empereur: Les Césars – Sur Hélios-Roi – Le Misopogon. Texte établi et traduit par Christian Lacombrade.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964; *Giuliano Imperatore: Misopogon. Edizione critica, traduzione e commento a cura di C. Prato e D. Micalella.* Rome : Ed. dell'Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1979. (Testi e commenti; 5); *Die beiden Satiren des Kaisers Julianus Apostata (Symposion oder Caesares und Antiochikos oder Misopogon), griechisch und deutsch mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Index von Friedhelm L. Müller.* Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998. (Palingenesia; 66).

[47] D. R. Reinsch, "Eine Satire als Inschrift am Torbogen? Der Misopogon: Ein angebliches „Edikt" Kaiser Julians", in S. Kotzabassi – J. Mavromatis (eds.), *Realia Byzantina.* Berlin – New York: De Gruyter, 2009. 247–251, here 248–249.

[48] *Pseudo-Luciano,* Timarione. *Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico a cura di R. Romano.* Naples: Università di Napoli, 1974. (Byzantina et neo-hellenica neapolitana; 2); *La satira bizantina dei secoli XI–XV: Il patriota, Caridemo, Timarione, Cristoforo di Mitilene, Michele Psello, Teodoro Prodromo, Carmi ptocoprodromici, Michele Haplucheir, Giovanni Catrara, Mazaris, La messa del glabro, Sinassario del venerabile asino. A cura di Roberto Romano.* Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1999. (Classici Greci) (Classici UTET) 99–175.

Alexiou in a path-braking paper, the at first sight seriously meant eulogistic depiction of the *dux* of Thessalonike in *Timarion* is actually upon scrutiny of its intertextual references to be interpreted as ironical. In our case, a sophisticated, ambiguous author such as Michael Psellos is forced by circumstances to compose an encomium on a declared enemy of his, a person he had clearly described in earlier works (for instance in the polemic letter Sathas, V, ep. 207 = Epistola a Michele Cerulario. Ed. Criscuolo) as a negative character, intellectually inferior to himself. In my opinion, it is only to be expected that such an author in such a situation would deliberately take prompt advantage of the encomiastic genre's ironic potential.[49]

Considering the specific circumstances under which Psellos's encomium on Keroularios was composed, it is of course understandable that the employment of too explicit an irony would be unwise, since the speech was delivered in the presence of emperor Konstantinos Doukas and his wife, empress Eudokia, who happened to be Keroularios's niece.[50] Nonetheless, the author's ironic stance towards his subject makes itself felt for the attentive reader or listener as early as in the introduction to the encomium (pp. 303–305). Psellos, who is otherwise notoriously confident in his rhetorical skills, here ostensibly disparages himself while employing the *topos* of modesty in an exaggerated manner. In this way, he prepares the reader or listener subtly for the fact that in the course of his encomium on Keroularios also the negative traits of the *laudandus* will come to the fore:[51]

"In former times, artful speech was superior to the facts and these were presented by means of rhetoric as better than they actually were. Nowadays, however, the greatness of achievements surpasses the art of speech and the sublime is being apparently diminished by rhetoric. For that reason, I feel anxious and take up the present encomium without any

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[49] Also Ugo Criscuolo had pointed to the ironic character of Psellos's encomium on Keroularios: "Osservazioni sugli scritti retorici di Michele Psello". *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/3 (1982) 247–255, here 252–254.

[50] See Sathas, IV, encomium on Keroularios, 380, 27 – 381, 10.

[51] Sathas, IV, encomium on Keroularios, 304, 9–19. In a later passage of the encomium, Psellos appears much more confident of the power of rhetoric: ibidem, 338, 15–30.

confidence, in fear of bringing about the exact opposite effect than the one I intend to. I am afraid that my speech might fall short of the idea you listeners have of the one to be praised here and also of the truth of the wonders related to him (for so I should better say) and that in this way his achievements might appear diminished to posterity and also that you, who happen to know the man well, might gather the exact opposite assessment of him than the one you expect to." (My own translation – E. B.)

In summary, it can be stated that in the encomium on Keroularios, it is again the authorial textual self created by Psellos that is presented as the "worldy", versatile, adaptive, and philanthropic type of person, similar to the one created of himself earlier in the polemic letter Psellos had addressed to Keroularios (ed. Sathas, V, ep. 207 = Epistola a Michele Cerulario. Ed. Criscuolo). According to Psellos, this ideal type of person places on intellectuality and spirituality the same appreciation as on corporeality. He is open-minded and interacts with his environment and his fellow humans. His moral values are not dogmatic but tolerant, his worldview is not totalitarian but liberal. In contrast, Psellos's political opponent, Michael Keroularios, is being repeatedly stylised as the exact opposite of this ideal, that is as the "spiritual", rigid, uncompromising, and misanthropic, type of person. As a consequence, Psellos considers himself to be intellectually superior to his opponent and for that reason he is confident enough to treat Keroularios with irony. For that purpose, he employs such devices as the subtly unfavourable comparison of Keroularios to his brother, the ostensible praise of Keroularios for qualities which the author had elsewhere dismissed as being definitely negative or even the assignment to Keroularios of positive qualities the author had elsewhere clearly stated Keroularios did not possess, the direct invective against Keroularios being cushioned immediately afterwards, the feigned self-disparagement of the author concerning his ability to treat his subject adequatly and so forth. On a more specific level, irony provides Psellos with a means to criticise Keroularios for the discrepancy between his aspirations of gaining political power and his unworldly and misanthropic attitude. On a more general level, irony provides the author with a tool to plead for liberality and intellectual flexibility.

In his monograph entitled "The Compass of Irony" from the year

1969, Douglas Colin Muecke describes the intellectual and moral stance of the ironist with words reminding of the profile of the "worldly" type of person as praised by Psellos. Conversely, Muecke's description of those who provide the arrows of irony with a target reminds of the "spiritual" type of person as criticised by Psellos:[52]

"We live in a world which imposes upon us many contradictory pressures. Stability is a deep human need, but in seeking stability we run the risk of being imprisoned in the rigidity of a closed system, political, moral, or intellectual. […] Those who close their eyes to the ambivalences of the human condition – the proponents and adherents of systems, the sentimental idealists, the hard-headed realists, the panacea-mongering technologists – will naturally find an enemy in the ironist and accuse him of flippancy, nihilism, or sitting on the fence.

Though some ironists may be guilty of these charges, irony is properly to be regarded as more an intellectual than a moral activity. That is to say, the morality of irony, like the morality of science, philosophy, and art, is a morality of intelligence. The ironist's virtue is mental alertness and agility. His business is to make life unbearable for troglodytes, to keep open house for ideas, and to go on asking questions."

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[52] D. C. Muecke, *The Compass of Irony*, 247.

On Seeing The Poet:
Arabic, Italian and Byzantine portraits of Homer

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In a provocative new book, *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body*, Robin Osborne asks a simple question: 'What would the past look like if we took as our evidence not what people said but what people saw?'.[1] He then investigates how perceptions of the body shape ancient experience, and how such perceptions in turn demand a reassessment of classical Athenian history. There are some difficult issues of method with the enterprise: in particular, Osborne moves very quickly from ancient representations of the body to lived experience

[1] R. Osborne, *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body* (Cambridge 2011) 7. While this article waited for publication, Ludmilla Jordanova explored the question in another important book: *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge 2012).

– from how bodies were sculpted or drawn to how people saw their own and other people's bodies (an issue to which I return).[2] These difficulties notwithstanding, the approach he offers seems to me important and productive – not just for the study of history, but even for the study of literary history, a field which has understandably been dominated by the written word. I consider here some portraits of Homer displayed in Arabic, Italian and Byzantine manuscripts dating between the 9th and the 14th century, and approach them as evidence for the history of literature. I ask, in particular, what perspectives and insights they add to a history based solely on the written word.

My question belongs to a project which briefly needs to be set out here, as it provides the broader context for the range of explorations I offer in this article. From antiquity to the present, writers and artists produced a vast range of representations of the Greek and Roman poets. These representations, even the earliest ones, hardly contain reliable evidence about the poets, and are therefore easily dismissed. The case against the ancient biographies was authoritatively made by Lefkowitz in 1981: 'If this book can establish that these stories can be disregarded as popular fiction, some literary history will need to be re-written, so that it starts not with the poets' biographies, but the poems themselves.'[3] More recently, fictional biographies and anecdotes about the poets have begun to be treated more sympathetically, as evidence for the reception of literature.[4] Lefkowitz herself, in the second edition of her book, offers the following perspective: 'This second edition aims to provide a more sympathetic portrait of the writers who tried to create biographies for the poets whose works they admired and sought to interpret for posterity.'[5]

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[2] See the review of Osborne by A. Petsalis-Diomidis in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 134 (2014) 231f.

[3] M. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London 1981) x. See also J.Fairweather, 'Fictions in the biographies of ancient writers', *Ancient Society* 5, (1974) 231-75.

[4] For what promises to be the most up-to-date and wide-ranging discussion, see R. Fletcher and J. Hanink (eds.) *Creative Lives: Poets and Other Artists in the Ancient Biographical Imagination* (Cambridge forthcoming).

[5] M. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, second edition (Baltimore 2012) x, 'responding also to B. Graziosi, *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic* (Cambridge 2002)'.

Just like ancient biographies, portraits of the poets also fall in the category of fictional representation: they do not offer likenesses of real individuals, but rather visions of imagined types.[6] For this very reason, they tell us how different communities imagined the poets of Greece and Rome and how, in turn, their representations affected later receptions of the poets' works. This gradual shift towards considering authors as creations of those who imagine them is now at the heart of a research project funded by the European Research Council and hosted by Durham University: *Living Poets: A New Approach to Ancient Poetry*.[7] The aim of the project, as a whole, is to investigate verbal and visual representations of the Greek and Roman poets through the centuries, and the relationship between such representations and the reception of ancient literature. Within this overall framework, the portraits of Homer I consider here present specific challenges and opportunities for interpretation. In some contexts, portraits of Homer introduced his works;[8] but the miniatures under consideration here feature alongside narratives and arguments which are only very remotely connected to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. For that reason, the portraits can be used to explore the limits of literary reception or, to put it differently, they can help to map the distance between readers of early Greek epic, and viewers of the poet Homer.

[6] R. and E. Boehringer 1939, *Homer: Bildnisse und Nachweise* (Breslau 1939); T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern* (Mainz 1965); K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, second edition (Basel 1997); P. Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1995).

[7] The debate about the 'death of the author' is a major influence on the project, see the foundational articles by R. Barthes, 'La mort de l'auteur', *Manteia* 5 (1968), 12-17 , and M. Foucault, Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie* 63.3 (1969), 73-104.

[8] See E. Bethe, *Buch und Bild im Altertum*, ed. E. Kirsten (Leipzig and Vienna 1945) 1-3; on Callimachus' *Pinakes*, see R. Blum, *Kallimachos und die Lietraturverzeichnung bei den Griechen* (Frankfurt 1977).

An Arabic Homer

My first portrait features in an Arabic manuscript containing a selection of philosophical and medical texts, kept in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin: Ms. or. quart. 785. On the basis of a bilingual seal in Arabic and Syriac, and of Syriac foliation, Cottrell argues that the manuscript originates from the Mar Mattai monastery in Mossul, and dates to the thirteenth century.[9] The portrait of Homer, on f. 21v., accompanies a version of the *Choice of Wise Sayings and Fine Statements*, an eleventh-century text by the Egyptian scholar Mubaššir ibn Fātik.[10] The scribe of this particular manuscript left blank spaces for illustrations of the Semitic, Greek and Egyptian wise men featured in the text; four of these spaces were filled by an illustrator working in a different hand, and using a different ink. A caption accompanies our portrait, announcing that it is 'a picture of the poet Homer'; so we can be in no doubt about the identity of this figure:

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[9] See E. J. Cottrell's entry on Al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Philosophy* (Heidelberg 2011) 817 and her chapter 'Al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik and the α version of the Alexander Romance', in R. Stoneman & I. Netton (eds.), *The 'Alexander Romance' in the East* (London 2012) 235f. The seal is also mentioned in the manuscript description provided by G. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften*, second volume (Stuttgart 1990), no. 327, p. 391.

[10] On Al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik, see Cottrell, quoted above n. 9. The text is edited by A. Badawī, *Muḫtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim,* second edition (Beirut 1980); for a discussion of extant manuscripts, see F. Rosenthal, 'Al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik. Prolegomena to an abortive edition', *Oriens* 12/14 (1960/61) 132-58.

This sudden epiphany of Homer invites a broader investigation of his place in Arabic culture. As Pliny points out, 'desire gives birth to faces whose appearance has not been handed down to us, as with Homer'; so here we can ask what kind of desire produced this specific portrait.[11] An answer begins to emerge by looking at the ways and contexts in which Homer appears in Arabic sources. After a brief investigation of these, I return to this portrait and ask what perspectives it adds to the textual evidence.

In general, the classical age of Islam was deeply influenced by the legacy of Greece: between the eighth and the tenth century AD, or the second and the fourth century AH,[12] the ʿAbbāsid dynasty presided over a flourishing culture where translation from ancient Greek into Syriac and Arabic played a central role. Homer, however, remained marginal to this effort of translation, as did the ancient Greek poets more generally. This fact has sometimes been adduced as evidence of 'some innate Arab philistinism' – a judgement that, above all, reveals the assumptions of those who make it.[13] In Europe, ancient epic always remained central to the classical tradition, and therefore its marginality in the Islamic context is especially striking by comparison. The Christian and Islamic reception of ancient Greek culture began to take different courses after the Arab conquests, but important links remained, and those deserve exploration, not least because they shed light on the position of Homer in the Arab world.

In accordance with their respectful attitude towards institutions of learning, the Muslims left intact the Christian academies, parochial schools and hospitals in Syria, and in these a version of the Alexandrian syllabus continued to be taught: the emphasis was on Aristotle in a Neoplatonic interpretation, astronomy, and Galenic medicine.[14] Arabic,

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[11] *Natural History* 35.9: 'Pariunt desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit'.

[12] Rather than Christian or Muslim dating (AD or AH), the rest of this article refers to the Common Era: although CE dates coincide with the Christian system, they at least express the wish for a universal dating system without religious affiliation.

[13] See further P. E. Pormann, 'The Arabic Homer: An Untold Story', *Classical and Modern Literature* 27.1 (2007) 28.

[14] For a very brief overview, see G. Strohmaier 'The Greek Heritage in Islam', in G. Boys-Stones, B. Graziosi and P. Vasunia (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic*

Christian and classical culture came into contact already during the first dynasty, residing in Damascus.[15] The second dynasty, of the ʿAbbāsids, was characterised by a long-lasting interest in ancient Greek culture. They founded a new capital, Baghdad, which quickly became a cosmopolitan centre of learning. There, in the eighth century, the Christian Theophilus of Edessa translated the *Iliad* into Syriac for the caliph Al-Mahdī.[16] The translation does not survive (except for a single verse),[17] and seems to have had little impact; but an awareness of Homeric epic, and a desire to access it, endured. Homer re-appears, for example, in an adventurous narrative involving a slave girl, a page boy and the famous caliph Hārūn ar-Rašīd, patron of the arts (and, incidentally, the inspiration behind Salman Rushdie's *Harun and the Sea of Stories*). In this particular story, which is preserved for us in a thirteenth-century source, a slave girl of the caliph teaches one of his page boys 'the literature of the Greeks and how to read their books'.[18] This page learns the language and later 'repeatedly recites Homer, the most eminent Greek poet, in Greek'.[19] One obvious problem is that the alleged public for these recitations, that is to say the ʿAbbāsid elites, would also need to learn Greek

Studies (Oxford 2009) 140-9. For a detailed discussion of the Syrian context, see L. I. Conrad, 'Varietas Syriaca: secular and scientific culture in the Christian communities after the Arab conquest', in G. J. Reinink and A. C. Klugkist (eds.) *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in honour of Prof. Han J. W. Drijvers* (Brussel 1999) 85-105.

[15] See, for example, A. Akasoy, J. E. Montgomery, and P. E. Pormann (eds.) *Islamic Crosspollinations: Interactions in the Medieval Middle East (*Oxford 2007) and, for a useful case-study, G. Fowden, *Qusayr ʿAmra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley 2004).

[16] On Theophilus of Edessa, see R. G. Hoyland (ed.) *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the Circulation of Historical knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (Liverpool 2011); on the broader context of his translation, see P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity*, third edition (Oxford 2013) 310-13.

[17] The one surviving line is *Iliad* 2.204: see J. Kraemer, 'Arabische Homerverse', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 106 (1956) 259-316, and esp. 261 on this particular line.

[18] Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, ʾ*Uyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* (*The Excellent Information about the Classes of Physicians*), ed. A. Müller, vol. 1 (Cairo and Königsberg 1889; repr. 1972)185.

[19] As above no. 14.

from the slave girl, in order to appreciate the page's performances. Still, as Pormann points out, 'whether this story is authentic or merely anecdotal, it well reflects the atmosphere of intense philhellenism that reigned in the courts of the caliphs in ninth- and tenth-century Baghdad.'[20]

As often, a personal story can be used to shed light on the broader cultural context. We are told that Aristotle himself appeared to the caliph al-Maʾmūn in a dream, and had an interesting conversation with him: 'What is the good?' asked the caliph; 'Whatever is good according to intellect', answered the philosopher; 'Then what?' asked the caliph; 'Whatever is good according to religious law' replied Aristotle.[21] This conversation in a dream was credited with enormous cultural significance: some Arabic sources suggest that it inspired the vast translation movement from the Greek over which al-Maʾmūn presided. In fact, it is likelier that the translation movement shaped the contents of the dream. The caliph probably leveraged the authority of Aristotle in order to reinforce his own authority against other religious leaders. As Gutas persuasively argues, 'the dream was the social result, not the cause of the translation movement'.[22] The story thus confirms, rather than explains, the prestige of Aristotle in Baghdad. And it is primarily through Aristotle that a memory of Homer was preserved. The *Poetics* was translated no less than three times during the ʿAbbāsid period, even if the poems at the core of Aristotle's discussion were not. Homer thus became a poet without an oeuvre: 'the best of the Greek poets', but otherwise known only through few and often misattributed quotations.[23] There were at least two reasons why Homeric poetry remained largely untranslated in Baghdad. The first was, as Ahmed Etman argues, mythological: there were cultural difficulties in translating the gods, heroes and monsters of

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[20] Pormann, 'The Arabic Homer', 28.

[21] This version of the dream is preserved in Ibn-Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn fī šarḥ risālat Ibn Zaydūn*, ed. M. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo 1964) 213; it is translated and discussed in D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʿAbbāsid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)*, (Abingdon 1998) 97-104.

[22] Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 100.

[23] See Kraemer, 'Arabische Homerverse', and A. Etman, 'Homer in the Arab World', in J. Nelis (ed.), *Receptions of Antiquity: Festschrift for F. Decreus* (Ghent 2011), 69-79.

Greek poetry into Arabic.[24] The second was more specifically literary: poetry was widely held to be untranslatable. In the ninth century, the scholar Al-Jāḥiẓ, for example, argued: 'Poems do not lend themselves to translation and ought not to be translated. When they are translated, their poetic structure is rent; the metre is no longer correct; poetic beauty disappears and nothing worthy of admiration remains in the poems'.[25]

What contours Homer took in a context where Aristotle was intensely studied, but poetry was deemed untranslatable, emerges most clearly form the life and work of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, the most influential translator in Baghdad. He was a Nestorian Christian born in Hira, and fluent in both Syriac and Arabic. He moved to Baghdad in the first decades of the ninth century to study with the greatest physician of his day, Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, but apparently he asked too many questions, irritated his teacher, and was soon expelled. Disheartened but by no means defeated, we are told that Ḥunayn left Baghdad for several years. Upon his return, he was able to recite from memory the Homeric poems in the original Greek. The story goes that his teacher, finally impressed, took him back, and Ḥunayn went on to become the greatest scholar of his time.[26] Judging from his work, Ḥunayn was indeed familiar not only with the Homeric poems, but also with some Homeric scholarship on them. In view of this impressive fact, Strohmaier has ventured the hypothesis that Ḥunayn travelled all the way to Byzantium in order to learn his Greek.[27] The question, then, is why he did not translate Homer – even though he had sufficient knowledge to do so (and even though he had a low opinion of Theophilus' abilities as a translator).[28] Perhaps he had different priorities, as a physician, but perhaps he also had other difficulties.

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[24] A. Etman, 'Homer in the Arab World', 71f.

[25] F. Rosenthal translates this and other key sources on Arabic theories of translation in *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (London 1975) 18.

[26] The account is preserved in Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, who quotes a report by a contemporary of Ḥunayn's, Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāya; see edition by Müller, quoted in no. 18, 185.

[27] G. Strohmaier, 'Homer in Baghdad', *Byzantinoslavica* 41 (1980), 196-200.

[28] See G. Bergsträsser (ed.), *Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersezungen* (Leipzig 1925) no. 84.

When commenting on Galen, Ḥunayn describes the mythical Paean, 'physician of the gods' in Homer, as a 'prophet and role model for doctors'.[29] This is a rather deceptive little comment: though based on Homer, it deliberately obscures Paean's divinity. More generally, in his translations, Ḥunayn leaves out the pagan gods: the procedure works relatively well for some prose texts, but when applied to Homer is obviously reductive. A pupil of Ḥunayn, the Christian scholar Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, is more forthcoming in using Homer for the purposes of theological discussion. In answer to a letter by a Muslim colleague called Ibn al-Munağğim, Qusṭā appeals to the revered Aristotle, points out that Homer's style is inimitable, and uses that fact in order to cast doubt on the divinity of the Quran. The fact that the Sacred Book is beyond all imitation does not prove that it is divinely inspired, according to Qusṭā, because Homer likewise frustrates all imitators, and yet he is a pagan poet with no religious insight at all.[30] This is, *in nuce*, an argument about human – as opposed to divine – inspiration, and seems equally problematic for Islam and the other monotheistic religions represented in Baghdad.

What remained of Homer, in the absence of his work, was an echo of how significant he had been in his original, ancient Greek context. Whereas Aristotle was, quite simply, the best philosopher; Homer was the best poet 'of the Greeks'. This qualification suggested the untranslatability of his work, and kept Homer at a distance. When Mubaššir ibn Fātik introduced Homer in his *Choice of Wise Sayings and Fine Statements*, he very much emphasised his Greek reception as the reason for his fame. This is how his entry on Homer begins:[31]

> He was the oldest Greek poet, and the Greeks held him in the
> highest regard. He lived roughly five hundred and sixty years

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[29] The comment features in the margin of a manuscript now kept in Florence, Laurent. 226/173 fol. 73r, 13f. For discussion, see Strohmaier, 'Homer in Baghdad', 196f.

[30] See P. Nwyia and K. Samir (eds.), 'Une correspondance islamo-chrétienne entre Ibn al-Munağğim, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq et Qusṭā ibn Lūqā', *Patrologia Orientalis* 40.4 (1981), 664–9.

[31] Mubaššir ibn Fātik in A. Badawī (ed.), *Muḫtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim,* 30. All translations are by Prof. P. E. Pormann, and will be published at www.livingpoets. dur.ac.uk.

after Moses, peace be upon him. He produced many maxims and beautiful and glorious poems. All Greek poets who came after him imitated him: they took and learnt from him. He was their model.

What follows after this opening is a brief biographical narrative, which is only very distantly related to the Greek biographical tradition, and a short collection of maxims. The effect of both the biographical details and the maxims is to generalise, to turn Homer into a wise person able to fit any cultural context. So, for example:

> He was captured, and the divider [*al-muqassim*] took him away to sell him. One of the people wanting to buy him asked him: 'Where are you from?' He replied: 'I am from my father and mother.' The person then said: 'Do you think that I should buy you?'. He answered: 'You have not bought me yet. Have you made me your financial advisor?' The person bought him. Someone else wanting to buy him asked him: 'What are you good for?' He retorted: 'For freedom'. He felt compassion for a while, and then he was freed. He lived a long life.

Speculating about Homer's place of origin was a standard game in Greek antiquity, but the answer provided here, 'I am from my father and mother', turns Homer quite simply into a biological human being, from no place in particular. Mubaššir continues by giving a physical description:

> He was of moderate stature, beautiful appearance and brown complexion; he had a large head, but the area between his shoulders was narrow. He walked swiftly, and often looked around. On his face there were scars from smallpox. He joked a lot, was fond of insulting those who preceded him, and he was funny. He frequented chieftains. He died at the age of one hundred and eight years.

This puzzling account seems to reflect a variety of influences, but what interests me here is the echo of physiognomical texts. One Greek treatise attributed to Aristotle, for example, claims that 'the talented man' has 'shoulder-blades closely knit and supple flanks', just like our Arabic

Homer.[32] Significantly, one of the maxims later in the text validates the physiognomical method of inference, for Homer is credited with saying: 'The face announces what is in the conscience.' Unsurprisingly, perhaps, given this physiognomical premise, the portrait of Homer found in the Berlin manuscript follows closely the verbal description given in Mubaššir's text: here too we have the large head and narrow shoulders, while the small feet may suggest swiftness. Still, the image does more than translate the verbal account, partly because it works in a different idiom.

Osborne characterises the differences between visual and verbal communication as follows: 'In verbal language "the universal concept that is meant by the meaning of the word is enriched by the particular view of an object", that is, context enriches the meaning of words by rendering them particular. But in visual language the object itself is always particular, and what context offers is not particularity but an indication of the place of that object in the world that enables the particularity to be tempered and offers at least some hints towards universal meaning. This is surely one reason why we are happier to think we can understand the art of another culture than we are that we can understand its language (even in translation). Images break down barriers of space and time because they are "actual apparitions"; texts offer no such sense of epiphany.'[33] Particulars are added to the verbal description of Homer only when they are deemed worthy of mention ('moderate stature...brown complexion.... large head'); the illuminator's work, by contrast, offers a complete picture. And that picture confirms, in the first instance, that physiognomy is the determining principle of representation. The beard and the attire are those of a philosopher, any philosopher; what distinguishes Homer, and makes him unique, is his body. This fits with the manuscript context, where Homer is surrounded by medical and philosophical texts, and with the broader history of Arabic receptions. But it does not fit with the writ-

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[32] [Aristotle] *Physiognomy* 807b, transl. T. Loveday and E. S. Forster, revised by S. Swain, in S. Swain (ed.) *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (Oxford 2007).

[33] Osborne, *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body*, 12, quoting H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, second edition (London 1975) 388.

ten insistence that Homer is Greek, the best poet 'of the Greeks'; there are no visual indications of Homer's Greekness. The portrait suggests a humanism of the human body, not one that dwells on cultural or ethnic belonging. Of course, the illumination does in fact contain culturally specific traits – most obviously the turban – but their meaning depends very much on the context of viewing. For Arabic readers of our manuscript, including our illuminator, the turban naturalises Homer: it makes him look like the people who are looking at him, and therefore establishes an easy face-to-face correspondence. For European viewers, this Homer speaks of an often neglected strand of Homeric reception.

An Italian Homer

Another context where Homer remained alive in the imagination while knowledge of his poems faded, was the Latin west. At around the same time as our Arabic Homer was depicted, several artists drew Homer in order to illustrate Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and more specifically the encounter between Dante, Virgil, Homer and three Roman poets at *Inferno* 4.79-105. I reproduce here, *exempli gratia*, an illumination of a Venetian manuscript of ca 1345, now kept in the University Library in Budapest (ms 33 fol. 4v), though there are many other illustrations of the same episode. Unlike our isolated Arabic Homer, this Homer is in good company – both in the sense that he is surrounded by other poets, and in the sense that many different versions of the same scene were produced at roughly the same time.[34] In this particular example, a caption helps to identify the central figure as Homer, because it quotes *Inferno* 4.87 (with a slight variant compared to standard editions): *'che va dinanzi a' tre si como sire'*, a description of Homer leading the three poets who stand on the right: Horace, Ovid, and Lucan. On the left, Virgil talks to Dante.

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[34] See P. H. Bierger, in P. H Bierger, M. Meiss and C. S. Singleton, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy* (London 1969) 121f.
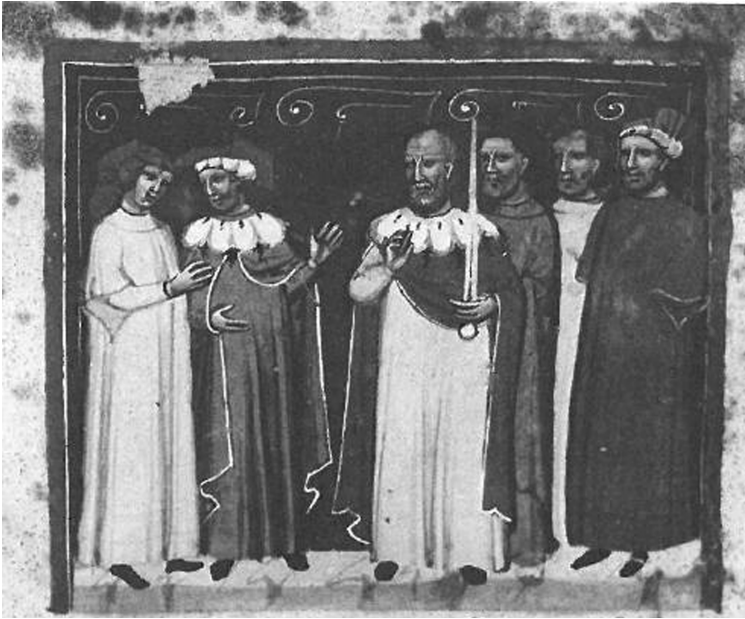
At this point in the *Divine Comedy*, Virgil and Dante are walking through Limbo, the first circle of Hell, which is where Virgil normally resides because – although good and noble – he is not baptized. Virgil left his usual companions in order to fetch Dante at the entrance of Hell, and is now walking back towards them. As they approach, the two poets hear a voice out of the darkness, announcing that Virgil is coming back, and inviting some unknown interlocutors to pay him honour on his return. Soon Dante sees four figures emerging from the darkness, and Virgil explains who they are. One walks in front carrying a sword, a symbol of heroic poetry: he is Homer, *poeta sovrano* – the sovereign poet, whose voice (we can deduce) was just heard calling out of the darkness. The 'fair school' of Homer assembles before Dante's eyes: it is the school 'of that lord of the highest song, which over the others like an eagle soars', '*di quel segnor de l'altissimo canto / che sovra li altri com'aquila vola*' (*Inferno* 4.95). As in the earlier attribution of the voice out of darkness, this description of Homer is almost unintelligible; indeed, compounded with some tex-

tual difficulties, it defeated many medieval and modern readers.[35] There is now a consensus that Dante is indeed referring specifically to Homer, rather than all the ancient poets, as some medieval commentators argued (*di que' segnor*, plural); but this is a case where textual uncertainty points to difficulties of interpretation. For early readers of the *Divine Comedy*, and for Dante himself within the text, Homer was barely discernible.

The meeting in Limbo is a first encounter, and a 'recognition' in every sense of the word. Homer invites the Roman poets to pay homage to Virgil on his return; Virgil accepts the compliment, as befits his magnanimous spirit (and here we are in the realm of the medieval virtues); then Dante himself receives a greeting: Virgil, his teacher, smiles at the recognition his pupil has been granted, and Dante rejoices when he realises that he has become the sixth poet among such distinguished company. Conversation ensues, and a sense that the Greek, Roman and Italian poets belong together quickly emerges. The last lines in the episode are justly famous, as they express the ease of conversations that were pleasurable at the time, but which do not bear repeating beyond the intimate circle where they were shared.[36] There is something exclusive about Dante's account: we are not told what the poets said to each another, because we do not belong in their number. More importantly, there is a palpable sense of intimacy and ease. And that intimacy is important, I suggest, for subsequent literary history.

The Homeric poems are inaccessible to Dante, but only a generation later, Petrarch and Boccaccio contrive to import a manuscript of the *Iliad*, and employ a teacher and translator of Greek in order to read the text. They even persuade the city fathers of Florence to endow the first Chair of Greek in western Europe: the enterprise fails miserably, allegedly because the man chosen for the job (a Greek speaker from southern Italy, Leontius Pilate) is unsuitable for the task. Anguished letters between Petrarch and Boccaccio convey something of the impression this Leontius makes on them: 'gloomy', 'stubborn', 'vain', 'volatile', 'badly

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[35] See the persuasive discussion by U. Bosco and G. Reggio (eds.), *La Divina Commedia* (Milan, 1988), vol. 1, 60.

[36] *Inferno* 4.103-5: '*Così andammo fino alla lumera / parlando cose che 'l tacere è bello, / sì com'era 'l parlar colà dov'era.*'

dressed', 'head as hard as a stone', 'intractable'.[37] The whole project of learning Greek is, as a result, delayed by some fifty years. As Dionisotti rightly points out, the debacle cannot simply be imputed to Leontius' personal failures, but must be the result of a more general attitude of suspicion, mistrust, and superiority towards Byzantine culture on the part of Petrarch and his circle.[38] Still, what interests me here is that Petrarch expresses the whole project of employing Leontius Pilate, and having the *Iliad* translated, as an intimate conversation between himself and Homer. He writes a letter to the ancient poet, claiming that up to now he could only catch vague glimpses of his face, 'his flashing eyebrows, his flowing hair' – but that as soon as the *Iliad* is translated, he will be able to talk to Homer face-to-face, and finally be close to him.[39] It is tempting to conclude that Petrarch is writing figuratively; that he is describing a practical enterprise (the translation of the *Iliad*) through a personification (a letter to Homer). But, in fact, I suggest that the personal comes before the practical: that the possibility of seeing and conversing with Homer inspires Petrarch's attempt to study Homer's work and language. Historians have become increasingly prepared to argue that discourse can precede and inspire event.[40] What I suggest here is that – in literary history – the discourse of personal encounter can precede the act of reading.

I return to the illumination, and ask how it enriches our understanding of the transition from poet to work, from other-worldly conversation to reading. The artist adds clothes and this, in the context of the *Divine Comedy*, is extraordinary: the characters Dante meets in Hell are usually depicted in the nude, as befits the damned. Some other illuminated manu-

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[37] The relevant passages from the letters are collected in A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* (Venice 1964) 40-1.

[38] C. Dionisotti, *Storia e geografia della letteratura italiana* (Turin 1967) 147-9.

[39] F. Petrarca, *Familiarium Rerum Liber* 24.12.2: 'preter enim aliquot tuorum principia librorum, in quibus velut exoptati amici supercilium procul ambiguum et raptim vibrans seu fluctuantis come apicem intuebar, latini nichil obtigerat, nichil denique sperabatur ubi te cominus contemplarer…'.

[40] I am thinking, for example, of postcolonial approaches to history. P. Vasunia, *The Gift of the Nile: Hellenizing Egypt from Aeschylus to Alexander* (Berkeley 2001) 248-50 offers a series of examples, drawn from antiquity, the Middle Ages and the early modern period, in order to illustrate 'the claim of discourse driving Empire'.

scripts do in fact present Homer, Horace, Ovid and Lucan naked; but, in the majority of manuscripts, the poets are fully and even sumptuously dressed.[41] Their clothes emphasise, visually, that the poets enjoy extraordinary honours, and that they belong together. Homer and Virgil are even granted the distinction of ermine capes, thus suggesting that they are the noblemen of poetry. All characters are dressed in contemporary Italian fashion, but their bodies betray historical distance. Homer is the oldest, Dante the youngest, the Roman poets are middle-aged. For the characters in Hell, history has come to an end, and so assigning them to different historical (or physiological) ages makes little sense; but for our illuminator Homer belongs to a remote past. In his world, rather than Hell, the Greek poet is distant, almost inaccessible. This sense of remoteness, of the passing of time, of the difficulty of an encounter, is important to Petrarch too. And there are other ways in which fourteenth-century illuminators of the *Divine Comedy* point to concerns shared also by Petrarch. At the most basic level, they tend to choose the encounter between poets as the one episode worthy of illustration in the fourth *canto*. There could be others: Dante's faint after the earthquake, the unbaptised children, Christ paying his visit to Limbo, the great Aristotle surrounded by his school; the lonely Saladin; the brightly illuminated castle, brook and meadow granted to good pagans. Of all those subjects, artists grant pride of place to Dante's intimate encounter with the other poets, although it is visually undistinguished, indeed it happens in near darkness. Conversely, Petrarch fashions his own textual encounter with Homer in strikingly visual terms: he wants to see the face of the ancient poet, and offers a memorable verbal portrait of Homer in his *Africa*.[42] Intimacy easily translates as visual experience.

[41] For further discussion, see Bierger in *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy*, 121.

[42] Petrarch, *Africa* 9.166-70; for Petrarch's visual interest in Homer see further G. Crevatin, 'Il poeta dell'*Africa*: Omero in Petrarca' in G. Lazzi and E. Viti (eds), *Immaginare l'autore: il ritratto del letterato nella cultura umanistica* (Florence 2000) 135-48.

A Byzantine Homer

In order to learn Greek, and read the Homeric poems, Petrarch and Ḥunayn had to turn their attention towards Byzantium. There, knowledge of the Homeric poems was never lost, but representations of Homer – both textual and visual – nevertheless stemmed from a complex and highly mediated process of reception, which was by no means determined by the Homeric epics alone. Only two images of Homer have been identified on Byzantine manuscripts: it seems that there was greater reluctance to represent Homer in fourteenth-century Byzantium than in Florence. One portrait has been recently discovered by Filippomaria Pontani on a fourteenth-century Byzantine manuscript now kept in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (and containing extensive annotations by Politian): that portrait is most probably the work of the Byzantine scholar Theodore Antiochites, since he identifies himself as the corrector of the manuscript, and writes some marginalia in the same hand and ink used for the drawing.[43] The portrait introduces a text of the *Iliad* and, as Pontani convincingly argues, represents Homer in the guise of a prophet or an evangelist. The image thus immediately, visually, legitimizes the pagan poem for its Christian readers. The only other known Byzantine portrait of Homer belongs to a manuscript of the ninth century, now kept in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Ambr. ms E 49-50 inf. 751): it is this portrait that I propose to discuss in further detail, partly because it has received little attention, and partly because (like my other examples) it accompanies a text only remotely linked to the Homeric poems: the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus.

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[43] See further F. Pontani, 'A Byzantine portrait of Homer', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 68 (2005), 1-26.

Homer appears here in the guise of a young man declaiming in front of an older and seated Orpheus, playing a kithara. Pontani argues that the portrait is 'designed to discredit Homer, reflecting Gregory's criticism of ancient poets who discussed theology (Hesiod, Orpheus and Homer).'[44] As further evidence that the portrait is meant to be derogatory, Pontani quotes Zanker's study of ancient portraiture: 'in the Greek imagination, all great intellectuals were old'.[45] Gregory's text, however, need not entirely determine the interpretation of this image; just as the conventions of classical portraiture need not so straightforwardly apply to ninth-century manuscript illuminations. The portrait belongs to the only manuscript of Gregory's homilies containing pictures of his classical subjects: it seems, therefore, that we are dealing with an artist, or a commission, particularly concerned with pagan antiquity. The broader context for our image may therefore partly be provided by other Byzantine accounts of the poet Homer.

Unlike the Arabic and Italian sources I discussed, Byzantine texts often describe Homer as an imitator of earlier models: he is not necessarily 'the oldest Greek poet', and this consideration may help to explain our depiction of a young Homer next to an older master. Homer the imitator tends to feature in contexts where discrepancies between different accounts of the Trojan War need to be negotiated. As Ingela Nilsson points out in a helpful survey, many different legends about Troy circulated in Byzantium.[46] There was an ancient account attributed to Dictys of Crete, an alleged participant in the war and friend of the Iliadic character Idomeneus. There was Dares of Phrygia, another Homeric character (a Trojan priest mentioned at *Iliad* 5.9) who was also credited with a pre-Homeric account of the Trojan War. And then there were Byzantine chronicles, and Trojan-War romances that belonged to the 'novelistic fringe'.[47] Among all these criss-crossing versions of the Trojan saga, the Homeric poems were considered neither the oldest nor,

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[44] See further Pontani, 'A Byzantine portrait of Homer', 14.

[45] Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates*, 22.

[46] See I. Nilsson, 'From Homer to Hermoniakos: some considerations of Troy matter in Byzantine literature', *Troianalexandrina* 4 (2004), 9-34.

[47] See Nilsson, 'From Homer to Hermoniakos', 9.

necessarily, the most authoritative. In the sixth century, for example, John Malalas offered an extensive account of the Trojan War, ending with this biographical note on Homer:

> Ταῦτα δὲ Σίσυφος ὁ Κῷος συνεγράψατο ἐν τῷ πολεμῷ ὑπάρχων σύν τῷ Τεύχρῳ· ἥντινα συγγραφὴν εὑρηκὼς Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν Ἰλιάδα ἐξέθετο, καὶ Βεργίλλιος τὰ λοιπά. ἅτινα καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Δίκτυος ἐμφέρεται ῥαψῳδίαις. ὅπερ πόνημα μετὰ πολλὰ ἔτη Ὁμήρου καὶ Βεργιλλίου ηὑρέθη ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος βασιλέως ἐν <κασσιτερίνῳ> κιβωτίῳ.

> Sisyphus of Cos, who was present at the war with Teucer, has written about this. The poet Homer found his book and wrote the *Iliad*, while Virgil wrote the rest of the story. These events are also recorded in the writings of Dictys: this work was found many years after the time of Homer and Virgil in a tin box during the reign of the emperor Claudius Nero.

This presentation of Homer distances him from the events he recounts in the *Iliad*, and makes him dependent on an earlier, written account. Homer's source, the mysterious Sisyphus of Cos, is on a par with Dictys, since he too was a participant in the war. Also, like Dictys, he was the friend of a character mentioned in the *Iliad*, in this case Teucer. Whether an actual account attributed to a Sisyphus of Cos ever existed has been debated.[48] In any case, the story allows Malalas to grant equal authority to the putative Sisyphus and to Dictys, while distancing the narratives of later poets who wrote about Troy: Homer and Virgil. At one level, this account downplays the authority of Homer as a textual source; at another, it uses the poet as a model for a particular set of literary practices. Homer becomes a chronicler who – like Malalas himself – bases his account on earlier sources.

Another Byzantine source can be used to shed light on our young Homer declaiming to Orpheus. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople in

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[48] For a skeptical view, see Nilson, 'From Homer to Hermoniakos' 15 n. 13, who quotes earlier literature; for an argument in favour of the existence of a text attributed to this Sisyphus, see A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (Oxford 2004) 149.

the ninth century, includes the following anecdote in his *Library* cod. 190.151ab Henry:

ὅτι Φαντασία τις Μεμφῖτις Νικάρχου θυγάτηρ συνέταξε πρὸ Ὁμήρου τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν περὶ Ὀδυσσείας διήγησιν καὶ ἀποκεῖσθαί φασι τὰς βίβλους ἐν Μέμφιδι, Ὅμηρον δὲ παραγενόμενον, καὶ τὰ ἀντίγραφα λαβόντα παρὰ Φανίτου τοῦ ἱερογραμματέως, συντάξαι ἐκείνοις ἀκολούθως.

They say that certain Phantasia, from Memphis, daughter of Nicarchus, composed before Homer both the war of Troy and the story of the *Odyssey*, and deposed the bookrolls in Memphis; later Homer got a copy from Phanites, the temple scribe, and composed his version according to that model.

Photius takes this story about Phantasia, original authoress of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* from Ptolemy Chennos, 'the Quail', an Alexandrian grammarian active at the time of Hadrian (and who in turn was prone to inventing his own sources).[49] So this is not a Byzantine anecdote in origin, but it recurs in a Byzantine text and resonates with Byzantine concerns: a similar story about Homer the plagiarist of Phantasia later features in Eustathius, who attributes it to an unknown Naucrates.[50] The suggestion is that Homer bases his poems on earlier, imaginative accounts. Photius may tell his story with an eyebrow raised in disapproval, but what emerges – again – is Homer as a model for specific literary practices. Just like his Byzantine readers, this Homer bases his accounts on ancient bookrolls.

The manuscript illumination which decorates Gregory's homilies suggests that Homer is reciting his lesson to an older Orpheus – who may in fact not be above suspicion as a teacher (just as Phantasia may

[49] See Cameron, *Greek Mythography*, 134-59 (and esp. 147 on Phantasia, authoress of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*). The anecdote has received considerable attention since I first submitted this paper, see now E. Cullhed, 'The blind bard and 'I': poetic personas and Homeric biography in the twelfth century,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 38 (2014) 49-67, and Pizzone, Aglae. "Lady Phantasia's 'Epic' Scrolls and Fictional Creativity in Eustathius' Commentaries on Homer", *Medioevo greco* 14 (2014) 177-97.

[50] Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey* 1.2, 23-29 Stallbaum.

not command authority as Homer's source). Still, the picture is not simply disparaging. The relationship between Homer and Orpheus, expressed through their gestures and postures, suggests a history of Greek literature, where music and poetry are followed by rhetoric. Orpheus' kithara and his Phrygian cap confirm that our illuminator is conversant with ancient culture, as does Homer's classicising attire, and rhetorical pose. Pontani helpfully compares this illumination to a slightly later ninth-century manuscript of Gregory of Nazianzus, where two fourth-century teachers of rhetoric (Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and either the Christian Prohaeresius or the pagan Himerius, who taught Gregory himself) wear ancient-looking robes that leave one shoulder bare.[51] Precisely because ancient culture is alive in Byzantium, our portrait of Homer expresses – through the visual medium of clothing – an awareness of historical distance.

That sense of distance finds clear parallels in ancient and Byzantine textual sources. The relationship between Orpheus and Homer is often expressed in genealogical terms in the biographical tradition.[52] That Homer models his poems on earlier accounts of the Trojan War is a recurrent theme in both ancient and Byzantine scholarship as has already emerged.[53] But what the picture adds is unique: a vision. We have no other portrait of Homer as a young lad, learning his lesson from an old master. Nowhere else, in our extant sources, is the poet so thoroughly identified with those who study his works.

Conclusions

Representations of Homer are often taken to reflect an interest in Homeric poetry, but the fact of the matter is that they also often precede it, and sometimes produce it. Portraits occur in places where the poems do not reach, as my first manuscript illustration suggests. It would be

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[51] The pictures of the teachers of rhetoric are in the margins of fols 104r and 332v of Paris, BnF ms gr. 510; see further Pontani 2005: 15.

[52] See Graziosi, *Inventing Homer,* 83f.

[53] For a quick summary see Cameron, *Greek Mythography*, 147.

reductive to state, as many have done, that Homer did not feature in Arabic receptions of classical Greek culture: he did, though his poems fared less well. In some contexts, as my second example shows, a desire to see Homer, and talk to him, can lead to concrete efforts to access his works. And, even in situations where the Homeric poems are accessible and well known, portraits of Homer are always informed by broader cultural engagements: in the hands of Byzantine miniaturists, Homer can become an evangelist, or a young student of ancient poetry. In all my examples, portraits reveal the cultural spaces that Homer can inhabit: Arabic philosophical and medical traditions; Dante's first circle of Hell; the schools of Byzantium. Such spaces are also defined through texts, of course; but what the portraits add is a human face and body. And that, it seems to me, is an addition of some importance. Emmanuel Lévinas presents the face-to-face encounter as the first, irreducible relationship, the moment where both closeness and distance with the other is established. Lévinas derives the primacy of his ethics from this face-to-face encounter.[54] What I describe here is different in many respects: I consider the encounter with a portrait, rather than an actual face; but even in the case of portraits there is (as Lévinas himself insists) an ethical appeal on the viewer. It becomes possible, through the image, to identify with Homer, and simultaneously map our distance from him. The relationship is triangular, since the portraits reveal not Homer, but the faces of those who cared to picture him. The objection can be made, of course, that my argument moves too quickly from representation to real-life experience. It is true that, from the point of view of the art historian, the conventions of visual representation are what matters. But these always point to a relationship, however mediated, with the real. According to Mubaššir, Homer displays the physiognomical traits of the talented man – and, also, he *is* talented.

Portraits, and the face-to-face encounters they suggest, fit a model of interaction far more complex than that of linear literary histories – including those implied by some of the images I discuss, where Homer guides the Roman poets who in turn guide Dante; or where Orpheus is

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[54] I am thinking particularly of E. Lévinas, *Totalité et Infini: essai sur l'extériorité* (The Hague 1961).

followed by Homer in a straightforward succession. For example: after Petrarch depicts Homer in words; a miniaturist of the fifteenth century depicts Homer in the guise of Petrarch.[55] Such criss-crossing dialogues between art and literature suggest an open-ended and densely networked model of interaction; and this is one reason why the broader project *Living Poets: A New Approach to Ancient Poetry* offers several Collections of authorial representations, linked by a multiplicity of narrative Guides.[56] The overall aim is to move beyond a mode of scholarship where the study of ancient poetry is neatly followed by an excursus into its later reception, or *Nachleben*. For, often, the poet is already alive, as the product of the imagination, before any act of reading takes place. Portraits give human shape to the imagination and testify to the personal contribution of both readers, and indeed non-readers, to the history of literature.

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[55] The laureated Homer in Petrarch 's clothes appears on fol. F of Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana ms A.55; see G. Lazzi, 'Alla ricerca del ritratto d'autore', in Lazzi and Viti, *Immaginare l'autore*, 41-51.

[56] See www.livingpoets.dur.ac.uk.

Empire of Clay and Iron: Divisions in the Byzantine state ideology and Christian apocalyptic expectations from the reigns of Heraclius to Leo III (610-718)

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The Book of Daniel has been a recurrent source of apocalyptic imagery in Judaism and Christianity throughout the ages. Thematically dominated by the struggle between the eternal truth of God and the shifting historical realities during the lifetime of the prophet Daniel,[1] it contains two sets of visions of the future. The first one appears in a dream of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II but is interpreted by the prophet Daniel: a composite statue consisting of gold, silver, bronze, iron and clay is shattered by a rock that grows to fill the whole world, indicating how all terrestrial empires will one day be replaced by the eternal Kingdom of God.[2] Later on, Daniel has a series of visions of his own in which he is foretold the future of his life and the world up to the moment when the Archangel Michael will make way for

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[1] Each of its single episodes can be said to illustrate this pattern: the story of how the friends of Daniel are threatened by extinction in a fiery furnace because they refuse to worship a colossal statue of Nebuchadnezzar, and how their rescue at the intervention of God makes the king repent; the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar, in which a world-filling tree is cut down by an angel of God, precluding the madness with which the king will be punished for his hubris; the story of his successor Belshazzar and the mysterious writing on the wall that presages the imminent fall of the Babylonian kingdom to the Persians; and the story of how Daniel is saved from the lion's den where his new Persian master Darius has felt compelled to throw him when the prophet has declined to worship the king (*Dan.* 3-6).

[2] *Dan.* 1-2.

the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgment. Here we encounter a more diverse imagery featuring four terrible beasts representing future kingdoms, the last one – marked by its ten horns – being the worst one, destroying true religion in Israel and making people go astray. [3]

The Book of Daniel is easily dated to the time of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV (d. 164 BC). The last kingdom in both visions is that of Alexander the Great: like iron it has shattered everything in its way; but it is mixed with clay, symbolising the decentralisation of the Hellenistic world. The ten horns on the fourth beast represent the ten Seleucid kings in the Near East, and the rock that will destroy the statue and grow until it fills the whole world refer to the Maccabean uprisings.[4] Unfortunately, the expectations do not match the actual outcome of the tumultuous decades in the mid-second century BC: whereas the Seleucid kingdom did indeed collapse after the death of Antiochus and paved way for the rise of Parthia, the new Jewish kingdom remained a tiny political entity that would soon be swallowed up by its former Roman ally.[5] This has called for innumerable re-readings of the apocalyptic text, in which the components of the statue and the beasts in the visions of Daniel have been identified as empires later and different than those that are in all probability referred to in the original. The most widespread re-reading makes use of the blurred border between the Median and Persian empires in order to fashion the empire of Alexander into the third kingdom and the Roman Empire into the fourth one. It is important to remember that the terminology of Daniel pervades the Synoptic gospels and provides an important ideological backdrop for the Early Christian movement in the wake of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70, and that it is particularly obvious in the *Revelation of John*, where the imagery from the Book of Daniel is further extended with hidden references to Rome.[6]

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[3] *Dan*. 7-12.

[4] Brown, Fitzmyer, Murphy (eds.), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (1988) 408.

[5] Cf. Grainger, *Rome, Parthia & India: the Violent Emergence of a New World Order 150-140 BC* (Barnsley 2013) 51-87, 128-82.

[6] *Matth*. 10:5-38, 11:20-24, 12:46-50, 15:1-20, 16:27-28, 23:37-24:44, *Mark* 3:31-35, 8:34-9:1, 13:1-37, *Luk*. 9:23-27, 10:1-20, 12:8-12, 49-53, 13:1-4, 21:5-33, 22:35-38; *Rev*. 13-18.

The purpose here is not to study the correlation between Jewish and Christian apocalypticism but to focus on an epistemological division of the Late Ancient world that cuts straight through them both. The Constantinian association of Christianity with victory in general and that of the Roman Empire in particular may have made it suited to take up the terrestrial competition with Jewish and Pagan cults of the ancient world, but it also detached the fulfilment of its apocalyptic truth from the anticipation of an eschatological end to the world people knew.[7] The fact that the Christians could live and prosper on their own meant that the tribulations of the Pagan persecutions turned into a sacred past, whereas the tribulations foregoing the Last Judgment were pushed into an eschatological future. In fact apocalyptic and eschatological writings remained rare in the Eastern parts of the Roman Empire, even to the point that the canonical status of the *Revelation of John* was questioned, and the coming of the seventh Millennium in the late fifth century was either ignored or left uncommented.[8]

The most important point here is not how people perceived God and whether it made them fall under the theological definition of Jews or Christians, but whether they attributed any lasting importance to the world in which they lived. All religious or political ideologies are subject to this basic epistemological division. It is true that the Jews had a solution to the problem in that they could still place a Messianic era of terrestrial justice between themselves and the end of the world, whereas the Christians either lived in the Messianic era or had ceased expecting its advent upon earth from the time when they abandoned the temple. But in both cases it is the apocalyptic horizon, and not the belief in God, that explains the way in which the believers relate to the world. If the world is acknowledged merely as the inner reality of the believer and

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[7] Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew* (Pennsylvania UP 1994) 30f. Cf. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford 1987) 52f.

[8] Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology : Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (Fordham UP 1974) 7f; cf. Landes, "Apocalyptic Expectations" in: Verbeke, Verhelst, Welkenhuysen (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* 163; cf. Theophanes *Chronographia* AM 5999/6000.

his environment, or if it is acknowledged as a spatial whole but seen as a merely transient stage in time, it implies that what the believer does not perceive to be immediately or ultimately meaningful is not real. While extreme manifestations of such convictions are bound to run into trouble sooner or later – since they cannot both reject the world and live in it – it might be difficult to find any religious or political ideology that does not contain traces or reminiscences of such a wish for historical redemption;[9] the question is to what extent they are decisive to the actions of their believers and political agents.

It is therefore with the uttermost caution that one needs to approach the rise in both religious and apocalyptic arguments in the political ideology of the late Roman or Byzantine Empire of the seventh and eighth centuries. A main historical event that can be related to apocalyptic expectations is the 614 fall of Jerusalem to the Persians, a conquest that could have been facilitated, at least to some degree, by Jews waiting for the collapse of Roman power according to the four-empire prophecy of Daniel, and the rebuilding of the Temple.[10] Since the Temple was related to the prophecies of Jesus about the End of times, the point where history resumed for the Jews would have marked the point where the Christian found it replaced by an eschatological future, and there are some indications that the Persian conquest may have presented the Christian world with a considerable shock.[11] The capture of the True Cross, which had been intimately linked to the Constantinian ideology

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[9] John Gray, *Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion and the End of Utopia* (London 2007) 1-49.

[10] Levi, "L'Apocalypse de Zorobabel et le roi de Perse Siroès" *Revue des Etudes Juives* 68 (1914) 129-60 esp. 150f; Wheeler, "Imagining the Sasanian Capture of Jerusalem", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 57 (1991) 73ff., van Bekkum, "Jewish Messianic Expectations in the Reign of Heraclius" in: Reinink, Stolte (eds.) *The Reign of Heraclius: Crisis and Confrontation* (Leuven 2002) 95-112.

[11] Antiochus of Mar Saba (IX-XV in the Georgian text translated by Garitte, *La Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, CSCO 203, Louvain 1960), Sophronius, *Anacreontica* XIV:60. Perhaps tellingly, later Persian tradition would confuse this event with the distant Persian victory over the Roman Empire in AD 260 (cf. Ferdowsi, *Shahname* 189). It may have left traces even in the Qur'an (30:2-5).

of terrestrial success,[12] added to the feelings of uncertainty and unrest that further poisoned the relationship between the Christians and Jews of Jerusalem.[13]

The Roman and Christian ideological rhetoric of the *Reconquista* of emperor Heraclius (610-41) during the war against Persia has come under renewed scrutiny in recent years.[14] Due to the rapidly changing fortunes of his reign, however, it remains difficult to assess the wider meaning of the symbols, images and narratives associated with his triumph. Beyond the hyperbolic imagery of George of Pisidia, which is focused on the person of Heraclius and less likely to reveal anything about feelings in the provinces and among the lower strata of the Eastern Roman Empire,[15] the coinage that was issued at the time of his initial triumph in Constantinople in 629 shows a tendency to associate the prevalence of the imperial office with Christ and the Cross, a rhetoric that was further heightened in his entry into Jerusalem in the year after, when the emperor carried the True Cross through the Golden Gate to reinstall it at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[16] The nature of his subsequent actions, from his decision to evict the Jews from Jerusalem and order them to be forcibly baptised, to the effort to reconcile the Western and Eastern churches, may be interpreted as signs of an imperial ideology that has dropped all moorings to the secular world and entered a feverish mood of redemptory expectations.[17] Does it mean that the reign of Heraclius marks an ideological break with the Late Ancient empire?

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[12] Dinkler, "Das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen" *ZTK* 62 (1965) 9-13.

[13] *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos*, transl. Thomson (Liverpool 1999) 68-70. See further Tsafrir, "The Temple-Less Mountain", in: Grabar, Kedar (eds.) *The Temple Mount: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade* (Jerusalem 2009) 99; Bowersock, *Empires in Collision* 32ff; Sarris, *Empires of Faith* 257f. Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew* (Pennsylvania 1994) 42.

[14] Sarris, *Empires of Faith* (Oxford 2011) esp. 250f, 307ff., Kaegi, *Heraclius* 186.

[15] George of Pisidia, *Heraclias* 198, 327; *In rest. Crucis* 238, 242.

[16] Hrabanus Maurus, *Homiliae de Festis Praecipuis etc*., ed Migne, *PL* 110 (1864*)* 131ff. Mango, "The Temple Mount, AD 614-638", in: Raby & Johns (eds.) *Bayt al-Maqdis: Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem, Part One* (Oxford 1992) 15. Note the importance of the Golden Gate in *Hez*. 44:1-3.

[17] Olster, *Roman Defeat*, *Christian Response* 79-92 (cf. Sophronius, *Anacreontica* XVIII:85.)

It is important to note that the idea of a Divinely sanctioned victory upon earth was consistent to both Roman and Jewish narratives, at least for as long as it did not implicate itself with the question about a Messianic future. Heraclius' restoration of the Cross to Jerusalem might have been as much evocative of the victory of king David as of Constantine but still fully able of rendering the same message.[18] Emperor Titus had manifested the Roman victory over the Jews in AD 70 by bringing the Jewish Temple treasures to Rome and parading them in his triumphal procession; emperor Justinian I is reported to have obtained the same treasures from the Vandals in 533-34 and paraded them through Constantinople before he dispatched them to Jerusalem.[19] The numinousness of these objects did not reveal anything about Pagan, Jewish and Christian notions about the future. If Heraclius' restoration of the Cross to Jerusalem had a more problematic dimension it was because it implied that the Romans had replaced the Jews as God's chosen people and historical redeemers. The result of such a rhetoric would have effectively put the empire in opposition to what it had stood for in a secular sense. Perhaps tellingly, the main witness we have to the feelings of Jewish converts in the wake of the triumph, the *Doctrina Jacobi*, seems to conclude that Christianity will offer redemption whereas the Roman world is in a state of dissolution following the Danielic prophecies of the four empires of the world.[20] Similar convictions pervade even the historical chronicles that were composed in the imperial capital in the reign of Heraclius.[21]

The interesting fact that the rise and expansion of Islam took place in a world plunged in such a mood should not be overstated, but it is still noteworthy as scholars are increasingly prone to see a both ecumeni-

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[18] *II. Sam* (*II. Kings*) 5:6-9, 6:1-16. A son born to Heraclius in the year 630 was given the name David and a group of silver plates dating from the same period depict the Biblical king; see further Sarris, *Empires of Faith* 258 and Kaegi, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge 2003) 114, 198.

[19] Where they seem to have vanished, as no reference to them is made during the Persian conquest in 614. Cf. Procopius, *Vandal Wars* 2.9.

[20] *Doctrina Iacobi*, ed. Bonwetsch (Berlin 1910) III:9 p 62 l 6-12, V:16 p 86 l 17-21; cf. Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response* 168.

[21] *Chronicon Paschale* 264:6-12, 365:6-8, Theophylactus Simocatta *Hist.* V 15:6-7.

cal and eschatological dimension in the early Islamic movement.[22] The conquest of Constantinople and the fall of the Roman Empire play an important role in later Islamic apocalyptic traditions, where the Romans are sometimes provided with the Danielic epithet "horned".[23] In some *hadiths* the conquest of the Roman capital will be accomplished by Jews united under the first half of the Muslim creed,[24] and there seems to exist a link to the Roman role in the destruction of Jerusalem that makes Constantinople into a new Babylon:

> God sent a prophet to the rubbish dump and said: "Rejoice, o Jerusalem! Faruq ['Umar, the Muslim conqueror of Jerusalem in 638] will come and cleanse you." He sent another prophet to Constantinople, who stood on its hills and said: "O Constantinople! What did your kinsmen do to My house? They laid it waste, and made you its equal instead … One day, I will make you barren and unfortified at the hands of Banu al-Qadhir, Saba and Waddan. Nobody will seek shelter from you and nobody will rest in your shade anymore."[25]

An important link between Roman and Muslim traditions is provided by the Syriac apocalypses of the seventh century. The triumph of Heraclius

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[22] Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: at the Origins of Islam* (Princeton 2010) 108-118, Sarris, *Empires of Faith* (Oxford 2011) 266, Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Princeton 1997) 554-6. On the conquests from a Byzantine point of view, see Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest", *Church History* 38:1969 and ibid., *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge 2000).

[23] Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptics* (Princeton 2002) 60.

[24] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* V 766–7 (*hadiṯ* 37).

[25] Tabari, *Tārīḫ ar-rusūl wa l-mulūk* I 2409. This is said by the Yemenite Jew Ka'b when 'Umar is about to pray on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem; cf. *Rev.* 18:1-3, but also Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* 66 on the Slavonic *Visions of Daniel* that seems to have been written in the wake of the Arab conquest of Crete. The connection between Constantinople and Babylon reappears in many later Byzantine traditions from this time: see Külzer, "Konstantinopel in der apokalyptischen Literatur der Byzantiner", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 50 (2000) 51-76, and Brandes, "Die apokalyptische Literatur", in: Winkelmann, Brandes (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.-9. Jahrhundert). Bestand und Probleme*, (Berlin 1990) 305-322.

seems to have led some Syrian observers to conclude that a Messianic Age was about to dawn on earth, only to be ended by the eschatological invaders of Gog and Magog, which Alexander the Great had once banned to their mountainous homeland by an impenetrable wall.[26] A similar story is featured in the Qur'an, where it is said that *Dū l-Qarnayn* or "the one with two horns" had confined Gog and Magog behind a wall of copper and that people "will fall upon each other like breaking waves" when the wall collapses.[27] In the seventh-century Syriac *Apocalypse of Daniel*, attributed to the prophet Daniel, the Antichrist is supposed to open the "Gates of the North" and let out the armies of Gog and Magog, who will conquer the earth and pitch their tents outside of Jerusalem. However, since Antichrist will fail to raise the dead, God will intervene and send an angel to cut him in pieces.[28] It is important to note that the apocalypse postdates the Islamic conquests and yet makes no references to Arabs or Muslims of any kind.

This lack of interest in the invaders undergoes a decisive shift towards the end of the seventh century, some five decades after the Arabs took control over the Fertile Crescent. The Eastern Syriac or Nestorian work of John bar Penkaye, written at the time of the second *fitna* (680-92) in Iraq, claims that the Arab invasions are God's punishment over the Christians, especially due to the many heresies that have risen in the Roman West; on the other hand it interprets the reign of the 'Umayyad caliph Mu'awiya in almost Messianic terms as an era when "justice flourished" and "there was great peace in the regions under his control; he let everyone live as they wanted"; the only fact that troubled the author was that distinctions between Jews, Christians and "Pagans" had become meaningless.[29] It concludes from the events that are taking place in the time of the author that the "Arab kingdom" is about to be destroyed by the forces of the šurṭa, presumably the Shi'i movement of

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[26] Reinink, "Heraclius, the new Alexander" in: Reinink, Stolte (eds.) *The Reign of Heraclius* 81-94.

[27] Q 18:33.

[28] Henze, *The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel* (Tübingen 2001) 11-15, 90-96.

[29] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* 196.

Mukhtar in Iraq.[30]

Whereas John takes a neutral or even slightly benign stance towards the Arab conquerors, the Western Syriac apocalypticist known as Pseudo-Methodius of Edessa inserts a long *ex eventu* prophecy on the Arab conquests in his own prophecy on the End of times and describes them in unflattering terms taken from the New Testament *Revelation of John*.[31] In this version, the Arab conquests have nothing with heresy to do, and they are not so much a punishment as a chastisement. God has given power to the Arabs just as He once gave it to the Jews in the Old Testament: not because He loves them, but because of the sins of the people they conquer: because (as the author describes in great detail) Christian men and women go around drunk in the streets like prostitutes, commit adultery with each other and indulge in all kinds of impurity, God has left their land to the death and destruction at the hands of the Arabs, and these will rob them of what they have and lay heavy taxes upon them. This will inspire "false Christians" to abandon their faith and join the godless debauchery of the new rulers, thus leading to a religious purification of the existing communities that will prepare them for the eschatological invasions from Gog and Magog.[32]

The Syriac Pseudo-Methodius seems to date from around the year 690, before 'Abd al-Malik had made an end to the second *fitna* and regained the initiative on the Roman front, since it is from that direction that the Syrian author expects salvation to come.[33] It is notable that both

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[30] Reinink, "Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom Römischen Endkaiser", in Verbeke, Verhelst and Welkenhuysen (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* 84-94.

[31] "They resemble the beasts of the fields and the birds of heaven, and the Lord says to them: 'Come together for the great sacrifice I have prepared for you; eat the flesh of the fat and drink the blood of the heroes.'", *Rev.* 19:18. Cf. Suermann, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslim in der edessenischen Apokalyptik des 7. Jahrhunderts,* (Frankfurt 1985) 60-62 (l 319-327).

[32] Suermann, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion* 60-76 (l. 319-327; 337-352; 352-426; 492-499; 427-459; 500-516; 516-539).

[33] Reinink, "Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom römischen Endkaiser" 95-6; ibid., "Pseudo-Methodios: A Concept of History in Response to the Rise of Islam", in: Cameron, Conrad (eds.) *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I* (Princeton 1992) 141. On variations of this theme, see Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic*

Muslim and Christian apocalypticists around the year 700 may have expected the Roman emperor to embark upon a decisive counter-strike, and that later historiographers describe the resettlement policies of Justinian II in the borderland between the empire and the caliphate in Biblicised terms.[34] As it were, the policies turned out to be a failure, and the last years of the seventh century saw a decisive turn of fate in favour of the Caliphate, which conquered Carthage in 698. The early eighth century saw signs of a growing self-confidence among the Muslim rulers in Damascus,[35] a development that coincided with the first Muslim centennial drawing near.[36] When the apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius was translated into Greek during these years, it foresaw a Muslim conquest of Constantinople that would be reverted by the intervention of God:

> Woe is to you, Byzas, when Ishmael will catch up with you: for
> his horse overtakes everything. The first of his people will pitch
> his tent in front of you and the battle will commence, and they
> will shatter the gate of Xylokerkos and come as far as the Forum
> Bovis (…) But then a voice from the heavens will be heard saying:
> "Now the punishment is enough" and the Lord will take the fear of
> the Romans and put it in the hearts of the Arabs, and He will take
> the courage of the Arabs and put it in the hearts of the Romans.
> Turning around to flee, they will be cut down by their own (…)
> And the king of the Greeks, that is the Romans, will stand up
> in wild fury, like a man who has awoken after a long sleep,
> intoxicated by too much wine, and whom men had held to be like
> dead and of no use. He will evict them down to the Red Sea and
> plunge the sword of desolation into Yathrib [Medina], which is
> the land of their fathers (…) and they, and their women, and their

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   Tradition (University of California Press 1985) 152ff.

[34] Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6178, 6184.

[35] Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle* (Liverpool 2011) 189; Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule* (Princeton 1995) 167.

[36] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* 331-5; it is notable that the dead son of Justinian II seems to resurface in these Islamic traditions on the final battle. On Sulayman, see Shaban, *The Abbasid Revolution* (Cambridge 1970) 74; Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion: Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaiman b. Abdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1987) 120-37; Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III* (Louvain 1973) 13-24.

children, and those who have cared for their offspring, and all their guardians in the lands of their fathers will be in the hands of the Roman emperor, and he will put them to the sword and in captivity and deliver them to death and ruin.[37]

There is a striking similarity between this description and the one that can be found in the Muslim apocalyptic tradition, which sees the Muslims entering Constantinople and sharing its booty when a voice from heaven tells them that the *Daǧǧal* or Antichrist has arrived, and they are leaving the city in haste. Conversely, the Muslim apocalypticists assume that the actual victory of Islam will only come by when the Muslims are in a minority and the Romans form a majority among the inhabitants on earth.[38] Only the most honest and self-sacrificing of Muslims will be prepared to defend the holy cities of the Prophet:

> The Last Hour will not come before the Romans land at A'maq or Dabiq (at the Red Sea). An army consisting of the best men of Medina will go out to meet them … They will fight, and a third will die fleeing – God will never forgive them – and a third, the best of martyrs for God, will die fighting, and a third, which will not give in, will win victory and conquer Constantinople.[39]

The 717-18 Muslim siege of Constantinople appears to mark a turning point in these expectations. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to assert the relationship between these apocalypses and the historical outcome on the basis of the sources we have, as it can also be said to mark a historiographical forking point. In later Islamic historiography, the 'Umayyads who led the siege would sometimes be remembered as the "cursed tree" of Banu 'Umayya, a dynasty that had allowed itself to become absorbed and corrupted by the vanities of the Romans instead of fulfilling the fight for the Rule of God. The Roman or Byzantine hero of the day, emperor Leo III would be depicted by later Byzantine

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[37] Pseudo-Methodios, *Apocalypse* 13, 9–12. The Xylokerkos gate is the present Belgrad kapısı; the Forum Bovis was located in the contemporary Aksaray area.

[38] Cf. Cook, *Understanding Jihad* 136-61.

[39] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V 747–8 (*hadiṯ* 31). Cf. Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* 49-54.

chroniclers as the "forerunner of the Antichrist" and the instigator of Iconoclasm.

There are some signs that the caliphs that were directly involved in the siege – Sulayman and his successor 'Umar II – were associated with Messianic hopes for a rule of justice and piety;[40] and similarly, Armenian and Monophysite sources may have preserved a picture of Leo III that is truer to the context in which he came to power. In such sources Leo appears as a saviour of the Christian Constantinople: he is a new Moses who prays together with the clergy and the inhabitants of the city and sinks the Muslim fleet by touching the Bosporus with the Cross.[41] It makes it tempting to suggest that the events of the year 718 were accompanied by a deliberate use of apocalypticism within the state ideology of the two empires. Interestingly, Leo III and 'Umar II are both said to have exchanged letters in which they tried to defend their own faiths against the faith of the other.[42] Even if this exchange of letters never took place, it reveals some of the impressions that the two rulers appear to have made upon people far beyond their own capitals: the fullest version of the alleged letters is found in the eighth-century Armenian history of Ghewond.[43]

The question what impact such apocalyptic features of a state ideology and rhetoric really had is more sobering. The basic division remains an epistemological one, and in this concern there are very little signs of any apocalyptic transformations taking place that would have

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[40] Blankinship, *The End of the Jihad State : The Reign of Hisham ibn 'Abd al Malik and the Collapse of the 'Umayyads* (New York 1994) 31-5; Shaban, *The Abbasid Revolution* 76ff, Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion* 125-7.

[41] Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III* 36-43, Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others* Saw It 297-9, Haldon, Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* (Cambridge 2012) 73-5 and 272-5.

[42] Gaudeul, "The Correspondence between Leo and 'Umar", *Islamochristiana* 10 (1984); Hoyland, "The Correspondence of Leo III and 'Umar II" *Aram* 6 (1994) 168f; ibid., *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* 490-501; Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964) 125-129. Haldon and Brubaker remain sceptical on its veracity; cf. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* 115 n143.

[43] Jeffreys, "Ghevond's Text of the Correspondence between Leo III and 'Umar II", *Harvard Theological Review* 37 (1944).

corresponded to the expectations. Already the portrait of Heraclius reveals an enormous split between what the emperor is said to have tried to accomplish and how his efforts were actually received. Not only Jews and non-Roman Christians objected to the idea of a conversion of the Jews or a unification of the Roman and Oriental churches: Byzantine Christians who felt less attracted by end-time scenarios were sceptical about the conversion of people towards whom they had since long developed – or inherited – a set of cultural prejudices.[44] Those who opposed the imperial efforts to reconcile the Eastern Church revealed similar feelings that had little with theology to do.[45] Their objections reveal a grain of sense, for cultural differences were unlikely to disappear with the theological ones; and it is hard to see how people who had been forced to accept Christianity for political reasons would consider their baptisms as anything more than a simple survival strategy.

The same obstacles occur during the Muslim conquest. Even if it had attracted Jews and Christians driven by the apocalyptic hope for some kind of ecumenical unification of all Monotheists, it did not result in the whole Near East becoming one. The Believers might have felt well defined as long as they tried to assert themselves among polytheist Arabs; but what did it mean once they began to burst their native context and entered a world that already abounded with other believers of different Monotheist denominations? Some contemporaries would have been eager to join a movement that they identified as the fulfilment of an apocalyptic truth,[46] but others would have considered the same truth confined to their own religious communities and remained unresponsive to its appeal.[47] Peace treatises ensured the safety of the existing reli-

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[44] Maximos Confessor, *Epistolae*, *PG* 91:540-541. Cf. Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response*, 91f., Sarris, *Empires of Faith* 260.

[45] Theophanes, *Chronographia,* ed. de Boor (Leipzig 1883) AM 6121. This is not the place to discuss the Christological overtones in the division, but see Winkelmann, *Der Monoergetisch-Monotheletische Streit* (Frankfurt 2001) 36-8 for a concise summary.

[46] On the ecumenical nature of the early Islamic movement, see Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers* 108-118, Sarris, *Empires of Faith* 266 and Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* 554-6.

[47] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* 121, 468, 506, 537-8; *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos*, 95-7; *The Chronicle of Zuqnin* (transl. Harrak) 142; John of

gious communities from further hostilities in exchange for taxes to the Arabs and submission to their authority; in this concern, the transferral of power must have been quite smooth, which explains why material evidence from the conquest shows few or no signs of great upheavals taking place, or lasting damage being done to the existing communities.[48] Practical issues made conquerors and conquered meet in a common field of understanding where a religious confrontation was unnecessary, and people might have given few thoughts to the wider implications of the mutual encounter once they saw that the peace agreements were functioning. Thus whereas the Believers took control over the region at a remarkable speed and with a success rate for which their conviction has to take no small credit, it was no religious war, for the religious incitement was one-sided. It did not face any ideological opposition from the local communities that were allowed to live on as before; and since it meant that the Arabs were neither Pagans among Monotheists nor Monotheists among Pagans, but Monotheists among Monotheists, their early status as Believers would have to be reinforced through a definition that expressed a commitment to their political status. A gradual shift from the more ecumenical term Believers to Muslims or "submitters" took place in the decades that followed the conquests and seems to have reached a final point of consolidation in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (685-705).[49]

This also makes it easier to explain why the Muslim Arabs make up little more than a subplot in the Syriac apocalyptic writings of the seventh century. They are totally absent in the *Apocalypse of Daniel*; they are mentioned by John bar Penkaye, but only as passive agents of a Divine decision; and even in the apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, they are little more than God's tool of chastisements. They do figure as unjust rulers and tyrants, but only in a worldly sense. Although theo-

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Damascus, *De Haeresibus* (ed. Kotter 1981 IV 60); cf. also Wolf, "The Earliest Latin Lives of Muhammad" 99f.

[48] Pentz, *The Invisible Conquest: The Ontogenesis of Sixth and Seventh Century Syria* (Copenhagen 1992) 16ff; Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers* 106-118; Sarris, *Empires of Faith* 275-9.

[49] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* 336-44, 545-56; Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers* 203-11.

logical definitions play a decisive role in both the Syriac and Muslim apocalypses (the Jews are victorious when they quote the šahhada; in the Syriac version of Pseudo-Methodius God intervenes when the Arabs "deny the existence of a Christian redeemer")[50] the battle is not taking place between Christianity and Islam. Confined to their own apocalyptic horizons, the two ideologies have no eyes for each other: their minds are wholly focused on the struggle between spiritual and physical realities. Perhaps pious Muslim or Arab concerns for conversions that were merely politically motivated[51] explains why the Muslim apocalyptic tradition is equally keen to stress that the true victory of Islam can only come by when the Romans are in a majority and all false Muslims will abandon the defence of Mecca and Medina. But whatever remained of such apocalyptic hopes seems to have decreased after 718.

Does this mean that apocalypticism had little or no significance in the Roman and Muslim political ideologies of the seventh and early eighth centuries? It is hardly an understatement to say that beliefs of this kind offer an unstable basis for a political system. Not only do they make certain long-time assessments hard to implement, they also present the authority with a multitude of counter-narratives in which the ruler, the collective and the world lose their common meaning. For all its long-time and all-encompassing claims, the apocalyptic horizon is extremely narrow: it creates a map of time and space where the most incoherent phenomena are simplified to fit with an abstract principle, and it normally refuses to admit its own incongruence. By denying the validity of the perceptible world and deferring its own verification to another world, it avoids the challenge of matching itself against the reality where it claims to be true. For the same reason, all apocalyptic movements and beliefs inevitably run into major crises once their purported goal has been fulfilled and it does not fully match what the followers have expected.

On the other hand, what the temporary attraction and impact of apocalyptic movements actually does reveal is the fact that there remained an element of openness in the political developments of the seventh cen-

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50 Suermann, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion* 74 (1 498).
51 Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran* (Cambridge 2012) 10.

tury. The political ideology of the Christian Roman Empire was never so closed as to fail to attract Christians outside of the Roman area of political influence, and the early Islamic movement was never as homogenously Arab or "Muslim" as it appeared from a retrospective point of view. The schizophrenic legacy of the 'Umayyad and Isaurian dynasties in later Islamic and Byzantine historiography, finally, might actually indicate that it was this openness that later generations of Byzantines and Muslims found it so difficult to come to terms with. The prophecy of Daniel made a new turn: just as in the Hellenistic era, when it had failed to materialise, it would turn into an object of innumerable re-interpretations long into the modern era, re-interpretations that had long lost all memory of the first encounter between Christianity and Islam.

The wife's prayer for her husband in the *Cantar de mio Cid* and the Escorial version of *Digenis Akritis*

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To Helen, Thanos and Steve

Introduction[1]

In 2009, as part of our doctoral thesis, we presented an extensive comparative study between the *Cantar de mio Cid* (*CMC* from now on) and *Digenis Akritis'* Escorial manuscript (from now on *E*).[2] These texts of the 14th and mid-15th century respectively, according to all indications, preserve the authentic spirit of the original epic compositions of the early 13th and 12th century in both Castile and Byzantium.

In that work, we noted among other things, that the religious element is certainly present in both poems, which is normal for medieval texts, but its role is relatively limited. Furthermore, we gave more details about various aspects of the subject. One of these aspects is the invocation of the Divine through prayer which appears, as we noted, in

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[1] This study is part of the activities under the *Proyecto Nacional de I+D+i «FFI2009-13058: Formas de la épica hispánica: tradiciones y contextos históricos II»* prepared by a scientific group of the University of Zaragoza, under the direction of Professor Montaner, funded by the *Ministerio de Economi´a y Competitividad del Reino de España*.

[2] Kioridis 2009. For an interesting comparison between Digenis Akritis and the Old Spanish Epics, see Hook 1993.

innumerable cases, especially in the *CMC*. However, in our opinion, this seems to be just a minimum sample of normal religiosity for an average person of the time and nothing more.[3]

Nevertheless, there are two cases, one in each poem, where the prayer is long (*CMC* 330-365, *E* 1808-1860). In both cases it is the wife who prays for her husband's safety. And although there is a sufficient number of Spanish studies on the topic, far fewer things have been written on the subject concerning the Byzantine poem.[4]

These two prayers which constitute a common epic motif will be the subject of our comparative analysis in this article. Apart from the use of studies mentioned above, we rely mainly on our own observations on the two passages. Our aim is to find the similarities and differences in handling the matter on both prayers, to examine the role they play, expand the thoughts that we have presented in our thesis and stimulate further discussion, in a broader scientific context.

The two fragments

Let us begin with the two passages for consideration. In the *CMC* the prayer begins in v. 330 and finishes in 365, in other words, at an early point in the song that comprises a total of 3733 verses and at the beginning of the first of three parts in which the *CMC* is conventionally divided. *Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar*, Castilian hero of the mid 11th century, slandered by his competitors in the Court of King Alfonso the 6th, falls out of his favor and is exiled to the land of the Muslims, beyond the borders of Castile. One of his first aims is to entrust his wife, *Jimena*, and his two daughters to the friendly monastery of *San Pedro de Cardeña*. Before crossing Castile's border with his men in v. 399, meets with his wife in the monastery and according to vv. 324-328, during the Divine

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[3] Kioridis 2009, 198-200.

[4] For the topic in the *CMC* see Baños Vallejo 1994, 205-215, Gimeno Casalduero, 1957-1958, 113-125, Gerli 1980, 436-441, Montaner 2007, 25-26, Redfield 1986, 77-81, Rosende 2007, 253-263, Russell 1978, 113-158, Saracino 2007, 265-276, Webber 1995, 619-647, Zaderenko 2007, 219-242. For the prayer in *E* there are some references in Alexiou 1985, Castillo Didier 1994, Jeffreys 1998.

Liturgy, he goes to the church with Jimena, where she begins to pray.[5]

Jimena's prayer (*CMC* 330-365) summarizes in the following structure:

-Invocation to the glorious Lord, Father who art in Heaven (330).

-Narration of events from the Old and the New Testament: Creation, Christ's Conception, Birth, Life, Work, Death, Resurrection and Ascension (331-360).

-New invocation to Christ-petition: to protect *Cid* from evil and help him meet his family again (361-365).[6]

On the other hand, in *E* we find the prayer just before the poem's end, specifically in vv. 1808-1860. The whole song numbers 1867 verses. *Digenis Akritis*, a tenth-eleventh century legendary hero of the byzantine-arab border, has just completed his work in Euphrates' area. He has subdued bandits and has imposed order. Having a foreboding that his death is near, he prepares his palace as well as his tomb in the area. He falls ill and as he lies in his bed in pain he admonishes his men and wife, looking back at his life and actions. As he sees the Angel of death approaching, he gives his last advice to his wife. She listens to his words and it is at that point that she resorts to prayer to save him from death.[7]

Wife's prayer is summarized in the following structure:

-Invocation to Lord God, King of all (1808).

-Narration of events of the Old and New Testament, such as Creation and moments of Christ's life: Incarnation, Nativity, Passion, Crucifixion, Resurrection (1808-1822).

-Multiple repetition of God's and Son's Invocation (1823, 1824, 1826, 1833, 1834, 1839, 1842, 1844, 1846, 1848, 1852, 1857)-dual request: save him from death (1823-1832, 1837-1851, 1853-1856) or take

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[5] For the verses in the original text see the excellent edition of A. Montaner 2007. For the story of the *CMC* see Kioridis 2009, 33-34.

[6] For the convenience of the reader we have included all the prayer in a special annex at the end of the text. We use the edition of Bailey 2004, who has translated the text into English. The whole prayer is available in electronic form in http://www.laits.utexas.edu/cid/main/folio.php?f=07v&v=eng, http://www.laits.utexas.edu/cid/main/folio.php?f=08r&v=eng.

[7] For more information about *Digenis E* story see the magnificent edition of Alexiou 1985, λζ-νδ, who highlighted the above text emphasizing convincingly its value and epic conformity.

her together with him in death (1852, 1857-1860). Request is mixed with references to events of the New Testament (1826-1828, 1834-1836, 1850-1851).[8]

Comparative analysis

In both cases, it is the woman who prays for her husband: *Jimena* for *Cid* and the anonymous wife of *Digenis* for him. However, the place differs: the altarpiece of the church in *CMC* 327,[9] Euphrates' region in *E*. Position also varies in the poem. In contrast to the French epic prayers, *Jimena's* takes place in the church, at an early point in the poem and is not addressed by a moribund hero, facing a great danger in the battle-field or a dueling.[10] It may not be the only one, as *CMC* is full of prayers, but clearly it is the most extensive and elaborated.[11] On the other hand, communication with the Divine in *E* is rather rare. It is a moribund hero's prayer made not by himself, but by his wife. It is located just before the end of the poem. The extension also differs: 36 verses in *CMC*, much more in *E*. The request is also different, as we will see later in our analysis.

Before the prayer, we find in each poem a short introduction, which already includes the request in the case of the *CMC*. The good wife submits her petition, in the best way she knows, to the Creator: liberating *Cid Campeador* from evil (328-329). This is the "evil" of exile and its consequences.[12] As aptly noted by Russell, the poet with great mastery already in vv. 240-241 informs us that the hero reaching the monastery

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[8] The prayer of *Digenis'* wife is also listed in a separate annex at the end of our study according to the edition and the English translation by Ricks 1990. For the references to text *E*, see, also, the excellent critical edition of Alexiou 1985.

[9] Montaner 1997, 25. Prayer is linked to a specific Liturgy of the Holy Trinity in a monastery church according to Zaderenko 2007, 119.

[10] For the position of prayer in the *CMC* see Russell 1978, 115, Zaderenko 2007, 234.

[11] Zaderenko 2007, 228. Prayer reminds *Itinerarium*, a prayer of priests or monks before travelling, see Gerli 1980, 437 and Zaderenko 2007, 235. For Baños Vallejo 1994, 206 and Webber 1995 this prayer is a common topic in epic poetry.

[12] Verse 329 is reminiscent of *Lord's Prayer*. See Montaner 1997, 25, note in v. 329.

finds *Jimena* praying, a forewarning that a prayer will follow.[13] On the other hand, *E* lacks clear warning of what is going to happen: wife turns eastward, raises her hands and with her sorrowful voice supplicates God (1806-1807). Yet, we don' t know the reason: only in v. 1805 we learn that the prayer is made after hearing the words of the beloved husband about his upcoming death and her widowhood, elements showing that a prayer will follow.[14]

The prayers in both cases generally follow the French style of division in three parts: Invocation of the Divine, narration of miracles, request.[15] We can say, agreeing with Fernando Baños, that we have two narrative prayers in a broad sense. In these, after a brief invocation, the person who prays seeks grace, grounded in Divine omnipotence and mercy, by reminding or narrating marvelous episodes of the Christian faith.[16]

Invocation is short on both prayers: one verse each time (*CMC* 330, *E* 1808). Both concern the first person of the Trinity which is assigned with various adjectives and properties: "*Oh Glorious Lord, Father who art in Heaven*" in *CMC*, "*Lord God, King of all*" in *E*.[17]

Then, the narration follows, much more extensive, especially in the Castilian poem (*CMC* 331-360, *E* 1808-1822). In the narration, *CMC* includes events of the Old Testament, life of Christ, the Apostles and Saints, while in *E* main emphasis is given to Creation and secondarily in Christ's birth and action.

Both narrations reminiscent *Creed,* especially in the beginning. Both start with the events of Creation giving emphasis to God´s omnipotence. *CMC* is more concise in this aspect (vv. 331-332), while E dedicates eight verses (1808-1815). *Jimena* in the *CMC* reminds God of the Crea-

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[13] Russell 1978, 117-118.

[14] See vv. 1805-1807 in Alexiou 1985, 71.

[15] Gimeno Casalduero 1957-1958, 113, Zaderenko 2007, 228.

[16] Baños Vallejo 1994, 206-207. Positioned in favor of the narrative character of the prayer in the *CMC* are Menéndez Pidal and Milá Fontanals (see footnotes 2 and 3 in Gimeno Casalduero 1957-1958, 113). Russell 1978, 116 is potitioned against the narrative character of this prayer in the *CMC*.

[17] According to Russell 1978, 119 incovation in CMC is done in the usual way of the French prayers and comes from the Latin religious liturgical phraseology.

tion of the Universe's elements (Heaven and Earth, sea, stars and moon, sun). Certainly, as noted by Russell, the text does not follow the chronological order of Old Testament. What matters here is not Doctrine, but to demonstrate the omnipotence of God. Important detail: God made sun for heating, not to illuminate.[18] The scene is more extensive in *E*. Here again, the second singular person predominates. In addition to other common elements of Creation, we also find references to the creation of Adam and Eve (1812) and the Paradise (1813), elements lacking from the *CMC*.[19] Apart from the Divine Omnipotence, a first reference is made to the compassionate God: *who hast shown light and air to wretched me*; (1815)

Then, both texts refer to the second person of the Trinity, Christ. Essentially, the narration of Creation is united with the arrival of Christ, so often we can not distinguish to which person of the Holy Trinity the prayer addresses. For the folk tradition, God is one, without distinction of persons.

The byzantine poem dedicates significantly fewer verses to Christ (*E* 1816-1820/1). It refers to Descent from Heaven, Incarnation, admirable Nativity, Passion, Crucifixion and Resurrection.[20] Praying addresses to Christ twice (1816, 1820/1) and once to God (1817). Two points deserve to be attended to. On the one hand, the Omnipotence of God and, on the other, His greatest love for man. Vv. 1816 and 1820/1 refer to the omnipotent Divine will, while vv. 1817, 1822 emphasize that God and Christ always act for human well being. These two points are highlighted in other parts of prayer, as we will see below. After these verses, the Byzantine poem goes directly to the request, which, as we shall see, includes references to Christ's miracles.

CMC dedicates many more verses to Christ's life and action (333-360). Narrative order is, at first, chronological, reminiscent of the second part of the *Creed*: Incarnation and Nativity (333-334), Adoration

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[18] Russell 1978, 120.

[19] Alexiou 1985 refers to Patristic and Liturgical sources of vv. 1810, 1815. See footnotes in vv. 1810, 1815 on page 153.

[20] Sources of vv. 1818 and 1819 respectively are the *Supplication Canon to the Theotokos* and the *Canon of Christmas*. See, Alexiou 1985, footnote in verses 1818-1819, p. 153.

of Shepherds and Magicians (335-338).[21] As it also happens in *E*, CMC already from v. 334 emphasizes the power of the Divine will, which is something repeated in vv. 338, 346, 359. Also in v. 333, as shown in the original Spanish text (*prisist encarnación*) the disposal of Christ is active. As we'll see in the verses that follow, God's will is connected with a series of miracles. A favorable answer to the prayer will depend on God's will. The text emphasizes on the omnipotence of the Divine's will, as well as on Jimena's belief that God can exercise his will for *Cid's* safety.[22]

As the text continues, the chronological order of the narrative is interrupted. While up to this point it emphasizes the Lord's greatness and omnipotence, the digression of vv. 339-342, which begins with the repeated verb "*you saved*", is associated with miracles, testified in the Old Testament and Life of Saints. These verses underline the mercy of God, who would be pleased to help Cid in danger, as He did with other people mentioned in vv. 339-342. Of course, someone would easily notice that, except for the case of St. Sebastian (v. 341), the three miracles mentioned should be reasonably attributed to God and not to Christ, as they come from the Old Testament. It should be noted that matters of chronological consistency are less important than the poet's desire to show God's mercy. Facts showing God as Omnipotent require order, which is cleaved by those that present him as Merciful. We should also not be surprised by the confusion between the two persons of the Holy Trinity, always present in popular consciousness.[23]

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[21] About vv. 333-334, Russell 1978, 120 notes that they follow the French model. For vv. 335-338 see Russell 1978, 121-122.

[22] For the meaning of the Divine's will see Russell 1978, 120-121, Zaderenko 2007, 230. Russell notes that it is a French influence that the Castilian creator develops stylistically. In his opinion, see p. 116, emphasis given to God's Omnipotence aims to remind God that He has the power to overcome human law with a new miracle saving *Cid* from the danger.

[23] On the issue of the existence of a chronological order or not, see Gimeno Casalduero 1957-1958, 115, 117, 119, Zaderenko 2007, 229. Russell 1978, 122-123 notes that vv. 339-342 remind of Latin prayers, especially those before dying (*ordo commendationis animae*). Also, in pp. 123-124 analyzes the above verses. For the old model of prayer, style *Ordo ...* see Gimeno Casalduero 1957-1958, 118.

Then, the text returns to chronological order. Eighteen whole verses follow, devoted to Christ, the *spiritual Lord*, and His miraculous action (vv. 343-360). According to the *CMC*, Lord walked the earth for 32 years providing His benefits to people (343-344): he turned water into wine and stone into bread (345), resurrected Lazarus (346). He was voluntarily caught and crucified between two criminals, one saved, and one not (347-350). Even on the cross did not stop helping people (351). He cured Longinus from his blindness (352-357). When resurrected, which is the greatest miracle of all, He went to Hades, broke its doors and liberated the Holy Fathers (358-360). The New Testament and the popular traditions are the sources of the poet.[24]

Points deserving attention are the voluntary capture of the Lord by the Jews (347), the detailed reference to Longinus, while other miracles are briefly presented, the confusion of the miracle of the water with the Temptation in the desert (345), the reversal of the correct sequence of events in vv. 358-359. Let's not forget that this is a poetic text and a popular prayer that serves specific purposes, therefore accuracy of facts is not required. What matters is to show how wondrous the life of the Lord was. It is time for a wonderful help to *Cid*. Invocation of miracles reveals the Lord's omnipotence and especially His mercy and affection for every human being. The absolute faith in God and Christ, (*he [Longinus] believed in you instantly, therefore he is free from evil, v. 357*) and the reference to their omnipotence are the basis of the claim that will follow.

As we have already seen in both narrations, for the Father and the Son nothing is impossible, so why not answer the prayers of the two women? So, the request follows in both poems.

Request in *E* occupies 37 lines (vv. 1823-1860), much more than the rest of the prayer and what we see in *CMC*. The frequent repetition of the invocation to Christ in second person (vv. 1823, 1824, 1826, 1833, 1834, 1839, 1842, 1844, 1846, 1848, 1852, 1857) is characteristic. The vast extension of the request and the constant invocation of the charity

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[24] For vv. 345-360 see Russell 1978, 126-129, Zaderenko 2007, footnotes 24 and 25, p. 230. For vv. 351-357 see Saracino 2007. For vv. 358-361 see Rosende 2007. For Resurrection and Ascension in the *CMC* see Redfield 1986.

of the Lord indicate the extreme drama of the scene. Besides, it is not just the uncertainty and danger risk, as in the *CMC*, but the certainty of death that awaits *Akritis*.

Wife asks the benevolent Christ to resurrect her lord, give him health, not to allow his death (vv. 1823-1825). Asks him to do what he did with Lazarus, moved by the grief of Martha and Mary. Besides, the young man has pinned all his hopes in Him (vv. 1826-1832). It is a first digression with reference to a miracle in the request.[25] Then, again in second person, the woman addresses to the only knower of hearts and benevolent despot (v. 1833), reporting back on what he did out of love for man: endured poverty voluntarily, wore human illness and weakness, fed a crowd with only five breads (vv. 1834-1836). It combines reference to the Lord's mercy and the miracle He performed.

Invocation continues even stronger. It's a cry of despair. The woman, with a series of imperatives, asks the Lord to not overlook her supplication, but to send His mercy: to resurrect the young man from death, since He awaits every sinner to come to repentance (1837-1847). God is begged to save him, as he saved Peter from drowning, clearly referring to the New Testament (vv. 1848-1851). This is the third miracle inserted into the request, just to show the Lord's mercy, which is also illustrated by the words used in a particular invocation to Him (1823, 1824, 1827, 1833, 1842, 1844, 1848).[26] However, the wife presents an alternative: if it's not God's will to save him, let Him take her first: she would not want to be left a widow, nor to see him dead (vv. 1852-1860). Besides, nothing is impossible for Christ (1860). Here ends the prayer in *E*.

In *CMC* the request is summarized in only the last two verses of the prayer (vv. 364-365). Says *Jimena*: "*for my Cid the Campeador, may God keep him from harm, now that today we are separating, in this life bring us together*" (it is the first time we hear it). Of course, we find again the full faith invocation of his wife to Christ and his Father: *you are king of kings and Father of all the world, I adore and believe you with all my heart* (vv. 361-362). *Jimena* also invokes the help of St.

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[25] For v. 1827 see Alexiou 1985, footnote in v. 1827, p. 154.

[26] For the influence of religious texts in vv. 1838, 1847, 1850 see Alexiou 1985, footnote in vv. 1838, 1847, 1850, pp. 154-155.

Peter, whose name honors the monastery where she will be accommodated. Furthermore, it is the space where the prayer takes place (v. 363).

Through the request, therefore, a favor is asked, associated with miracles described. The text also includes a confession of faith on the part of the prayer, reinforced with new invocation of God or requesting the intervention of the Saints.[27] According to Russell, *Jimena's* confession of faith in vv. 361-362 is a specificity of the text. The poet did not want to present the hero himself praying, so he uses *Jimena* to do this after the Liturgy. Two different types of prayer are combined here: the one that asks for Divine assistance as with biblical persons and the other that highlights personal faith. *Creed* begins with Longinus (357) and continues with *Jimena* (362).[28] From her side, Zaderenko notes that the request for mediation of St. Peter is associated with the desire of the author to connect the monastery with the subsequent success of *Cid*. *Jimena's* prayer ends here.[29]

Some final thoughts

But what is the result of these prayers? In *CMC* we soon find out: after a few verses, Archangel Gabriel appears in *Cid*'s dream (vv. 405-412) assuring him (v. 409) that everything will go well. The hero wakes up and expresses his gratitude.[30] Indeed, *Cid* is expelled, goes through many adventures, but finally, after the conquest of Valencia, he earns the forgiveness of the King and his favor, joins his family again and arranges second marriages for his daughters, with the princes of Navarre and the Aragon. What could be better than these developments.

Jimena's prayer is a very interesting part of the *CMC*. The poet attaches particular importance to it: narration stops at a static episode at a time when the hero ought to be in a hurry to cross the border.[31] In our opinion, however, the hero's successes are the product of his own efforts

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[27] Gimeno Casalduero 1957-1958, 113-114.

[28] Russell 1978, 130.

[29] Zaderenko 2007, footnote 26, p. 230. For the role of St. Peter see Russell 1978, 131.

[30] For these verses see Montaner 2007, 28-29.

[31] Russell 1978, 117.

and struggles and not of some supernatural Divine intervention. In any case, answer to the prayer is self-evident in the *CMC*. Simply, extensive prayer gives one more opportunity to ''demonstrate religiosity'', and takes place in a church connected directly to the legend of *Cid*, which is something to be expected in a medieval text. It also shows the love that *Jimena* has for her husband, which is evident in other parts of the *Cantar*. Invocation of the Divine, as we suggested in our thesis, exists in dozens of other cases in the text, but to a lesser extent. *CMC* is, in our opinion, a medieval text of a medium religiosity.

On the other hand, impact of prayer in *E* is immediate: an Angel of death acts here, not an Angel of hope as we see in the *CMC*. God listens to the second request and gets the wife first to Hades, followed by *Akritis* (1861-1867).[32] However, the text is not known for its warm religiosity. As we argued in our thesis, references to the Divine are extremely limited in the poem. In this sense, the presence of such a lengthy prayer towards the end of the text surprises the reader. This prayer does not relate to the general style of the rest of the text. It is governed by a scholarly style, reminiscent of ecclesiastical texts, and differs essentially in language, style and versification. So it was seen by many prominent scholars as a later addition.[33]

We think, that indeed the poet would not want to let the hero die in an antiheroic way, leaving his wife a widow or even agreeing to a second marriage of her. A ''reasonable'' end would be to find a way for her to die as well. For this to happen it was necessary to add this lengthy prayer, which included finally the second request. The hero could not be saved, so at least the poet lets him die together with his wife. It is an opportunity for the poet to show once again *Akritis'* love for his wife and

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[32] Alexiou 1985, 73.

[33] Alexiou 1985, Λς notes that these verses seem to be a pseudo-archaic scholar addition to the original form of *E* influenced by religious texts. He attributes it to another poet and notes some inconsistencies with the rest of the text. For all these reasons, Alexiou integrates these verses in a special annex at the end of his edition of 1985. This annex is evidenced in all editions and therefore an integral part of the poem. Prof. Alexiou on page 154 in response to v.1845 notes that the death scene lacks confession, priest and Holy Communion. Also in pp. ρα-ρβ notes that popular Christianity dominates in *E,* by a poet who knows the basic tenets, loves Virgin Mary, saints, icons, but nothing deeper.

close the poem without suspense.[34]

We have before us two popular invented prayers which serve specific purposes. Prayer in *CMC* is based on liturgical and paraliturgical elements while that of *Akritis* revokes New Testament and ecclesiastical liturgical texts. We also referred to the style, position and functional role of the two prayers. What is certain is that they constitute another comparable dimension between two epic traditions, the Castilian and the Byzantine one, and they could be the basis of a wider study of religiosity in both poems, which we hope to do in another occasion.

Annex

Cantar de mio Cid 330-365

-Oh glorious Lord, Father who art in Heaven, 330
you made Heaven and Earth, and thirdly the sea,
you made stars and moon, and the sun for heating,
you became incarnate in mother Holy Mary,
in Bethlehem you were born, as was your will,
shepherds glorified you, they praised you, 335
three kings from Arabia came to worship you,
Melchior, and Caspar, and Balthasar, gold and frankincense and myrrh
they offered you, as was your will.
You saved Jonah when he fell into the sea,
you saved Daniel from the lions in the evil den, 340
in Rome you saved lord Saint Sebastian,
you saved Saint Susanna from false witness,
on Earth you walked for thirty-two years, spiritual Lord,
performing miracles, therefore we have much to tell,
from water you made wine and from stone, bread, 345
you raised up Lazarus, as was your will,
you let yourself be taken prisoner by the Jews, in a place they call
Mount Calvary
they put you on a cross, in a place named Golgotha,

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[34] Castillo Didier 1994, page 60, footnote 108 notes that woman's death before her husband's is a normal motif in Greek folk songs.

two thieves with you, these on either side,
one is in Paradise, for the other one did not enter there, 350
while you were on the cross you performed a great miracle,
Longinus was blind, he never ever had seen.
He pierced your side with his lance, from whence blood flowed,
the blood ran down the shaft, his hands wet with it,
he raised them up, brought them to his face, 355
he opened his eyes, he looked in every direction,
he believed in you instantly, therefore he is free from evil.
In the sepulcher you arose and went into Hell,
as was your will,
you broke down the gates and brought out the holy fathers. 360
You are the king of kings and father of all the world,
I adore and believe in you with all my heart,
and I pray to Saint Peter that he help me pray
for my Cid the Campeador, may God keep him from harm,
now that today we are separating, in this life bring us together.- 365

(English translation by Bailey, 2004)

Digenis Akritis E 1808-1860

'Lord God, King of all, ruler of the ages,
Thou who hast made the firmament and founded the earth;
who hast walled round the boundless sea with sand 1810
and ordered the fish to breed in it;
who hast made Adam from earth, and Eve;
who hast planted delightful Paradise by hand;
who hast set up mountains and glades by word;
who hast shown light and air to wretched me; 1815
who hast descended, Word, from the heavens at will;
and who hast taken on the form of flesh for me, my Maker;
and who hast taken for Thy mother the stainless heaven.
Born without change,
and suffering, as Thou hast deemed fit, and crucified, my Christ; 1820/1
making a gift of resurrection unto me the fallen one:
loving One, resurrect my lord;
and Word, merciful as Thou art, restore him to health;
and may I never see the death of the one of my desire. 1825
But, my Christ, even as thou hast on a time resurrected Lazarus,

when, loving One, thou sawest Martha and Mary
shedding tears ardently;
even so now resurrect a youth despaired of
by all physicians, acquaintances and friends, 1830
and who places in Thee all hopes,
and who takes cheer always in Thy aid.
Yea, loving Master, only knower of hearts,
Yea, Lord, Thou who hast endured poverty for my sake,
who willingly put on the garb of my weakness; 1835
who nourished a boundless multitude with five loaves;
do not overlook the prayer of unworthy me,
but quickly send mercy in holiness;
bend Thine ear, Master, hearken unto my wish;
be swift now to aid me in time of need; be swift in grief; 1840
come to the aid of us who pray;
and merciful One, make miracles for Thy pity.
Resurrect from Death Thy suppliant, merciful One; 1844
snatch from Death a young man who has not repented; 1845
for thou hast said, Master, that Thou wishest not at all
the death of a sinner, but that he turn back to the right path.
And now, loving God, help him who lies sick,
and stretch out Thy mighty hand as benefactor;
and as Thou hast saved Peter from danger of the sea, 1850
so now, Master, take pity on Thy hopeless suppliant.
But if not, master, decree that I die first:
may I not see him voiceless, lying breathless,
with his lovely eyes hidden;
may I not see his fine hands, expert in deeds of might, 1855
crossed, arranged in the order of death.
Christ, do not overlook my tears as I pray;
do not permit me to look on such great affliction;
but take my soul before this come to pass;
for thou canst do all things by word; nought is impossible for Thee.'

(English translation by Ricks, 1990, pp. 167, 169)

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The Politics of Marriage and Liebestod in Chortatsis' *Erophile*

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Introduction

This paper[1] will discuss the impact that "arranged marriages" had on women's life, as it is delineated in the tragedy *Erophile*[2] written by Georgios Chortatsis around 1595,[3] during the period of the late Renaissance in Crete. The French anthropologist and ethnologist Levi-Strauss states in *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*[4] that "marriage is regarded everywhere as a particularly favourable occasion for the initiation or development of a cycle of exchange." He further points out that women have been nothing more and nothing less than an exchanged object, the supreme gift among "other goods, material and spiritual" in an arranged marriage. Hence, marriage arrangements were considered to be the "weightiest business" for a family. This financial transaction was rationalised in terms of providing for women's financial protection and the enhancement of her kin.[5] Women had to accept the husband chosen for them or risk disaster. A rebellious, disobedient and undutiful daughter threatened social stability and the patriarchal system

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[1] This paper is a slightly modified version of my Master's Thesis, submitted in 2013 with the title "*Liebestod, Eros* and *Thanatos* in the Cretan Renaissance: Women's social role as depicted by Georgios Chortatsis in the Tragedy *Erophile*".

[2] The edition used for this paper is: Stylianos Alexiou - Martha Aposkiti, *Ερωφίλη τραγωδία Γεωργίου Χορτάτση.* Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Στιγμή, 1988.

[3] This date is proposed by Alexiou (1988: 12). Other scholars date the tragedy to between 1573 till 1600.

[4] Levi-Strauss (1969: 63).

[5] Hufton (1993: 16).

and might face death in challenging parental rule. A marriage in which a father's and daughter's choice of the husband coincided was probably the exception.[6]

The authority of fathers in the Renaissance was considerable, although dramatists such as Shakespeare and his contemporary Cretan poets Chortatsis and Kornaros called it into question. Are there any limits? What about love? How far can an enraged father go? Tragedies written at that time graphically depict the verbal and physical violence that a father might inflict on his defiant daughter. A female rejecting the "masculine code"[7] is always mistreated and sometimes has to pay the ultimate price for her disobedience. The fate of Renaissance women was closely intertwined with the interests of the male members of their family. In the tragedy *Erophile*, Chortatsis depicts this desperate clash between father and daughter. Furthermore, the detrimental power of *Eros* over the protagonists causes them to confront the omnipotence of *Thanatos* and gradually overcomes their survival instinct. Unrequited or thwarted love in combination with inexorable social pressure triggers their death which would further be linked to the *Liebestod*[8] motive.

My literary and "historical" investigation will further take into account the intermingling of Cretan and Venetian culture on the island during the late Renaissance period. Given the long duration of the island's subjection to Venetian rule (from 1211-1669) and the fact that the Cretan nobility tended to be educated in Italy, the population was inevitably exposed to a new culture,[9] and this set in train "a syncretism" on which the intellectual and artistic Renaissance of Venetian-ruled Crete was to be based.[10] However, while my aim is to link the narrative content of the tragedy to its contemporary historical context with a view to

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[6] Hansen (1993: 13).

[7] Ibid., (1993: 11).

[8] In the opera *Tristan und Isolde* Richard Wagner for the first time uses the term *Liebestod* to define the yearning of two lovers to unite in death.

[9] Holton (1991: 2). According to Holton the impact of the conquerors' culture on the island was neither prompt nor decisive. It is, however, indisputable that the achievements of the Italian Renaissance were disseminated on the island during the years of Venetian rule.

[10] Detorakis (1994: 191).

shedding light on women's social role in Cretan society during the late Renaissance period, I am well aware of the implications of the fact that *Erophile* is a work of poetic imagination and theatrical form. It is certainly not to be confused with a work of historiography, and accordingly the correlation of the narrative content of the play with historical data will be cautious and tentative. Finally, the interpretation of aspects of love and death impinges on philosophical thought where the play suggests their deep connection.

The plot

Filogonos, ascending to power after having murdered his brother, the King of Egypt, proceeds to marry his widowed sister-in-law and maintains his reign by force. The Queen dies very young leaving Erophile, her only daughter and heir to the throne, motherless and vulnerable. The King adopts Panaretos, a boy of royal origin, who spends his childhood alongside the Princess Erophile. When the two grow up, they fall in love and secretly marry. Upon uncovering their secret, King Filogonos ruthlessly sets in train his elaborate plan of revenge. Erophile's eloquent attempts to soften her father's heart and secure his forgiveness are in vain. The King first tortures Panaretos and finally kills him in a brutal fashion and takes revenge on his daughter Erophile by presenting to her, as a wedding gift, a casket containing the mutilated head, heart and hands. Devastated, Erophile mourns the remains of Panaretos and commits a spectacular – on stage – suicide. Nena, Europhile's nurse, leads the final retaliation, supported by the women of the chorus: they kill the King, and complete the "catharsis."

Analysis

Erophile spends her childhood "κοπελίστικο καιρό" (I 150) in the palace in the company of Panaretos, whom the King had adopted for the purpose of providing companionship for his motherless daughter.[11] It is

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[11] Although Erophile and Panaretos were separated when they reached puberty and Ero-

not surprising that a deep affection forms between them and develops on Erophile's part into an exclusive preference for Panaretos. Erophile's feelings for Panaretos are described by Chortatsis as sisterly,[12] "σά νά 'θελά 'σται αδέλφι τση μ' αγάπησε περίσσα" (I 154). Their companionship is seen as harmless since they are as children considered to be "innocent" but upon reaching the age of consent to an arranged marriage, Erophile constantly ran the risk of harming her reputation for chastity and modesty and thereby diminishing her "marriageability".[13] Bancroft-Marcus remarks on the danger faced by young women of staining their reputation as "the smallest unsanctioned physical contact could stir malicious gossip, since only officially engaged couples were permitted to talk freely, hold hands, embrace and kiss."[14] As an unmarried girl, her honour should have been protected by the male members of her family, but her trustworthy nurse is charged with the laborious task of keeping a constant eye on her. Being the only child, she enjoys the exclusive and boundless love of her father, but at the same time she is the only heir and bears the responsibility for serving her family's interest.

The fact that she is a motherless child is a decisive factor in determining her tragic end. According to Gediman's[15] psychoanalytic investigation of the legend of Tristan and Isolde[16] the loss of a parent in childhood can lead to a longing for parental love and this in turn can lead to a lifelong struggle and a death wish, in order for the child to be eternally reunited with the lost parent. It is striking that also in other

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phile entered marriageable age, King Filogonos is deemed by his close advisor to have contributed to the development of amorous sentiments between the two children by allowing children of different sexes to consort with each other.

[12] The incest theme explicitly mentioned in Erophile's immediate prototype *Orbecche* is perhaps distantly echoed here. Chortatsis most probably considered the subject incompatible with the sensitivities of his Cretan audience. Bursian (1870: 549) considers the incest theme in *Orbecche* to be unsuccessful and states that its omission in *Erophile* is a great advantage ("grosser Vorzug") of the Cretan tragedy.

[13] Hansen (1993: 11).

[14] Bancroft-Marcus (1983: 20).

[15] Gediman (1995: 36)

[16] *Tristan und Isolde* (c. 1210-1215) by Gottfried von Strassburg.

Cretan Renaissance works the female protagonists are motherless.[17] The psychological effect of orphanhood was compounded by the sociological, inasmuch as her early deprivation of her mother exposed Erophile to the full force of the patriarchal system without the protection of motherly love. On the other hand, not having a female role-model to follow, Erophile develops her own female identity, much more influenced by the male identity of the era and in particular that of her father. A mother figure might have inspired Erophile to develop a compliant and obedient character disposed to accept the role of an exchangeable commodity for which she would normally have been destined. The absence of maternal influence allows Erophile to transgress the boundaries of her sex and social class, and contributes to her tragic suicide. Hirsch[18] succinctly states the multidimensional importance of mothers as role-models.

Furthermore the mother herself became a feminine role-model whose actions and precepts instilled in her daughter the means of appearing as a compliant and desirable object to the opposite sex.[19] This form of femininity, "translated" as conforming to the social rules and obedient to the patriarchal system, perpetuated the social order and kept women in a subordinate role. Although Erophile's maternal figure is replaced by Nena, her nurse,[20] Nena is torn between her love for Erophile and her

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[17] Namely Panoria, the Shepherdess and Aretousa, in the pastoral tragicomedy *Panoria*, the pastoral idyll *The Shepherdess*, and the tragedy *King Rhodolinos* respectively. In the Arthurian tradition the female protagonist is also motherless (Queen Guinevere) and Shakespeare, a contemporary of Chortatsis, also presents motherless female protagonists.

[18] Hirsch (1981: 202). "There can be no systematic and theoretical study of women in patriarchal culture, there can be no theory of women's oppression, that does not take into account woman's role as a mother of daughters and as a daughter to mothers, that does not study female identity in relation to previous and subsequent generations of women, and that does not study that relationship in the wider context: the emotional, political, economic, and symbolic structures of family and society."

[19] Rasmussen (1997: 117).

[20] Klapisch-Zuber (1985: 135-8) states that giving a child to a nurse normally meant separation from it. Usually boys were nurtured at their home by a nurse while most girls were given away to the nurse's home. Erophile enjoys the benefits of being the only child and having her own nurse not only breast-feeding her but also being a permanent companion during her whole life.

obligations to keep her mistress in line. By trying to remind Erophile of the duties and responsibilities of her social rank, she hopes to protect her from harm. Erophile is well aware of her designated role and she expresses this burden thus:

> Ωφου, κακό μου ριζικό, κ' ίντα 'θελα τα πλούτη
> κ' ίντα 'θελα να γεννηθώ στην αφεντιάν ετούτη!
> Τι με φελούνε οι ομορφιές, τι με φελούν τα κάλλη,
> και τσ' όρεξής μου τα κλειδιά να τα κρατούσιν άλλοι; (II 49-54).

Apart from her orphanhood, which allowed the protagonist to move beyond her gender limits and her aristocratic origin, another determinant of the course of the plot is Erophile's beauty, which enhances her marriageability. The poet skillfully emphasises her physical attractiveness. Her beauty was unmatched and fully in harmony with the beauty standards of the Renaissance period and the "chivalrous and romantic Petrarchists" who considered woman "as a beautiful goddess, a pure and celestial angel"[21] (τέτοια κάλλη; το πρόσωπο τ' αγγελικό; το πρόσωπο τ' όμορφο; Βασιλοπούλα ομορφοκαμωμένη; μιας κόρης όμορφης; με δίχως ταίρι σ' τσ' ομορφιές κ' εις τα περίσσα κάλλη; η νεράιδα ή όμορφη; στα χιόνια του προσώπου τση).[22] Women have tended to primarily be identified as either beautiful or not, as a 16th-century text declared "Of an ugly girl nothing is expected."[23] Andrew the Chaplain (Andreas Cappelanus), the theoretician of courtly love in the Middle Ages, believed that beauty is the only foundation for love to the extent of claiming that blind people are unable to experience amorous sentiments.[24]

Hence, Erophile's physical attractiveness and social status as demonstrated above made her a desirable object of love and immediately justify Panaretos's feelings. Belonging to a lower social class, he would clearly stand to gain substantially from a marital union with her. The following verses could not better summarize the benefits that Panaretos would have gained by a marriage with Erophile:

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[21] Bancroft-Marcus (1983: 28).

[22] Alexiou 1988: (I 244; I 246; I 299; I 309; II 319; I 309; III 194; I 373).

[23] Nahoum-Grappe (1993: 86).

[24] Bergman (1987: 97).

Παιδί ᾿σουνε ᾿νους βασιλιού, σαν έχομε πωμένο,
κ᾿ η τύχη σε κατάφερε σ᾿ τούτο τον τόπο ξένο,
κι αγάλια αγάλια σ᾿ έκαμε, σα βρίσκεσαι, μεγάλο
στ᾿ αφέντη μας την επαρχιά παρά κιανένα άλλο,
κ᾿ εκείνο απ᾿ όλες τσ᾿ άλλες σου καλομοιριές σφαλίζει:
με τσ᾿ Ερωφίλης την παντρειά στ᾿ άστρα η κορφή σου αγγίζει.
(I 451-456)

McKee,[25] referring to Veneto-Cretan women in the 14th century, i.e. during the Venetian occupation of the island, remarks on the low percentage of intermarriage between Latin noble women and Cretan men due to the valuable property that would have been transferred by way of marriage dowry to the benefit of the husband's family. She further states that although society did actually accept intermarriage, with some reluctance,[26] there are only five marriages between Latin women and Greek men recorded among the nobility in the legal will-documents during the early Renaissance period in Crete.[27] This could also with due reservation reflect the relative status of aristocratic women and lower class men in Venetian Crete at the late renaissance period and the potential of the marriage of a noble woman to redistribute wealth and power on the island. Little wonder then that the King rages at his son-in-law and ironically refers to him as worthy, "τον άξο μου γαμπρό" (IV 647).

Erophile on the other hand desperately attempts to convince her father of Panaretos's qualities; she reminds him of her lover's commendable attributes and wisdom (χάρες, αρετές, γνώσες), virtues that could have given the King some scope to accept his son-in-law, but in the event his rejection sheds further light on Medieval and Renaissance society, where patricians distinguished themselves from the masses, not only by the title acquired at birth, but also by their wealth. Panaretos's claims to nobility are not consistent with his financial situation. Erophile

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[25] McKee (1993: 233).

[26] Maltezou (1991: 33). Despite the fact that Venice forbade the Latin feudatories to marry Greek women, mixed marriages are documented in the sources from the end of the thirteenth century onwards.

[27] McKee (1993: 233).

confirms the complementarity of wealth and royalty in beseeching her father "πλούσο κι αδυνατότατο[28] και βασιλιό μεγάλο / θες τονέ κάμει να γενεί παρά κιανέναν άλλο" (IV 341-342).

Moreover, aristocratic origin and wealth were usually closely connected, and we know that although Panaretos claims to be son of the King of Tsertsa, he is still considered to be a mere servant of the King of Egypt and his daughter. His subordination is obvious in many verses where the protagonist uses words and phrases denoting his inferiority when he address the King's daughter, "την κερά μου/αφέντρα μου[29] / βασίλισσά μου" and the King himself, "τον αφέντη μου". The use of phrases recognising his vassal status, such as "σκλάβος σου / δούλος σου", further confirms his lower social class.

However, social changes took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and made it possible for a man not born into the aristocracy to achieve a gentleman's status by elegance, intellect, knowledge acquired through higher education and other abilities. Hence, Panaretos has to present other qualities of character or intellect to compensate for his lack of status, thereby justifying Erophile's choice. He adopts the techniques of courtly lovers as portrayed by poets and romance writers from the eleventh and twelfth century onward, where courtly love[30] made its appearance in the intellectual world and subsequently influenced the Medieval and Renaissance conception of the ideal man and woman. Following the patterns of courtly love both men and women in Renaissance had to present special characteristics. Men should in first place be devoted, dauntless, eloquent, knowledgeable and admirable. The virtues expected of women, on the other hand, were truthfulness, attractive-

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[28] "αδυνατότατο" here means quite the opposite of what it denotes in current standard Greek. In this verse it equates to "δυνατό" and is translated as "strong".

[29] Both words and phrases are repeated frequently in the tragedy.

[30] Marchello-Nizia (1997: 147-162). Courtly love was a literary creation and more precisely a poetic one in the 11th and 12th century in southern France, and was a result of social necessities. The adjective *courtois* makes its appearance in the *Chanson de Roland* for the first time. In the later 12th and 13th centuries the concept of adventure arrived to complicate the courtly characteristics; adventure served to test the courage, bravery and heroic virtues of a man.

ness, sensibility and elegance.[31] Panaretos seems to personify the courtly model of masculinity as portrayed by Duby.[32] Although his lady is not married as the perfect courtly woman model would have been, she is still not master of herself. Her father replaces the male authority that she has to obey and honour. The "lady" in this case, or borrowing Duby's[33] term the "prized body", is only won through great effort and risk. Like a knight in Medieval poetry or romance, he falls in love with the daughter of his master and has, therefore, to confront the dilemma to serve or betray him. Although Panaretos's devotion to the King is indisputable, his feelings for Erophile predominate. Wounded by love he endeavours to awaken love feelings in Erophile or to unconsciously manipulate her into confessing a mutual passion for him. He demonstrates his full submission and willingness to undertake any risk in order to compensate for his social inferiority and get his "final reward", the love of his lady. Duby's description of the sequence of actions required of a man in order to win the love of his lady wholly corresponds to Panaretos's course of action:[34]

> According to the social hierarchy of the time, she ranks above him. He calls attention to this fact through various gestures or allegiance. He kneels down, assuming the posture of a vassal **[κι ομπρός τση γονατίζω (I 307)].**

> He speaks pledging his faith, promising, like a liege man, not to offer his services to anyone else **[καθώς πάντα 'μου σκλάβος σου και δούλος μπιστικός σου / κι ουδένα πράμαν έκαμα δίχως τον ορισμό σου (I 311-312)].**

He goes even further; in the manner of a serf, he makes a gift of his person

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[31] Marchello-Nizia (1997: 149).

[32] Duby (1992: 250) explains the courtly model as a social necessity in response to a crisis in male-female relations in 12th century France. The medieval model of *fine amour* (refined love) was renamed as courtly love to describe the "emotional and physical" relations between men and women.

[33] Ibid., (251).

[34] Ibid., (251).

[μ' αντίς εκείνα την ψυχή και το κορμί μου δίνω / της αφεντιάς σου χάρισμα, πρόθυμα πάντα ομάδι / σ' πάσα μικράκι σου ορισμό να κατεβού στον Άδη (I 368-370).][35]

In the beginning Panaretos bases his responses on her glances, "το πρόσωπο 'δα τ' όμορφο, κ' η σπλαχνική θωριά τση / μου 'δειχνε πως εστέρευγε τον πόθον η καρδιά τση" (I 299-300), taking them as evidence that she was capable of reciprocating his feelings. Having the first sign of her potential interest in him, he will strive further to prove his chivalry and valiant nature. In his endeavours to win the love of his lady he uses every art of rhetorical dexterity, and his eloquence added to his other virtues make him an admirable representative of Renaissance man. Low[36] states that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries vast changes in the concept of people's private sphere started to "crystallize into recognizably modern form." These changes[37] were according to scholars, due to further shifts in various areas such as economy, science, politics, and religion in early modern times. Humanistic education of the time described the new man as a wondrous creature.[38] Castiglione portrayed this ideal man as a person who, apart from his grounding in Latin and Greek, would also be competent as a poet, historian and orator and dexterous in writing prose and poetry in the contemporary language, abilities that would contribute, besides his own satisfaction, also to women's admiration since they favour cultivated men.[39] Carpophoros, the confidant of Panaretos, corroborates this assumption in referring to women's "vulnerability" to nice wording and considers eloquence as the instigator

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[35] Bancroft-Marcus' translation: humbly knelt (I A 307); Since, as your servitor and faithful slave, I've never done one deed without your bidding (I 311-312); Instead, my soul and body I present as gifts to you, my lady; both prepared at your command to venture down to Hades!. (I 368-370).

[36] Low (1993: ix).

[37] Kelly-Gadol (1977: 161). Though Kelly-Gadol recognises these changes in Renaissance Italy, she states that the "procapitalistic economy, its states, and the humanistic culture" did not promote women's power but rather contributed to "mold the noble woman into an aesthetic object: decorous, chaste, and doubly dependent."

[38] Payne (1970: 92).

[39] Ibid., (92).

of passion among young girls: "τέτοιας λογής και τσι καρδιές, τα λόγια που γροικούσι / με τάξη απού τσ' αγαφτικούς οι κορασές, κινούσι / στον πόθο πλια παρά ποτέ περιτοπλιάς πωμένα / να 'ναι με τέχνη κι όμορφα περίσσα σοθεμένα" (I 327-330). Panaretos, on the other hand, refuses to exploit rhetoric when addressing Erophile and claims that passion and suffering have made his language skills seem eloquent and authentic.

Other favourable circumstances arise subsequently to allow Panaretos to demonstrate his chivalrous virtues and convince Erophile of his "fine Amor". A war with Persia[40] would provide an opportunity for him to reveal his potential and to impress the King and his daughter by putting his own life in danger as commanded. When the war finishes and he returns triumphantly to his country, a joust[41] organized by the King provides both a new challenge and a beneficial outcome. Though he proved himself in the war as an excellent warrior, his humble presence in front of the princess and the expression of his full submission to her, in keeping with chivalric practice, aim to enhance his image.

This is the last but one phase in the amorous conquest of Erophile. She responds, in a commonplace manner in romantic poetry of Chortatsis's time, by giving Panaretos a valuable amulet[42] or "γκόλφι"[43] from her own bosom, as a first token of her affection. The precious jewel is the first hint of her secret priceless love and carries connotations of women's power to "dispose their own wealth" and carry their dowry in the form of a "title, property, jewel gifts or cash out of the natal family to alien households after their marriage."[44] The poet skillfully introduces the challenges of war and the "giostra" to allow Panaretos to prove his heroism and also to express his full submission to the princess

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[40] Chortatsis makes deliberate use of anachronism when placing the war in Persia.

[41] Puchner (1998: 437) distinguishes between "torneo" and "giostra". The former represents Group-tournament (Gruppenkampf) while the latter is rather one-man tournament (Einzenkampf).

[42] In the twelfth century romance of Thomas of Britain, Tristan *and Isolde*, there exists an exact parallel when Isolde gives Tristan before separating a ring of green jasper and promises to love him with the perfect love: "Je vos pramet par fine amor" (line 2722).

[43] Bancroft-Marcus (2000: 354) links *golfi* with *enkolpion,* which could be a Byzantine reliquary.

[44] King (1991: 49).

through the verses "Μ' απείς η μάχη εσκόλασε...; Μ' απείς η γκιόστρα εσκόλασε" (I 297, I 359), which reflect the gradual and industrious endeavours and the difficult ordeals he had to endure to build up his image and secure the love of Erophile. A further hint of Panaretos's strategic plan, aimed at evoking mutual feelings in the heroine, is seen when he, as the winner of the tournament, visits her immediately "ζιμιόν".[45] He kneels down as a sign of his full submission, expresses his gratitude once again and apologises for not being able to offer her the "prizes" or "χαρίσματα"[46] (I 362) of the tournament since they are not appropriate or useful to a maiden. The inadequacy of Panaretos's material possessions, symbolised here by the "giostra's gifts", are balanced by his offer of his whole existence, "his body and soul", "η ψυχή και το κορμί μου" (I 368), to his lady. He admits to only fighting for her honour and says that his reward – the love of his lady – will form the highest of the rewards he could ever expect.

On the other hand, Erophile's resistance to the attack of *Eros*[47] is described in her spoken verses as very active. Chortatsis portrays his heroine striving to resist the amorous feelings because she foresees the social consequences:

> Χίλιες φορές μ' εδόξευγε, χίλιες να πιάνει τόπο
> στο νου μου δεν τον άφηνα μ' ένα γή μ' άλλο τρόπο
> χίλιες τ' αφτιά εμολύβωνα, για να μηδέ γροικούσι
> τσι σιργουλιές του τσι γλυκειές, τα μέλη να πονούσι
> χίλιες με την πορπατηξιά, χίλιες με μια και μ' άλλη
> στράτα τη θέρμη του έσβηνα στο νου μου τη μεγάλη (III 19-24).[48]

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[45] Reflecting the popular folk saying "το γοργόν και χάρη έχει."

[46] Puchner (1998: 442) mentions tournaments whose prize was a wife, "Brautgewinnung". Panaretos refers to his material prize though.

[47] Peri (1999: 130). Peri, referring to *Erotokritos*, argues the close connection between *Eros* and disease and illustrates in his scheme five main functions of *Eros*, namely the "attack of *Eros*, the passive reactions of the person in love, the active resistance of the enamored, the domination of *Eros* and the surrender."

[48] Bancroft-Marcus' translation: Love shot a thousand darts; a thousand times my mind refused to let him gain a foothold; A thousand times I sealed my ears against his honey-eyed coaxing to indulge my yearning. A thousand times I tried, by walking or some other way, to quench his heat within me.

The power of *Eros*, as it is delineated in the chorus of the tragedy, justifies the dynamic and defiant character of the heroine. The omnipotence of *Eros* in all human beings and gods, the ruler of all earth and water and animator of fauna and flora requires strong characters who enamoured will strive to unite with their beloved withstanding any impediments.

Furthermore, *Eros* is powerfully presented in the tragedy as an archer (μ' εδόξευγε), a soldier (ήτο του πολέμου; στρατιώτης), a master in love matters (μάστορας καλός) who makes his victims suffer (μ' επαίδευγε) until they give in. On the other hand, *Eros* is also illustrated as sweet (γλυκύς), as a small child (παιδάκιν ίσα)[49] and as a friend (φίλος). He is described as a teacher (εδιδασκάλευγέ με) and as a manipulator of the human mind "χίλια ακριβά τασσίματα μου 'τασσε κάθα μέρα / και χίλια μου 'κτιζε όμορφα περβόλια στον αέρα"[50].

Chortatsis's protagonist might be said to represent the Renaissance woman who would not be allowed as a young girl to bear sexual feelings for a man nor to fulfil her deepest desire in her private life. Matthews-Grieco[51] points out that sexuality during the Renaissance period became a matter of concern for both "secular and religious authorities" and the human body was the object of a "conflicting attitude". The Medieval mistrust of the body because it was considered weak and "ephemeral" still survived in people's mind, while on the other hand, the Renaissance rediscovered the nude body and rehabilitated its physical attractiveness. However, sexuality was only acceptable in combination with marriage and "then solely in the function of procreation". Erophile's sexual desire for Panaretos echoes in the language as "τα μέλη να πονούσι" (III 22); "τη θέρμη του έσβηνα στο νου μου τη μεγάλη" (III 24) and emphasises bodily reactions more than the spiritual. The omnipotence of Eros forces Erophile finally to surrender and admit her strong mutual feelings towards Panaretos, and a secret marriage by exchange of wedding rings

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[49] The child is Cupid, the Latin name of *Eros*, the ancient god of love and desire, son of Aphrodite. He is often represented blindfolded symbolising that love is blind.

[50] Alexiou 1988: (III 19; III 25; III 30; III 25; III 31; III 29; III 30; III 28; III 38; III 33-34).

[51] Matthews-Grieco (1993: 46).

and vows comes to crown their unconditional love and deep devotion.[52]

Undoubtedly, the recipe for a good tragedy often relies on the inescapable destiny of a strong female character captured in a passionate relationship and refusing to compromise in any way. Erophile combines all these. She is in love; she fights for her right to make her personal choices and leaves no scope for compromise. It is striking that she makes frequent use in her rhetoric of the negative particle δεν ("not") (act II, throughout the second scene) when justifying her secret marriage and passion for Panaretos. These continuous negations delineate Erophile's unyielding character and her defiance of social convention, which determine the course of the tragic plot. Nena, Europhile's nurse[53] exhibits in her spoken verses the lucidity of a Renaissance woman in foreshadowing the tragic end and acknowledging the role of women:

> Να ρίζει ο κύρης το παιδί σ' όλους μας είν' δοσμένο
> κι όποιο παιδί το θέλει αλλιώς, είν' καταδικασμένο (II 61-62).

McKee states in her historical article concerning women in Crete, under Venetian occupation in the 14th century, that Greek women were ranked lower than Greek and Latin men, and explains that this is due to the intention of the conqueror to downgrade the natives in social, juridical and economic areas. Women had to suffer doubly in this situation, by virtue of being Greek added to the disadvantage of being women.[54] Furthermore, women should honour and obey their fathers, brothers, or husbands, who for their part were responsible for the woman's well being, which was in most cases "translated" as agreement to an arranged marriage in order to compensate the responsible men for the years of

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[52] There is no mention of a marriage ceremony. The secret marriage included an exchange of wedding rings and vows leaving us to wonder if it would have been legally accepted. An illegitimate marriage would be easy to cancel, but Erophile strongly rejects this when Nena suggests it to her by way of "correcting her mistake".

[53] Holton (2000: 124-125) points out that the Cretan poets selected names for their heroes appropriate to their character, social status or profession. Hence, the name of Europhile's nurse Chrisonomi makes allusion to her role as a wise woman, advising her mistress to accept the social rules applicable to women of that time.

[54] McKee (1998: 37, 41).

"sheltering and protecting" their female family members. Besides, marriage served as an implement of social and economic advancement, a process in which women were treated as a marketable commodity.

Despite her full conviction as to the flawlessness of her decisions, Chortatsis reveals his heroine's doubts and fears through her dreams. Her nightmares reflect her agony of knowing too well the full extent of the consequences that would be sure to follow upon revelation of her secret marriage; this indeed would be the catalyst to the wrath of her father. Her dreams prophesy her tragic destiny. The dangers she is exposed to in her nightmares symbolise the real confrontation of insuperable obstacles in her real life. Darkness, ghosts of dead kings from the past, lions, wild animals, blood, dark caves and wild waves in the sea[55] announce her vulnerability and her awareness of the perils of fighting against the whole "dark" patriarchal system. Therefore, her nightmare with the two doves functions as prophetic as it is a delineation of her current situation. They symbolise her and her beloved and portray their relationship. The way the two doves die is crucial to the interpretation of the dream. One of the doves has been devoured after being badly mauled by the wolf. Panaretos's death will follow the same pattern. He not only will be killed by the vengeful King, but also be mangled and offered as a gruesome wedding present to Erophile. It is striking that Erophile's interpretation of the dream bears witness to her awareness of her social role and of the consequences of her defiance of the predestined gender role of a noble woman. She defines herself and her beloved as the prey and her father as the predator:

λούπης μην είν' ο κύρης μου τρομάσσω και φοβούμαι,
κ' εμείς τα περιστέρια αυτά κι ομάδι σκοτωθούμε (II 161-162).

The double death of the doves evincing their unconditional love and devotion, alludes to the theme of *Liebestod* and foreshadows the fatal end of the lovers.

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[55] In Kornaro's verse romance *Erotokritos*, which was influenced by Chortatsis, the heroine Aretousa also dreams of the wild sea which symbolizes the danger to which she is exposed, *Erotokritos* (IV, 53-76).

Indeed, a defiant daughter, uncompromising and till the end combative for her right to be her own master, "ορίζουσιν άλλοι την εμαυτή μου" (II 59), while trying to escape her social boundaries, will face the cruelty of her only close blood relative. It is obvious that both lovers consciously gave in to their "inappropriate" love, increased the potential for tragedy by a secret marriage and further provoked their destiny by being absolutely uncompromising thereafter. A love affair that is ratified by a "marriage" and furthermore consummated leaves no scope for retrieval and irreparably harms Erophile's "marriageability". The fact that she cannot further serve her father as an exchangeable object since there are no negotiable "remains" of his noble daughter challenges her destiny[56] and contributes to the condemnation of Erophile.

On the other hand, Cretan tragedy, through the depiction of a strong woman who defends her right to her private life, could be reflecting the endeavours of contemporary noble women to participate in the social changes that took place during the Renaissance period[57] on the island. Although Erophile's actions surpass women's behaviour of her time, the fact that her private choices and desires were not heeded and there was no support from her family environment, added to the fact of the condemnation by her father, confirms the view of Kelly-Gadol that women did not have a Renaissance since the Renaissance concepts of love and social behaviour articulated the submission of women to their "male-dominated kin groups and served to justify the removal of women

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[56] Betts, Gauntlett & Spilias (Kornaros Vitsentzos, *Erotokritos,* translation, 2004: xx). Although fate, fortune, destiny, chance and luck are not underlying themes in *Erophile*, as they are in the verse romance *Erotokritos,* they are very often mentioned in a variety of different nouns such as ριζικό, μοίρα, τύχη, κακομοιριά, accompanied by adjectives or phrases such as ασβολωμένη, πρικαμένη, κακορίζικη, τροχός της τύχης, τον κύκλον του ριζικού.

[57] At the very dawn of the 17th century two Venetian women published a work asserting women's equality with the opposite sex. They were Lucrezia Marinella and Modesta Pozzo (Moderata Fonte). The former wrote the combative discourse *La nobilita et l' eccellenza delle donne,* and the latter the dialogical work *II merito delle donne.* Both dealt with topics that were especially controversial at the end of the 16th century regarding women's rights and abilities, and sought to counter contemporary misogynistic attitudes.

from an 'unlady-like' position of power and erotic independence."[58]

In addition, the King's confession to his advisor of his intention to "give away" his daughter confirms further women's subordinate social role. He expresses his deep love for his only child, an affection that has held him back hitherto from marrying off his daughter, although many noble men had asked for her hand. The King though, due to his old age, has to secure his kingdom and to ensure new alliances through the husband chosen for his daughter. On the other hand, Erophile's age, described as "δότομη[59] οι χρόνοι πλιότερα την κάμασι κ' εγίνη" (I 537), makes the decision to give his daughter away unavoidable. Referring to family life in Renaissance Crete, Maltezou states that a young girl's purpose is to reach maturity quickly in order to get married and to engage herself at a very young age in all the responsibilities and burdens of marital life.[60] A girl in Venetian Crete was considered to be a child till the age of 12 when she reached puberty, but many girls got married at an earlier age to avoid the possibility of pre-marital loss of their virginity[61] inasmuch as "family interest weighed heavily on fathers, and marriage was one of the chief weapons in the arsenal of family strategy."[62]

The King, though, being in ignorance of his daughter's secret marriage, has already scheduled a marriage for her, in his capacity of the only male representative and head of his family. As the "giver of Wife"[63] he proceeds to exchange the female member of his family, regardless of his personal feelings for his daughter, in order to ensure a peaceful kingdom in the future and strengthen alliances through her marriage. Her worthy marriage "άξα παντρειά", (III 360) is the crux of the conflict between father and daughter since the interpretation of the word "worthy" follows divergent priorities and values. He most probably would have expected her immediate agreement to the marriage and he would further

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[58] Kelly-Gadol (1977: 137).

[59] Alexiou (1988: 256) finds the etymology of the word "δότομη" given by M. Parlamas to be quite accurate. Δότομος comes from the classical δότιμος, δόσιμος. It could be translated as mature / ready to be given away.

[60] Maltezou (2000: 15).

[61] Bancroft-Marcus (2000: 351).

[62] Chojnacki (1988: 133).

[63] Levi-Strauss (1969: 233)

have wished for his daughter to meet all her needs for affection and love with this chosen husband. Indeed, wills and testaments in late Medieval Venice are evidence for the fact that it was rather the rule and not the exception that mutual feelings of love developed between patrician couples even if the way they were brought together and married was through arrangements made by their families.[64] The vain endeavours of Erophile to cancel the matchmaking, "τσι προξενιές τούτες να ξηλωθούσι" (III 187), fully illustrate women's submissive social role, inasmuch as their wishes and needs are ignored and their refusal of an arranged marriage is interpreted as very common and proper "girl behavior" as saying "no" and spilling tears form part of the whole arrangement and forced procedure. The end-result is the inescapable degradation of women. This attitude is also reflected in verses spoken by Nena:

> Συνήθιν έν' των κορασώ, Πανάρετε, να κλαίσι,
> όντα τσι προξενεύγουσι, κι "όχι" ολωνώ να λέσι,
> μα στο 'στερο συβάζουνται κ' είν' ευχαριστημένες
> τση τύχης τωνε τση καλής, πως είναι παντρεμένες (II 299-302).

After the revelation of the secret marriage of his daughter, the King's rage is tremendous. He will carefully prepare his plans for revenge in order to punish both lovers for their disobedience. As a tyrant or an absolute ruler of a country, he exercises all three powers: executive, judicial and legislative. Between the lines of the tragedy is exposed the obvious corruption of the King as well as the absolutism of the political system. The King carries all the traits of a vicious monarch; he is absolute, merciless, cruel and unjust. Erophile and her lover will be confronted by the King as criminals. Trying to give a definition of the word "crime" in regard to women in the Renaissance Castan[65] connects it with the "behavioral norms" of the period. Further, the statement that crime is not "only violations of the law subject to judicial punishment but also […] various kinds of misbehavior and deviancy subject only to the sanctions

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[64] Chojnacki (1988: 127).
[65] Castan (1993: 475).

of social control"[66] also applies to Erophile's "crime". Her secret marriage with Panaretos and the consummation of their love form a violation of the religious and social morals of the time. Castan touches upon the vulnerability of "Daughters and widows" who "were the first to feel the effects of institutional repression when public scandal threatened."[67] In the Renaissance period women, whether belonging to the low, middle or upper social classes, were under the control of the *paterfamilias,* who strictly watched over the maintenance of the family law and punished deviation in moral behavior that "were it to become public, would have impinged upon the honor of the family itself."[68]

Hence, Chortatsis offers his protagonist ample rhetorical space to develop her defence arguments. In her lengthy defence speech, comprising 152 verses, she reveals her defiant nature and dynamic character. In the first stage of her defence, in contrast to her past claims to her Nena, she admits to having acted badly by marrying Panaretos without the consent of her father:

> Κύρη, με τον Πανάρετο δίχως το θέλημά σου
> δεν ήτο το πρεπό ποτέ να παντρευτώ χωστά σου.
> Κατέχω το και λέγω το κ' είμαι μεταγνωμένη
> και τούτο μόνο, σήμερο, με κάνει πρικαμένη (IV 263-266).

She senses that the only chance she has is to soften her father's heart by showing a humble and apologetic attitude. The verbs "κατέχω το" and "λέγω το" "I know it" and "I confess it" are not haphazardly used here by the poet. Erophile admits through these verbs her awareness of the impropriety of her acts and utters it aloud as in a court,[69] confessing

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[66] Ibid., (475).

[67] Ibid., (477).

[68] Graziosi (2000:167).

[69] Papamanousakis (1991: 506). Papamanousakis describes the defence of Erophile as follows: "So from a juridical point of view *Erophile* is nothing but a sensational court case. This schematic illustration of the trial… is not far from the existing rules in an autocratic monarchical country of the time, where there is no independent judiciary or individual rights…. But we must recognise that in any case a procedural line is kept which aims at the confirmation of the offence, the potentiality of an apology and perhaps advocacy and the execution of the sentence after the judgment." (The translation

her "social and moral crime" in front of the King-Judge, most probably hoping for a reduction of the sentence.

The loss of family protection, the deprivation of all benefits according to her social status and the threat of degradation from a princess to a slave form the first punishment if not the danger of losing her very life. Since the King remains unmoved and harsh, Erophile proceeds to the emotionally strongest stage of defending herself, namely an entreaty to him to show mercy. In the last stage of her defence, Erophile recognises that any further striving to soften her father's heart would be in vain and gives up. His daughter is of no further use as an exchangeable object since her marriageability has been irrevocably harmed:

Και τούτον είναι απού πονεί κ' εμένα πλια περίσσο,
γιατί τσι μάχες έλπιζα και τσ' έχθρητες να σβήσω
με τέτοιο τρόπο μια φορά, κι αγάπη στο λαό μου
ν' αφήσω με το γάμο τση κιας εις το θάνατό μου (IV 499-502).

If we examine other Cretan works of the Renaissance period,[70] we observe that Erophile is not an exception but conforms to a pattern of cruelty and victimisation suffered by female members of a family. In the

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from Greek is mine.)

[70] In the verse romance *Erotokritos*, we find that the female protagonist Aretousa, though a princess, is imprisoned and physically and verbally abused by both parents. Aretousa does not face the death penalty since her "crime" is still reversible and she remains viable as marriageable merchandise, while the incorrigible nature of Erophile's "crime" determines the course of her tragic destiny. In the tragedy *Rhodolinos*, the heroine's mental and physical equilibrium is cruelly violated by her lover. She has to respond to three contradictory agendas, one set by her father, one by her lover and one by her future husband, while she is in ignorance about the role she is destined to play in their transactions. Her exposure to various kinds of exploitation by men, who should in fact be protecting her, leads her to commit suicide. Even in the Cretan pastoral work *Panoria* it is remarkable that daughters encounter mental and verbal abuse if they challenge the masculine order and refuse to comply with an arranged marriage. Thus Panoria, the only daughter of the shepherd Giannoulis, refuses to accept the wealthy Gyparis as her husband, which causes her father to explode into misogynistic expressions, while Gyparis in cooperation with Frosyni, the matchmaker, will unfold his cunning plans to cheat and manipulate his beloved into fulfilling her destined social role and surrendering to the power of *Eros*.

works of Chortatsis's contemporary, Shakespeare, the brutality with which fathers treat their daughters is also evident. In *Erophile*, the way in which the King plans his revenge against the two lovers further illuminates women's vulnerability to becoming victims of retribution and rage from men. In the fifth and last act of the tragedy there is a culmination of horror, and all the gruesome details of the murder of Panaretos by the King reveal his despotic and inhuman nature. The harm to his honour and the damage to his absolute power could only be alleviated through the eternal condemnation and suffering of the two lovers.

Due attention must be paid to the fact that in his tragedy *Erophile* Chortatsis presents *Eros* and *Thanatos* as binary opposites. At the very beginning of the play, he acknowledges the power of death over all human beings, the temporality of human nature and the vanity of human existence. Allegories of Death from antiquity and the Middle Ages now evolved into an on-stage protagonist, "humanity's grand antagonist", to quote Neill.[71] Death is no longer an abstract term but envisaged as a merciless, ruthless and cruel creature. Omnipotent *Thanatos* is here personified[72] in the medieval manner as a monstrous, dark and emaciated creature holding a scythe. The Triumph of Death in *Erophile* is already assured from the Prologue. Personified as Charon, the lord of the underworld, death forewarns the audience and foreshadows on stage the end of the tragedy.

Though "the decline and decay" of every human being and the degradation of mortals have been much discussed over the centuries, the Renaissance period produced many variations on the confrontation of death.[73] The omnipotence of *Thanatos* is manifested anew in the final act of the tragedy through the last verses spoken by the chorus of young women, where they extol his superiority over everything living:

Γιατί όλες οι καλομοιριές του κόσμου και τα πλούτη

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[71] Neill (1997: 4-5).

[72] Binski (1996: 126-127). Macabre art featuring death personified was an artistic legacy of the late medieval disaster known as the "Black Death", a plague estimated to have affected between one third and two thirds of the population of Europe.

[73] Engel (2002: 14).

μια μόνο ασκιά ᾽ναι στή ζωή την πρικαμένη τούτη,
μια φουσκαλίδα του νερού, μια λάβρα που τελειώνει
τόσα γοργό όσο πλιά ψηλά τσι λόχες τση σηκώνει.
                                                        (Final Chorus, 671-674)

The chorus of young women will define the cruel death of Panaretos
and the ensuing suicide of their mistress as an offence against divine
and moral law and will exact a very public form of vengeance by mer-
cilessly killing the ruthless King on stage, thereby gaining "the illusion
of agency"[74] against tyranny and injustice. *Eros* once again becomes
associated with violent and terrifying acts of vengeance in *Erophile,* as
in many other Renaissance plays, and "its corrupting entanglement with
Realpolitik, ambition, lust, and murder" reveals the preoccupation of tra-
gedians with the "self-destructive and tyrannical power of love" rather
than the ideal manifestation of *Eros* in their plays.[75] Love is described in
the whole tragedy as a form of martyrdom. Vocabulary borrowed from
religion comes to strengthen this deadly or morbid dimension of love:

κ᾽ έλεγα η τόση παιδωμή πώς θέλει μ᾽ αποθάνει. (I 204)
Ψυχή δέ βγαίνει εκ το κορμί με τόση λύπη, κρίνω. (I 211)
κι αναστενάζω μοναχάς και ν᾽ αποθάνω κράζω. (I 428)
Σώνει τα πάθη οπού ᾽χουσι τη δόλια την καρδιά μου (II 97)
Θεέ μου, τέτοια παιδωμή μη δώσεις στο κορμί μου,
μα πρώτας με το θάνατο τέλειωσε τη ζωή μου. (II 361-362)
Ω Άδη και τση Κόλασης τση σκοτεινής καημένες
Ψυχές, με λόχες και φωτιά πάντα τυραννισμένες,
καινούργια ακούσετε φωτιά και λόχη πλιά μεγάλη
και παιδωμή χειρότερη παρά ποτέ κιαμιά άλλη. (II 431-434)
Τό θάνατο και τη σκλαβιά τόσα πρικιά δεν κράζω
σαν έν᾽ πρικύ το βάσανο που τώρα δοκιμάζω. (III 103-104)

Furthermore Erophile's lament over the dead body of Panaretos with its
exaltation of the beauty of his lifeless body alludes to the erotic nature of
death and the yearning of the protagonist to be united erotically with her

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[74] Findlay (1999: 55).
[75] Forker (1975: 213).

beloved in eternity. Ariès[76] touches upon the erotic meaning of death in the late fifteenth century where, especially in the iconography "death raped the living", there was an association of *Eros* and *Thanatos*: "these… erotic macabre themes…which reveal extreme complaisance before the spectacles of death, suffering and torture." *Thanatos* in his ugliness ("ασκήμια" V 450) holds an erotic attraction for the living, obsesses them to the extent of inspiring a conscious desire to end their own lives:

> Πάντα, ακριβέ μου, ταίρι μου, μ' έθρεφεν η θωριά σου
> τώρα στον Άδη τη φτωχή με βάνει η ασκημιά σου (V 449-450).

Erophile's heartbreaking verses when facing the mutilated body of her lover have much in common with the words of Shakespeare's female protagonist in the contemporary tragedy *Romeo and Juliet*.[77] "Καρδιά μου, πώς δε σκίζεσαι, μάτια μου, πώς μπορείτε / τέτοια μεγάλην απονιά σήμερο να θωρήτε;" (V 401-402).[78] Death seems to be the only way out of the martyrdom of love. The women's chorus uses a well-worn saying to describe the capacity of *Thanatos* to assuage human pain:

> Πώς; Δεν τελειώνει ο θάνατος πάσα καημό και πόνο;
> Βοτάνι τονέ κράζουσι πούρι στα πάθη μόνο (V 181-182).

Taking this further, Chortatsis allows his heroine to have the last word and to dominate the scene through her spectacular on-stage suicide. Her body becomes a tool for manifesting resistance and her struggle against discrimination and injustice; and her self-destruction displays her feminised silent revenge against her tyrannical father. The mortal temporality is juxtaposed to the triumphant omnipotence of *Eros* in *Thanatos*. Erophile's suicidal act of stabbing herself, stirred by her desire to reunite with her beloved, reveals the *Liebestod* motive and alludes to the sexual act:

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[76] Ariès (1974: 56-57).

[77] Belies (2007). Greek translation of act 3, scene 2 of *Romeo and Juliet*. "Αχ καρδιά μου σπάσε! Τα 'χασες όλα, σπάσε! Κι εσείς, μάτια μου, στην φυλακή, ποτέ να μη δείτε λευτεριά!"

[78] Bancroft-Marcus' translation: My heart, why don't you break? My eyes, how can you bear to witness such inhuman cruelty?

Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε, Πανάρετε ψυχή μου,
βουήθα μου τση βαρόμοιρης και δέξου το κορμί μου (V 523-524).

In the second act of the opera *Tristan und Isolde* Richard Wagner for the first time uses the term "*Liebestod*"[79] to describe the yearning of two lovers to unite in death, unable to confront the hostility of the world and the insuperability of the obstacles to their love. Since then the term has been overused in literature for its very symbolism of the perfect love. Linda and Michael Hutcheon identify Wagner's *Liebestod* as "the ability for the lovers to transcend individuation, to lose the self in a unity with a larger force-passion."[80] The *Liebestod* pattern demands absolute romantic love, clashing with social norms and refusing to conform, until checked and finally ruined by destiny.[81] Erophile and Panaretos fulfill the substantial requirements; their absolute romantic and unconditional love is in conflict with the contemporary social norms, where love and difference in social rank are incompatible, where women are treated as second-class citizens and where the political system enables leaders to exercise absolute power over their vassals.

In Chortatsis's tragedy both protagonists die in the end. Though their death is not simultaneous and only Erophile commits suicide, both lovers express their deep and unconditional love all through the tragedy, and their suicidal thoughts and words manifest that "love is an absolute for which they are willing to suffer and die."[82] Panaretos had in various ways in the past expressed his wish and determination to die if deprived of his beloved. The following verses manifest these suicidal wishes and thoughts in the event of his failure to achieve union with Erophile:

κι αναστενάζω μοναχάς και ν' αποθάνω κράζω (I 428).

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[79] O süsse Nacht, ew'ge Nacht! / hehr erhab'ne Liebesnacht! / Wen du umfangen, / wem du gelacht, / wie- wär ohne Bangen / aus dir je er erwacht? / Nun banne das Bangen, / holder Tod, / sehnend verlangter / **Liebestod**!   (Richard Wagner, *Tristan und Isolde*, act 2, scene 2).

[80] Hutcheon Linda & Michael (1999: 281).

[81] Bijvoet (1988:5).

[82] Bijvoet (1988: 5).

κι αληθινά α δεν έβλαφτα την κόρη τη δική μου,
με το σπαθί μου ετέλειωνα μιαν ώρα τη ζωή μου (I 407-408).
Χίλια κομμάτια πλια καλλιά τα μέλη μου ας γενούσι
κι όχι ποτέ τ' αμμάτια μου να τηνέ στερευτούσι (I 493-494).
Στον Άδην έχω πλια καλλιά πάντα να τυραννούμαι,
παρά στον κόσμο ζωντανός δίχως τση να κρατούμαι (II 247-248).
Θάνατος μόνο το λοιπό, τούτο ανισώς και λάχει
να δώσει τέλος σ' τση καρδιάς μόνο μπορεί τη μάχη.
Κι ο θάνατος τα πάθη μου πως να τελειώσει τάσσω,
γιατί ανισώς κ' οι ουρανοί κ' η μοίρα μου να χάσω
μ' αφήσουσι την κόρη μου, δεν εν' παρά καλλιά μου
να πάψει κιας ο θάνατος ζιμιό τα βάσανα μου.
Τούτη έχω την απόφαση στο νου μου καμωμένη (II 457-463).

His *Liebestod* intentions are clear in the last verse, where he confesses to having already decided to end his life. Love forms for him the absolute meaning in his life and although he is executed by the King, his death could easily be characterised according to his spoken verses as a "silent suicide" and representative of *Liebestod*, as opposed to Erophile, who commits the crime against herself in a very active way and forms a triumphant example of the *Liebestod* motive.

Consequently, Erophile's physical death is a result of her emotional death when facing the dead and mutilated body of Panaretos. Like her beloved, she had wished for and thought of *Liebestod* as her previous verses attest. Being more intuitive than her lover, she foresees her own death in the following verses:

Γιατί κατέχω σήμερο πως έχω ν' αποθάνω
και πως σ' αφήνω δίχως μου σ' τούτο τον κόσμο απάνω (V 285-286).

Her wishes of *Liebestod* make her intentions and deep devotion obvious. *Eros* will be the instigator of her suicidal thoughts:

μιαν απού τσί σαΐτες σου φαρμάκεψε και ρίξε
μέσα στα φυλλοκάρδια μου και φανερά του δείξε
με τον πρικύ μου θάνατο πως ταίρι του απομένω,
και μόνο πως για λόγου του στον Άδη κατεβαίνω (III 165-168)

and finally of her theatrical suicide, the last act of the protagonist:

Μα κείνο που δε δύνεται τόσος καημός να κάμει,
θέλει το κάμει η χέρα μου και το μαχαίρι αντάμι,
στον Άδην άς με πέψουσι, κι ο κύρης άπονος μου
τη βασιλειά του ας χαίρεται και τσι χαρές του κόσμου (V 511-514).

Through her on-stage suicide, the deadly aspect of *Eros* together with the erotic aspect of *Thanatos* are strongly manifested at the end of the tragedy and triumphantly corroborate the nexus between love and death in the play. Erophile's decision to end her life perfectly aligns her words with her deeds and underlines her dynamic nature even in this tragic way.

Finally, through the tragic suicide of the heroine, the destiny of women who rejected the rules constraining their sex is highlighted. The social circumstances did not allow Erophile scope to negotiate her wishes and to balance her inner longings for union with her beloved. As a woman, she failed to play the role of an obedient and compromising woman willing to conform to the characteristic Renaissance female model. Her body became a weapon against tyranny and injustice and with her voluntary death she freed her existence from all the social restrictions imposed on her sex. Unlike the protagonists in various other Cretan works of the Renaissance period, Erophile suffers the severest of punishments because her "crime" is irreversible. The consummation of the couple's love invalidates the key component in her arranged marriage. The loss of her virginity thwarts her father's plans and triggers his horrible revenge. Erophile performed her last act of resistance with her suicide on stage, a location that most probably served as a conduit for the distribution of liberal ideas such as those expressed in this play by Chortatsis. Her suicide highlights the intractability of the social norms and rules and could be said to represent the extremes to which the female voices of resistance to the patriarchal system needed to go in order to be heeded.

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Author, Audience, Text and Saint: Two Modes of Early Byzantine Hagiography

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Lennart Rydén Memorial Lecture, Uppsala, 24 October 2014

Saints were omnipresent in Byzantium: they could be seen and encountered everywhere. But their presence also had a transcendent aspect to it: since they had gone to Heaven straight after their death, as a reward for their virtuous life, they continued to live in an eternal presence with God, and were thus always accessible to the prayers of you and me, as much as to the emperor, or the woman and child next door. No wonder, then, that stories of the saints inspired the Byzantine imagination, in images and in words. The modern Greek word for icon painter is 'hagiographos.' The term 'hagiography' as referring to written texts about saints, usually implying a full-length biography, is a 19th century scholarly invention.

Hagiography has since the 1960s been mined as a source for social history, as these texts tend to be full of colorful details that allow scholars to gain glimpses of everyday life. It has also been examined from the viewpoint of *histoire de mentalit*é, as offering access to the mindset of the common woman, man and child, away from the elites and the court on which Byzantine authors, who themselves hail from this background, usually focus. Hagiography is all that, but it can be much more: a way to understand the literary practices of authors and the literary tastes of their audiences.

Professor Rydén was a master practitioner of this craft and method.

He was in the vanguard of scholars of his generation who recognized the potential of hagiography to offer a deeper understanding of Byzantine language and literature and its place within the continuum from antiquity to the modern period. The following ruminations on literary forms of classical antiquity and their application in Christian hagiography are offered, with gratitude and appreciation, in his memory.[1]

My questions this evening will involve juggling multiple components: not just author, audience and text, but also the saint himself. Not the saint as a dead person who lived a long time ago, but the saint who is very much alive in Heaven, in a different—eternal—layer of time that co-exists with the time in which we live, the saint who is accessible in his icon in a corner of the private home, the saint whose relics grandmother may be wearing around her neck and after whom the oldest child is named, the saint whose tomb the local bishop is taking such great care to keep beautiful. How is the saint made present in hagiographical writing? And what role do audience, author and text play in this process? Underlying this line of inquiry is the big issue of literary history: to what degree do textual strategies in a Christian context, in this instance: hagiographical texts, represent literary novelties compared to their predecessors in pagan antiquity? I will confine myself to the formative period of late antiquity (or, if you like, early Byzantium), when holy men and saints began to populate a multi-religious landscape that was increasingly Christianized, and I will largely concentrate on examples from the Greek East, where the phenomenon of asceticism led to the formation of monasticism in Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

Before we can set out on this investigation, it is necessary to clarify what exactly we mean by 'cult of saints' and 'the genre of hagiography.' In 1923, Hippolyte Delehaye defined hagiography as "writings inspired by religious devotion to the saints and intended to in-

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crease that devotion."[2] This definition may apply to later periods, when the cult of saints at their burial sites was well established, bringing pilgrims and commerce and contributing to the power of bishops who acted as patrons of new buildings or commissioned new hagiographical texts to promote a local cult. But a definition of early Byzantine hagiography, from the 4th to the 7th century, that focuses specifically on the cult of dead saints misses the mark. For the earliest hagiographical texts in Greek and Latin, Athanasius of Alexandria's *Life of Anthony* and Jerome's *Life of Paul the Hermit*, were not written to promote a saint's cult at the location of his shrine, but about hermits and spiritual teachers whose place of burial was not even known to their biographers. The emphasis on dead saints and their cult is anachronistic, shaped by our myopic view of the Catholic Middle Ages. What mattered in fact, at least in our foundational period, was the living holy man in interaction with others.[3]

Hagiography has its origin in the context of the early ascetic movement, and for this reason is best described with the vague term 'monastic literature.' Defining hagiography as a 'genre' that consists exclusively of full-length biographical accounts is too restrictive.[4] Monastic literature, by contrast, takes a wide variety of literary forms: biographies that follow a holy person's life from birth to death (e.g. the *Life of Anthony*), collections of posthumous miracle stories (e.g. the *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian*),[5] travelogues that highlight selected

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[2] H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (*Les legendes hagiographiques,* first published Brussels 1905), transl. D. Atwater (Dublin, 1988), p. 2.

[3] For much of the following, see C. Rapp, " 'For next to God, You are My Salvation': Reflections on the Rise of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. J. Howard-Johnston, P. A. Hayward (Oxford, 1999), 63-81.

[4] M. van Uytfanghe, "L'hagiographie: un 'genre' chrétien ou antique tardif?" *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993), 135-88.

[5] H. Delehaye, "Les recueils antiques des miracles des saints," *Analecta Bollandiana* 43 (1925), 5-85.

aspects of several holy peoples' life compiled in a larger work (e.g. the *History of the Monks in Egypt*), as well as sermons and funerary orations in praise of a holy person. The Apophthegmata (*Sayings of the Desert Fathers*) belong in this context, too. They convey the teachings of the Egyptian ascetics or desert fathers which they dispensed, one by one, to their visitors. Many of these monastics were held in high esteem as holy men during their lifetime and venerated as saints after their death, once they had proved their ability to work miracles.

The concrete context of social interaction between a holy man and his disciples or visitors within the monastic enterprise is essential to understanding the literature that it eventually generated. The audience for such encounters could be pious laypeople in search of spiritual guidance or in need of intercessory prayer, or pilgrims who wished to spend a few days, months or even years in the presence of the master ascetic in order to learn from him. Spiritual guidance consists in the personal connection between a "father (*abba*)" and the person who asks for advice: "Father, give me a word!" As an experienced ascetic, the *abba* is in possession of the divine gifts of foreknowledge, discernment and forbearance, and thus his response offers exactly what the disciple or visitor needs to hear in order to advance on his own spiritual journey.[6] The words that were generated in these one-to-one encounters became treasured possessions, and soon were shared with others and passed on to subsequent generations. Over time, the result was a more general applicability of the original, oral interaction between a Father and one specific disciple to multiple and indeterminate recipients through its eventual fixation in writing. In this manner, the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* became popular reading material already among monks in early 6th century Palestine (although it is unclear whether in the Alphabetical Collection, the Systematic Col-

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[6] On the expectations of both spiritual fathers and their spiritual sons, see now the insightful treatment by A. D. Rich, *Discernment in the Desert Fathers. Diakrisis in the Life and Thought of Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Milton Keynes and Waynesboro, GA, 2007), esp. p. 123-229.

lection, or a combination of both)—now studied at Lund University under the direction of Professor Samuel Rubenson. As a cumulative text, they report the wisdom dispensed by monastics who lived long before that, from ca. 330 to ca. 460.[7] Once written down, these words of wisdom were accessible to a larger reading public, even outside of monastic circles.

It cannot be emphasized enough that this interaction of the living holy man with his admirers, followers and disciples is the primary mode of communication which provides the precedent and model for all later interactions between a dead saint and his clientele of miracle-seekers, or between a hagiographical text and its audience. The first and foremost aim of all hagiographical writing is to render the saint present for the benefit of the audience, whether readers or listeners, every time that the text is performed. For our investigation, we have to take into account several elements: the text itself in its rhetorical form, the saint who is the subject matter of the text, and of course the author and the audience.

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[7] However, the sayings of individual Fathers must have been known in oral form much earlier. See L. Regnault, "Les Apophthegmes des Pères en Palestine aux Ve-Ve siècles," *Irénikon* 54/3 (1981), 320-30, p. 323. A fair proportion of the oral material got lost in the transmission process, as a comparison of the Greek *Apophthegmata* with the Ethiopic tradition shows: J. M. Sauget, "Une nouvelle collection éthiopienne d'Apophthegmata Patrum," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 31 (1965), 177-82; L. Regnault, "Aux origines des collections des Apophtegmes," *Studia Patristica* 18, pt. 2 (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1989), 61-74. For a good and recent introduction to the *status quaestionis* about the transmission of the *Apophthegmata*, see E. Giannarelli, "Gli 'Apophthegmata Patrum et Matrum' fra sentenziosità, esegesi, e 'humour' apparente," *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico,* vol. 2, ed. M. S. Funghi (Florence, 2004), and W. Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford, 2004), p. 165-273. It has recently been argued that the Systematic Collection is at least as early as, if not earlier than, the Alphabetic Collection of the *Apophthegmata*: R. Bagnall, N. Gonis, "An Early Fragment of the Greek *Apophthegmata Patrum*," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 5/1 (2003), 260-73.

I would like to suggest that there are two co-existing modes of making the saint present: one aims at eliminating the need for words and text altogether; the other depends on the author's presentation of the text in a specific literary form. In the former, the text aims to make itself invisible, in the latter, the text carries a message beyond the content it conveys, through its specific stylistic features. Interestingly, both modes have deep roots in the literary tradition of classical antiquity.

1. The Vanishing Text

The message conveyed by a holy man was his teaching, communicated in words, but even more so enacted in his daily conduct.[8] Teaching by example, through the congruity of word and deed in the process of character formation has a long tradition in ancient education. In late antiquity, it was highlighted by Hyperechius, whose maxims of advice to monks probably date from the late fourth or early fifth century: "Truly wise is the man who does not teach with his words, but instructs through his deeds."[9]

This echoes a saying by the pre-Socratic philosopher Democritus which Pseudo-Plutarch quotes in his *The Education of Children*: "A word is a deed's shadow."[10] Plutarch further emphasized the need for

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[8] F. von Lilienfeld, "Die christliche Unterweisung der Apophthegmata Patrum", *Bulletin de la Societé d'Archéologie Copte* 20 (1970), 85-110. Her remarks, p. 86-95, on the instructive value of the sayings of the Fathers in close conjunction with their personal conduct can be applied to other kinds of monastic literature as well. For much of the following, see C. Rapp, "The Literature of Early Monasticism: Purpose and Genre between Tradition and Innovation," *Unclassical Traditions. Alternatives to the Classical Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. R. Flower, C. Kelly, M. Williams, Cambridge Classical Journal, Supplement (Cambridge, 2010), 119-30.

[9] Hyperechius, *Adhortatio* 122, PG 79, col. 1485A: Σοφὸς γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἐστίν, οὐχ ὁ τῷ λόγῳ διδάσκων, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τῷ ἔργῳ παιδεύων; cf. *Apophthegmata, Systematic Collection* X 109, ed. Guy, vol. 2, p. 86.

[10] Plutarch, *De liberis educandis* 9, trans. F. Cole Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia I*, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1927), p. 46.

fathers to provide a suitable example for their children through their own conduct, although he was concerned with the avoidance of undesirable behaviors rather than with setting up models of virtue: "Fathers ought above all, by not misbehaving and by doing as they ought to do, to make themselves a manifest example to their children, so that the latter, by looking at their fathers' lives as at a mirror, may be deterred from disgraceful deeds and words."[11] This notion of teaching by example is pervasive in the *Apophthegmata*. Thus Abba Sisoes once refused to give a word of instruction to a disciple, explaining: "Why do you make me speak without need? Whatever you see, do that."[12]

Just as teaching must be done through both word and deed, learning too must include an element of action. There was a common consensus that the word alone, even the word of Scripture, is worthless if it is not put into practice. A typical piece of advice by Desert Fathers includes all these components: Scripture, the instruction by spiritual guides, and personal action: "This is what God asks of Christians: that one subjects oneself to the divine scriptures, and that what is read is being practiced (*kai ta lektea praktea)*, and to have obedience to the *hegoumenoi* and the spiritual fathers."[13] The advice of an *abba* to a visitor often does not consist in a word of wisdom or Scriptural interpretation, but rather in an exhortation to adopt a particular ascetic practice. In one famous instance, when a young monk asked an *abba* for a *rhema*, an instructive word of wisdom for reflection, he was instead given concrete guidance for action and advised to remove his desire for competitiveness.[14]

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[11] Plutarch, *De liberis educandis* 20, trans. F. Cole Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia I*, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1927), p. 67.

[12] *Aphophthegmata*, Alphabetical Collection, Sisoes 45, trans. B. Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (Kalamazoo and Oxford, 1975, rev. ed., Kalamazoo, 1984), p. 220.

[13] F. Nau, "Histoires des solitaires égyptiens", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 18 (1913), 137-46, nr. 388, p. 143.

[14] Apophthegmata, Systematic Collection, X 179, ed. Guy, SCh 474, p. 130. The same advice is also given in the Apophthegmata, Alphabetical Collection, Matoes 12, PG 65, col. 293B.

In ancient biographical and historical writing, words and deeds had the narrative function of revealing character.[15] Aristotle explained in his *Rhetoric* that "actions are signs of character."[16] They also had an intrinsic pedagogical value. Ancient authors generally agreed that a typical saying or anecdote has the ability to depict a person's character better than an exhaustive list of deeds. Plutarch observed this in the process of his composition of the *Parallel Lives*:

> …a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater
> revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or
> the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities. Accordingly, just as
> painters get the likenesses in their portraits from the face and the
> expression of the eyes, wherein the character shows itself, but
> make very little account of the other parts of the body, so I must
> be permitted to devote myself rather to the signs of the soul in
> men, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to
> others the description of their great contests.[17]

The importance of words and deeds is emphasized in the *progymnasmata*, rhetorical exercises that were taught to advanced students in the schoolrooms of antiquity and beyond.[18] Among the different kinds of exposition, these instructional handbooks all include the *chreia*. Aphthonius, a student of Libanius in Antioch in the second half of the

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[15] R. A. Burridge, "Biography," *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period (330 B.C.–A.D. 400)*, ed. S. E. Porter (Boston and Leiden, 2001), 371-91.

[16] Aristotle, *Ars rhetorica* 1.9.33 [1367b], ed. W. D. Ross (Oxford, 1959), p. 41.

[17] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* I, trans. B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. VII, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1919), p. 225.

[18] They were still widely used in the 9th century and in the 13th century, Nikephoros Blemmydes notes in his autobiography that he first read Homer and other poetic works, and then the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius and the rhetoric of Hermogenes. J. Irigion, "Survie et renouveau de la littérature antique à Constantinople (IXe siècle)," *Cahiers de civilization médiévale* 5 (1962), 287-302, repr. in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. Harlfinger (Darmstadt, 1980), p. 178; Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Curriculum Vitae* 1. 4. 2, ed. J. A. Munitiz, *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive Curriculum Vitae* (Turnhout, 1984).

4th century CE, whose *Progymnasmata* enjoyed great popularity in Byzantium, defines it thus:

> *Chreia* is a brief recollection, referring to some person in a pointed way. It is called *chreia* because it is useful. Some *chreias* [sic] are verbal, some active, some mixed. One that makes the utility clear by what is said is verbal; for example, Plato said the twigs of virtue grow by sweat and toil. An active *chreia* is one signifying something done; for example, when Pythagoras was asked how long is the life of men, he hid himself after appearing briefly, making his appearance a measure of life. A mixed *chreia* consists of both a saying and an action; for example, when Diogenes saw an undisciplined youth he struck his pedagogue, saying, 'Why do you teach him such things?'[19]

A *chreia* can thus consist of a pithy remark, or of a short narration of a significant action, or of a combination of both. Its purpose is always utilitarian, its intention to provide some kind of instruction for the audience. And, in Aphthonius' definition, it reveals something significant about the speaker or actor who is always a specific person with a name. The *chreia* came to popularity in the Hellenistic period of the 4th century BCE, as a way to encapsulate witty, clever or wise remarks by philosophers and other prominent people, including Alexander the Great.[20] Later collections of *chreiai* are attributed to philosophers of the Cynic, Stoic, Epicurean and Peripatetic schools.[21] They enjoyed

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[19] Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 3, ed. H. Rabe, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 10 (Leipzig, 1926), p. 3, l. 21-p. 4, l. 11 , trans. G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Leiden and Boston, 2003), p. 97.

[20] R. F. Hock, "The *Chreia* in Primary and Secondary Education," *Alexander's Revenge. Hellenistic Culture through the Centuries*, ed. J. M. Asgeirsson, N. van Deusen (Reykjavik, 2002), 11-35, p.12.

[21] H.-R. Hollerbach, *Zur Bedeutung des Wortes* chreia, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln (Cologne, 1964), p. 80. For a comprehensive list of *gnomologia* and *chreia*-collections in antiquity and Byzantium, see J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 337-41.

continued popularity in Byzantium well into the middle and late periods.[22]

In Late Antiquity, *chreiai* were used widely, both in primary and in secondary education, first to teach pupils how to write (not the Psalms!), and later also in grammatical exercises, as the Egyptian papyri of the second to fourth century CE attest.[23] Unlike proverbs (*gnomai*) that are generalized statements and often anonymous, the *chreiai* are always personal and thus are easily integrated into larger narratives, especially those of a biographical nature. Thus Menander Rhetor comments on Plutarch's *Lives*: "They are full of stories, apophthegms, proverbs and *chreiai*."[24] Recent research has shown that the

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[22]To give a few examples: A collection of 81 straightforward and unembellished sayings of Epicurus is preserved in a 14th century manuscript: Cod. Vat. gr. 1950, f. 401v-404. See H. Usener, K. Wotke, "Epikurische Spruchsammlung," *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie* 10 (1888), 175-201; H. Gomperz, "Zur epikurischen Spruchsammlung," *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie* 10 (1888), 202-10. Another manuscript of the 14th century contains a collection of 577 sayings of philosophers, poets, rhetors, and rulers, with a final section of sayings attributed to women. The structure of this collection resembles that of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, in that the sayings are arranged in alphabetical order of the speakers, and are often given a specific setting ("When Anacreon was given a talent of gold by the tyrant Polycrates, he returned it to him, saying: 'I detest a gift which forces me to lose sleep'.") Cod. Vat. gr. 743, f. 6r-47v. See L. Sternbach, "De Gnomologio Vaticano inedito," *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie* 9 (1887), 175-206; *op. cit.*, 10 (1888), 1-49 and 211-60; *op. cit.,* 11 (1889), 43-64 and 192-242. Quotation at *Wiener Studien* 10 (1888), p. 10. For references to other such collections, see L. Sternbach, "De Gnomologio Vaticano inedito," *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie* 9 (1887), p. 176-78.

[23] R. F. Hock, "The *Chreia* in Primary and Secondary Education," *Alexander's Revenge. Hellenistic Culture through the Centuries*, ed. J. M. Asgeirsson, N. van Deusen (Reykjavik, 2002), 11-35. For a different view on their place in the curriculum, see M. T. Luzzatto, "L'impiego della 'chreia' filosofica nell'educazione antica," *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico*, vol. 2, ed. M. S. Funghi (Florence, 2004), 157-87.

[24] Menander Rhetor, ed. and trans. D. A. Russell, N. G. Wilson (Oxford, 1981, repr. 2004), p. 392, l. 30-1.

sayings attributed to Jesus in the Gospels are indebted to this rhetorical form.[25] It is also employed in rabbinic literature, where Caroline Heszer has shown that it served "as a reminiscence of the holy man himself as well as a means to propagate his lifestyle."[26]

Given the popularity and wide dissemination of the *chreia*, any monk with even the most basic writing skills is thus likely to have been exposed to the format of the *chreia* as the essential way to convey the character of a person as a lesson and example for others. The *Apophthegmata* should therefore be seen as a Christian manifestation of the *chreia* in all its three forms, verbal, active and mixed.[27] Lillian Larsen has made a convincing case that the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* not only follow the *chreia* format, but that, like the *chreiai*,

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[25] R. C. Tannehill, "Types and Functions of Apophthegms in the Synoptic Gospels," *ANRW* II 25/2 (Berlin and New York, 1984), 1792-1829; B. L. Mack, *Anecdotes and Arguments: The* chreia *in Antiquity and Early Christianity*, The Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, CA, Occasional Papers 10 (1987); J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 263-328, esp. p. 306-16; V. K. Robbins, "The Chreia", *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament: Selected Forms and Genres*, ed. D. E. Aune (Atlanta, 1988), 1-23. See also R. Hock, "Chreia", *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1 (New York, 1992), p. 912-14; and J. M. Asgeirsson, "The Chreia as Principle and Source for Literary Composition," *Alexander's Revenge. Hellenistic Culture through the Centuries*, ed. J. M. Asgeirsson, N. van Deusen (Reykjavik, 2002), 37-57. For an example of the application of this method see *Kingdom and Children*, ed. D. Patte, special issue of *Semeia* 29 (1983).

[26] C. Hezser, "Apophthegmata Patrum and Apophthegmata of the Rabbis," *La narrativit*à *cristiana antica: Codici narrativi, strutture formali, schemi retorici*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 50 (Rome, 1995), 453-64, p. 465.

[27] This is implicitly suggested, but not developed, by J.-C. Guy in the preface to his edition of the Systematic Collection of the *Apophthegmata*. In a little-known article, the case was first made in print by K. McVey, "The *Chreia* in the Desert: Rhetoric and Bible in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*", *The Early Church in its Context. Essays in Honor of Everett Ferguson,* ed. A. J. Malherbe, F. W. Norris, J. W. Thompson (Leiden etc., 1998), 245-55. See also V. K. Robbins, "Apophthegm", *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1 (New York, 1992), p. 307-9.

they were also used by more advanced students for exercises for the conjugation of verbs.[28] Recognizing the *chreia* as the basic underlying structure of the *Apophthegmata* form emphasizes their purpose as teaching tools while at the same time acknowledging that their written form evolved from classical models of instructional literature. The *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* were the basic background music that provided the tune, rhythm and direction to guide the footsteps of subsequent generations of monks. But this teaching requires active participation by the audience.

This also applies to full-length biographies of holy men that usually circulated under the title *Life and Conduct (bios kai politeia)*. These can equally be regarded as a sequence of *chreiai* embedded in a continuous narrative that serves a didactic purpose. Athanasius of Alexandria exhorts his audience to imitation in his preface to the *Life of Anthony*: "For I know that, hearing about Anthony, you will first marvel at the man, and then you will wish to strive to imitate his purpose. For the life of Anthony is sufficient for monks as a pattern of asceticism."[29] This criterion of mimetic success could override historical accuracy in the perception of the importance of certain holy men. Jerome notes this at the beginning of his *Life of Paul of Thebes*, who chose to live as a hermit long before Anthony: "Others, whose opinion is commonly accepted, claim that Anthony was the first to undertake this way of life, which is partly true, for it is not so much that he came before all the others, but rather that he inspired everyone with a commitment to this way of life."[30]

Once it is accepted that deeds speak more than words, the holy man's teachings are inscribed by *imitatio* in his disciples and the saint

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[28] L. L. Larsen, *Pedagogical Parallels: Re-Reading the Apophthegmata Patrum*, Ph.D. Diss. Columbia, 2006, esp. p. 74-115.

[29] *Life of Anthony*, Pr. 3, ed. Bartelink, p. 126, l. 15-18. Translation mine.

[30] Jerome, *Vita Pauli*, Prologue 1, trans. C. White, *Early Christian Lives* (London, 1998), p. 75; ed. R. Degòrski, *Edizione critica della "Vita sancti Pauli primi eremitae" di Girolamo* (Rome, 1987), p. 68-9. There are two Greek translations of this text. The first one may well have been produced by

is performed, as it were, by his audience. The audience thus assumes the role of a substitute text as a medium for the transmission of the teaching of the holy men. In other words, it is not the author's primary aim to make a saint by celebrating the subject of his narrative, but rather to make saints out of those who encounter his work. In this manner, the holy man himself and definitely the literary efforts of the hagiographer become, ultimately, redundant. The text dissolves in the teaching that is enacted by the disciples. What remains is the eternal existence of the saint as he is rendered present in the life of his followers.

The Text as Message

In the second mode, by contrast, the hagiographical text draws attention to its specific literary form. It, too, aims to render the saint present, but it does so through the mediation of the author.

Saints' lives often begin and usually end with the invocation of the saint's assistance and prayers on behalf of the author and audience. This is, of course, reminiscent of the invocation of the Muse at the beginning of the *Odyssey* and many other such works. The author asks the saint for his intervention in the creation of his text, so that the text becomes an instantiation of its protagonist saint's supernatural powers, its very existence the result of a miracle for which the author is the conduit. To participate in the recital or reading of a hagiographical text thus is tantamount to the witnessing of a miracle. For the saint is actually present at the recital of his *Vita*, as Els Rose has demonstrated

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Sophronius, Jerome's friend and trusted translator of other texts, including the *Vita of Hilarion*. It certainly pre-dates the end of the 6th century, and survives in nine manuscripts. See J. Bidez, *Deux versions grecques inédites de la vie de Paul de Thèbes* (Ghent and Brussels, 1900).

with regard to the *Life of Martin of Tours*.[31] There are other instances in which the hagiographical text has the same value as a relic, a tangible piece of the saint's presence in the here and now.[32] The author thus assumes a quasi-liturgical role, an aspect emphasized by Derek Krueger:[33] analogous to the priest at the consecration of the Eucharist, the hagiographer's invocation of the saint brings him to life, as it were, in the narration of his *Vita*. And this is repeated every time someone reads or listens to the text.

The author is not only the conduit of the miracle of the text, he is also directly affected by his own composition. Already in classical antiquity, narrating the life of exemplary people could have a transforming effect on the author, who thus positions himself as a model for his audience. Plutarch commented on the effect that the composition of his *Parallel Lives* had on himself:

> I began the writing of my 'Lives' for the sake of others, but I find that I am continuing the work and delighting in it now for my own sake also, using history as a mirror and endeavouring in a manner to fashion and adorn my life in conformity with the virtues herein depicted. For the result is like nothing else than daily living and associating together…[34]

This leads me to a further point: authors of early monastic texts sometimes attempt to compensate for their lack of opportunity to have been disciples of their holy protagonists by declaring their literary activity

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[31] E. Rose, "Celebrating Saint Martin in Early Medieval Gaul," *Christian Feast and Festival: The Dynamics of Western Liturgy and Culture*, ed. P. Post et al. (Leuven, 2001), 267-86.

[32] For much of the following, see C. Rapp, "Holy Texts, Holy Books, Holy Scribes: Aspects of Scriptural Holiness in Late Antiquity," in *The Early Christian Book*, ed. W. Klingshirn, L. Safran (Washington, D.C., 2006), 194-222.

[33] D. Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: the Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East* (Philadelphia, 2004).

[34] Plutarch, *Life of Aemilius Paulus* I 1, trans. B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. VI, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1943), p. 261.

to be an act of substitute discipleship. They claim to engage in vicarious *imitatio* of the saint, not through their own life, but through the composition of a *Vita*. A good example is the *History of the Monks in Egypt*, the first Christian collection of biographies of holy men and women. The author, who spent time with the monks during an extended visit to Egypt, perhaps in 394/5, was writing down his experiences at the request of a monastic community on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem:

> I have therefore trusted in their prayers and presumed to apply myself to the composition of this narrative (*diêgesin*) so that I too should derive some profit from the edifying lives of these monks through the imitation of their way of life, their complete withdrawal from the world, and their stillness, which they achieve through the patient practice of virtue and retain to the end of their lives.[35]

The act of composing a hagiographical text thus not only constituted *imitatio* through authorship, but also fulfilled the obligation to provide an example of conduct to others. If this could not be achieved through one's own life, then at least through one's pen. Sulpicius of Severus, whose *Vita of Saint Martin* was composed in 397 partially with a view to presenting Martin as Gaul's answer to Egypt's Anthony, thus explains his intention: "For even if we ourselves had not lived in such a way as to be an example to others, we have at least made an effort to prevent a man who deserves to be imitated from remaining unknown."[36]

The idea of vicarious discipleship not through living a holy life, but through the composition of a hagiographical text continued to be

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[35] *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, Subsidia hagiographica, 34 (Brussels, 1961), Prologue 2, p. 6. Trans. N. Russell, intr. B. Ward, *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* (London and Oxford, 1981), Prologue 3, p. 49.

[36] Sulpicius Severus, *Life of Martin of Tours* I 6, ed. J. Fontaine, Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin*, vol. 1, SCh 133 (Paris, 1967), p. 252; transl. C. White, *Early Christian Lives* (London, 1998), p. 136.

expressed in Greek hagiographical writing in later centuries.[37] In the mid-seventh century, Leontius of Neapolis begins his *Life of Symeon the Fool*, one of the three *Vitae* edited by Professor Rydén:

> Since therefore I am unable to present instruction and the image and model (*eikona kai typon*) of virtuous deeds from my own life, carrying with myself everywhere the mark of sin, come, and from the work of others and their sweaty toils, I shall today unveil for you a nourishment which does not perish but which leads our souls to life everlasting [cf. Jn 6: 27]….For the zealous, those whose intention is directed toward God, it is sufficient for their conscience to set them in the presence of instruction, recommending all good things and dissuading them from evil. Those more humble than these need to have the commandment of the written law set before them. But if someone escapes both from the first and from the second type of path which leads to virtue, it is necessary that from the zeal and concern of others, which he sees before his eyes, through his hearing, and through the stories (*diêgeseôs*) which are told to him, a divine yearning be aroused in him to shake his soul from its sleep, that he may travel through the straight and narrow path and begin eternal life now.[38]

Leontius employs the technical term for narration, *diegesis*—a concept to which I shall return—and explains that it reaches its audience through the sense of hearing, which is somewhat inferior to seeing with one's own eyes, as an original disciple would have done. He also establishes three tiers of spiritual perfection and their corresponding need for particular kinds of guidance and instruction. The most

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[37] See also C. Rapp, "Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians, 7th to 10th century," *Bosphorus*, ed. C. Rapp, S. Efthymiadis, D. Tsougarakis (Amsterdam, 1995 =*Byzantinische Forschungen*, 21), 31-44.

[38] Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of Symeon the Fool*, ed. L. Rydén, trans. and annot. A. J. Festugière (Paris, 1974), p. 55, l. 18-p. 56, l. 12; trans. D. Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius'* Life *and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley etc., 1996), p. 132.

efficient way to inspire spiritual weaklings to a God-pleasing life is the story of the virtuous conduct of another person. Those who have greater spiritual strength are able to observe written instructions. But only those with particular dedication are capable of following just their conscience in their knowledge of good and bad. The deeds of a saintly person thus have the same instructional value as disembodied teaching. They can be more effective in reaching a wider audience, especially—we are meant to understand—if they are made available by an accomplished author such as Leontios himself.

The notion that the hagiographical text renders the saint present is also reinforced by the use of certain stylistic features that hagiography has borrowed from classical rhetoric: the narrative form of *diegesis* (*narratio*).[39] Many authors of early Greek hagiographies insist that they are composing not a *bios* (which would require exaggerations and bending the truth), but a *diegesis* or *narratio*. This is a term derived from ancient epideictic rhetoric, where it carries a very precise definition. In courtroom speeches in ancient Athens, the *diegesis* was the narration of the criminal deed by an eyewitness. If no eyewitness was available, the claimant presented the perpetration as if he had been an eyewitness. In order to be effective, *diegesis* has to display the three basic characteristics postulated first by Isocrates in the 4th century BC: clarity (*saphêneia*), brevity (*syntomia*) and probability (*pithanotês*).

These rules, which are also described in detail by Quintilian in the first century AD,[40] among others, were still taught in the institutions of higher learning in Late Antiquity. They were included in the handbooks of rhetoric composed in the 2nd century by Hermogenes[41] and in

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[39] Much of the following is based on C. Rapp, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of *Diegesis," Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6/3 (1998), 431-48.

[40] Quintilian, *Inst*. IV 2. 31-132 (M. Fabi Quintiliani, *Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, ed. M. Winterbottom, vol.I, Oxford, 1970).

[41] Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe (*Hermogenis Opera*, Stuttgart, 1969 =reprint of the 1913 edition Rhetores Graeci, vol. VI), p. 4-6.

the 4ᵗʰ century by Aphthonios.[42] Both these authors continued to enjoy popularity in the educational process in later centuries. According to Lemerle, they "seem to have remained the masters of Byzantine rhetoric"[43] and their handbooks were the foundation of all rhetorical instruction in the Byzantine Empire.[44] It is reasonable, then, to assume that even those men who had but the most superficial encounter with higher education, including late antique hagiographers, would have had a certain familiarity with the concept of *diegesis* and its schoolbook definition. Many Greek hagiographers describe their work in the same way, as a *diegesis* or as sharing the characteristics of brevity, clarity and truthfulness. In doing so, they claim not only implicit truthfulness and trustworthiness for their account, but also assume for themselves the stance of eyewitness or prototypical disciple simply by adopting this particular narrative style.

In this mode of the text as message, we have the saint performing his sanctity eternally and in biblical time. The hagiographer assumes the role of both spectator and eyewitness, especially if he presents the text in the form of a *diegesis*. The text itself is the miraculous result of prayers to the saint in which the author invites his audience to join every time the text is performed through recital, reading and listening. There is a chain of performative spectatorship that works through the medium of the text, by its very existence and through the type of narrative it offers.

It is time to conclude. Both modes, the text that aims to make itself redundant and the text that makes itself known, have as their aim the replication and perpetuation of the saint as an embodiment of

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[42] Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe (*Rhetores Graeci,* vol. X, Leipzig, 1926, p. 2-3 = ed. L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1854, p. 22).

[43] P. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism* (Canberra, 1986, updated from the original French edition, Paris 1971), p. 295.

[44] G. L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*, Analekta Blatadon, 17 (Thessalonike 1973), p. 5 and p. 20 sqq.

virtue that invites imitation, by author and audience. What distinguishes them is the role of the text and of the author. In the first mode, the text is dispensable, because the writing parchment or canvas for the holy man is his disciple who follows his example through *imitatio* in every way—and by extension this includes anyone who encounters the hagiographical text, whether as a reader or as a listener. In the second mode, the text is essential as embodiment and conveyor of the message that the saint continues to exist and exert his powers, in biblical or typological time. The hagiographer plays a crucial role as mediator of sanctity and facilitator of its enactment. It is no coincidence that this second mode of the Text as Message follows the first mode of the Vanishing Text at some chronological distance—although it is impossible to pin this down with greater accuracy. As monasticism became entrenched in early Byzantine society, ascetic ideals were no longer all-pervasive, but confined to those who chose to pursue this lifestyle under controlled circumstances and in confined spaces. This became the context for the actual imitation of a holy man's teaching by his disciples or subsequent generations. Hagiographical writing, by contrast, now in the biographical form, became the *locus* for vicarious imitation by author or audience, through the production or the consumption of the text itself. Yet for all their differences, both hagiographical modes owed their articulation to the shared heritage of ancient rhetoric that remained the bedrock of Byzantine literature.

BOOK REVIEWS:

A short presentation of

ΧΡΗΣΤΙΚΟ ΛΕΞΙΚΟ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Rolf Hesse

During the last seventeen years three large-scale dictionaries of Modern Greek have been published:

- Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής από το Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη, Thessaloniki 1998, 2013 ('Triantafyllidis'),
- Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας του Γεωργίου Μπαμπινιώτη, Athens 1998, 2012 ('Babiniotis'),
- and now (2014) the dictionary of the Academy of Athens[1], completed in only ten years ('Academy Dictionary').

The Academy Dictionary is – in spite of the relatively short time it took to compile it – a large and fully updated dictionary, based on modern lexicographical principles, thoroughly researched, and to a large extent built from scratch. A detailed review would demand much more time than the few weeks I had at my disposal. Therefore the following presentation should be regarded as only a first impression of the work.

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[1] *Χρηστικό λεξικό της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών,* σύνταξη – επιμέλεια Χριστόφορος Γ. Χαραλαμπάκης. 1,819 pages, 21 x 29,50 cm, weight 3,65 kg. Εθνικό Τυπογραφείο, Athens 2014. ISBN 978-960-404-278-4. Price 48 euro. E-mail address: vivliopolio@academyofathens.gr.

Χρηστικό λεξικό

 The title *χρηστικό λεξικό* is explained[2] as meaning user-friendly (φιλικό στον χρήστη), in contrast to the 'historical' dictionary[3] of the Academy. Thus χρηστικό λεξικό should be understood above all as a dictionary covering the Greek language of today, including the spoken language and a lot of terms of modern technology, both as transcribed terms, e.g. λάπτοπ, ιμέιλ and μέιλ, and as calques (loan translations), e.g. ηλεκτρονικό ταχυδρομείο (under ταχυδρομείο).

According to my Greek-English dictionary *χρηστικός* can also be translated as 'handy' or 'practical'. This is certainly not true of a book weighing 3.65 kg, but see below for a 'handy' suggestion.

Descriptive or normative dictionary

The aim of the Academy Dictionary is to describe the language as it is actually used, accepting parallel orthographies (κτίριο & κτήριο, αβγό & αυγό) and rejecting unusual spellings based exclusively on etymology or other theoretical arguments (e.g. αθλητίατρος, declared by Babiniotis to be 'more correct' than the usual αθλίατρος for 'sports doctor').

Alternative spellings of the same word are listed in their alphabetical place with a reference to the full entry (αυγό > αβγό, βρωμώ > βρομώ), while the entries mention both spellings: αβγό & αυγό, βρομώ & βρομάω & βρωμώ.

For lack of an official spelling dictionary this acknowledgment of various widely used spellings can only be considered judicious and useful, allowing its users to choose between different spellings that the dictionary considers acceptable. The lexicographer is, however, bound to show his preferences, here preferring αβγό (the lemma) to αυγό (with only a reference to αβγό), εταιρεία to εταιρία etc., without excluding the

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[2] By prof. Charalambakis in his speech to the Academy during the official presentation at the Academy in November 2014.

[3] *Ιστορικόν Λεξικόν της Νέας Ελληνικής, της τε κοινώς ομιλουμένης και των ιδιωμάτων* της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, founded (in principle) in 1908, first volume 1933. Up until today only the letters Α-Δ have been published.

alternative spelling. It is one of the great advantages of the Academy Dictionary that it accepts variations, while at the same time it inevitably favours one spelling (the most frequent one?).

Megastructure

The dictionary has a four-page introduction titled 'Δομή και οργάνωση του λεξικού', which contains concise but very instructive information. The introduction is followed by a list of abbreviations and symbols, the alphabetical main part of the dictionary – 1,771 three-columned pages – and finally three pages with 'Λατινικές φράσεις και ξένα ακρωνύμια'.

Selection of lemmata

The 75,000 lemmata and expressions[4] have been gleaned from several electronic corpora, above all from *Εθνικός Θησαυρός της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (ΕΘΕΓ). I have compared the lemmata from λαμβάνω to λαμπροφόρος to the same section in Babiniotis (2012) and Triantafyllidis (2013). The numerical difference is small: the Academy Dictionary has 41 lemmata, Babiniotis 45 (including three proper names), and Triantafyllidis about 30.

But the differences are quite substantial: Babiniotis has λαμίνα, λαμνοκόπι, λαμνοκόπος, λαμνοκοπώ, λάμνω and λαμπροντυμένος, not found in the Academy Dictionary, which in turn has λαμβλίαση, λαμπάτος, λάμπραινα, λαμπραντόρ, λαμπρικέν. Thus in the Academy Dictionary we have a medical term (λαμβλίαση), a technical term (λαμπάτος), two zoological entries (λάμπραινα, λαμπραντόρ) and a contemporary textile word[5], whereas Babiniotis has one rare biological term (λαμίνα), four words about rowing (λαμνοκόπι, λαμνοκόπος, λαμνοκοπώ, λάμνω), little-used today, and the poetic adjective λαμπροντυμένος.

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4 Σ' αυτό εδώ το λεξικό αναπτύσσονται περίπου 75.000 λήμματα, σύμπλοκα και στερεότυπες εκφράσεις, we are told on the back flap of the book.
5 Λαμπρικέν [...]: διακοσμητική λωρίδα υφάσματος που καλύπτει το πάνω μέρος κουρτίνας.

The selection of lemmata in the Academy Dictionary seems to be absolutely adequate in covering the language of today (e.g. απτική οθόνη, κομπιουτεράς, σύγχροτρο) including that of the preceding decades. Thus we find almost all European currencies: ευρώ, κορόνα (& κορώνα), λεβ, φράγκο etc. but also most predecessors of the euro: δραχμή, μάρκο, πεσέτα (but not λιρέτα). Likewise European and other nationalities are of course generally included: Σουηδικός & σουηδέζικος, Σουηδός & Σουηδέζος[6] etc. I have also checked if the Academy Dictionary can be used to read older plain dhimotiki literature[7]: almost all difficult words and expressions in the texts could be found in the dictionary (except for orthographical and dialectical variations).

A printed dictionary of this kind inevitably reflects the world in which it is written and the period in which it is published, but it is intended for long time use. However some words and abbreviations in the Academy Dictionary may be expected to be short-lived. For instance one might ask if lemmata such as αντιμνημονιακός and some abbreviations (e.g. for temporary taxes) should have been included. In electronic form this problem can be more easily dealt with through updates, but constant updating on the other hand demands many and continuous efforts and economic resources.

The lemmata

The lemmata are given in the traditional way, with a few exceptions: nouns that are mostly used in the plural are cited in the plural, and verbs are given in the 3rd person singular, if they are mostly used in the 3rd person: τρόφιμα, ζυμαρικά, and αντιβαίνει, αστράφτει, αστραποβολά. When you change lexicographical conventions, it ought to be a clear improvement, but I am not convinced that this is the case here. Of course the plural τρόφιμα is more frequent than the singular τρόφιμο, but τρόφιμο

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[6] The way it is now, however, it is not clearly indicated that the most frequent forms (at least in informal speech) are Σουηδός (m) and Σουηδέζα (f). Why my own national identity is not included is a mystery: you find δανικός & δανέζικος, but not Δανός.

[7] Based on five pages from Laskaratos, *Ιδού ο άνθρωπος*, 1886, and five from Dido Sotiriou, *Ματωμένα Χρόνια*, 1963.

occurs 1,574 times in EUR-lex (the text corpus of the EU), and the verbs indicated are also found in the 1st and 2nd persons, e.g. αστράφτω: «Μητροπολίτη Κόνιτσας Ανδρέα να αστράφτεις και να βροντάς με την κριτική σου παντού και όχι μονόπλευρα [...]» (from Google).

Microstructure

Each article is organized as shown here (fig. 1):

υιοθετημένος, η, ο [υίοθετημένος] υι-ο-θε-τη-μέ-νος επίθ. **1.** που έχει υιοθετηθεί: ~ος: γιος. ~η: κόρη. Έμαθε ότι ήταν ~. **2.** (μτφ.) που έχει γίνει αποδεκτός: ~η: άποψη.

υιοθέτηση [υίοθέτηση] υι-ο-θέ-τη-ση ουσ. (θηλ.) **1.** (μτφ.) επιδοκιμασία και αποδοχή: μερική/ πλήρης/σταδιακή ~. ~ άποψης/αρχών/μέτρων/ πρότασης/προτύπων/συστήματος/σχεδίου δράσης/ τακτικής. Πβ. ενστερνισμός. **2.** υιοθεσία παιδιού. [< μτγν. υίοθέτησις]

υιοθετώ [υίοθετώ] υι-ο-θε-τώ ρ. (μτβ.) [υιοθετ-είς ... | υιοθέτ-ησα, -ήσει, -ήθηκε, -ημένος, -ώντας] **1.** αναγνωρίζω ένα παιδί που στερείται τη φυσι-κή του οικογένεια ως δικό μου και αναλαμβάνω την κηδεμονία του μέσω της νομικής πράξης της υιοθεσίας: ~ήθηκε από ένα άτεκνο ζευγάρι. **2.** (μτφ.) αποδέχομαι και υποστηρίζω: ~ αλλαγές/ αποφάσεις/μια άποψη/ερμηνεία/θέση/ιδέα/φράση. ~ ένα δόγμα/έναν νόμο. Έχει ~ήσει εχθρική/φιλική στάση/συμπεριφορά απέναντι στον ... Πβ. ασπάζ-, εγκολπών-, εναγκαλίζ-, ενστερνίζ-ομαι. **3.** παρα-κολουθώ από μακριά, συνήθ. μέσω Συλλόγων και προγραμμάτων, την εξέλιξη ενός απειλού-μενου είδους ή οικοσυστήματος, προσφέροντας οικονομική ενίσχυση: ~ησε μια μεσογειακή φώκια. Βλ. -θετώ. [< 1: μτγν. υιοθετώ, 2,3: γαλλ. adopter]

υιός [υίός] υι-ός ουσ. (αρσ.) (λόγ.): γιος. ● ΣΥΜΠΛ.: άσωτος (υιός) βλ. άσωτος, ο Υιός του Ανθρώπου/του Θεού βλ. άνθρωπος ● ΦΡ.: και υιός/υιοί: σε επωνυμία οικογενειακής επιχείρη-σης, για να δηλωθεί συνιδιοκτησία πατέρα και γιου/γιων. [< αρχ. υίός]

Fig. 1:
Academy Dictionary, p. 1652, part of first column (magnified)

The lemma υιοθετώ is followed by the polytonic spelling (υἱοθετῶ) in brackets, then the syllabification (υι-ο-θε-τώ), part of speech and inflection. The body of the actual entry is divided into three meanings: 1. 'adopt a child', with a detailed definition[8], and one example, 2. 'adopt in metaphorical use' with several objects as examples, and with references to related verbs like ασπάζομαι, and 3. 'follow and support economically an endangered species', with one example. Then a reference to the lemma -θετώ, and finally the etymological part, divided into: [1: μτγν.] = μεταγενέστερος, not found in the list of abbreviations, but under its own lemma μεταγενέστερος is explained as referring to «τους αλεξανδρινούς και ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους», and [2 and 3: French: adopter].

The polytonic spelling and the syllabic division are not found either in Babiniotis or in Triantafyllidis (which, on the other hand, gives the pronunciation of each lemma: υιοθετώ [ιοθετό]). The analysis/definition of the different meanings of the lemmata is convincing, and their number seems absolutely reasonable. Where Babiniotis for example distinguishes 34 meanings of κάνω and 52 (!) of κόβω, the Academy Dictionary has 18 meanings of κάνω and 10 of κόβω. The order in which the meanings are presented reflects their frequency. Thus, whereas the first meaning of υιοθετώ is the literal one, followed by the metaphorical meaning, the opposite is the case for υιοθέτηση: 1. επιδοκιμασία και αποδοχή [...] 2. υιοθεσία παιδιού [...]. Priority has been given to the frequency of the meanings in normal use.

The entry κάνω is divided into 18 meanings:
1. απολεξικοποιημένο ρήμα: ~ αγορές [...]
2. εκτελώ ένα έργο, προβαίνω σε ενέργεια [...]
3. φέρομαι: τι κάνεις έτσι; [...]
4. φέρνω, οδηγώ κάποιον ή κάτι σε μια κατάσταση [...]
5. φτιάχνω, κατασκευάζω [...]
6. ασχολούμαι με …: : ~ αγγλικά
[...]

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[8] 'αναγνωρίζω ένα παιδί που στερείται τη φυσική του οικογένεια ως δικό μου [...]'. Why 'που στερείται τη φυσική του οικογένεια'? This is certainly often the case, but it has nothing to do with the legal definition of adoption.

It is interesting to note that the first meaning (i.e. the most frequent), is the function as a "dummy" verb: κάνω απεργία = απεργώ etc. In terms of methodology this is a very important and excellent principle, but I wonder if απολεξικοποιημένο ρήμα is understandable to the majority of users. After all, an important lexicographical principle is: do not explain a word with a more difficult or unknown one. Besides, people generally expect to find the 'basic' meaning as number 1. The Academy Dictionary has shown courage in breaking with this often problematic expectation, thus contributing to serious lexicography. That being said, in a few cases, as here with κάνω, it might have been better to deviate from this principle.

Collocations and Idioms

The definitions of the different meanings (with examples) are followed by collocations and idioms. A very large number of expressions has here been collected, presented, and explained, making the dictionary an indispensable instrument for studying Modern Greek at a higher level. The distinction between collocation (ΣΥΜΠΛ. = σύμπλοκο) and idiom (ΦΡ. = φράση) is nowhere defined[9]. My impression from a few tests is that established combinations of noun + adjective are listed as collocations, and other (typically longer) expressions are presented as idioms (phrases). In Germanic languages the innumerable combinations of verb + adverb/particle[10] demand a different microstructure, but for Greek the system applied in the dictionary seems to function very well.

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[9] The usual distinction that a collocation consists of unpredictable but understandable combinations of words, whereas an idiom cannot be understood from the meanings of its single elements, does not seem to apply here. Wikipedia: Collocation is a "sequence of words or terms that co-occur more often than would be expected by chance" (example: strong tea), and: "An idiom's figurative meaning is separate from the literal meaning".

[10] E.g. Danish: komme ind, ~ ned, ~ op, ~ ud, ~ ved … ('come in, come down, come up, come out, regard …'). In English such verbs are called phrasal verbs.

Etymologies

The last element in each entry are the etymologies, which have been updated on a very large scale and are short and precise. Thus κατσάβρα-χα is explained as coming from a hypothetical *ακανθάβραχα, whereas Babiniotis' Etymological Dictionary (probably erroneously) gives κακιά βράχια as a supposed origin. In cases of loan translations what is given as etymology is the origin of the semantic contents of the word rather than the origin of the Greek word itself or its parts. Thus εφαλτήριο is simply explained as: [< γαλλ. tremplin]. The numerous etymologies of this kind help to correct the false image of Modern Greek vocabulary as almost genuinely Ancient Greek whereas many words in reality are foreign in origin. Thus we see how a lot of words have been created (in Greece or – especially for scientific terminology – in Western Europe or America) by combining elements of Ancient Greek or sometimes ascribing a modern (scientific) meaning to words that used to exist with another meaning. This is the case, for example, of βιολογία, which originally meant 'property tax'! The etymological information is very short, often limited to the immediate source, without going further back and without explaining the elements that compose the word. This is good practice in modern lexicography for practical use. Nevertheless εφάλλομαι is, after all, a well-established ancient verb meaning 'jump upon', and many users may be curious to see the connection between εφαλτήριο and εφάλλομαι. The extremely compact etymological information may also lead to some confusion, as with the etymology of λάμπα ('lamp') explained as: [< γαλλ. lampe, ιταλ. lampa], whereas the verb λάμπω comes from: [αρχ. λάμπω]. Is the resemblance just accidental, one might ask?

Suggestion: Prepare an abridged edition

Thanks to the enormous and competent work that has been completed with this new dictionary of Modern Greek, the ground has been prepared for a better future of Greek lexicography. No dictionary in the world can meet all needs and expectations, and a first edition of such a great work always leaves room for improvements and additions. Personally I would suggest that a smaller and handier dictionary should be

edited on the basis of the massive material and high expertise behind the Academy Dictionary. For this abridged and *practical and user-friendly* (χρηστικό) dictionary I have the following suggestions, above all as re-gards reducing its size:

1. Reduce a little the number of lemmata, e.g. rare words like ληψοδοσία. Some verbal nouns may be omitted or left as sublem-mata without explanation, e.g. λήστευση from ληστεύω.
2. Drop the polytonic orthography and the syllabification. Instead, in-dicate, if necessary, the pronunciation (e.g. -ιο [io] or [jo]).
3. Drop most references to other lemmata. For collocations and phrases that implies: Establish clear and self-evident principles on where to look expressions up, typically the first 'important' word, and keep the references only when this principle remains unclear. Thus the entry πηγαίνω would become 74 lines shorter. Who would really look under πηγαίνω for the expression μου πάει ο κούκος αηδόνι?
4. Reduce the number of examples and synonyms. On the other hand many users would certainly welcome some explanations about dis-tinctions between synonyms.
5. Add a little more etymology. People are really interested!
6. Reduce the amount of encyclopaedic information about well-known animals, plants etc., but keep the very useful Latin names. If I want to know something about dogs, I would never look in a diction-ary. There I expect to find information about the *word* dog (σκυλί, σκύλος), but not to learn that a dog has four legs and bites and barks.
7. More coordination of 'word families'. Much excellent work has already been done in the full dictionary, but e.g. for the numbers 30-90, one of them (30) could be chosen as a standard with many examples, and the entries 40-90 could then refer to the standard and be reduced to central functions and special phrases and expressions.
8. Print with a slightly larger and clearer typography – especially for old eyes!
9. Perhaps the most urgent question for an abridged edition is: Will there be an electronic edition and can it be accessed online for free? If yes, some of the above suggestions may be superfluous.

At the University of Copenhagen a colleague told me that students use almost exclusively the online Triantafyllidis dictionary – they are simply more or less unwilling if not outright adverse to consulting a big paper dictionary.

I want to emphasize that the above suggestions concern a hypothetical abridged edition and are not meant as criticism of the existing Academy Dictionary. It is a fantastic achievement, realized in a very short time by professor Christophoros Charalambakis and his competent team, under the auspices and with the financial and moral support of the Academy of Athens.

The unusual use of Byzantium

Olof Heilo

Byzantine themes are rare in Swedish literature. In fact, in order to find such themes one has to make a thorough archaeological dig.

Non-Swedes might find this surprising, given not only the famous historical presence of Nordic warriors at the Byzantine court in "Miklagård", but also the much later enmity with Russia and the Orthodox Christian world. One could at least have expected some kind of Swedish "Byzantino-orientalism" to have developed during the centuries that passed since Novgorod turned down the Christianizing efforts of the 14th century Swedish king Magnus IV Eriksson with the words "go to Constantinople … for that is from where we received our Christianity."

But historical memories are shorter than they want to imply. The *Kulturkampf* that inspired 19th century nationalist Swedish authors pitted Protestant Christianity against Catholicism, and Swedes against Russians only in more general terms. As for the Viking era, it was mostly too distant, exotic and eccentric to create a lasting point of identification for the literate bourgeoisie. The 20th century, finally, saw the rapid modernization of Sweden under the banner of a Social democracy that had little use for any such points of cultural reference.

There are, however, a number of interesting examples from modern Swedish literature in which Byzantium is used both as a projection screen in the "Orientalist" sense, and in a more positive sense as a source of inspiration. *Bruken av Bysans* ("The Uses of Byzantium", 2011) by Helena Bodin offers a thorough insight.

Negative Swedish perceptions of Byzantium tend to have a thing in common, which is not particularly Swedish, but rather connects them to the usual Western anti-Byzantinism from the time of Gibbon and Mon-

tesquieu: they all suffer from some sort of obsession with Classical Antiquity. Displaying anti-Christian sentiments that became mainstream in the mid-20th century (characteristically late compared to the continent) these Classicists considered Byzantium as something that had gone awry in every sense: politically, culturally, religiously. As their Mediterranean inclinations indicate, they were hardly nationalist Swedes. But most of them seem to have written from the embedded perspective of a well-defined national state and attributing a high level of consistency to other cultural systems, which is hardly an advisable way of approaching the complex realities we call "Byzantine".

Swedish authors in Finland, bordering the Orthodox East, reveal strikingly different attitudes. These may be called "Orientalising" too, in the sense that they treat Byzantium and Orthodox Christianity as something mysterious and exotic. Karelia, the legendary borderland between Finland and Russia, turns into a Nordic Byzantium in a way that recalls the "Nesting" Orientalisms sometimes observed throughout Eastern Europe. But it is never resentful: rather, the encounter with the oriental Other seems to signify the discovery of a reality unknown or forgotten to the Western self. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Edith Södergran (1892-1923) was also a feminist pioneer – her poems are uncontaminated by the male prerogatives normally associated with Western attitudes towards the East, even if they sometimes reveal Dostoyevsky-like notions of a "childish purity" found in the Orthodox faith.

A completely unique disposition towards Byzantium is revealed by the Swedish poet Gunnar Ekelöf (1907-1968). His late *Diwan*-trilogy (1965-7) was initiated by a visit to the modern chapel of the Blachernai in Istanbul; before that, he had lived for longer and shorter periods in Greece, absorbing its living Byzantine heritage and ostentatiously avoiding the Classical past – something Swedish journalists, who came to interview him, found it extremely difficult to comprehend. To Ekelöf, "Byzantium" was a borderland in its truest "Acritic" sense: a place where the Ancient and Medieval worlds, where Pagan, Christian and Muslim realities, where beauty and violence met and conflated – in this sense he was well ahead of his time. Considering how difficult it can be still on an academic level to explain it, one can only imagine the

confusion it must have caused Swedes who had been taught in school that Orthodox Christians were "Greek Catholics". Adding further to the general disorientation, Ekelöf initially described his *Diwan* as an "interpretation", a statement he was later forced to modify.

English readers may find Bodin's book bypassing one of very few Swedish depictions of Byzantium to have been translated into English: the story of Are in Frans G Bengtsson's bestseller *Röde Orm* (1940-5; transl. M. Meyer as "The Long Ships"). Instead, Bengtsson is represented by a historical essay that mirrors his overall Gibbonesque attitude to Byzantium and connects it to another lover of Classical antiquity, the gifted essayist Alf Henrikson (1905-1995) whose entertaining but very erroneous *Byzantinsk historia* (1971) has unfortunately become something like a main Swedish standard work on the whole Byzantine era. The bottom line of all this, one should consider, is an overall Swedish indifference towards Byzantium, a reality so distant and different that it was useful neither as an ideal nor as a bogeyman.

Things are changing in Sweden, however: if Orthodox Easter celebrations in Stockholm were still in 1954 mistaken for a fire alarm, the Orthodox Church – which has been a recognized state religion in Finland since 1918 – is now present all over the country, not least with recent waves of immigrants from the Middle East. Sweden is slowly turning into a borderland, just like Byzantium once was: whether it will have any consequences for future Swedish literature remains to see.

CONTRIBUTORS

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