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Contents

Articles

Book Reviews

Editorial

For the current volume of the Journal we have invited as a guest-editor, Barbara Crostini, Associate Professor in the Department of Philology and Linguistics at Uppsala University. In August 2017 Barbara Crostini organized an international workshop entitled *Greek Astronomical Manuscripts: New Perspectives from Swedish Collections*. Three research articles of this workshop, by Filippo Ronconi, Anne Weddigen and Alberto Bardi as well an introduction presented by Barbara Crostini are included in the current issue of SJBMGS.

Moreover, the current issue includes an article by Dmitry Afinogenov, based on his 2017 lecture in the memory of Professor Lennart Rydén, a study by Alexandra Fiotaki and Marika Lekakou which is a corpus based analysis of the perfective non-past in Modern Greek, and finally an article by David Wills on the representations of Greece in the letters of the British painter John Craxton.

The review section of the Journal features six book reviews that encompass studies on Byzantine and Modern Greek language, literature, culture and history published in 2017-2018.

The Journal is open for unpublished articles and book reviews related to Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies in the fields of philology, linguistics, history and literature.

Vassilios Sabatakakis
Modern Greek Studies
Lund University

Instructions for contributors to

Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

SJBMGS encourages scholarly contributions within Byzantine and Modern Greek philology and history.

Manuscripts of articles to be considered for publication should be sent to Marianna.Smaragdi@klass.lu.se or Marianna Smaragdi, Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, Box 201, 22100 Lund, Sweden.

Your article will be refereed. If it is accepted for publication, you will be asked to supply a final version on e-mail. Authors will receive five copies of the journal volume.

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Editor-in-chief:
Vassilios Sabatakakis
vassilios.sabatakakis@klass.lu.se

Monographic section

Greek Astronomical Manuscripts: New Perspectives from Swedish Collections

Contents

Introduction

Barbara Crostini

The International Workshop, *Greek Astronomical Manuscripts: New Perspectives from Swedish Collections*, was held at Uppsala University, 24-25 August 2017. The Workshop was sponsored by the Faculty of Philology and Linguistics at Uppsala University with a generous award.[1] The purpose of the meeting was twofold: to gather experts in this specialized field, and to reflect about methods of manuscript cataloguing, with specific reference to Greek astronomical manuscripts.

Interest in astronomy has grown among Byzantinists. In Sweden, the work by Börje Bydén, the leading voice in this field, is marked by his edition and study of Theodore Metochites' *Stoicheiosis Astronomike*.[2] In

[1] My thanks to the Faculty for supporting this event.

[2] Börje Bydén, *Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis Astronomike and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium*, Studia Graeca et Latina

Belgium, research has progressed almost single-handedly through the activity and, one senses, the enthusiasm of Anne Tihon[3] of the Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve, now followed by her students, such as Régine Leurquin[4] and Anne-Laurence Caudano.[5] Tihon conveys such excitement in a recent summary of the current knowledge of Byzantine astronomy. Evidently, such interest is derived from the fact that many texts still need to be studied from the original manuscripts, and that, by the thirteenth and fourteenth century, when 'interest in astronomy was growing in the Byzantine world as everywhere in the European countries', such manuscripts tell the story not only of textual transmission, but also often of their scribes as authors and owners.[6] Yet, on all accounts, many puzzles remain, generated not least by the volume of information still needing to be scrutinized by careful study and made available in new editions.

Tihon's article sets out very clearly the boundaries between astronomy and astrology, not necessarily along modern scientific discriminations that imply a hierarchical ranking with a value judgement attached, but according to a distinction between 'theoretical' and 'practical', where, in the first category, some of the modern scientific methodology can be found in reasoning about the universe. Thus, the sections in her article are divided according to types of astronomical theories. The first category is cosmology, a branch that is so speculative as to be associated, in fact, with both philosophical and theological speculation. As Benjamin Anderson shows in his comprehensive and beautifully illustrated book, cosmological diagrams enter the illustration of biblical

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Gothoburgensia, 66 (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2003).

[3] Anne Tihon, *Etudes d'astronomie Byzantine,* Variorum Reprints. Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, Variorum, 1994).

[4] Theodorus Meliteniota, *Tribiblos Astronomique*, ed. Régine Leurquin, Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins, (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1990).

[5] Anne Caudano, *"Let There Be Lights in the Firmament of the Heaven": Cosmological Depictions in Early Rus,* Suppl. 2 vols, Palaeoslavica 14 (Cambridge Mass.: Palaeoslavica, 2006).

[6] Anne Tihon, 'Astronomy', in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium,* ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 183-197).

texts, such as the Psalter.[7] Cosmas Indicopleustes's complex work, the sixth-century *Christian Topography*, is of course largely based on the Bible.[8] The contribution by Anne-Laurence Caudano to our conference highlighted some of these cosmological theories of the universe in her opening lecture.

The sphere of astronomy that was closest to the interests of this conference was that of mathematical astronomy, which, in Tihon's words, 'allowed one to perform calculations concerning the most important astronomical phenomena (such as the position of the Sun, Moon, and planets; syzygies; and lunar and solar eclipses); also treatises concerning the plane astrolabe and sometimes other astronomical instruments; and finally the computation of Easter'.[9] The resulting tables are, to the non-expert, impenetrable. One needs to acquire a specific knowledge of symbols, numbers and their tabular use to even start making any sense of such rows of otherwise puzzling numbers (fig. 1). I was grateful to receive the experts' help on this aspect of cataloguing *MS Linköping kl. f.* 10.[10]

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[7] Benjamin Anderson, *Cosmos and Community in Early Medieval Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), figs 71-72, pp. 132–135.

[8] Wanda Wolska-Conus, *Topographie Chrétienne,* Sources Chrétiennes (Paris, 1968); Wanda Wolska, *La Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès : Théologie et Science au VIe Siècle,* Bibliothèque Byzantine. Etudes, (Paris, 1962); for the illustrated manuscripts, see Jeffrey C. Anderson, *The Christian Topography of Kosmas Indikopleustes: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 9.28 : The Map of the Universe Redrawn in the Sixth Century, with a Contribution on the Slavic Recensions* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2013); Maja Kominko, *The World of Kosmas : Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the Christian Topography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); see also Birgitta Elweskiöld, *John Philoponus against Cosmas Indicopleustes: A Christian Controversy on the Structure of the World in Sixth-Century Alexandria* (Lund: Dept. of Classics and Semitics, 2005); Horst Schneider, *Christliche Topographie* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); translation by J. W. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk: Translated from the Greek, and Edited with Notes and Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511708473.

[9] Tihon, 'Astronomy', 184.

[10] I am especially indebted to Anne-Laurence Caudano and Alberto Bardi for progress in this matter. Their contribution has been invaluable in achieving a better description of the contents, as appears printed below.

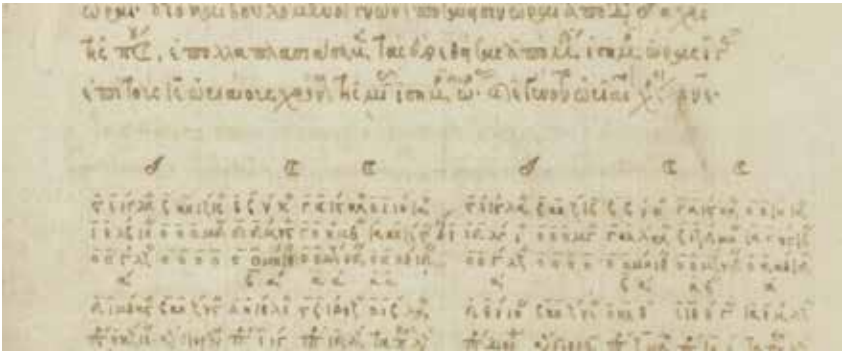

Fig. 1: *Detail from Linc. kl. f. 10, astronomical tables.*

Our workshop consisted of four invited speakers besides Patrik Granholm and myself. Three of these, namely, Filippo Ronconi, Anne Weddigen and Alberto Bardi, accepted to publish their papers in this issue of *SJBMG*. Our main speaker, Anne-Laurence Caudano, from the University of Winnipeg, gave two talks: the opening lecture, entitled 'Spheres, Eggs and Vaults: Cosmography in Late Byzantine Manuscripts', and a final paper entitled 'Byzantium at the Crossroads of Late Medieval Astronomy'. She has kindly provided a summary of her lecture printed below.

Patrik Granholm presented the criteria and achievements of the project of digitizing the Greek manuscripts in Sweden. Some of the material gathered in that project is now available online at the address www.manuscripta.se. An article summarizing the highlights of the project has recently been published, containing further information on this catalogue.[11] My contribution to the workshop, besides the organizational aspect, consisted in presenting some of the manuscript material in a session at the Carolina Library, where pride of place was given to codex Linköping kl(assiska) f(örfattare) [i.e. Classical authors] 10. In

[11] Barbara Crostini, 'Greek Manuscripts in Sweden: a Digital Catalogue (www.manuscripta.se)', in *Greek Manuscript Cataloguing: Past, Present, and Future,* ed. by Paola Degni, Paolo Eleuteri and Marilena Maniaci (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 59-66.

fact, puzzling over several aspects of this manuscript was what gave rise to the idea of gathering some scholars around it, benefiting both from its proximity[12] and from each other as resources to progress in its description.

Accounting for the contents of *Linköping kl. f.* 10 was difficult both because of their astronomical nature and due to the disordered state of its leaves in the current binding arrangement. The paper by Alberto Bardi published below, together with some of his recent publications, bring some important new information to bear upon the history of this codex, including its stemmatic placing in the tradition of some of its texts, and an ownership note that locates the codex in Northern Italy. These aspects are determinant in evaluating, as it happens, negatively, my hypothesis that this manuscript could have belonged to a group that survived the Escorial fire of 1671 and that subsequently migrated into Swedish collections. The 1994 article by Sofia Torallas Tovar describes the state of research on this group, forming a kind of important sub-collection among the holdings of Greek manuscripts in Sweden.[13]

For *Linköping kl. f.* 10, it is not exactly known how the manuscript reached Sweden. It was bought by Enricus Benzelius the Younger (1675-1743) in Stockholm, together with *Ups. gr.* 30, a thirteenth-century parchment manuscript of the *De natura hominis* by Meletios. Its battered state, with some dark patches that could have been caused by exposure to heat, as well as the disarray of its leaves, tell a story that was not entirely smooth. The possibility that it could be identified with the astronomical miscellany, *Scorial.* H.V.3, which De Andrès records as a copy of *Burney* 91,[14] was therefore open. However, the conclusion was

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[12] During the cataloguing campaign, the manuscripts from Linköping were kept at the Carolina Library.

[13] Sofia Torallas Tovar, 'De Codicibus graecis Upsaliensibus olim Escurialensibus', *Erytheia. Revista de Estudios Bizantinos y Neogriegos* 15 (1994) 191-258. The identification of Ups. gr. 6 and 8 is due to: L. O. Sjöberg, 'Codices Upsalienses 6 et 8', *Eranos* 58 (1960), 29-35.

[14] G. De Andrès, *Catalogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Bibliotheca de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1968), pp. 179-80, cited by R. Leurquin, *Théodore Méliténiote, Tribiblos astronomique, Livre I* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 77-78. The ms was a 15-16th cent. paper codex, of 291 ff. It is in fact more likely that it was Burney itself:

reached that the Lincopensis did not go through the major catastrophy of that large-scale fire.

The description of this manuscript and the reconstruction of its history have therefore greatly benefited from the input of all scholars who participated in the workshop. Moreover, the occasion facilitated not only the immediate exchange of information, but also enabled the scholars participating to get to know each other, so as to open up the possibility of future collaboration. Although the Escorial hypothesis for the Linköping astronomical collection turned out to be disproven, the process of understanding more about the nature of scientific miscellanies and the transmission of astronomical texts has been valuable. Caudano discussed the nature of this compilation in the context of 'the currents of late Byzantine astronomy that studied foreign material of Persian, Jewish or Latin origins, because Byzantine astronomers acknowledged that the Greek tables inherited from Ptolemy were outdated and did not yield precise results'.[15] This view is shared and further detailed by Bardi in the paper published below. Caudano also discussed its contents by comparison with the astronomical work of John Chortasmenos (1370-1437), a teacher and a notary at the Patriarchal Chancery who was deeply interested in astronomical methods and a keen practitioner of astronomical exercises. She singled out his astronomical autograph, *Vat. gr*. 1059, as offering a range of texts and exercises that characterized the work of many Byzantine astronomers, who produced better tables and methods to counteract the inaccuracy of the Ptolemaic system. As Bardi explains, the Ptolemaic model and its attached tables simply no longer worked. Caudano stressed that it is in a pre-Copernican international context of exchanges of astronomical texts that aimed at patching or creating alternatives to Ptolemy that we must also think of such a manuscript as the Linköping miscellany. Despite the water or fire damage and the disarray of its leaves, the Linköping codex is a good-quality presentation copy,

Alberto Bardi notes that the Escorial signature is written at fols. 3r and 4r in this manuscript in his forthcoming monograph, *Persische Astronomie in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Byzantinistik und zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte.*

[15] A summary of her paper was provided by the author, from which this quotation was taken.

with some aspiration at formal presentation of its contents, as the ornamental initial (now faded) at fol. 7v shows (fig. 2).

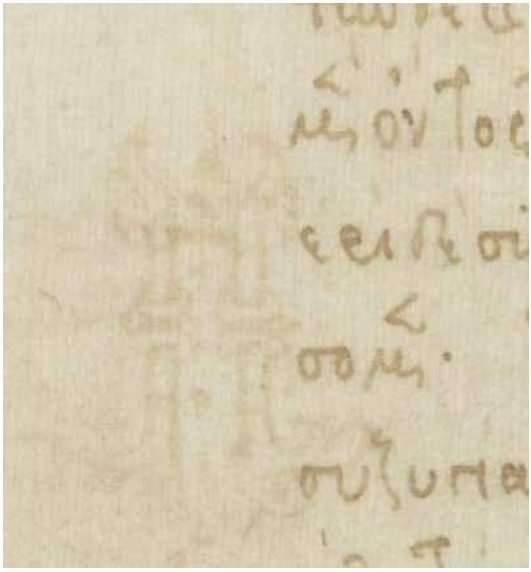

Fig. 2:
Enlarged initial, mostly faded. Linc. kl. f. 10, f. 7v

This monographic section of the journal begins with a discussion of cataloguing methods for miscellaneous manuscripts by Filippo Ronconi. In his essay, 'Manuscripts as stratified social objects', Ronconi speaks of the impact of history on a manuscript as "scars … documenting the critical moments of its biography. In this socio-historical perspective, the scars turn out to be more valuable than the intact parts of the book." The present battered countenance of the hero of our workshop, the *Linköping kl. f.* 10, well exemplified such importance, raising the questions at the heart of these proceedings: its missing pages, confused rearrangement, darker patches perhaps from an ancient experience of fire, the fading ink, are all "scars" speaking to us of the manuscript's "biographical" path, as Ronconi himself calls it.

Ronconi's methodology sets high standards for cataloguing manuscripts. The Uppsala team has kept well in view the stratigraphic method he advocates when designing the templates for the online catalogue. However, as the following essay by Paris cataloguer and PhD candidate,

Anne Weddigen, shows, the practicalities of applying such criteria are a different matter. Weddigen showcases an example of the difficulty of cataloguing compilations of smaller extracts that make up new texts from previously known, or sometimes even unidentifiable, sources. She raises both issues of presentation of such materials, and, more importantly, questions of limits: if a cataloguer were to stop at the minutiae of every small text, s/he might never finish the task at hand! Dedicating a whole article, with the annexed research, to every page out of at least one hundred similar ones in the codex she considers, *Paris. gr*. 2494,[16] is therefore unrealistic, at least in terms of a catalogue based on general holdings rather than a more specialized, thematic publication. However, the eclectic nature of miscellanies often fails to reflect a coherent thematic approach, and therefore defies modern criteria of categorization. As Eva Nyström's monograph on one such manuscript well exemplifies,[17] genres and categories are often opaque. In Weddigen's example, the neater definitions of astronomy as looking at natural phenomena as against astrology, i.e. considering their consequences on humans, are again more fluid than currently thought.

Bardi's careful explanation of how astronomical handbooks work, and his detailed philological researches concerning such texts, leave one with the distinct feeling that such topics remain for the specialist, because their piecemeal quality, their technical complexity and the still ongoing progress of research do not allow the layman to tread securely over such unexplored and complex territory. Bardi provides suggestions for a dating of the Linköping manuscript through careful study of its tables, ironically calling them reader-friendly. Since the tables start in the Persian year 778 (i.e. 1408/09), we may take that as the *terminus ante quem non* for this manuscript. Bardi also notes scribal similarity with *Paris. gr*. 2501 and *Marcianus graecus* Z 326, the latter a codex in the Marciana that belonged to Cardinal Bessarion (1399/1400-1472). In the conclusion, Bardi also points to the reception (*Nachleben*) of this type

[16] This miscellany also contains extracts from the *Life of St Andrew the Fool* edited by Lennart Rydén.

[17] Eva Nyström, *Containing Multitudes : Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in Perspective* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2009).

of erudite collection in Renaissance Italy and beyond. Such 'a collection of texts stemming from different cultural traditions collected in one volume' displays at once a desire for knowing such recondite subjects in different cultures and for tackling the complexities of astronomy itself with a view to more immediate application.

A Brief Description of *Linköping kl. f.* 10

Watermarked paper, 195 mm × 132 mm, II + 202 + II' folia. 15th cent., first half.

Contents: ff. 1–27 *Paradosis* (ascribed to Georgios Chrysococces); f. 28 blank; f. 29 astronomical text (excerpt from Stephanus Alexandrinus); ff. 30–32 blank; ff. 33–80v astronomical tables [not by Ptolemy; under review]; ff. 81–107 tables without numbers; ff. 108–110 blank; ff. 111–124r Michael Chrysococces, *Hexapterygon Iudaicum*; ff. 124v–125v blank; ff. 126–148 tables; ff. 149 blank; ff. 150–157r computation tables; f. 157v blank; ff. 158–162v Ptolemy, κανὼν πόλεων ἐπισήμων; ff. 163–165v blank; ff. 166r–170r, 172v–178r Isaac Argyros, *De cyclis solis et lunae ad Andronicum*: Ἰσαὰκ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἀργυροῦ τῷ Οἰναιώτῃ κυρίῳ Ἀνδρονίκῳ μεθόδους αἰτήσαντι λογικὰς ἐκθέσθαι ἡλιακῶν καὶ σεληνιακῶν κύκλων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἑπομένων (ff. 170v–172v contain a text about the computation of the beginning of the year); f. 178v Nikephoros Gregoras about the Easter computation; f. 179r table; ff. 179v–180r blank; ff. 180v, 184r-v, 181r–183v, 186 Isaac Argyros, *De radice quadrato*, ed. A. Allard, 'Le petit traité d'Isaac Argyre sur la racine carrée', *Centaurus* 22 (1979): 14-29, tit.: **Περὶ εὑρέσεως τῶν τετραγωνικῶν πλευρῶν τῶν μὴ ῥητῶν τετραγώνων ἀριθμῶν**, TLG 4355.004 [identified by A. Caudano], p. 14, l. 1; ff. 185, 189–190v about the use of the astrolabe (cf. *Vat. gr.* 1059, ff. 74v-76r); ff. 187–188 continuation of the computus for Andronikos by Argyros; ff. 190v–191r excerpt from Περὶ χαταρχῶν of the Pseudo-Maximus Astrologus; ff. 191v–193v about celestial phenomena; ff. 193v anonymous astrological text; ff. 193v–194v introduction to the Phainomena of Aratos; ff.

194v–196v astrological computations; ff. 197r–200v blank.[18]
Ownership marks: f. 1r: Lucretii Palladii (Lucrezio Palladio degli Olivi); f. 1v: Ex bibliotheca Er. Benzelii Er. filii.
Acquired by Linköping Stiftsbibliothek in 1757.

[18] A more complete description can be found online, at https://www.manuscripta.se/ms/100097 [accessed 2018-11-22]. The basis for this short description, here slightly modified, is published by Alberto Bardi, 'The Paradosis of the *Persian Tables*. A Source on Astronomy between the Ilkhanate and the Eastern Roman Empire', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 49.2 (2018): 239–260, at pp. 244-245. See also the references to this codex in idem, 'Bessarione a lezione di astronomia da Cortasmeno', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 111.1 (2018): 1–38.

Manuscripts as Stratified Social Objects*

Filippo Ronconi

The first results of the Uppsala University project *Manuscripta – A Digital Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts in Sweden* are available online and consist of a tool merging a catalogue and a collection of electronic facsimiles.[1] The members of the team responsible for the descriptions of the items have based their work on an in-depth reflection on cataloguing methods and techniques, and this is clearly visible in the quality of the final product.[2]

Every scholar who deals with catalogues of manuscripts experiences how unsatisfying, even misleading, they can be in some circumstances, but especially so in the case of miscellaneous books. In fact, dealing with this type of objects is one of the hardest tests for a cataloguer as well as for a "manuscriptologist", and, in addition, it is not an unusual event, since the majority of medieval codices contains more than one text.[3] Nevertheless, in my opinion, a methodology that can handle the

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* I wish to thank Daniele Bianconi, Lucio Del Corso, Paolo Fioretti and Laura Lulli for reading these pages and for giving useful suggestions.

[1] The infrastructure *Manuscripta – A Digital Catalogue of Manuscripts in Sweden* nowadays contains descriptions of Greek, Latin and Swedish manuscripts: see https://www.manuscripta.se/ (beta version). I benefited also from the oral summary of the project by Patrik Granholm during the Uppsala workshop.

[2] See for instance B. Crostini, 'Greek Manuscripts in Sweden: a Digital Catalogue (www.manuscripta.se)', in P. Degni – P. Eleuteri – M. Maniaci (ed.), *Greek Manuscript Cataloguing: Past, Present, and Future* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 59-66. Some of the members of the team have already proven their competence in the stratigraphic study of manuscripts: see for instance E. Nyström, *Containing Multitudes: Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in Perspective* (Uppsala, 2009).

[3] A quantitative study based on all the available catalogues of the Greek manuscripts in the Vatican Library has shown that 732 volumes out of 1.435 contain a single text or

specificity of miscellaneous manuscripts does not yet exist. For this reason, I will try to lay down in a short but precise manner the way I think each codex should be studied (see § 2). The method I am going to describe has only slightly changed from the one I proposed in a book I published eleven years ago.[4] Yet, in this lapse of time, I refined it through the analysis of many Greek and Latin manuscripts of different periods.[5] This wide expirience made me realise that the genesis and the history of every handwritten book consist of manifold stratifications, so that all of them – miscellaneous and mono-textual alike – should be analyzed in a stratigraphic way. I became progressively better acquainted with the economic value of books and with their importance as social objects in Antiquity and the Middle Ages.[6] Taking into consideration

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a collection of works by the same author: see M. Maniaci, *The Mediaeval Codex as a Complex Container: the Greek and Latin Tradition*, in M. Friedrich (ed.), Proceedings of the conference *One Volume Libraries. Composite Manuscripts and Multiple Text Manuscripts* (Berlin, 2013), pp. 27-46: 30ff.; M. Maniaci, 'Greek Codicology', in A. Bausi et al., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction* (Hamburg, 2015), pp. 187-207: 200. Miscellaneous rolls are on the contrary rare: cf. M. Maniaci, 'Il codice greco 'non unitario'. Tipologie e terminologia', in E. Crisci - O. Pecere (eds), *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni.* Atti del Convegno internazionale, Cassino, 14-17 maggio 2003, Cassino, 2004 [= *Segno e Testo* 2 (2004)], pp. 75-107: 75 and Crisci, 'I più antichi codici miscellanei greci. Materiali per una riflessione', Ibid., pp. 109-144 : 109.

[4] F. Ronconi, *I manoscritti greci miscellanei. Ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX-XII* (Spoleto, 2007).

[5] See for instance F. Ronconi, 'Il codice Ven. Marc. lat. II 46 (2400) : note paleografiche, filologiche, codicologiche', in F. Ronconi – A. Bellettini – P. Errani – M. Palma, *Biografia di un manoscritto. L'Isidoro Malatestiano S.XXI.5* (Rome, 2009), pp. 63-74; O. Pecere - F. Ronconi, 'Le opere dei padri della chiesa tra produzione e ricezione: la testimonianza di alcuni manoscritti tardoantichi di Agostino e Girolamo', *Antiquité Tardive* 19 (2011), pp. 75-113; F. Ronconi, 'Le corpus aristotélicien du Paris. gr. 1853 et les cercles érudits à Byzance. Un cas controversé', Studia graeco-arabica 2 (2012), pp. 201-225; F. Ronconi, 'L'automne du Patriarche. Photios, la Bibliotheque et le Marc. Gr. 450', in I. Pérez Martin and J. Signez Codoñer (eds), *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: Between Textkritik and Quellenforschung,* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 95–132.

[6] F. Ronconi, 'La main insaisissable. Rôle et fonctions des copistes byzantins entre réalité et imaginaire', in *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto Medioevo*. Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto 28 aprile - 4 maggio

the socioeconomic implications of the production and the circulation of manuscripts is not optional in my view, since such a perspective provides the stratigraphic analysis with a wider historical resonance.[7] Thus, I will explain first my view on the exceptionality of manuscript books compared to all other *Realien* (§ 1), and I will end by exposing what the ideal catalogue is for me, or better what kind of catalogue I hope to find whenever I approach either a collection or a single manuscript (§ 3).

1. The manuscript book as a stratified historical object

A manuscript book is a portable handicraft-object, designed to contain a long handwritten text.[8] In this tentative definition, by underlining that a manuscript book is a "handicraft-object", I mean to stress the fact that the main difference between it and its modern and contemporary avatars (i.e. printed and digital books) lies in the artisanal nature of its production process. In fact, each manuscript book is a unique artifact, originated by the cooperation of several artisans, who constituted a kind of "operational chain".[9] In this chain, the first links were the workers who turned the raw materials into the writing materials: the wood into the tablets, the linen into the strip constituting the *libri lintei*, the cyperus *papyrus* into *kollēmata* and scrolls, the skin into parchment, the hemp and linen rags into paper *etc*. At the end of the chain, there were the *glutinatores* who restored the papyrus scrolls and those who produced the cases in which they were sometimes preserved, as well as the binders of

2011, 2 vols (Spoleto, 2012), I, pp. 627-664 and F. Ronconi, 'Essere copista a Bisanzio. Tra immaginario collettivo, autorappresentazioni e realtà', in D. Bianconi (ed.), *Storia della scrittura e altre storie*. Proceedings of the International Congress, Rome University *La Sapienza*, October 28th-29th 2010 (Rome, 2014), pp. 383-434.

[7] S. Papaioannou – F. Ronconi, 'Byzantine Book Culture', in S. Papaioannou (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature,* (forthcoming).

[8] This definition concerns manuscript books in general and not only the codices, on the definition of which see at least P. Andrist – P. Canart – M. Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex*. Essai de codicologie structurale (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 45-48.

[9] F. Sellet, 'Chaîne Operatoire: The Concept and its Applications', *Lithic Technology* 18 (1993), pp. 106-112.

medieval codices. All these artisans learned their exquisite techniques thanks to oral transmission and imitation of gestures, through a long and protracted process. But when, at some point in history, this tradition was interrupted, nearly all memories of their skills were lost, since almost no written record of them existed: indeed those artisans were themselves generally alien to writing and their activities were perceived by literate elites, at least in Antiquity as *opera servilia*, unworthy of any (written) mention.[10] Nevertheless, the in-depth analysis of their products and of some rare iconographic representations can help in at least partially reconstructing their activities. In the production chain of manuscripts, not by chance, copyists are generally considered the main actors. This is due, among other things, to the fact that, since for a series of complex reasons their social status was raised between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, literary sources profusely praise their activity (as do colophons and notes).[11]

In light of all this, the difference between the ancient and medieval book, on the one hand, and the modern (printed) one, on the other, is not only aesthetic or functional, but also ontological: notwithstanding the external resemblance, the handwritten book is an artisanal product characterized by an individuality, while the latter are serial objects produced by machinery (not by chance Immanuel Kant called them *opera me-*

[10] Exceptions are rare: for the production of papyrus rolls, we have the description by Pliny the Elder (NH 13.21-26), for that of parchment, some Greek, Jewish and Arab recipes are extant. More detailed is obviously the documentation concerning the production of paper, while no written description has been preserved to my knowledge concerning the production of linen books and wooden tablets. I will concentrate on this matter in a future publication. See at least Bausi et al., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies*. On the « muets de l'histoire » (social groups who left no written trace in history), see J.-C. Schmitt, 'L'histoire des marginaux', in J. Le Goff - R. Chartier - J. Revel (eds), *La nouvelle histoire* (Paris, 2006), pp. 277-306; J.-C. Schmitt, 'Anthropologie historique', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, Hors-série, 2 (2008), online at the address http://cem.revues.org/8862 ; DOI : 10.4000/cem.8862; J. Morsel, 'Ce qu'écrire veut dire au Moyen Âge… Observations préliminaires à une étude de la scripturalité médiévale', *Memini. Travaux et documents de la Société des études médiévales du Québec* 4 (2000), pp. 3-43.

[11] Ronconi, 'La main insaisissable'.

chanica).[12] Furthermore, manuscripts and printed books were in many cases the products of quite different social actors, as generally printers were not former copyists, but mainly goldsmiths and engravers of medals or coins. Unlike copyists, who reproduced a text by means of a manual activity based on grammatical knowledge and graphic abilities, the latter normally centered their work on purely technological skills and on machines.[13]

According to our definition, manuscripts are "portable objects".[14] Indeed, most of the books that have come down to us had a wide circulation, before being deposited in the libraries where we consult them. The

[12] I. Kant, *Die Metaphysik der Sitten* (Königsberg 1797), 1. Teil, 3. Abschnitt, § 32 (Berliner Ausgabe 2013², p. 72).

[13] I write "in many cases", "generally" and "normally" because, apart from the fact that the chain of production of early printed book was the fruit of the collaboration of many workers, some copyists were directly responsible for the making of printed editions. Furthermore, during the first century and a half of printing, copyists, illuminators and printers collaborated extensively. It is not by chance that printed books from the fifteenth century tend to reproduce the formats of codices (cf. R. Chartier – E. Anheim – P. Chastang, 'Les usages de l'écrit du Moyen Âge aux Temps modernes', in E. Anheim – P. Chastang, *Les pratiques de l'écrit dans les sociétés médiévales (VIe-XIIIe siècle)* », *Médiévales* [En ligne], 56 | printemps 2009) and if the print characters – in particular Greek ones – were drawn by professional copyists who in some cases were also printers (see E. Crisci – P. Degni [eds.], *La scrittura greca dall'antichità all'epoca della stampa. Una introduzione*, Rome 2011, pp. 228-229). Furthermore, until the middle of the sixteenth century, printed books were completed by illuminators, who painted the initials and miniatures, and by correctors, who added the punctuation marks, rubrics and titles. Printing influenced the activity of the copyists at such an extent that a typology of handwriting of that period is called *Druckminuskel*: see at least H. Hunger, *Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen. Überlieferungsgeschichte der antiken Literatur* (Zurich, 1961), pp. 105-106 and J. Irigoin, 'Les origines paléographiques et épigraphiques de la typographie grecque', in M. Cortesi - E. V. Maltese (eds), *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell'Italia del secolo XV* (Naples, 1992), pp. 13-28. L. Febvre - H.-J. Martin, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris, 2013), pp. 7ff. rightly note the generally different social status of copyists and printers. However, these two scholars seem to me to go too far in considering the worlds of manuscripts and printed books so separate that they identify the birth of the book with that of the printed book. See also, in this sense, E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979).

[14] Andrist – Canart – Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex*, pp. 45-46.

historical implications of books' mobility (whose traces in Antiquity and the Middle Ages are copious) are crucial, as it determined the migration of texts and ideas from one cultural area to others: manuscripts were in fact (together with human beings) the essential media of the inter-civilizing process that has characterized the formative stages of human history.

Finally, as we said, each book is "designed to contain a text".[15] Whilst many other objects bear some text as an accessory element, in the case of the book the latter is essential, as it determines its primary function.[16] In our tentative definition, the term "text" comprehends ornamental elements and illustrations, following an ancient tradition: the Greek verb *graphō* means at the same time "to write" and "to paint" and, according to Gregory the Great, the images are the reading tools of the illiterate. The *biblia pauperum* exemplifies this principle and medieval law assigns a similar status to writing as to painting.[17] As Rudolf Schen-

[15] Andrist – Canart – Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex*, p. 46, define the codex (not the manuscript in general) as an « objet transportable destiné à accueillir, partager et transmettre des contenus immédiatement lisibles de façon ordonnée et durable ». On p. 46 n. 5, they add that « la notion de 'destiné' n'a pas un sens d'antériorité temporelle, mais fait référence à un projet sous-jacent : il y a des objets qui sont conçus dès le début comme livres […] et d'autres qui ne le deviennent effectivement que par décision de l'utilisateur […] ».

[16] In our definition, we speak of "long" texts. Without this distinction, it would apply to other objects also, such as a piece of papyrus or parchment enclosing a letter, an ostrakon containing some verses of a literary work or a *tabella defixionis* on which is engraved a curse. However, the concept of "long text" is historically ambiguous. I will focus on it in a further publication.

[17] Concerning the verb *graphō* see D. Bianconi, Cura et studio. *Il restauro del libro a Bisanzio* (Alessandria, 2018), pp. X-XI. For Gregory the Great see PL 77, col. 1027C-1028A (*« [...] pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant quae legere in codicibus non valent »*). See also the *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, ch. 14: C. M. Chazelle, 'Pictures, Books, and the Illitterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles', *Word and Image* 6 (1990), pp. 138-153; M. Banniard, Viva voce. *Communication écrite et communication orale du IVe au IXe siècle en Occident latin* (Paris, 1992), pp. 131-138 : 131-138 ; G. Cavallo, *Escribir, leer, conservar. Tipologías y prácticas de lo escrito, de la Antigüedad al Medioevo* (Buenos Aires, 2017), pp. 286-287. On the *biblia pauperum* cf. P. Chastang, '*L'archéologie du texte médiéval*. Autour de travaux récents sur l'écrit au Moyen

da wrote, « les représentations figurées, en particulier dans l'espace à deux dimensions de la peinture et de l'art graphique, se donnent […] à percevoir comme des textes composés de signes […] ».[18] Our highly inclusive denotation of the term "text", on one side, pragmatically refuses the dissociation between writing and painting as theorized during the Renaissance,[19] and, on the other, complies with the etymology of the Latin word *textus*, which means "woven canvas" and hints at a set of interconnected verbal and, as the case may be, figurative elements.[20]

Despite its obvious limitations, our tentative definition may highlight the complex nature of the manuscript book as a threefold artisanal object consisting of a *material*, on which a *text* has been *written*. Therefore, its study should be based on three levels of analysis, related to three distinct but complementary disciplines: codicology, philology and paleography (the last two being complemented by art history in the case of illustrated manuscripts and albums).

In addition to being a portable handicraft object, designed to contain a long handwritten text, each manuscript represents, as we said, the final stage of a long-lasting historical process. For this reason, the study of a handwritten book, whatever its purpose, should not be limited to the object as such, but it should reconstruct the different stages by which it has come to its present form, focusing on the milieus in which such alterations have taken place. This forensic and retrospective process should distinguish three crucial steps in the existence of each book: its prehistory (i.e. the production of the writing surface starting from raw materials), its protohistory (consisting in the text transcription and in the final assembling of the book[21]) and its posterior history (i.e. the lapse of

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Âge', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 63 (2008), pp. 245-269: 255. For medieval law see M. Madero, Tabula picta. *La peinture et l'écriture dans le droit médiéval* (Paris, 2004).

[18] R. Schenda, 'La lecture des images et l'iconisation du peuple', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 114-115 (2002), pp. 12-30: 17.

[19] Chastang, 'L'archéologie du texte médiéval', pp. 253-254 (with bibliography).

[20] On the other hand, the identification between "image" and "text" also concerns contemporary times: the reference to André Breton and Surrealism is obvious.

[21] For the term protohistory when used for texts (and not for manuscripts), see J. Velaza (ed.), *From the Protohistory to the History of the Text* (Frankfurt, 2016).

time between the end of the genetic process and the present moment, including the multiple accidents that have altered the appearance and original structure of the book). Seen in this light, the existence of each manuscript is characterized by what Igor Kopytoff has called "singularization", that is, the process by which, in a given community, an object is pulled out of its usual commodity sphere and is attributed a "cultural biography".[22] In this perspective, the approach to manuscripts should be both stratigraphic (see below) and "biographical" in the proper sense of the term, as it should shed light, on the one side, on the marks that environmental agents and human actors have left on its 'body', and, on the other, on the role that each copy has played in the milieus it has passed through. In the framework of such a study, the methods of historical and social sciences have to meld with the analysis of the book's structural, graphic, ornamental and textual characteristics. Therefore, after reconstructing the formative stages of each manuscript (its prehistory and proto-history) through an in-depth stratigraphic analysis, it is necessary to focus on the traces left on it by natural agents, plants, animals and mostly by human beings. Such traces take the form of mutilations, restorations, alterations of a graphic, material, and textual nature. These traces accumulate on the manuscript like scars, documenting the critical moments of its biography. In this socio-historical perspective, the scars turn out to be more valuable than the intact parts of the book.

2. Method of study: a proposal

The stratigraphic analysis of manuscript books should consist of four steps (from here on, we will focus on codices, but a similar method can be applied to all sorts of handwritten books). The first is the study of the material features of the book, and consists of noting its dimensions and the quality of the papyrus, of the parchment or of the paper the sheets are made of. In the case of papyrus codices, one will try to reconstruct

[22] I. Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as a Process', in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 74-83.

the characteristics of the roll(s) from which the sheets were prepared, by analyzing the orientation of the fibers, the recurrence of *kollēseis* and the dimensions of the original *kollēmata*.[23] For the paper, it is important to note whether it is Eastern or Western, and to specify its size, thickness and quality. The presence, position and shape of the watermarks should also be noted, sheet by sheet and quire by quire. Size and thickness are important factors also for parchment sheets, as well as the animal species they stem from. The variations in the thickness of the sheets deserve attention, when they occur within the same quire or between one quire and another. Furthermore, the chromatic contrast between the hair and the flesh sides, the accuracy of the shaving and smoothing process and the presence of holes and scars are also valuable factors: concerning the latter, it is crucial to distinguish those produced during the genetic process by the parchment maker, from those due to later events. In fact, imperfections of the first kind tell us something about the technical capacities of the production milieu and about the economic level of the sponsor: for example, the presence of untrimmed edges implies the use of the less noble parts of the skin (not only the saddle, but also the collar, the shoulders, the rump) and the occurrence of manufacturing holes (especially those inside the writing surface) suggests that damaged parts of the parchment have not been discarded during the process.

It is also important to note the number and the structure of the quires, and their irregularities, in comparison with the standard gathering-structure found in the book (quaternions and quinions are the most widespread quire formats in medieval codices). The presence, the

[23] The sheets used to produce papyrus codices always result from cutting one or more rolls: E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 43ff.; A. Gascou, 'Les codices documentaires égyptiens', in A. Blanchard (ed.), *Les débuts du codex*. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris, 3 et 4 juillet 1985 (Turnhout, 1989), pp. 71-101: 80-81. Papyrus codices were current in Egypt up to the high Middle Ages and they were also produced in Europe at least up to the 6th cent., as witnessed for instance by the folia of a codex copied at Luxueil or Lyon containing works by Saint Augustine and currently preserved in Paris (Paris. Lat. 11641), Geneva (BPU, latin 16) and Saint Petersburg (Publichnaya Biblioteka, F. Papyr. I, 1): see *Codices Latini Antiquiores* 85.614 (Paris); *CLA* 7.**614 p. 15 (Geneva); *CLA* 9, p. 4 and 30 ; CLA 11.**614 (Saint Petersburg).

position and the nature of the quire signatures and of the catchwords (*reclamantes*) have to be noted, together with the pagination and the foliation (specifying if they are first-hand), the pricking, the ruling type, the ruling system and the layout (noting the number of columns).[24] It is also important to notice all the cases when Gregory's rule (that is, that any opening is constituted to two flesh-sides or two hair-sides facing each other) is applied and the cases when it is not respected. Gregory's rule helps detecting lacunae and reconstructing the original structure of mutilated quires. All this should be carried out not by random checks, but sheet by sheet and quire by quire, since any lack of homogeneity can turn out to be revealing in the reconstruction of the original structure of the book and of its posterior history (see below).

After examining such elements, one should move on to the second step of the analysis, which concerns the scripts. One can distinguish the one(s) of the main text(s) from the additional one(s). The analysis will establish whether the main text(s) has (have) been written by just one copyist (and, in this case, in a single writing campaign or in several different phases) or by several hands. One will then pass to additional scripts, distinguishing the ones apposed during the genetic process from those due to readers or users. The analysis of the former ones will reveal the skills of the copyist(s) and the cultural interests of the patrons. In fact, a book whose wide margins and ruling type were conceived in order to contain a commentary has generally been realized by a professional copyist, as the capacity to manage the balance between the marginal text and the available space constituted a highly prized skill.[25]

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[24] See M. Maniaci, 'Per una nuova definizione e descrizione dei sistemi di rigatura. Considerazioni di metodo', in The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid – Salamanca, 15-20 September 2008) (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 333-345.

[25] See for instance M. Maniaci, '«La serva padrona». Interazioni fra testo e glossa sulla pagina del manoscritto', in V. Fera, G. Ferraù, S. Rizzo (eds), *Talking to the Text*. Marginalia *from Papyri to Print.* Proceedings of a Conference held at Erice, 26 September – 3 October 1998, as the 12th Course of the International School for the Study of Written Records, Messina 2002 (Università degli Studi di Messina. Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici), I, pp. 3-35 and M. Maniaci, 'Words within

After establishing the scripts' hierarchy, one will synthetically describe them, noting some basic elements (dimensions and form of the module, tilt of the axis, stroke-contrasts, design and construction of specific letters, fluency, formal or informal character of the handwriting). Each script should be referred, if possible, to a known normative model, style or type.[26] In order to date the manuscript, special attention will be paid to subscriptions, colophons and to any kind of annotation containing indications about the place and the period the book was realized, bought or read.[27] If objective dating elements are absent, the confrontation of the script(s) with dated specimen will be necessary, according to the paleographic method.[28]

In the third step of the analysis, one should focus on the main text(s): not only on its/their identification, but also on its/their arrangement on the writing material and on its/their belonging to specific branches of the textual traditions. Besides, the analysis of the nature and of the quality of the marginal texts will tell whether the book was conceived as an edifying reading, for religious purposes, or as a study tool, thus revealing whether its patron was, say, a priest, a theologian or a school-teacher.[29] On the other hand, the analysis of later annotations reveals the cultural level and interests of the actual users of the book: they may be scholarly notes or naive observations, but also drawings or scribbles.

This three-step analysis leads to the realization of a detailed "map" of the book, of its components and of its current structure. Nevertheless, this descriptive and "anatomical" stage of the investigation is but propaedeutic to the fourth and last phase of the stratigraphic analysis, which

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Words: Layout Strategies in some Glossed Manuscripts of the Iliad', *Manuscripta* 50.2 (2006), pp. 241-268.

[26] See at least D. Bianconi, 'Greek Palaeography', in Bausi et al., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies* cit., pp. 297-305 (with further bibliography).

[27] We must take into account the possibility that colophons may have been copied from the model. Sometimes they are inside the manuscript and not at the end.

[28] D. Bianconi, 'Paleografia: riflessioni su concetto e ruolo', in idem (ed.), *Storia della scrittura e altre storie*, pp. 7-29 (with further bibliography).

[29] On the role of medieval glosses in Law history see for instance P. Napoli, 'Le droit, l'histoire, la comparaison', in O. Remaud - J.-F. Schaub - I. Thireau, *Faire des sciences sociales, 2, Comparer* (Paris, 2012), pp. 125-158: 128ff.

consists in the detailed reconstruction of the dynamics that have characterized the book's history from its genetic phase to the current moment. For this purpose, material, graphic and textual factors have to be evaluated in their mutual implications. In this framework, the scholar's attention has to focus on the potential coincidence between the changes in hand, the transition from one text to another (or from one section to another of the same text) and the passage from one quire to another. It is also important to note if the end of a text (or of a text section) overlaps with some irregularities in the quire structure. The coincidence of textual and physical (and eventually graphic) caesurae is what we call a "joint", which delimits blocks inside a manuscript. Such a holistic analysis leads to the detailed reconstruction of the genetic process that gave birth to the book. In fact, thanks to this approach, it will be possible to say whether a manuscript was realized in one writing campaign or whether it goes back to the stratification of several diachronic interventions by one or more hands, sometimes due to restorations.[30] Moreover, in the case of a manuscript written by more than one copyist, the codicological and paleographical analyses (see above steps one and two) allow establishing whether it is the result of a team of scribes operating synchronously in the same milieu, or of a series of independent and temporally distant writing acts. Thus, the study of the tradition of the texts contained in a miscellaneous manuscript, in the light of the results of the paleographical and codicological analysis, allows establishing (a) whether a codex consists of just one, or of more than one, block; (b) whether, in both cases, these blocks were originally conceived as they now appear, or whether they are the result of a more or less long drawn-out textual and/or codicological sedimentation; (c) in the case of multiple-block manuscripts, whether they stem from the juxtaposition of contemporary units designed to be joined together,[31] of existing and originally independent units, or of a mixture of both.[32] In the case of a manuscript made up by combining originally independent units, it is necessary to submit them

[30] Bianconi, Cura et studio.

[31] Like for instance in the case of the Palat. Heid. gr. 398 and the Bodl. Barocci 50: Ronconi, *I manoscritti greci miscellanei,* pp. 33-75 and 91-131.

[32] See for instance MS Paris. gr. 1853: Ronconi, 'Le corpus aristotélicien'.

to an in-depth enquiry, consisting in the analysis of material and graphic details. The scholar should pay great attention, among other things, to the identity, resemblance or diversity of layouts, to the homogeneity or dishomogeneity of the quire signatures and to the chronological proximity or distance of the handwritings. This process should help to establish whether the original units are more or less contemporary or not, and whether their juxtaposition is the fruit of an intellectual activity only slightly posterior to the production of the most recent unit, or of a later activity, due to modern binders or librarians. Finally, it is possible, in any of the previous cases, to establish (d) whether the miscellaneous manuscript flatly reproduces the contents of a miscellaneous model (thus containing a secondary miscellany) or whether it represents the first attempt to put together the texts it contains (which would then constitute a primary miscellany): these two scenarios imply very different intellectual activities behind the production of the books.[33]

In short, the stratigraphic method is the most effective tool in order to go back in time, as it helps reconstructing not only the capacities and the level of the production milieus of the present manuscript, but also the main characteristics of its model(s), and the patron's expectations.[34]

Finally, it is important to focus on book-bindings in a stratigraphic perspective. These are seldom contemporary to the making of the book

[33] On the distinction between "primary" and "secondary" miscellanies see F. Ronconi, 'Per una tipologia del codice miscellaneo greco in epoca mediobizantina', in E. Crisci – O. Pecere (eds.), *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni*. Atti del Convegno internazionale. Cassino 14-17 maggio 2003 (Cassino 2004) [= Segno e testo 2, 2004], pp. 145-182.

[34] In some cases, copyists reproduced their models in a photographic way, giving birth to "facsimile" copies in which not only the script, but also the material structure of the models were faithfully reproduced. Concerning the first factor, paleographers speak in such cases of "mimetic scripts": see at least G. Prato, 'Scritture librarie arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e loro modelli', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979), pp. 151-193 (repr. in G. Prato, *Studi di paleografia greca*, Spoleto, 1994, pp. 73-115); G. De Gregorio – G. Prato, 'Scrittura arcaizzante in codici profani e sacri della prima età paleologa', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003), pp. 59-101; D. Bianconi, 'La minuscola greca dal 1204 al 1453 (e oltre)', in Crisci - Degni (eds), *La scrittura greca dall'antichità all'epoca della stampa*, pp. 179-210: 183 ff.

(in fact many manuscripts were originally not even bound[35]) and were generally realized in modern times. In the course of such operations, the codices were trimmed, sometimes divided into several volumes or, vice versa, independent volumes were combined into a single factitious book (see above). In some cases, the previous sewing was preserved: as sewing methods were often locally characterized processes, the study of such details is of the greatest importance in a stratigraphic perspective.[36]

To sum up, each manuscript (and mostly each codex, and even more a miscellaneous codex) is a sedimentary entity, a "lieu de savoir", in which, as at the mouth of a river, many elements brought by the stream of time meet.[37] These elements are at first the material components produced by the papyrus-, parchment- or paper-makers, then the texts transcribed by the copyist(s) and the illuminations made by the limners, and finally, but not necessarily, the bindings made by the bookbinders. As we said above, as each manuscript is characterized by a specific biography, which consists in the events that have marked its existence and in the influence it had on the milieus in which it was used, as we said above, the purpose of manuscript studies should not just be to describe books, but also to reconstruct their history, their genesis and the essential characteristics of their models, in order to retrace the nature of the social milieus in which each book was produced and circulated. Thus, the study of manuscript books can make a considerable contribution to the history of societies.

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[35] D. Frioli, 'Tabulae, quaterni disligati, scartafacci', in C. Leonardi - M. Morelli - F. Santi (eds), *Album. I luoghi dove si accumulano i segni (dal manoscritto alle reti telematiche)*. Atti del Convegno di studio della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini e della Fondazione IBM Italia (Spoleto, 1996), pp. 25-74; P. Fioretti, 'Percorsi di autori latini tra libro e testo. Contesti di produzione e di ricezione in epoca antica', *Segno e testo* 14 (2016), pp. 1-38: 19-29 ; M. Cursi, *Le forme del libro. Dalla tavoletta cerata all'e-book* (Bologna, 2016), pp. 131-135 ; Bianconi, Cura et studio, pp. 95-97 and 134.

[36] A recent book on manuscript restoration in Byzantium has demonstrated the cultural value of such elements: Bianconi, Cura et studio.

[37] For the concept of "lieu de savoir", see C. Jacob, *Qu'est-ce qu'un lieu de savoir*? (Marseille, 2014) (online at 10.4000/books.oep.423).

3. The ideal catalogue

In view of all these considerations (or, perhaps, just in my own view), the ideal catalogue is one that goes as far as possible into stratigraphic analysis, making the reader virtually and synthetically visualize the manuscript in its details, in order to help him reconstruct its "biography", from its pre-history up to the present day.[38] When consulting a catalogue, the reader should bear in mind that no description is neutral, since the way data are presented, hierarchized and selected is in itself a form of interpretation.[39] For this reason, the cataloguer should strive for completeness, and always try to distinguish objective data from interpretations (never forgetting that the first are necessary, the latter are not).[40] He/She should also remember that different kinds of users will

[38] An important contribution to cataloguing techniques is made in the volume Degni – Eleuteri – Maniaci (eds), *Greek Manuscript Cataloguing* (which I could consult only partially).

[39] Andrist – Canart – Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex*, p. 135: « toute description est nécessairement sélective et interprétative, la sélection entrant déjà dans le champ de l'interprétation ».

[40] P. Canart, 'Consigli fraterni a giovani catalogatori di libri manoscritti', *Gazette du livre médiéval* 50 (2007), pp. 1–13: 8 has effectively summarized all of the above in four words: objectivity, extensiveness, exactness, clarity ("obiettività, completezza, precisione, chiarezza"). In P. Andrist's view, « […] the primary scientific goal of a modern full-scale catalogue of ancient manuscripts must be to present the readers with the cataloguer's own historical 'diagnosis' of the objects described […]. From such a perspective, each description in a catalogue must be a systematic, precise, and complete report, especially with regard to the codicological elements that are used (or can potentially be used by others) to make such a historical diagnosis. As such an evaluation has to take full account of intellectual, cultural, social, and technological issues, the catalogue must describe its content and its material aspects as completely and precisely as the scope of the cataloguing project allows" (P. Andrist, Purposes and Methods of a Modern Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts: Some Reader's Notes on the Recent Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts at St John's College, Oxford, *Medium Aevum* 77 [2008], pp. 293-305: 294). Such a perspective is desirable and, in some cases, it gives highly appreciable results (see for instance P. Andrist, *Les manuscrits grecs conservés à la Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne – Burgerbibliothek Bern. Catalogue et histoire de la collection,* Dietikon – Zürich, 2007). However, it implies a very long cataloguing process. On cataloguing techniques see also, besides the bibliography already quoted, P. Andrist, *Règles de catalogage* at www.codices.ch/catalogi/leges_2007.pdf.

read his/her work, not just paleographers and codicologists, but also philologists, art historians and historians *tout court*. For this reason, each item should be presented in the most simple and understandable way, avoiding complex and artificial terminologies based on specific conventions. In fact, unnecessary technicalities determine misunderstandings and hinder communication among disciplines. Furthermore, many scholars will base their studies almost exclusively on the cataloguer's descriptions, without ever seeing the manuscript and, even when they do gain first-hand access to it, they do so without the necessary critical competencies to judge whether the description proposed is correct. For their part, paleographers and codicologists are more and more often denied direct access to manuscripts, having to be content with consulting electronic images of them. Thus, the responsibility of the cataloguer is enormous, especially for the description of the factors that cannot be inferred from photographic reproductions.

Cataloguing manuscripts is an ungrateful activity, but when it is done properly, it can build a bridge between different disciplines, and it can translate the complexity of handwritten books into a straightforward and easily graspable description, useful to experts and to non-specialist readers alike. It has been written that "le seul catalogue parfaitement objectif serait constitué par l'objet lui-même".[41] This is a constructive provocation, but, for the same reason that "a map is not the territory it represents"[42] (pace Suárez Miranda),[43] a catalogue entry is nothing but a tool. Like mapping, cataloguing is not a mimetic technique, but an encoding activity, which deserves to be transformed "from an almost technical and instrumental activity into an operation both historical and critical".[44]

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[41] Andrist – Canart – Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex*, p. 135.

[42] A. Korzybski, *Science and Sanity. An introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics* (New York, 1933), p. 58.

[43] S. Miranda, *Viajes de varones prudentes*, book 4, ch. 45, Lerida 1658 (see J. L. Borges, *Histoire de l'infamie, histoire de l'éternité*, Le Rocher, Paris, 1951, pp. 129-130). The reference to Borges is also found, concerning manuscript cataloguing, in I. Pérez Martín, 'Novedads en catalogación de manuscritos griegos. Una vision crítica', *Emerita* 77 (2009), pp. 336-344: 336.

[44] Bianconi, 'Greek Palaeography', p. 305.

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Cataloguing Scientific Miscellanies: the Case of *Parisinus Graecus* 2494

Anne Weddigen

Manuscript *Parisinus Graecus* 2494 is a mid fifteenth-century manuscript containing various excerpts and compilations of scientific texts (mainly astronomy) besides some literary and hagiographical components. The first detailed description of its contents can be found in the *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* among the Parisian manuscripts.[1] The author of the catalogue chose not to publish any extract as such of this manuscript in the appendix.

In terms of structure, *Paris. gr.* 2494 is a composite volume containing various codicological units,[2] some of them in turn themselves miscellanies. The codex is written on paper, and shows a great variety of hands, qualities and watermarks. Nothing makes the task of describing it easy: the watermarks are placed in the gutter margin, and some of the leaves have undergone a process of restoration dating back to the last binding.[3] Most of these watermarks are not found in Piccard's or Briquet's repertoires. Copyists remain anonymous, and the contents of some of the sections are unidentified and/or unpublished texts.[4]

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[1] P. Boudreaux, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*: *Codices Parisienses*, *CCAG* 8.3. Bruxelles, Lamertin, 1912, pp. 63-72.

[2] Mid-15th c. 140x204 mm. 260 ff. It came into the collection of King Francis I before 1547.

[3] The binding can be dated to the years 1546-1547. It is very close to the one of *Paris. gr. 1250*: see M.-P. Laffitte and F. Le Bar, *Reliures royales de la Renaissance*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1999, pp. 87-90.

[4] A detailed description of the content has been published in the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1031085).

This type of manuscript is a quite common case when it comes to the fifteenth century, as it is a reflection of a common scholarly practice. Scholars and students, who usually remain unknown to us, used to collect excerpts of different authors related to the same topic, for personal use or teaching. Some of those compilations, however, seem to have been passed on and were copied, maybe as a kind of *Syllabus*. As they were meant for ordinary, daily use, these manuscripts do not usually exhibit any remarkable features such as decoration, colophons, or a careful layout. For a cataloger, on the other hand, such miscellanies do not map onto the usual description-form, as they defy one of its most basic categories, that of authorship. The multiple layers of writing include the authors of the various excerpted texts together with the scholar excerpting them – since the compiler is in some way another kind of author –, thus making it impossible to classify the resulting text under the simple formula *Author*, *Title, Date*. How can one provide, in this context, an identification of the written object that would enable modern scholars to identify, connect, and compare these various layers?

The variety of contents shows that this codex is in every sense a collection of miscellanies: several fragments are bound together, of which most are in themselves miscellaneous collections. These contents can be briefly summarized as follows:

Content	Quires
ff. **1-66 Astronomy/Astrology**	ff. 1-66: 8 quaternions
ff. **67-83 Ps.-Aristotle, *De Mundo***	ff. 67-83: 2 quaternions + 1 f
ff. **84-95 Astronomy (*Anonymus Heiberg*)**	ff. 84-97: 1 quaternion + 1 ternion
f. 96 Exorcism	
ff. **96-97 Astrology**	
ff. 98-115 Aesop	ff. 98-118 : 1 ternion + 2 quaternions
ff. 116-118 Progymnasmata	
ff. **119-197r Astronomy/Astrology, Physics**	ff. 119-127: 1 quaternion + 1 f
f. 197v Christian Prayer	ff. 128-139: 1 senion.
ff. 198-200 Multiple Fragments, related to Artemidorus' *Oneirocriticon* (201-203: blank)	ff. 140-181: 5 quaternions + 1 f ff. 182-203: 2 quaternions + 1 ternion.
ff. **204-229 "Persian" Calendar**	ff. 204-211 : 1 quaternion ff. 212-230: 3 ternions + 1f

ff. 229-231 *Life* of St Andrew the Fool ff. 231-232 Botanical Glossary	ff. 231-234: 1 binion
ff. 233r-236v Canon for the Orthodox morning service ff. 236v-242r *Life* of St Andrew the Fool	ff. 235-242: 1 quaternion
ff. **242-257 Scientific and magical texts** ff. 258r Fragment under the name of Basil of Cesarea (11 lines)	243-255: 1 sexternion + 1f after restoration (originally 1f +2 ternions according to the quire marks)
ff. 258-260 medical texts (Galen and pseudo-Hippocrates)	ff. 256-261: 1 ternion

This short table of contents shows that Astronomy and Astrology are not here distinguished. The main focus is on Astronomy and Physics, which was reason enough to order this manuscript into the 24** of the Greek manuscripts in the BnF classification system, a section reserved for scientific and mathematical manuscripts. Besides Astronomy and Physics, two other 'scientific' sections are to be found, namely Botany and Medicine, as well as a literary part (Aesop and Rhetoric), and some fragments of religious content.

The table also shows, at first glance, that it is only at the beginning of the codex that some coincidence between the thematic and codicological units is to be found. By closely examining the quire marks, one can establish that the original codex contained ff. 1-127 and 204-254, with three more quires before f. 1. After those three quires went missing (whether lost or deliberately separated from the rest), the folios were renumbered. This renumbering happened before the adding of ff. 128-203, that did not originally form a single unit, but three.[5]

Everything is intermingled, not only as a result of collecting various papers to constitute one codex, but also because of the original method

[5] Ff. 128-139 (one senion) do not show any quire marks, whereas ff. 140-181 are numbered with Greek letters starting with α. Ff. 182-203 do not have any quire marks either. It is impossible to tell if they were part of the unit starting on f. 140, or if they form a third unit within this group.

of copying such miscellaneous codices. For example, one could think that the *Vita* of St Andrew the Fool has been split into two parts by the interposition of some leaves in the course of a rebinding process. As a matter of fact, the botanical glossary starts on the same page where the first part of the hagiographic text ends, and the *Vita* starts again in the middle of f. 236v, continuing right after the end of the *Canon* for matins (partly dedicated to St Andrew the Fool). The dedication of the C*anon* bears a possible link to the *Vita*, whereas there is absolutely no connexion between the *Vita* and the botanical glossary. I can see no reason for assuming that the scribe would have copied the *Vita* leaving few pages blank, and only later added the glossary and the *Canon*. The layout of the pages, the continuity between the different fragments and the fact that one single hand copied all three texts, suggest that the scribe was copying from an exemplar already containing a disarrangement of units. The simplest explanation would be that a binding error, placing a quire or a few pages in-between two quires of the *Vita*, affected the antigraphon. The scribe was not aware of this problem in the first place, and only later added the two notes in red ink indicating where the other part of the *Vita* could be read.[6] Unfortunately, Rydén makes no comment about this codex that would allow us to identify its model. His *conspectus codicum* does not mention any form of confusion or alteration of folios in other manuscripts, so that the hypothetical scrambled antigraphon is probably lost, if it ever existed.

The other problem raised by the *Vita* is the reason for its presence. Hagiography is not commonly found together with science, and as Rydén notes in his description of *Paris. gr*. 2494,[7] this is the only codex in the whole tradition of the *Vita* where "the number of highbrow authors is high. (…) The copyist seems to have regarded VA [the *Vita*] as an important source of information".[8] In fact, this codex does not transmit the entire *Vita*, but only one specific excerpt that Rydén labeled the "Apocalypse". It contains several descriptions of earthquakes, light-

[6] These two notes were duly noted by Boudreaux in his description: see *CCAG* 8.3, p. 71.

[7] L. Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, Uppsala (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 4.1 and 4.2), 1995.

[8] Rydén, *Life of St Andrew*, vol. 1 : *Conspectus codicum*, ms 27, p. 152, note 73 p. 166.

ning, floods and other meteorological phenomena, which would in fact more appropriately fit in the context of an astronomical-astrological compendium.

Finally, the variety of hands (cursorily distinguished by Boudreau as *earlier* or *later*) shows that not only several units were bound together that did not originally belong to a single codex, but also that some small fragments (extending over a few lines) have probably been added later on blank pages or in blank spaces between two units of text.

I will focus my case study on one page only, namely, folio 121r (see reproduction p.63). It belongs to the end of the first codicological unit. It is part of a quire of 9 folios (ff. 119-127) originally numbered ΙΘ. Folio 127v shows traces of the renumbering that happened after the first three quires were lost, and this number could be a ζ. This quire was originally followed by f. 204, the beginning of a "Persian" calendar. Since f. 121 is not the additional folio to its quire, the text it bears is no specific addition. It is part of a thematic unit where various extracts from astrological calendars are put together.

At the top of folio 121r, there is the conclusion of an astronomical calculation that started on the preceding page. Then follows a new title in red ink: *About the winds*. The following text covers 25 lines and a very short 26th, of which the 8 last lines (ll. 19-26) seem to be written by the same hand, but in a smaller module. From the layout of the page, we may infer that it is a single chapter about the winds, taken from one author. The first attempt to identify the text and its author failed completely, because I was not aware at first that this small extract was in itself already a rewritten collection of different quotations, as the following table shows:

Par. gr. 2494, f. 121r, περὶ ἀνέμων	Extracts on winds
ll. 1-9 Inc. περὶ τῶν προσηγορίων…, Expl. τῇ γεωργίᾳ μαλλ(ον) τῶν ἄλλων.	*Geoponica*, Book 1, chapter 11, section 2[1].
ll. 9-12 inc. αἵδε ταράχαι αὐτῶν…, Expl. πάντες ἄνεμοι εἰσι ιβ’.	John the Lydian, *De ostentis*[2] ?
ll. 12-18 Inc. Ἰστέον ὅτι πάντες ἄνεμοι…, Expl. Κασπία θάλασσα καὶ Σάκαι :-	John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei*, Section 24b line 31-36[3].
ll. 19-21 Inc. Κωλυ′ο′νται δὲ καὶ τιναπ′ε′ς ἄνεμοι…, Expl. ἐν τῷ κοσμολογικῷ διαλέγεται :-	John the Lydian, *De mensibus,* Book 4 section 119 line 20-22[4].
ll. 22-26 Inc. **δὴ εἰδέναι** ὅτι…, Expl. ἡμερών ἢ δ’ δεῖ ἐκδέχεσθαι :-	Frg Cod. 37 = Matr. 4681,[5] f. 163r.

[1] Edition: H. Beckh, *Geoponica*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1895.

[2] Edition: C. Wachsmuth, Johannis Laurentii Lydi, *Liber de ostentiis*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1863.

[3] Edition: B. Kotter, *Die Schriften von Johannes von Damaskos. Band 2 : Expositio fidei*, Patristische Texte und Studien, De Gruyter, Berlin, 1973.

[4] Edition: R. Wuensch, *Joannis Laurentii Lydi Liber de mensibus*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1898.

[5] This part of the ms. Matritensis 4681, f. 163, was published by K. O. Zuretti in the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum: Codices Hispanienses, CCAG* 11.2. Bruxelles, Lamertin, 1934, p. 174.

In order to analyze what the scribe is actually doing, I have tried to match, in the facing texts, the exact parallels between sources. This makes clear that *Paris. gr.* 2494 is not a simple collage of extracts and quotations. The sources have been partially modified, abridged, and sometimes misinterpreted. It seems that someone aimed at creating a new chapter about winds containing all he could find that seemed noteworthy on the topic. There is a double process at work: that of epitomizing collected extracts and that of organizing their succession.

Part 1: Extract from the *Geoponica*

περὶ ἀνέμων[6]	
περὶ τῶν προσηγορίων ἀνέμων καὶ ποσῶν εἰσὶ πόθεν ἕκαστος πνεῖ,	Περὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τῶν ἀνέμων, καὶ **πόσοι εἰσί,** καὶ πόθεν ἕκαστος πνέει. **Διονυσίου**.
ἀπὸ τῶν δ΄ κλημάτων τέσσαροιȩ αὐθεντικοῖ πνέουσιν ἄνεμοι	Ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων κλιμάτων τέσσαρες αὐθεντικοὶ πνέουσιν ἄνεμοι.
	ὁ ἀπηλιώτης καὶ ὁ ζέφυρος καὶ ὁ βορέας καὶ ὁ νότος.
ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ κέντρου φερόμενος καλῆται ἀπηλιώτος · ἔχει δὲ παραπνέοντας καὶ μεσάζοντας τὸν εὖρον καὶ τὸν κεκίαν.	ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπηλιώτης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ κέντρου φερόμενος, ἔχει παραπνέοντας καὶ μεσάζοντας **αὐτὸν** τὸν εὖρον καὶ τὸν καικίαν.
ὅδε ἐκ τοῦ δϋτικοῦ ἄστρου πνέων, ὁ Ζέφυρος. ἔχει μεσάζοντας αὐτὸν **τὸν** ἰάπϋγα καὶ **τὸν** λίβαν.	ὁ δὲ ζέφυρος ἐκ τοῦ δυτικοῦ κέντρου πνέων, ἔχει μεσάζοντας αὐτὸν ἰάπυγα καὶ λίβα.
ὅδε ἐκ τοῦ ἄρκτου ἄστρου πνέων βοράς. ἔχει μεσάζοντας αὐτὸν, τὸν θρασκέα καὶ τὸν ἀπαρκταία.	ὁ δὲ βορέας ἐκ τοῦ ἀρκτ**ικ**οῦ κέντρου καταπνέων, ἔχει μεσάζοντας αὐτὸν θρασκίαν καὶ τὸν ἀπαρκτίαν.
ὅδε ἀπὸ τῆς μεσεμβρίας φερόμενος, νότος. ἔχει μεσάζοντας αὐτὸν τὸν λιβόνοτον καὶ **τὸν** εὐρόνοτον. ὡς πάντας αὐτῶν τὸν ἀριθμῶν εἶναι ΙΒ’	ὁ δὲ νότος ἀπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας φερόμενος, ἔχει μεσάζοντας αὐτόν, τὸν λιβόνοτον καὶ εὐρόνοτον, ὡς εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀνέμους ιβ΄.
τὸν δε ζέφυρον ἐνεργὸν εἶναι **λέγουσι** τῇ γεωρίᾳ μαλλ(ον) τῶν ἄλλων.	τὸν δὲ ζέφυρον συνεργὸν εἶναι τῇ γεωργίᾳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων **πάντων ἀνέμων**,

[6] This transcription does not correct grammatical or spelling mistakes (confusion of long and short vowels, iotacism, etc…). These are very common mistakes for a fifteenth-century scribe, and they might or might not be of interest. Likewise, the transcription tries to show how the scribe corrected his own spelling by adding or replacing letters above the word.

This first part is the longest excerpt that can be singled out on this page. The first striking feature is the question of the title, and the related problem of authorship. As the scribe entitled his chapter *On the winds* (in what appears to be a title of his own, but might be taken from John of

Damascus, see below), it makes sense that he chose not to copy the full title from the *Geoponica* in his epitome. Strikingly, instead of leaving it out completely, he shortened it, thus transforming τῆς προσηγορίας τῶν ἀνέμων into τῶν προσηγορίων ἀνέμων, a formula only slightly shorter and maybe less precise, and leaving out πόσοι εἰσί and Διονυσίου. The leaving out of πόσοι εἰσί corresponds to the omission in the text of the list of four winds, although the excerptor still writes that the winds are four in number. With this small change, the focus shifts a little, because, as we will see, our scribe is not interested so much in their number as in their geographical origin (and its meaning?). The author 'Dionysus', on the other hand, is unknown to us. As A. Dalby puts it, commenting on the *Geoponica*, "no one believes that these attributions are literally accurate".[9] There is in fact a debate as to whether all of these attributions are false and arbitrary, or "not in general wholly false", but correspond to differences of style, specialism, scientific approach and/or geographical references.[10] In this case, *Dionysus* is an unknown reference. I cannot rule out that the scribe omitted it in order to keep his extract short. Nevertheless, he also stops his quote immediately before the *Geoponica* mentions the name of one Florentios. Thus, the scribe seems intent on avoiding the mention of any kind of source, rather composing his epitome as a new independent work.

The omission of the primary list of the four main winds makes sense, given that they are all listed afterwards together with the secondary winds. It seems that all the modifications we observe in the passage result from this omission: the epitomizer rearranged the syntax, so that it would be more fluent and coherent. The omission of **αὐτὸν** may be due to a later copyist or to a mistake that was not repeated in the next sentence.

The systematic substitution of the word ἄστρου for κέντρου is somewhat strange, as it relates the direction of winds to stars, whereas the

[9] A. Dalby, *Medioevo greco,* 14, 2014, pp. 407, review on *Géoponiques*, traduction J.-P. Grélois et J. Lefort, Paris, Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2012.

[10] *Ibid.*

"center" is, in the Rose of Winds, the central line out of three, meaning the main wind in the middle flanked by two secondary winds.
The addition of the word ἀριθμῶν (ὡς πάντας αὐτῶν τὸν ἀριθμῶν εἶναι ΙΒ΄) is probably due to language habits of the epitomizer, a way of marking beforehand that the letters ΙΒ΄ are actually a number.
The most interesting addition is that of **λέγουσι**. The translation of the original text in the *Geoponica* is: *Zephyr is, for agriculture, the most helpful of all winds*, which becomes *Zephyr is, as they say, more productive in agriculture than the others*. **λέγουσι** expresses at the same time that this is a quotation, and adds some distance between the epitomizer and his sources. On the other hand, a reader who would not know the original of the *Geoponica* could understand this **λέγουσι** as a reference to some widespread common opinion. This change in the quotation also clearly indicates that agriculture is not the main focus here. *Geoponica* is a treatise of agronomy that was used by the epitomizer to find the list of the 12 winds and their disposition on the Rose of Winds, but his primary interest is not in the practical indications that these winds convey for the farmer. Exactly at the moment where the text of *Geoponica* moves to practical applications in agriculture, the quote breaks off, and the epitomizer slides from meteorology to geography (and ethnography), back to meteorology and finally astronomy.

Part 2: An unidentified extract

αἵδε ταράχαι αὐτῶν τοῦ χρονικοῦ κυρίου ἰανουαριου ἡμερα(ι ?) δ΄ καὶ κε΄. φευρουαρίου θ΄ μαρτίου θ΄ καὶ κε΄ ἀπριλλ<ι>οῦ ε΄ καὶ ιθ΄ μαίου α΄ καὶ ιβ΄ ἰουνίου η΄ καὶ κβ΄ ἰουλλίου ε΄ καὶ ιθ΄ αὐγούστου α΄ καὶ ιδ΄ σεπτεβρίου ζ΄ καὶ κβ΄ ὀκτο[υ]<β>ρ(ίου) ε΄ καὶ ιζ΄ νοεμβρίου α΄ καὶ ιβ΄ δεκεμβρίου θ΄ καὶ ιδ΄:-	

For these lines, I was so far unable to find any satisfying parallel. In K. O. Zuretti's volume[11] is edited a calendar that lists all astronomical

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 168-173.

events over the year (rising and falling of constellations for example), and, amongst those events, storms or changes of winds. This calendar has very few correspondences to the extract copied on f. 121r, but the underlying idea of fixed changes of winds during the year seems to be a common feature. These few unidentified lines of *Par. gr*. 2494 might be a partial transcription of such a calendar, focused on wind changes. A very similar calendar is to be found in John the Lydian's *De ostentiis,*[12] where it is said to be *taken from Claudius Thuscus* (ἐκ τῶν Κλαυδίου τοῦ Θούσκου), for which some days are a match : April 29th, September 23rd (instead of 22nd). Given the high potential for copying mistakes when it comes to numbers, it is very difficult to rule out that this passage could have been taken from John the Lydian on this basis only. In regard to the fact that ll. 19-21 of f. 121r are taken from the *De mensibus* by the same author, it seems at least plausible. Should it be so, it would give us further insight into our epitomizer's method: he chose two different passages from one author that he reorganized together with some other fragments, but even in the long list that constitutes Claudius' calendar, he picks out only what concerns the ταραχαὶ ἀνέμων.

[12] *Ibid.,*sect. 59-70.

Part 3: John of Damascus

Paris. gr. 2494	John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei*, Section 24b lines 31-36 . Ed. Kotter (= generally following ms E)	Variations from mss H or E
Ἰστέον ὅτι πάντες ἄνεμοι εἰσι ιβ΄.		
Ἔθνη δὲ οἰκεῖ τὰ πέρατα· κατὰ ἀπειλιώτην, Βακτρίνοι, κατ' εὖρον, **Ἰνδικοὶ** κατὰ Φοίνηκα, Ἐριθρὰ θάλασσα, καὶ Αἰθιοπία. κατὰ ***λιβόνοτον***, οἱ ὑπερ **Σύρτ(ην) Γαράμαντες**, κατὰ λίβαν, Αἰθίοπες καὶ δυσμικοὶ Ὑπέρμαυροι, κατὰ ζέφυρὸν Στῆλ(αι) καὶ ἀρχαὶ Λυβίοις καὶ Εὐρόπης, κατὰ ἀργέστην Ἰβηρία ἡ νῦν **Σπανία**, κατὰ θρασκίαν Κελταί(οί ss.) καὶ τὰ ὅμορα, κατὰ ἀπαρτίας οἱ ὑπὲρ **τὴν** Θρᾴκην Σκύνθαι, κατὰ βορρᾶν Πόντοι Μαιώτης καὶ Σαρμάται, κατὰ καικίαν Κασπία θάλασσα καὶ Σάκαι.	Ἔθνη δὲ οἰκεῖ τὰ πέρατα· κατ' ἀπηλιώτην Βακτριανοί, κατ' εὖρον **Ἰνδοί**, κατὰ Φοίνικα Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα καὶ Αἰθιοπία, κατὰ **λευκόνοτον** οἱ ὑπὲρ **Σύρτιν Γεράμαντες**, κατὰ λίβα Αἰθίοπες καὶ δυσμικοὶ Ὑπέρμαυροι, κατὰ ζέφυρον Στῆλαι καὶ ἀρχαὶ Λιβύης καὶ Εὐρώπης, κατὰ ἀργέστην Ἰβηρία ἡ νῦν **Ἱσπανία**, κατὰ δὲ θρασκίαν Κελτοὶ καὶ τὰ ὅμορα, κατὰ ἀπαρκτίαν οἱ **ὑπὲρ** Θρᾴκην Σκύθαι, κατὰ βορρᾶν Πόντος Μαιῶτις καὶ Σαρμάται, κατὰ καικίαν Κασπία θάλασσα καὶ Σάκες.	Ἰνδικοὶ λυκόνοτον Σύρτην Γερμαντες Σπανία τὰ ὑπὲρ **τὴν**

As an introduction to the next quotation is a sentence that should probably be ascribed to the epitomizer himself. The punctuation marks make clear that it is not supposed to be part of the previous fragment. This quotation of John of Damascus' *Expositio fidei* is very close to the original text. Neither cuts nor rearrangements of the syntax were made. The *Expositio fidei* is one of the links between several pages of our miscellanea. Immediately after the text we are focusing on, f. 121v starts with a quite long quotation of the *Expositio*, but taken from another, more 'astronomical' chapter.

It appears that this quote is not just any taken from John of Damascus. It is in turn itself a quotation from Agathemeros,[13] which we only know thanks to John of Damascus. Moreover, this paragraph is one of the few that are not well established in the manuscript tradition of the *Expositio*. This uncertainty is also reflected in the various translations of the text. As an example, the Reverend S.D.F. Salmond notes, in his 1899 English translation[14] (of the Latin translation) that it is missing in most of the manuscripts. Therefore, he places it at the end of II, 8 (which is Chapter 22 in our latest edition), with no further comment. In the other translation, based on a different branch of the tradition, as in the French translation of Ponsoye,[15] the paragraph is simply omitted.

The very careful edition of Bonifatius Kotter[16] provides a complete *apparatus criticus* that allows us to reconstruct the transmission of this paragraph. It is to be found in only two manuscripts of Kotter's stemma, named E and H. Both of these manuscripts belong to the tradition Kotter calls "ordered" (*expositio ordinata)* as opposed to the second tradition, the unordered one. Nevertheless, they are to be found in two different branches of the stemma. Manuscript E is the *Synod. bibl. gr*. 201, from the Historical Museum of Moscow, and dates back to the 9th century. H is the *Sinaiticus gr*. 383 from St Catherine's monastery, and dates back to the 11th century. The paragraph is missing in all the other manuscripts known to Kotter, which means that it was lost at a very early stage, for reasons we cannot trace.

There is the further complication that in the manuscripts where it occurs, namely, E and H, this paragraph is found in two different places.[17] H transmits it between chapter 22b and chapter 24, whereas E places it at the end of chapter 24, before chapter 25.

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[13] GGM 94, 101, 1-10 = Diller 34.

[14] *John of Damascus. Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, translated by the Rev. S.D.F. Salmond, Aberdeen, 1899.

[15] E. Ponsoye, *La foi orthodoxe : suivie de Défense des icones*, Publication de l'Institut Orthodoxe Français de Théologie de Paris, Paris, 1966.

[16] B. Kotter, *Die Schriften von Johannes von Damaskos.* Vol. 2 : *Expositio fidei*, Patristische Texte und Studien, De Gruyter, Berlin, 1973.

[17] References to chapters are given accordingly to Kotter's edition.

Chapter 22b is an alternative version of chapter 22, that is found in some manuscripts belonging to the same family as H. In this line of transmission, chapter 23 is missing, replaced by the quotation of Agathemeros, right before chapter 24. Kotter's printed text follows more closely the tradition of E, so that our paragraph appears at the end of chapter 24, with a note that links it to chapter 22b. This is also where its translation is to be found in Salmond's translation. Therefore, his Latin version must go back to the family of E.

The parallel-text comparison given above, showing the manuscript variations in the third column, makes clear that the variations of H are all found in the Parisian manuscript. Our quotation therefore belongs to the family of H, rather than E. I may add here that the title of chapter 22b is περὶ ἀνέμων, which is probably one of the reasons the compiler looked it up and selected this piece from it for his own compilation.

There is only one word that shows some variations in the three manuscripts: λιβόνοτον – λευκόνοτον – λυκόνοτον. Both names *libonotos* and *leukonotos* are attested for the same wind. As λιβόνοτον cannot be derived from the lesson λυκόνοτον found in H, it could be an argument to refute the belonging of *Paris. gr*. 2494 to the H family. Nonetheless, since the difference between these names could be the simple effect of a misreading of the names written in early Greek minuscule. –ευ– could be a misreading for –εβ–, the mistake is not probing. H, compared to E, is just omitting an epsilon. If the difference of names for this wind matters, the Parisian quotation could be a witness of a lost branch in the H-tradition, a parallel line that would go back to a common ancestor to H and *Paris. gr*. 2494, nowhere recorded in Kotter's stemma.

This small and isolated fragment is too limited to provide any further information on a very hypothetical new branch to Kotter's stemma. On the other hand, it could be an element to take into account while trying to tie the Parisian collation to some other manuscripts, and it could be worth investigating whether *Paris. gr.* 2494 shows other links to Kotter's H family, a research beyond the scope of this study.

Part 4: A fragment from John the Lydian

Κωλυ′ο′νται δὲ καὶ τινες′ ἄνεμοι· αὔραι καὶ ρυσ(εις) **ἀνέμων** τϋγχάνουσι, ὅταν ἢ ἀπὸ λιμῶν ἢ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν φέρονται. ὅμοιοι τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγειοι, ὅθεν εὐλόγ(ως) ἀέρος εἰρεμοῦντ(ος) τὸ κατάστημα καλῆται νεη′νε′μία. οὕτως ἀπολόγ[ι]ος ἐν τῷ κοσμολογικῷ διαλέγεται :-	αὖραι <u>γὰρ αὖται</u> καὶ ῥύσεις **ἀέρων** τυγχάνουσιν <u>οὖσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀλόγως ἄνεμοι</u> <u>καλοῦνται</u>, ὅτε ἢ ἀπὸ λιμνῶν ἢ ποταμῶν φέρονται· ὅμοιοι δὲ τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγειοι, ὅθεν εὐλόγως ἀέρος ἠρεμοῦντος τὸ κατάστημα καλεῖται νηνεμία.

It is impossible to ascribe the first sentence to any author – it might have even been added by the anonymous compiler himself. The quotation taken from John the Lydian is quite heavily abridged, and the syntax is changed, thus creating an ambiguous sentence.

The original first sentence was: *Breezes themselves and streams of air happen to occur, and they are rightly called "winds", when they are brought coming from lakes or rivers*… The compiler decides that there is no point in keeping the expression "rightly (lit.: not unreasonably) called winds" (καὶ οὐκ ἀλόγως ἄνεμοι καλοῦνται), as he is putting together a chapter about winds anyway – his reader perfectly knows what this is all about. Furthermore, he simplifies the expression 'breezes themselves and streams of air called winds' (αὖραι γὰρ αὖται καὶ ῥύσεις ἀέρων) into simple 'breezes and streams of wind' (αὖραι καὶ ρυσ(εις) ἀνέμων). The only problem is that he also omits the participle <u>οὖσαι</u>. This syntax would certainly not fit the classical grammatical standards, but still be acceptable. But then, it is not clear anymore if the genitive "of winds" is complement to the noun "streams" or object to the verb τυγχάνουσιν. Another translation could be *breezes and streams meet winds*. Only the original text can lead us to the correct translation, unless we admit that our epitomizer deliberately chose to give the passage a different meaning.

The rest of the passage shows confusion between ὅτε and ὅταν that would normally require a subjunctive, and some spelling mistakes that are usual for a fifteenth-century copy.

The last sentence is more puzzling. It is not taken from the *De ostentiis*, nor from any other known text. As it stands, one must admit that it is a

personal comment added by the epitomizer. It links what has been just said to "the Cosmologicos", or "the cosmological <work>".

There is but scarce evidence for the adjective κοσμολογικός in Classical or Byzantine works, even if it exists in Modern Greek. It is possible that the word, understandable in itself, might refer to some "work" or "book", thus the translation would be: *this is how a story is narrated in the cosmological book.* In this case, we must admit that the author of the sentence knows precisely which single cosmological book is meant, whether it has been mentioned beforehand, or the reference speaks for itself. In fact, the word νηνεμία appears three times in Aristotle's *Meteorologica*[18] and twice in Ptolomaeus's *Phaseis,*[19] two authors likely to be well known to any scholar. But none of these attributions would fit our context, since neither Aristotle nor Ptolomaeus write anything close to an ἀπολόγ[ι]ος in these passages. If the reading ἐν τῷ κοσμολογικῷ <βιβλίῳ> is correct, it must refer to some work unknown to us, but still be an obvious reference for the epitomizer.

On the other hand, there is but one thing that we know about by that name: it is a work by Ion of Chios, mentioned in a scholion[20] to Aristophanes' *Pax*. Unfortunately, we have no idea what this work was about, and even Aristophanes' pun is hard to understand. It is also unclear, in this passage, what ἀπολόγ[ι]ος exactly is said to be found in the *Cosmologicos*. Maybe Ion's work told a story about the etymology of the word νηνεμία, or the origin of ceasing of all winds on sea.

This scholion has not attracted much attention so far. It could be an early Byzantine scholion, as the editions of Jacoby and Diels-Kranz

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[18] Bekker page 361b line 23 : διὸ περὶ Ὠρίωνος ἀνατολὴν μάλιστα γίγνεται νηνεμία ; Bekker page 367b line 18 ὅπερ οὖν ἡ θάλαττα ποιεῖ περὶ τὴν γῆν, τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα περὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἀχλύν, ὥσθ' ὅταν γένηται νηνεμία, πάμπαν εὐθεῖαν καὶ λεπτὴν καταλείπεσθαι ὥσπερ ῥηγμῖνα οὖσαν ἀέρος τὴν νεφέλην ; Bekker page 367b line 23 νηνεμία γίγνεται ἀντιμεθισταμένου τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν γῆν…

[19] Heiberg, *Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia*, Leipzig, Teubner 1907, vol. 2, page 48 line 10: ὡρῶν ιε· τὸ αὐτό. Αἰγυπτίοις νηνεμία ἢ νότος καὶ ὑετία. Καίσαρι χειμών. line 14: ὡρῶν ιε· ὁ λαμπρὸς τῆς νοτίου Χηλῆς ἑῷος δύνει. Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπισημαίνει. Εὐκτήμονι καὶ Φιλίππῳ νηνεμία ἢ νότος, ψακάς.

[20] Jacoby, *Ion, Testimonia, FGrH* n. 392 = Diels-Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*,

include the scholia by Tztetzes (12th cent.). It is puzzling that our epitomizer, mainly interested in Physics and Astronomy, would include a link to a classical piece of poetry, probably lost long before Byzantine times. But the question of air-stillness is definitely part of a chapter about winds. Should the reference be correct, then he most probably drew this reference from an earlier work of collected quotations about winds that included also literary ones. This might explain why we suddenly find a reference to a pre-Socratic poet following an extract from the sixth-century writer, John the Lydian.

Part 5: *Matrit. gr*. 4681

	Frg Cod 37 = *Matr. gr*. 4681, f. 163r.
δὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι τὰ σημια τῶν χειμόνων καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐ κατὰ πάσαν ἡμέραν ἀποτελοῦνται,	**Δεῖ γινώσκειν** ὅτι τὰ σημεῖα τῶν χειμόνων καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐ κατὰ πάσαν ἡμέραν ἀποτελοῦνται,
ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν περὶ τῆς τρίτης τῆς σελήνης ἢ τὴν δ΄ σημία γίνεται, ταύτ(α) μέχρι τῆς διχοτομίας **οἷον** ζ΄ ποσδοκὰν δεῖ. ὅσα δὲ γίνεται διχοτόμου σελήνη(ς ?) ταῦτα **δεῖ** ἐκ δέχεσθαι μέχρι ιε΄	ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν περὶ **τὴν** τρίτη**ν** τῆς σελήνης ἢ τὴν δ΄ σημεῖα γίν**ονται**, ταῦτα μέχρι τῆς διχοτομίας **ἤγουν τῆς** ζ΄ τῆς σελήνης ποσδοκὰν χρῆ. ὅσα δὲ γίν**ονται** διχοτόμου τῆς σελήνης οὔσης ταῦτα **δέον** ἐκ δέχεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ιε΄ ἡμέρας αὐτῆς, ἤγουν τῆς ἀποχύσεως.
ὅσα δὲ γίνεται πανσελλην(ου) οὔσης ταῦτα μέχρι κβ	ὅσα δὲ γίν**ονται** πανσελήνου οὔσης ἤγουν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαταίας, ταῦτα δεῖ ἀναμένειν ιη΄ ἢ κβ΄ ἡμερῶν γινομένης.
ὅσα δὲ γίνεται λυγούσης αὐτῆς μέχρι **γ**$^{\text{ον}}$ ἡμερών ἢ δ΄ δεῖ ἐκδέχεσθαι :-	ὅσα δὲ γίν**ονται** ληγούσης αὐτῆς ταῦτα μέχρι **τριῶν** ἢ δ΄ δεῖ ἐκδέχεσθαι :- Ed.: **τριῶν** ἢ δ΄ : *lege* τρίτης ἢ τετάρτης.

Ion, Frg 2, l. 15 : φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ <Χίου> κτίσις (F 1/3) καὶ Κοσμολογικὸς (F 24/6) καὶ Ὑπομνήματα (F 4/7) καὶ ἄλλα τινά.

This manuscript from the National Library in Madrid, the *Matrit. gr.* 4681, contains many small treatises by Psellos. B. Crostini studied this manuscript on microfilm, making the following comment on the astronomical section edited earlier by K. O. Zuretti:

> The following long section of the Matritensis, ff. 129r-163v, appears contemporary to the preceding one, despite its codicological independence and the difficulty of clearly establishing the continuity of the hand on the basis of microfilm print-outs. It contains astronomical and calendrical treatises. De Andrès refers to Zuretti's detailed description dating back to the 1930s, but it remains substantially unstudied. De Andrès also suggests that fol. 163 is now displaced; it belongs after fol. 154.[21]

The manuscript appears to be in a very poor state of conservation, so that I was unable to study it directly. Comparison though of the text published by Zuretti with that in *Paris. gr.* 2494 is possible, so that all information given here is taken from Zuretti's description and partial publication.

I cannot rule out, based on the layout of f. 121r, that this paragraph may have been added later on the page, together with the previous excerpt. On f. 121v, the same hand that wrote the beginning of this chapter *On the Winds* continues with another extract taken from John of Damascus. The last 8 lines are writing in a smaller module, but still by the same hand, as if the scribe had wanted to make sure it would fit on the page. The last lines of the page might therefore have been added later, or omitted in the first place but then reinserted according to the model.

In the Madrid codex, even if we put f. 163 back in its original place (according to Zuretti) after f. 154, there is no doubt that the beginning of our passage is also the beginning of a new section. This raises a first question: why would an opening paragraph in another manuscript of astronomical miscellanies become the closing paragraph here? It would have been neat to establish that what precedes in *Paris. gr.* 2494 were

[21] B. Crostini, « The Teubner Edition of Psellos in the Light of a New Find in MS Trinity College Dublin 373 », *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung*, ed. by J. S. Codoñer and I. Pérez Martín, Brepols, 2014, p. 277.

the missing part in *Matrit.* 4681, but this hypothesis can be ruled out. There is no direct link between the two manuscripts, so the aim is to identify the common source for this paragraph.

The comparison of these two texts shows how much the Paris version is abridged. The later version looks like personal notes taken from an extant work. But even in the text edited by Zuretti – that we must consider the closest to the "original", as it is longer – we find a somewhat erratic grammar, and signs of missing parts. ταῦτα δεῖ ἀναμένειν ιη ἢ κβ ἡμερῶν γινομένης is a strange turn of phrase, in which we do not know to what the feminine genitive γινομένης refers. Here again, the compiler shows his attention to syntax (as we saw in its epitome of *Geoponica*) by putting all the verbs back into a singular form (which is correct, given that the subjects are all neutral plurals) and avoiding this part of the sentence.

Obviously, it is possible that the compiler was using a different version of this text. So far, we only know about these two fragments, and only the identification of this very same content in another fragment or even in a still unedited extant work could lift the veil. Crostini's analysis of the Psellos part of the Matritensis manuscript establishes that it probably dates back to the end of the twelfth century, which would therefore be a *terminus ante quem* for this passage. Should the fragment be contemporary to the *Matrit. gr*. 4681, it would also be contemporary to the scholion on Ion of Chios, attributable to Tzetzes. A complete study of the contents of *Paris. gr*. 2494 might establish whether more clues can be found to link the composition of some of its miscellanies to the twelfth century.

This case-study does not discuss all 260 folios of the complete manuscript. By examining closely one single page, it was possible to identify five different sections within just 26 lines. A complete investigation of these specific miscellaneous texts, excluding all passages explicitly ascribed or ascribable to one single author, would still need to account for at least a hundred folios.

This page shows an extreme case of the difficulties encountered in the specific task of cataloguing miscellanies. The simple aim of providing any scholar with a description of the manuscript that would be complete and precise enough for them to decide if this item is relevant for their research cannot be pursued that far.

When facing numerous layers of quotations of quotations, and collages of epitomes, it is questionable whether the notion of 'author' or even 'original text' can be of much help. Who is to be considered the author : the earliest writer we can ascribe a succession of at least ten words in a row to, or the unknown scholar who produces a chapter about one topic (here, winds) by using all the sources that were available to him? In both cases, authorship might still be meaningful, if we can identify people by name.

The very extreme example is the quotation of Agathemeros, quoted by John of Damascus, quoted in turn by this compiler. The context makes clear that the *Expositio* was the source for the epitomizer, and not a lost manuscript of Agathemeros. It does not make any sense, therefore, to catalogue this paragraph under the name of Agathemeros rather than of John of Damascus. But does it make sense to describe every paragraph, every five lines of text, as was done for this article, in a catalogue?

As the epitomizer provided subdivisions into chapters with headlines, this composite work may also be considered a new work, whose sources are to be studied as such. It appears from this single page that the unknown scholar re-composed an entirely new chapter, at the same time erasing any trace of its sources and keeping each quotation as a distinct section. This process of assembling must have been originally very clear, as the punctuation is kept in the fifteenth-century copy of *Paris. gr.* 2494. I think it unlikely to assume that the last copyist introduced these marks in order to separate different quotations, because he would then have at probably also identified their authors in the margins.

This raises in turn the question of authorship: the authorship of miscellanies is far more difficult to trace than the authorship of the original texts, usually both well known and mostly edited. It seems to me that, when it comes to astronomical texts, the question is even more diffi-

cult to approach. How can we make a satisfactory inventory of different calculations, how can we describe these manuscripts so as to enable cross references, and to give scholars the opportunity to take manuscript tradition into account when it comes to picturing the state of common astronomical knowledge during medieval times, for example, or editing some treatises?

So far, the choice made by the publishers of the *CCAG* series is to reproduce (one cannot speak of editing) larger unknown passages and chapters, and whenever possible, link manuscripts with others already described. In the case of *Paris. gr.* 2494 (= Cod. Parisiensis 47 in the *CCAG*), there is a link to Cod. Germ. 25 (= *Berol. Phillipp.* 1574), ff. 140-228, pointing out that they are thematically close, as they both contain calendars and treatises on winds. Such a solution is feasible in a thematic catalogue not limited to one single library. Moreover, all excerpts and fragments published in the *CCAG* are part of the TLG corpus, which makes them automatically available for cross-references.

Generally speaking, all the contents of *Paris. gr.* 2494 reflect common astro-nomical, -physical, -logical knowledge. These texts seem to be widespread in Byzantine times: some traditions quite strictly separate Astronomy and Astrology, but some others do not operate such clear distinction. The latter type is represented here. An extensive study of sources used, compared to dates of copy and dates of composition (should they be different) might set a frame in which to order astronomical textbooks, school material, personal compilations, etc... Such an undertaking is largely beyond the task of a simple catalogue description, but is strongly dependent on the way we formulate such descriptions, and could benefit from a systematical integration of fragments into a database such as the TLG.

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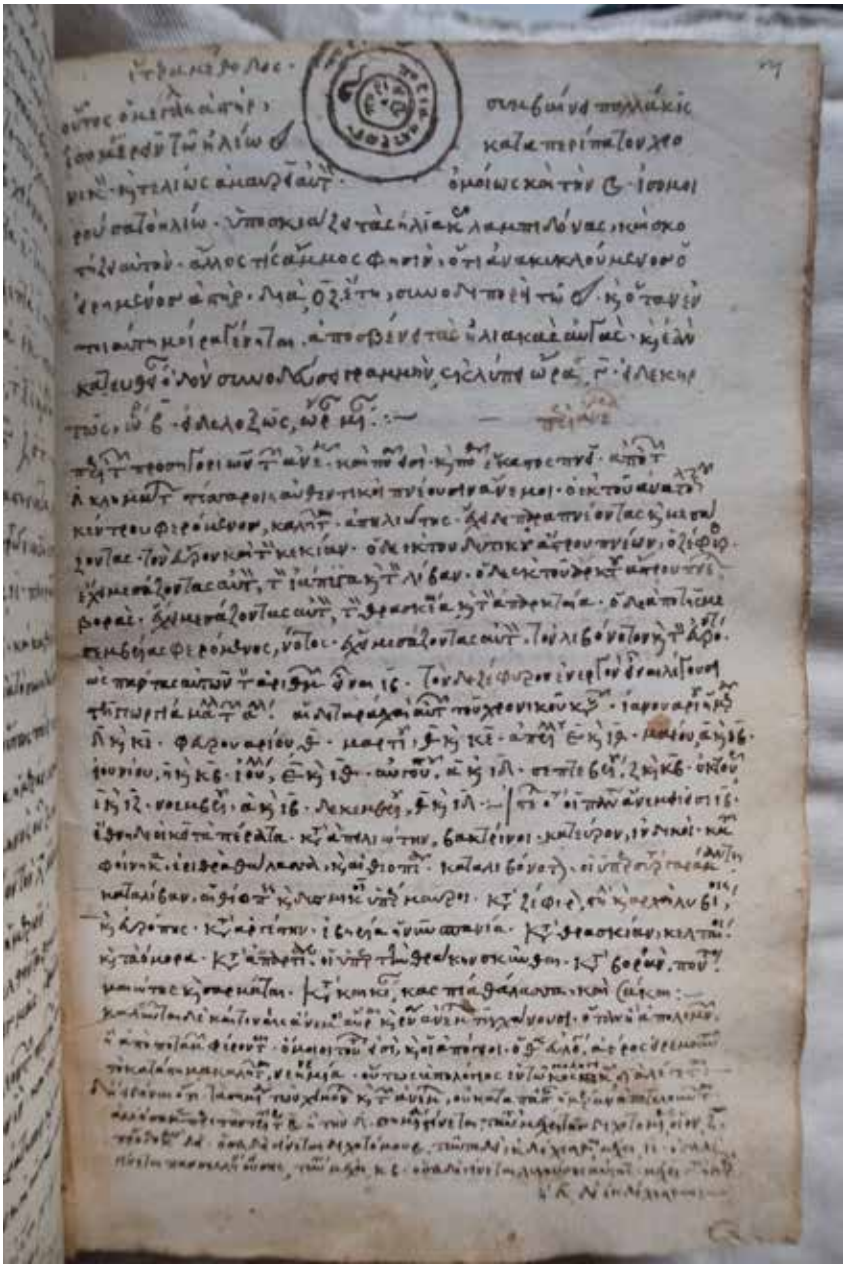

Persian Astronomy in the Greek Manuscript *Linköping kl. f.* 10[*]

Alberto Bardi

This paper is a study of an astronomical text redacted in Greek, contained in the fifteenth-century manuscript Linköping kl. f. 10 (henceforth **F**). This text consists of a coherent group of instructions on how to use a structured set of astronomical tables stemming from Islamic tradition, redacted primarily in Persian in the thirteenth century, then translated by Byzantine scholars into Greek, and spread among Byzantine scholars from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[1]

2. Astronomical texts and tables between the Il-khanate and Byzantium

In the thirteenth century, astronomical tables stemming from Persia were mostly produced by Islamic scholars. The area, stretched out today between Iran and Azerbaijan, was ruled by the Mongols of the Il-Khanids dynasty. Due to their interest in astronomy and astrology, after the conquest of that region, they hired the Islamic astronomers already settled there and employed them in the new observatories that they built,

[*] I am very grateful to Barbara Crostini for organizing the Uppsala workshop, which triggered the chance to study this manuscript. I also wish to thank the Institut für Byzantinistik (Prof. Dr. Albrecht Berger) of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München for the resources provided for my researches on Byzantine astronomy. I am indebted to Anne-Laurence Caudano, Barbara Crostini, Sajjad Nikfaham Khubravan and Shahrzad Irannejad for useful suggestions, as well as to the participants to the workshop for fruitful discussions, namely Filippo Ronconi, Anne Weddigen, Patrick Granholm and Anthony Lappin.

[1] For more details on the exchanges between Persian and Byzantine scholars see Tihon 1987, Tihon 1990 and Ragep 2014. This introduction is indebted to those papers.

notably that of Maragha, founded in 1259 by the Il-khan Hulaghu, and that of Tabriz, founded not much later by Ghazan Khan.[2]

Information on the scientific exchanges between Persia and Byzantium appears in the introduction to the so-called *Persian Syntaxis*, an astronomical handbook on Persian tables redacted in Greek at around 1347 by Georgios Chrysokokkes.[3] He reports that he learned astronomy a few years before, in Trebizond, a city with a good tradition of astronomical studies, by a priest called Manuel, an otherwise unknown figure. The latter had practiced astronomy learning from Gregorios Chioniades, a Byzantine scholar who had travelled to Tabriz at the end of the thirteenth century in order to learn astronomy from the Persian scholar Šams al Dīn al-Buḫārī, whose works Chioniades had translated and brought to Trebizond.[4] Chioniades is the author of the most ancient translations into Greek of works of Persian astronomy, or, better, these translations are to be ascribed to him: the *Zīj as-Sanjarī* (composed around 1120) by al-Ḫāzinī, and the commentary of the aforementioned Šams al Dīn al-Buḫārī on the *Zīj al-ʾAlāī*, a work of the Arab astronomer Al-Fahhād (composed around 1176).[5] There is evidence to suggest that at the beginning of the fourteenth century some Persian astronomical treatises were known in a Greek-Byzantine environment and were circulating among scholars, if not in Constantinople, for sure in Trebizond.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that the astronomical texts we are considering deal with "practical" astronomy, not with theoretical astronomy. The handbooks mentioned, in contrast with major works such as Ptolemy's *Almagest* or *Planetary Hypothesis*, do not concern themselves with the mathematical and physical foundations of astronomy, but consist simply of instructions on how to use structured sets of astronomical tables. Learning how to use astronomical tables was

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[2] Tihon 1987 and Saliba 1991. See also North 2008, 204-214.

[3] Mercier 1984. This text constitutes the subject of my ongoing research project. There is an old unpublished thesis on the subject, *Etude sur la syntaxe perse des Georges Chrysococces* by Françoise Oerlemans, supervised by J. Mogenet, but this resource could not be accessed.

[4] See Ragep 2014.

[5] See Leichter 2004, 6-12. Editions of Chioniades's works: Pingree 1985, Paschos-Sotiroudis 1998, Leichter 2004.

possible even without being aware of the theories behind them. That is why astronomical handbooks were so popular.

In late Byzantium, the genre of the astronomical handbook for a set of tables was not new to Greek tradition. The most ancient Greek source on this is the *Small commentary on Ptolemy's Handy Tables* by Theon Alexandrinus (4th century CE).[6] But in the thirteenth century Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* were not up-to-date anymore. Importing tables from Islamic tradition, therefore, was a quick way for Byzantine scholars to have and practice astronomy through up-to-date tables. Those tables could help them in fixing the calendar, computing the date of Easter and predicting celestial phenomena like eclipses, which Byzantine scholars were fond of. Though up-to-date, these tables were not necessarily more reliable; in fact, Ptolemaic tables (from the *Handy Tables* and from the *Almagest*), with which Byzantine scholars were probably more familiar, were still in use. For instance, in order to compute eclipses, the renowned scholar John Chortasmenos still applied Ptolemaic methods and combined them with the Persian ones; however, he still calculated eclipses through the *Almagest*.[7] Once the Persian tables were imported, instructions on how to use them were also required, because astronomical tables, despite their user-friendly format, are not easy for non-experts. These tables consisted of structured lists of astronomical values (numbers) based on parameters set out in Ptolemy's *Almagest*. The values shown by the tables must be combined by precise operations to compute an astronomical magnitude at a given time.[8] While it is likely that Chioniades's instructions are translations from Persian, other extant instructions were redacted by Byzantine scholars directly in Greek.

The text at ff. 1–27 of manuscript **F** belongs to this genre. Such works were redacted by fourteenth-century Byzantine scholars in order to explain how to use the imported Persian tables. The text in F is entitled Παράδοσις εἰς τοὺς περσικοὺς κανόνας τῆς ἀστρονομίας, i.e. «Instructions for the Persian Tables of Astronomy» (henceforth *Paradosis*).

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[6] Edition: Tihon 1978.

[7] Caudano 2003.

[8] On the *Handy Tables* and their mathematics: Neugebauer 1975, 2, 969–1028.

3. The *Paradosis* of the Persian Tables[9]

The *Paradosis* in manuscript **F** comments on the tables provided at ff. 33-80v of the same **F**. Such tables were computed for the years 1408/09 CE onwards, while the computations in the texts are arranged for the year 1352 CE, except for one case for the year 1347 CE. Further hints in the texts contained in the *Paradosis* of **F** suggest that this witness was composed in the first half of the fifteenth century, not before 1408/09, as we will see.

As a handbook, the *Paradosis* underwent several modifications with regard to structure and content. **F** is not the earliest version of the *Paradosis*, whose most ancient extant witnesses are datable to the middle of the fourteenth century (around 1352 CE). An alternative redaction of the text is also extant. It is a part of a wider work: it consists of the *Third Book* of Theodoros Meliteniotes' *Tribiblos Astronomike*, redacted before 1368 (henceforth *Book III*).[10]

According to modern scholarship on the *Paradosis*, the main questions around this text can be summarized as follows: 1) who is the real author of the text: Isaak Argyros,[11] Theodoros Meliteniotes,[12] or someone else? This opus is sometimes ascribed to Isaac Argyros, or to Georgios Chrysokokkes.[13] The latter attribution is found in **F**; the ascription to Meliteniotes is due to textual evidence (see below); 2) what are the relationships between the *Paradosis* and Meliteniotes' *Book III*? To solve these problems, I investigated the textual tradition of the *Paradosis* for my PhD thesis.[14] The most ancient witness is found to be the one contained in manuscript Florence, *Laurentianus pluteus* 28.13 (**L**),

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[9] Here I summarize the results I explained more accurately in Bardi 2018b. Please refer to that article for a more detailed description of my survey on the textual tradition of the *Paradosis* and the related bibliographical references.

[10] The first two books of the *Tribiblos* are edited in Leurquin 1990-1993.

[11] PLP 1285.

[12] PLP 17851.

[13] PLP 31142.

[14] PhD thesis (LMU München) entitled 'Persische Astronomie in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Byzantinistik und zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte', forthcoming or in the series Münchner Arbeiten zur Byzantinistik, Neuried: Ars Una.

which was penned by Isaac Argyros before 1374.[15] As was already known from the research by Giovanni Mercati,[16] the original astronomical work by Meliteniotes (*Tribiblos*) is transmitted in manuscript *Vaticanus graecus* 792 (**X**), written by Meliteniotes himself before 1368. Georgios Chrysokokkes indeed also authored a handbook for Persian tables around 1347, but it is different from the *Paradosis* and earlier than the latter; it is the so-called *Persian Syntaxis*.[17] This handbook and the *Paradosis* both comment on similar sets of tables, sharing most of the astronomical parameters.[18]

A comparison of all the texts of the redactions by Meliteniotes and the *Paradosis* suggests that manuscript **L** is witness to an ancient stage of composition of this text, as argued on the basis of corrections and style. It is likely that **L** is nearer to the original composition than the redaction of Meliteniotes. However, the latter is the author of an enriched and refined version of the *Paradosis*, which constitutes *Book III* of his astronomical opus. The scribe of the most ancient extant witness of the *Paradosis* is Argyros, but he cannot be considered the true author of this opus with certainty, because he does not write his name in the title in **L**. However, the relationships between the two redactions do not provide clear evidence to decide in favor of the one author rather than the other. On this account, I looked for further hints by analyzing the astronomical terminology in both redactions.

My hypothesis of a relationship between the *Paradosis* and the redaction of Meliteniotes is confirmed by the analysis of the Arabic terminology used in the two redactions. Amid Byzantine Palaiologan astronomy, the oldest occurrences of Arabic astronomical terminology referring to thirteenth-century Islamic tables are provided by the translations of Chioniades.[19] All of these terms are translated into Greek by Chrysokokkes in his *Persian Syntaxis* (ca. 1347), as I have argued from

[15] The hand was already recognized by Mondrain 2012, 630. On the manuscript see Gentile 1994, 93-94.

[16] Mercati 1931, 174-179.

[17] Mercier 1984.

[18] Mercier-Tihon 1998, 287.

[19] See the glossary provided by Pingree 1985, 395-401.

the inspection of several witnesses to this text.[20] Therefore, just before the middle of the fourteenth century, Byzantine scholars in Trebizond and Constantinople[21] had at their disposal a full account of Arabic astronomical terminology in Greek for using the Persian tables.[22] But both Argyros and Meliteniotes, though they wrote after Chrysokokkes and commented on the same set of Persian tables, provide Greek astronomical terms accompanied by a loan-word of the Arabic term. This suggests that they undertook a work of erudition, because they set the etymological term as a *glossa*, while these same terms were put in the main level of the clause by Chioniades. The fact that Meliteniotes provides these *glossae* more systematically than Argyros suggests a later composition stage than Argyros's. At any rate, they could write Greek terminology with perfect ease, because they relied on the work by Chrysokokkes, which was for sure at their disposal.[23] It is likely that Meliteniotes added the Arabic terminology not provided in the *Paradosis* from the *Zīj* that Chioniades had transcribed in *Laur. Plut.* 28.17.[24]

The comparison of the two redactions also suggests that L is an epitome (a summarized version) of Meliteniotes. However, this hypothesis cannot be really entertained, because there are many other witnesses of the

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[20] I inspected the following witnesses to Chrysokokkes's *Syntaxis*: *Ambrosianus* E 80 *sup*. (Martini–Bassi 294) ff. 69v–173; *Ambrosianus* I 112 *sup*. (Martini–Bassi 469) ff. 2–111; *Leidensis* BPG 74E ff. 80–85v; *Leidensis Voss*. *Misc*. 47, ff. 1–7; *Londinensis Burneianus* 91 ff. 39–100v; *Marcianus graecus* VI. 9 (coll. 1066), ff. 145–156v; *Marcianus graecus* Z. 309 (coll.300) ff. 41–66v; *Marcianus graecus* Z. 327 (coll. 642) ff. 24–48v; *Parisinus graecus* 1310 ff. 282v–287v; *Paris*. *gr*. 2401 ff. 1–40; *Paris*. *gr*. 2461 ff. 151v–188; *Paris*. *gr*. 2402 ff. 1–36; *Paris*. *suppl*. *gr*. 20 ff. 75–82; *Paris*. *suppl*. *gr*. 565 ff. 306–449; *Paris*. *suppl*. *gr*. 689 ff. 15–52; *Paris*. *suppl*. *gr*. 1190 ff. 10–14*; Scorialensis* Eta V 3 (Andrés 415), ff. 5r–v, 38–60; *Scorialensis* Rho. I. 14 (Revilla 14) ff. 17–42, 57–58; *Scorialensis* Sigma. I. 11 (Revilla 71), ff. 2–51; *Taurinensis* C. III. 07;ff. 3–136; *Taurinensis* B.II.18 ff. 12-73; *Vat*. *gr*. 209 ff. 1–17; *Vat*. *gr*. 210 ff. 8–35v; *Vat*. *gr*. 1058 ff. 92–118v; *Vat*. *gr*. 1852 ff. 408–415v; *Vindobonensis phil*. *gr*. 87 ff. 1–47v; *Vind*. *phil*. *gr*. 108 ff. 33–159v; *Vind*. *phil*. *gr*. 190 ff. 86–254v.

[21] Chrysokokkes studied in Trebizond and his *Syntaxis* is very likely composed for colleagues in Constantinople.

[22] The thirteenth-century Persian astronomical handbooks kept Arabic terminology for technical terms.

[23] Some texts and tables of the *Paradosis* and the *Book III* refer to Chrysokokkes's work.

[24] Tihon 1987, 479.

Paradosis which would serve better than **L** as epitomes: they were all transcribed later than Meliteniotes's *Book III* (composed not later than 1368). In addition, such witnesses, though surely later than **L**, are not direct copies of **L**, but belong to a different family of manuscripts.
While the relationship between the redactions and the question of the author are an intriguing issue, the inspection of the textual features is a complicated task as well. The *Paradosis* is handed down in 25 copies, while the redaction of Meliteniotes is only extant in two manuscripts. The following list numbers all the extant witnesses to the *Paradosis*. The division into two manuscript families was made mainly on the basis of textual macro-variants, such as accretions or omission of whole chapters or long texts portions.

Family of **L**

L *Laurentianus Plut.* 28.13, ff. 2–17	**J** *Laurentianus Plut.* 28.16, ff. 3–20v
K *Marcianus graecus* Z 336, ff. 12–28	**S** *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 278, ff. 13–27v

Family of **M-CFPQ**: group of **CFPQ**

Q *Parisinus graecus* 2501, ff. 1–31v	**C** *Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr*. 81, ff. 1–88
E *Oxoniensis Baroccianus* 58, ff. 1–42v	**Z** *Lugdunensis Vossianus graecus* F 9, ff. 22–23
P *Parisinus graecus* 2107, ff. 141–145v, 160v–161r, 164v–166r, 191v, 193v–194r, 198v–201r, 205r–207v, 214r–215v	**G** *Guelferbytanus Gudianus graecus* 40, ff. 16r–20v
H *Vaticanus graecus* 1852, ff. 430–454v	**F** *Lincopensis* kl. f. 10, ff. 1–25r
V *Lugdunensis Vossianus graecus* Q 44, ff. 1–23v	**326** *Marcianus graecus* Z 326, ff. 29r–54v

Family of **M-CFPQ**: group of **M**

M *Marcianus graecus* Z 323, ff. 71–94v	**U** *Vaticanus graecus* 1058, ff. 130–142
A *Taurinensis* B.II.18, ff. 83r–115r	**W** *Taurinensis* C.III.7, ff. 57r–80v
D *Oxoniensis Seldenianus* 6 (*Seldenianus supra* 7), ff. 36v–47v	**N** *Marcianus graecus* Z 328, ff. 30–60v
O *Marcianus graecus* Z 333, ff. 146–176v	**T** *Vaticanus graecus* 1047, ff. 12–39v
R *Parisinus supplementum graecum* 754, ff. 181r–183r	**B** *Londinensis Burneianus* 91, ff. 10–28v

A partial witness of the *Paradosis*, not belonging to any defined family, is provided by the manuscript *Ambrosianus* E 80 sup., ff. 220r–226v. The textual transmission is characterized by an intricate wood of textual variants, with several degrees of significance. As a consequence, most of the stemmatic relationships could be established only through macro-variants, i.e. accretions or omission of chapters, or longer textual portions. These phenomena find their cause in the sectional structure of the *Paradosis*: its chapters are mostly independent from each other, so they could be put in different positions without affecting the coherence of the whole opus. After the middle of the fourteenth century, accretions of chapters into the original structure of the *Paradosis* became more and more frequent, depending on the personal interest of the scribe of the manuscript. The additional chapters deal often with solar and lunar conjunctions, eclipses, and chronology (conversion methods between the Byzantine and the Persian calendar). This is in accordance with the astronomical interests of late Byzantine scholars. Among the fifteenth-century copyists of the *Paradosis* and *Book III*, John Chortasmenos[25] (Y), Bessarion[26] (O), and Isidore of Kiev[27] (H) are the most notable figures.

As for the text-structure, each chapter of the *Paradosis* provides a

[25] Hunger 1969.

[26] Märtl-Kaiser-Ricklin 2014.

[27] Mercati 1926.

theoretical part and a practical part. The former explains how to compute an astronomical magnitude; the latter shows how to apply the theory expounded in the former to a precise example (usually for 25 December of the year 1352 CE). Eventually the computations are summarized, either in textual or in tabular form. The Greek language of the *Paradosis* displays the usual features of style of mathematical procedures and algorithms. This style features the "procedural language" and the "algorithmic language", in the terminology adopted by Fabio Acerbi.[28] Briefly, the procedures describe chains of operations through a normative syntax based on participial forms and the future indicative; they never feature numbers (conversion factors and non-variable values excepted), but long denotative expressions to describe the astronomical magnitudes involved in the computation; they are aimed at providing the most general description of a well-defined operation. The algorithms employ the second person of the imperative mood to describe an operation, always feature a paratactic syntax, and are aimed at summing up the operations expounded in the procedural part through applying them to a computation sample.[29]

4. The *Paradosis* of F

The version of the *Paradosis* in **F** includes the main structure of 18 chapters provided by manuscript **L**, but not exactly as it is preserved in **L**. Compared to it, the scribe of **F** introduces the following changes: [the numbers between parentheses refer to the chapter of **L**]

L	**F**
1. Παράδοσις εἰς τοὺς Περσικοὺς κανόνας τῆς ἀστρονομίας «Instructions for the Persian Tables of Astronomy»	1 = (1)

[28] This terminology is adopted from a masterly article by Fabio Acerbi, who detected and described the stylistic codes of Greek mathematical language for the first time. See Acerbi 2012.

[29] See Acerbi, 'I codici stilistici', 183-193 for a full description of these terms.

2. Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσαις τεσσάρων κεφαλαίων τῶν τε ἁπλῶν ἐτῶν, τοῦ μηνὸς ἡμερῶν τε καὶ ὡρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔγγιστα παρελθούσης μεσημβρίας καὶ μήκους τῆς ὑποκειμένης πόλεως «On the Persian four sections, namely, that of the simple years, of the month and the day and the hours from the most recent midday, and that of the longitude of the town taken at issue»	2 = (2)
3. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ μῆκος ψηφοφορίας «On the computation of solar longitude»	3 = (3)
4. Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς τρεῖς τρόπους διακρίσεως τῶν ὡρῶν «On the adjustment of the hours according to the three ways»	4 = (4)
5. Περὶ τῆς κατὰ μῆκος τῆς σελήνης ψηφοφορίας «On the computation of lunar longitude»	5 = (5)
6. Περὶ τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν ἐποχῶν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης «On the correction of the position of sun and moon»	6 = (6)
7. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου λοξώσεως «On solar obliquity»	7 = (7), but without practical part
8. Περὶ τῶν συνδέσμων τοῦ τε ἀναβιβάζοντος καὶ τοῦ καταβιβάζοντος «On the nodes, the ascending one and the descending one»	8 = (8)
9. Περὶ τοῦ πλάτους τῆς σελήνης «On lunar latitude»	9 = (9)
10. Περὶ τῆς τῶν πέντε πλανωμένων κατὰ μῆκος ψηφοφορίας «On the computation of the longitude of the five planets»	10 = (13), but with an accretion
11. Περὶ τῶν κατὰ πλάτος ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ μέσων τῶν ζῳδίων ἀποστάσεων τῶν τριῶν πλανωμένων Κρόνου Διὸς καὶ Ἄρεως «On the computation of the distance in latitude from the ecliptic of the three planets Saturn, Jupiter and Mars»	11= (14)
12. Περὶ τοῦ πλάτους Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ «On the latitude of Venus and Mercury»	12 = (15)

13. Περὶ συνοδικῶν καὶ πανσεληνιακῶν συζυγιῶν «On synodic syzygies and full moons»	13 = (16)
14. Περὶ τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν ὅρων ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης «On the limits of the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon»	14 = (10)
15. Περὶ σεληνιακῶν ἐκλείψεων «On lunar eclipses»	15 = (11)
16. Περὶ ἡλιακῶν ἐκλείψεων «On solar eclipses»	16 = (12)
17. Περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ ζῳδίου εἰς ζῴδιον μεταβάσεως ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν πέντε πλανωμένων ἀστέρων «On the passage from sign to sign of the Sun, the Moon and of the five planets»	17 = (17)
18. Περὶ τῆς παραυξήσεως τῶν κανονίων τῶν ἁπλῶν ἐτῶν ἡλίου σελήνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν «On the increment of the tables of the simple years of the Sun, the Moon and the rest»	18 = (18)
	19 [Περὶ ὡροσκόπου]
	20 Τεχνολογία ἀκριβὴς περὶ τῆς ὥρας συνόδου ἤτοι πανσελήνου
	21 [on the conjunctions of the planets]
	22 Περὶ τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἔτους τῶν Περσῶν
	23 [how to convert from a year to another]

	24 [the ecliptic, the zodiac, the signs]
	25 Περὶ τοῦ πόσον κινεῖται ἕκαστος τῶν ἀστέρων τὸ νυχθήμερον
	26 [how to convert from a year to another]

In **F**, the chapters about the planetary motions (10, 11, and 12) are shifted after the chapters about the syzygies (solar and lunar conjunctions) and eclipses (i.e. 13, 14, 15, 16). This arrangement resembles the structure of the astronomical work by Stephanus Alexandrinus.[30] Therefore, it cannot be an accident that an excerpt from the treatise of Stephanus is found written at f. 29 in the same manuscript, **F**.[31] The presence of this fragment argues for Stephanus being the conscious model of the arrangement of the *Paradosis* text.

As for the stemmatic relationships of this *Paradosis*, **F** contains significant textual differences compared to the manuscripts of the family **L** and the group of **M**. That is why I conclude that it belongs to the group CFPQ in the family M-CFPQ. On this account, I provided a sub-archetype in common with *Parisinus graecus* 2501, *Canonicianus graecus* 81, and *Parisinus graecus* 2107. These relationships are mainly established thanks to the omission of *glossae* containing technical loanwords from Arabic, a common feature of **CFPQ**. In the following, I provide

[30] Edition of Stephanus Alexandrinus's commentary in Lempire 2016. Stephanus is the author on a handbook on how to use Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*. He recalculated the tables, originally shaped on the meridian of Alexandria, for the meridian of Constantinople, in 610/620 CE. On this account, his handbook is considered the first work of Byzantine astronomy.

[31] See critical text Lempire 2016, 86.4-88.6.

some examples of the omissions common to **CFPQ** of *glossae* containing transliterated Arabic terms from the chapter on the computation of the motion of the Sun in longitude:

> κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σελίδιον τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἔτη ἁπλᾶ περσικά κατὰ δὲ Πέρσας ἀλμανσοῦντα
> «in the first column entitled "single Persian years" (for the Persians ἀλμανσοῦντα) »

The term ἀλμανσοῦντα should be pronounced in Greek /almansuta/, which corresponds to the Arabic المبسوطة, i.e. in Persian transcription *al-mabsuta*, in Arabic *al-mabsūṭa*. The scribe of **F** omits κατὰ δὲ Πέρσας ἀλμανσοῦντα.

> τὰ παρακείμενα αὐτῷ ζῴδια μοίρας καὶ λεπτὰ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον σελίδιον, ὃ κίνησις μέση ἐπιγέγραπται περσικῶς δὲ ἄλ βασάτ

> «The signs, degrees and minutes near to it in the second column, which is entitled "mean motion" (in Persian ἄλ βασάτ) »

The term ἄλ βασάτ should be pronounced in Byzantine Greek as /al-uasat/. This corresponds to the Arabic الوسط, in Persian transcription *al-vasat*, in Arabic transcription *al-wasaṭ*. The *glossa* περσικῶς δὲ ἄλ βασάτ is omitted by **F**.

The same stylistic attitude is to be found in **F** in correspondence to the following terms, which are provided in the oldest versions of the *Paradosis*:

Greek	Greek transcription	Arabic	Arabic transcription	Meaning
ἀαπέτ	*Aapet*	هابط	*hābiṭ*	descending
ἄλ μανσοῦντα	*Almansuta*	المبسوطة	*al-mabsūṭa*	Single (year)
ἄλ βασάτ	*Al basat*	الوسط	*al-wasaṭ*	Mean (motion)

ἄλ χασάτ	*Al chasat*	الخاصة	*al-ḫāṣṣa*	Proper (motion)
ἄουτζ	*Aoutz*	اوج	*awj*	Apogee
βασὰτ μαντάλ	*Basat mantal*	وسط معدّل	*wasaṭ muʿaddal*	Modified mean motion
ἐκτλεῦ	*Ektleu*	اختلاف	*iḫtilāf*	Anomaly
ἐτᾶ/ἐσᾶ ἄρζ	*Eta arz*	حصة عرض	*ḥiṣṣa ʿarḍ*	Lunar longitude
ἰστιμά	*Istima*	اجتماع	*ijtimāʿ*	Conjunction
ἰστικπάλη	*Istikpale*	استقبال	*istiqbāl*	Opposition
μάρκαζ	*Markaz*	مركز	*markaz*	Centre/centrum
μουκκαούμ	*Mukkaum*	مقوّم	*muqawwam*	corrected
ντζαὴρ χαλιτάτ	*Ntzair chalitat*	جزائر خالدات	*jazāʾir ḫālidāt*	Fortunate Isles
σααέτ	*Saaet*	صاعد	*ṣāʿid*	ascending, rising
σαμάλ	*Samal*	شمال	*šamāl*	North
ταντὶλ ἀλάχιρ	*Tantil alachir*	تعديل الآخر	*taʿdīl al-āḫir*	Second equation
ταντὶλ ἀουάλ	*Tantil aual*	تعديل الأول	*taʿdīl awwal*	First equation
ταντὶλ τζατζουβὰλ	*tantil tzatzouval*	?	*taʿdīl* + ?	equation of the Sun
τζανούπ	*Tzanup*	جنوب	*janūb*	South
χασὰ μαντάλ	*Chasa mantal*	خاصة معدّلة	*ḫāṣṣa muʿaddil*	Modified proper motion

The detected terms are Arabic astronomical terms, mediated through

Persian. The Arabic origin is explained for three reasons:
1) the doubling of consonants occurs (e.g. *muqawwam*);
2) most of the words contain the letters غ ظ ط ض ص ذ ح ث (e.g. *hābiṭ*);
3) the root of the listed terms consists of three consonants, which occurs in the same sequence in different words (e.g. *taʿdīl* and *muʿaddil*).

The Arabic origin of the astronomical words is indeed not surprising, for the Arabic scientific texts redacted before the Ilkhanids' conquest of Persia were later translated into Persian. This language shares the same alphabet, therefore scholars kept the technical terms unvaried. Moreover, **F** provides a text about determining the time of true syzygies, additional to chapter 13. This addition is in common to manuscript **H** and other manuscripts of the group of **M**, namely **B**, **T**, **O**, and **326**. Differently from **T** and **O**, which provide the additional text as an independent chapter, **F** reports that text as part of chapter 10 (13**L**). The same happens in **H**, **B**, and **326**.[32]

The scribe of **F** adds further additional chapters (see above). The first one deals with the main lines of a horoscope (chapter 19), then one on the determination of syzygies (20) and conjunctions between planets (21), elementary notions of astronomy (24), the motions of the planets during a day (25) and about the conversion between different calendars (22, 23, 26).

Chapter 22 is worthy of note. It is arranged for the conversion of dates between Persian, Arabic, Byzantine and Hebrew eras; chapters 23 and 26 between Persian and Byzantine calendars. Not accidentally, manuscript **F** also contains Jewish astronomy: at ff. 111–124r, the scribe copies Michael Chrysokokkes's *Six Wings*, which is a translation into Greek (ca. 1435) of a work by the astronomer Immanuel Bonfils, a Jewish scholar who redacted an opus aimed at calculating eclipses, composed around 1360 in Tarascon (Southern France).[33] The text 22**F** is also provided by other manuscripts containing the *Paradosis*, for instance Q (ff. 27-28), that inserts this text into the main structure of the *Paradosis*, while it appears as an independent text in **X** (f. 21r), **C** (f. 73r), and **326** (f. 51). This text is also shared by two manuscripts dependent from **M**,

[32] The text is edited in Bardi 2018a, 19–20.
[33] Edition: Solon 1968.

namely **O** (f. 264v) and **K** (f. 1r). In the latter, the text is added by a later scribe, who modifies the *Paradosis* by means of adding texts from **M**.

The scribes of **Q**, **F**, and **326**, are very similar. Nevertheless, the textual variants allow one to surmise that in the group **CFPQ**, **F** shares also a sub-archetype with **H** and **P**, because of long portions of texts in common within the eighteen chapters of the basic structure on the handbook. Moreover, the *Paradosis* of **F** has a very similar copy in the witness **326** (ff. 29r–54r).[34] The latter is a partial witness, for it contains the basic chapters from 8 (partially) until 18, alongside chapters 19 to 26 as **F**, but with minimal textual variants.

The numbers in parentheses stand for the chapter of **L**.

F	**326**
1 = (1)	not provided
2 = (2)	not provided
3 = (3)	not provided
4 = (4)	not provided
5 = (5)	not provided
6 = (6)	not provided
7 = (7), but without computations	not provided
8 = (8)	8 = (8)
9 = (9)	9 = (9)
10 = (13), but with accretion	10 = (10)
11= (14)	11= (11)
12 = (15)	12 = (12)
13 = (16)	13 = (13), with accretion
14 = (10)	14 = (14)
15 = (11)	15 = (15)

[34] See Mioni 1985, 50–52. The *Paradosis* was not recorded in the catalogue. I discovered it by inspecting the manuscript.

16 = (12)	16 = (16)
17 = (17)	17 = (17)
18 = (18)	18 = (18)
19 [Περὶ ὡροσκόπου]	19 Περὶ ὡροσκόπου
20 Τεχνολογία ἀκριβὴς περὶ τῆς ὥρας συνόδου ἤτοι πανσελήνου	20 Τεχνολογία ἀκριβὴς περὶ τῆς ὥρας συνόδου ἤτοι πανσελήνου
21 [on the conjunctions of the planets]	21 Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ εὑρίσκειν τὴν ὥραν καθ᾽ ἣν οἱ ἀστέρες μετὰ τῆς σελήνης μοιρικῶς σχηματίζουσιν
22 Περὶ τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἔτους τῶν Περσῶν	22 Περὶ τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἔτους τῶν Περσῶν
23 [how to convert from a year to another]	23 *De commutatione annorum*
24 [the ecliptic, the zodiac, the signs]	24 *De ecliptica, de signis zodiaci, de rationibus signorum zodiaci*
25 Περὶ τοῦ πόσον κινεῖται ἕκαστος τῶν ἀστέρων τὸ νυχθήμερον	25 Περὶ τοῦ πόσον κινεῖται ἕκαστος τῶν ἀστέρων τὸ νυχθήμερον
26 [how to convert from a year to another]	26 *De commutatione annorum*

As the manuscript **326** provides the same additional chapters, it belongs to the group of **CFPQ** and finds in **F** the closest witness. But **326** displays two significant variants which cannot locate it more precisely in the stemmatic relationships. First, it exhibits a chapter structure similar to the original, and secondly, it preserves the Arabic loanwords and transcribed them in the text in the *glossa* position, as **L** does. Therefore, it is hard to locate the exact position of **326** in the textual transmission of the *Paradosis*. The additional chapters assure its belonging to the group of

F, yet the loanwords in **326** bar the hypothesis of a common archetype with **F**. However, its nearness to **F** is confirmed by the fact that codex **326** also contains an incomplete version of the *Six Wings*, as **F** does. Unlike **F**, however, **326** provides a set of tables computed from the year 1436/37 CE. Given the incomplete state of **326**, it was not possible to say more on its stemmatic nature.
Eventually, it is possible that the *Paradosis* of **F** is the antigraph for **V** (15th–16th centuries), a late copy which does not provide computations. They share minimal textual variants: **V** exhibits exactly the same chapter structure as **F** and the same locations for the computations on the page, but these are left blank in **V**. The scribe did not finish his task.

5. A brief overview of the Persian tables of F

The computational methods expounded in the chapters of the *Paradosis* refer to the astronomical tables provided after it. The set of tables is based on Persian years, according to the era of the Persian King Yazdegerd of the Sassanians. This era counts from his ascending to the throne on June 16, 632 CE. A Persian year consists of 12 months, each of 30 days, and an additional month of 5 days. No leap years are considered. Therefore, 1 day will be lost every four years in comparison to the Julian calendar used in Byzantium. The Byzantines used to reckon from the creation of the word (*Annus mundi*), i.e. September 1, 5509 BCE. The situation gets more complicated, because the computations in the text of the *Paradosis* reckon the years from the Incarnation of Christ, i.e. 5500 BCE, starting from December 25. The difference is 9 years and 116 days as against the *Annus mundi*. All these factors make the computations with the Persian tables complicated already from the start. This situation explains why conversion methods are provided in the additional chapters of **F**.

The geographical reference in the tables hinges upon a town with longitude 72° from the Fortunate Isles, called Τυβήνη (Tybene). This name could well be the transcription of the ancient Armenian capital *Dvin*, because the Byzantine pronunciation of Greek should be /divini/, but its precise identification is still problematic, and the Greek word

might be the result of a transcription error. The town named could also designate Tabriz in Iran.[35] Further investigations on geographical tables are needed in order to shed new light on this issue.

The methods of the *Paradosis* show a combination of Islamic and Ptolemaic computations. For instance, the computations for the motions of the Sun and the Moon are based on Islamic methods. In this instance, the reader can avoid the interpolation typical of the *Handy Tables* and does not have to determine whether the corrections to the mean values are to be added or subtracted, because the Islamic tables of this Persian set provide displaced tables for the Sun and the Moon, so that the corrections are always positive, i.e. they need to be added to the results of the mean motion of Sun and Moon.[36] In other words, these computations are more user-friendly than those one had to do according to Ptolemaic methods. By contrast, the computation on how to find the time from mean to true syzygy is similar to the one provided by the *Small Commentary to the Handy Tables of Ptolemy* by Theon Alexandrinus, and the table of mean syzygies is based on the Julian calendar, instead of the Persian one. But the computation for the eclipses is based again on Persian methods. This mixture of Ptolemaic and Islamic methods is not new in the computations of eclipses in Byzantium,[37] and it is attested in all the other witnesses to the *Paradosis*.

The main parameters of the tables of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Zīj-Īlkhānī* (mid-thirteenth century) should be identified as the model, for the most part, for the set of tables of the *Paradosis*, with the exception of the tables for the syzygies.[38] An ongoing survey will shed new light on this issue. Most of the titles of the tables, once penned in red ink in **F**, are completely faded. Therefore, it is not easy to recognize their contents at first glance. By comparing this set with the other manuscripts (listed above in section 3), there is evidence to suggest that these tables are the same set as the oldest witnesses (e.g. **L**), but they are shifted to more recent years. While **L** and **X** provide astronomical tables from the

[35] Mercier 1984, 56–58.

[36] On displaced tables see Chabás-Goldstein 2013.

[37] See Caudano 2003.

[38] Mercier-Tihon 1998, 287. On Al-Ṭūsī's work see Kennedy 1956: 125 and 161-162.

Persian year 720 (1350 CE) onwards, the tables of **F** start from the Persian year 778 (i.e. 1408/09). This date is the same as the year provided by the computation sample of some additional texts in **F**.

6. Final remarks

The observations in this paper allow reaching several conclusions. The analysis of the *Paradosis* of **F** shows that this text and the related tables were composed not before the year 1408/9 CE. The scribe of **F** shapes the structure of the *Paradosis* following the model of the commentary by Stephanus Alexandrinus. This major change in the transmission of this text is witnessed by one direct copy of **F**, the manuscript **V**.

As for the scribe/compiler of **F**, he is still unidentified. However, one may note that his hand is similar to that copying **Q** and **326**.

The remark at f. 1r of **F** furnishes tantalizing hints for the history of this manuscript. The signature of the Italian scholar Lucrezio Palladio degli Olivi[39] attests that the manuscript was preserved in some scholarly collection in Padua or Venice in the seventeenth century. Only in 1757, **F** became an item of the Stiftsbibliotek Linköping in Sweden.

Another manuscript similar to **F** was likely available in Venice in the seventeenth century, namely **326**, because at that time the Biblioteca Marciana, where **326** is preserved to date, was already in activity as an institution. In addition, another witness of the *Paradosis* (**E**) was owned by a sixteenth-century Venetian scholar, namely the mathematician Francesco Barozzi.[40] On this account, **F** is witness to a kind of *Nachleben* of a Byzantine handbook of Islamic Tables in Renaissance Europe. The transmission of this set of Islamic tables in Europe is not confined to Italy and to antiquarianism; for instance, the renowned French astronomer Ismaël Bullialdus used the tables commented on in the *Persian Syntaxis* and had some of them printed in his work *Astronomia Philolaica* (Paris, 1645); moreover, the German orientalist Ja-

[39] See http://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/immagini-possessori/972-palladio-degli-olivi-lucrezio; accessed May 11, 2018.

[40] On Barozzi see Rose 1977.

cob Christmann provides and comments on the Persian calendar based on the *Paradosis* in an Appendix to his *Muhamedis Alfragani arabis, Chronologica et astronomica elementa et palatinae bibliothecae veteribus libris versa expleta et scholiis expolita* (Frankfurt am Main, 1590, reprinted in 1618).

Both manuscripts **326** and **F** provide a collection of Islamic astronomy commented by Byzantine astronomers alongside Jewish astronomy (Immanuel Bonfils' *Six Wings*, translated into Greek by Michael Chrysokokkes). The coexistence of these different astronomical traditions in the same *codex* explains why the scribe added chapters on the conversion between Persian, Jewish and Byzantine eras (such as 22**F**). All of this suggests also that, in the first half of the fifteenth century, some exchanges between Jewish and Byzantine astronomers may have occurred. At the present state of research, one of the main contents of such cross-cultural exchanges is constituted by Islamic (Persian) tables, such as those commented in **F**. In fact, recent scholarship on the Byzantine versions of Islamic tables in Persian has placed attention on a mid fifteenth-century handbook by Rabbi Mordecai Comtino and on a late fourteenth-century translation from Greek by Solomon ben Eliahu of a Byzantine handbook on Persian tables.[41] Notably, Comtino concludes his handbook on the Persian addressing a criticism to Argyros, accusing him of underestimating the accuracy of the Persian tables.[42]

Moreover, **F** contains copies of astronomical texts by Isaac Argyros, Ptolemy and also the *proemium* of the renowned astronomical poem by Aratus, the *Phaenomena*. Therefore, **F** constitutes a collection of texts stemming from different cultural traditions collected in one volume. Selecting texts about astronomical topics from different traditions is a widespread habit in fifteenth-century Byzantium, as shown by many other extant Byzantine scientific miscellaneous manuscripts, including several *codices* containing the *Paradosis* listed above (see section 3), containing such as **M**, a voluminous *codex* providing sets of tables and methods of Ptolemaic (Theon's and Stephanus' handbooks and *Handy Tables*) and Islamic astronomy (*Paradosis* and related tables).

[41] Mercier-Tihon 1998, 259–261.

[42] Mercier-Tihon 1998, 260.

In sum, since the history of astronomy in fifteenth-century Byzantium is characterized by cross-cultural exchanges, it cannot be satisfactorily narrated by describing transfers of knowledge through static and linear lines.[43] Rather, scholarly networks of Christians and Jews are the likely actors of this interplay. In this field, the survey on the *Paradosis* transmitted by **F** has shown that astronomical handbooks in fifteenth-century Byzantium are very likely a locus of contact between different cultural traditions and religious communities, a historical landscape which is worth investigating in greater depth in future research.

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Abbreviations:

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[43] See the remarks on the historiography of science on cross-cultural exchanges by Ben-Zaken 2010, 163–166 and by Brentjes-Fidora-Tischler 2014.

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Hellenistic Jewish texts in George the Monk: Slavonic Testimonies

Dmitry Afinogenov

The role of the Old Slavonic tradition in transmission of Jewish apocrypha and pseudepigrapha is well-known. Suffice it to say that such important texts as *2 Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the *Ladder of Jacob* are preserved in Church Slavonic only.[1] However, some of the fragments that undoubtedly go back to Hellenistic Judaism through Byzantine intermediaries have so far escaped scholarly attention. This paper deals with some of the material that survives in the South Slavic translation of the famous *Short Chronicle* of George the Monk, one of the most popular chronographic works in Byzantium.

Recent textual studies have shown that the original George the Monk, written around AD 846, underwent a re-working some time between 847 and 875, and then another in the last quarter of the 9th century.[2] Both refurbishments probably took place in the monastery of Studios in Constantinople.[3] The original version survives (incompletely) in the manuscript *Coislinianus* 305, the second is lost in Greek, but a certain manuscript thereof was translated into Church Slavonic in the 14th century on Mt. Athos (the translation is called *Lětovnik*). Finally, the third version, conventionally called vulgata, became immensely popular and survives in more than 30 Greek manuscripts, often with further modifications. This text was also translated into Church Slavonic in 11th century Rus' (that translation goes under the name *Vremennik*).

[1] See recently Orlov 2007.

[2] See Afinogenov 2004.

[3] See Afinogenov 2006.

I.

Now to the Jewish fragments. The scribe of that particular Greek codex used by the South Slavic (most likely Bulgarian) translator of the *Lětovnik* made a few additions to his model. All of them are concentrated in the beginning of the chronicle, in the section corresponding to the Old Testament books of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus. It is the very first fragment that actually gives the clue as to the source of the additions.

> I. 1.[4] [4] ... καὶ ὁ Μαθουσάλα τὸν Λάμεχ· ὃς καὶ δύο γυναῖκας ἀγόμενος, Ἐλδὰμ καὶ Σελλάν, ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωβὲλ καὶ τὸν Ἰουβὰλ καὶ *8, 1* τὸν Θωβέλ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ιωвиль показа скотскую паствоу,Ἰουβὰλ же κατέδειξε ψαλτήριον καὶ κιθάραν, ὁ δὲ Θωβὲλ σφυροκοπίαν χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου, καὶ ὁ μὲν вь храмѣхь жити, скоть пасти и ωрати, сь же κιθαρῳδίας καὶ τραγῳδίας ἐν τοῖς διαβολικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι προσεπενόησεν, ὁ δὲ {2} ξίφη τε καὶ ὅπλα χορηγεῖν εἰς πολέμους ἐμηχανήσατο.

... and Mathusala begat Lamech, who, having married two wives, Eldam and Sella, begat Jobel and Jubal and Thobel. **Jobel has shown us how to graze cattle**, Jubal has shown us the psalter and cithara, while Thobel – smithery of brass and iron. And the first invented **how to live in houses, to graze cattle and to plough, the second** cithara singing and tragedies, among diabolical pursuits, while the third conjured to supply swords and armor for wars.[5]

Obviously, the phrase as it stood in the prototype, made little sense. There are two series of inventions ascribed to the three sons of Mathusala. In both series the role of Jobel went missing, although Septuagint says unambiguously that *Adah bare Jobel: he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle* (Gen 4:19). Apparently, the

[4] The supplementary fragments are edited in full in Afinogenov 2017.

[5] The Greek text is from Coislin 305, although here it does not differ from vulgata in any significant way. Folio numbers of the Greek MS are in square brackets [5], of Lětovnik (George the Monk 1878–1881) in curly brackets {5}, page numbers of de Boor's edition of vulgata (George the Monk 1978) are in italics *5*. The translation from Slavonic is highlighted with bold face.

scribe noticed that and corrected, using exactly the same source that was somewhat carelessly excerpted by the original George. Since some of other fragments display literal coincidences with the 10th century chronicle of Symeon Magister,[6] this lost work can be identified as the unknown source of George and Symeon as defined by Adler.[7]

That it was a Greek, and not Slavic scribe who supplemented the chronicle is apparent from the fragment, where Symeon Magister happens to have preserved the prototype text:

George the Monk	Symeon Magister
[22] ... *52, 2* Сала же ωт(е)ць вьздрастьша книгамь наказа. И нѣкогда оубо Сала ш(е)дь Апикия посѣтити, приш(е)дь вь Халдѣе, книгы ωт нѣкоего назнаменованы Петра ωбрѣть, сия прѣписавь Сала, самь оубо вь нихь сьгрѣши и инѣхь {19} такова безмѣстьства наказа. Σάλα δὲ γενόμενος ἐτῶν ρλ΄ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἔβερ.	Cap. 26, 2–3; p. 29, 2–9: τοῦτον ὁ πατὴρ αὐξηθέντα γράμμασιν ἐξεπαίδευσε· καὶ δή ποτε ὁ Σάλα ἑαυτῷ πορευθεὶς ἀποικίαν κατασκέψασθαι ἐλθὼν κατὰ τὴν Χαλδαίαν γράμματα ἐπί τινων εὑρίσκει διακεχαραγμένα πετρῶν... ταῦτα δὲ ἐγγραψάμενος ὁ Σάλα αὐτός τε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξημάρτανε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀτοπίαν ἐξεπαίδευσε. 4. Σάλα γενόμενος ρλ΄ ἐτῶν ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἔβερ.

> Salas, when he grew up, was taught to read by his father. And one day Salas went to look for a place to settle and coming to Chaldaea found letters inscribed on certain stones. By copying them he sinned himself, and taught others such indecency. Salas, being 130 years of age, begat Eber.

The Slavonic corresponds to the Greek word-for-word, except that the words ἀποικίαν and πετρῶν have turned into proper names Апикий and

[6] See Symeon Magister 2006.

[7] Adler 1989, 196–203.

Петр, which could only have taken place at the hand of the Slavic translator who did not properly understand his original.

Here is the most interesting text of all added by the scribe to George's narrative:

> {48} They say that Amram prayed to God not to overlook the perishing Jewish nation, and had apparition in a dream about the valor and force of the child Moses. After he was born and concealed, Pharaoh's daughter, while taking bath on the river, took him out and saved him. And the child Moses was so goodly and beautiful, that those who saw him, stared at him without diversion and wondered. He was brought up in the stead of a son of Pharaoh's daughter.
> It is said that when he was still a little child, she took him to her father the Pharaoh, clear-eyed and goodly as he was, and he touched Pharaoh's beard. For that reason Pharaoh ordered him to be killed. By God's providence, however, Pharaoh {48^{v}} postponed the execution in this way: some of their wise men used a trick to put down on earth glowing charcoals and a heap of gold. And should the child touch the gold and take it, it was by viciousness that he had grabbed Pharaoh's beard; should he touch the glowing charcoals, he did it as artless and simple-minded child, and does not deserve to be killed for nothing. So they made this agreement. So the child left aside the gold, grabbed the charcoals and put one of them to his mouth, as young children often use to do, and as his tongue was burnt, he became slow-tongued and stumbling over his words.

This Hagadic episode probably embarrassed both George and Symeon, but the latter, as distinct from the former, still retained the introductory sentence.[8] This time the Slavonic exactly renders the part of the prototype as transmitted by Symeon. Two features of the narrative that survives in Slavonic only point at a very archaic Jewish tradition. First, the boy touched Pharaoh's beard, and not his crown, as, e.g., Josephus Flavius puts it.[9] Second, no divine interference is mentioned. Rather, the baby Moses did "as young children often do". The beard in question is, of course, one of the famous Egyptian royal insignia, the removable beard encrusted with gems, last worn by the Queen Cleopatra.

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[8] Symeon Magister 2006, cap. 35, 3–4; p. 42, 7 – 43, 1.

[9] *Jewish Antiquities*, II 232–236.

II.

Among the texts that were left out in the process of general abridgement, which was part of the second re-working of George the Monk, there were large excerpts pieced together from *Contra Julianum* by Cyril of Alexandria and *Contra Graecos*, ascribed by the chronicle to Josephus Flavius in the following way: Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰώσηπος ἐν τοῖς Καθ᾽Ἑλλήνων φησίν (Coisl. 305, f. 41 sub fine). The following text (ff. 41–43) was published by W.J. Malley as four fragments.[10] Malley postulated a lacuna between his fragments II and III in the following phrase: ἀλλ᾽ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ λίαν οἱ παρ᾽῞Ελλησι περὶ θεοῦ λέγειν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, θεὸν δὲ τὸ καθ᾽ὅλου μὴ ἐγνωκότες, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐξειπόντες, <III> εἷς δὲ ὁ τούτων παρὰ πᾶσι σοφώτερος κριθεὶς νενόμισται Πλάτων, ὃς καὶ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ κτίσεως ἐπεχείρησε λέγειν, πρὸς τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἡ ἅμιλλα γινέσθω τῶν λόγων. Actually, I do not see any ground to break up the sentence, which is sufficiently clear despite the seeming anacoluth. Indeed, if πολλοὶ is understood as predicate with the verb εἰσί omitted, the sense becomes apparent with the opposition πολλοὶ — εἷς: since among the Greeks those who pretend to talk about God without either knowing Him or speaking it out are very *numerous*, while Plato is deemed the *one* wisest of all, it is him whom we should refute.

What the editor did not point out is the incomplete form of the last sentence in Fragment III, which has the beginning of a conditional period (*casus irrealis*) but lacks the corresponding clause (*apodosis*). It is here that *Lětovnik* contains a lengthy piece (f. 38ᵛ–39ᵛ), which amounts roughly to a folio of Coislin 305. Let us now look at the stitches between the Greek and the Slavonic.

Οἷς εἰ ἐβούλετο Πλάτων μὴ φιλοδόξως ἀλλὰ θεοσεβῶς... The Slavonic renders: Ихже аще хотѣаше Платонь не славолюбнѣ, нь богочьстнѣ and continues: вьпросити иже о сихь добрѣ и извѣстно вѣдоущиихь, и боуиствомь многоглаголиваго гласа побѣждаемыихь и иноплеменнычьскымь писаниемь и гласом яже о бозѣ повѣдоующихь, обрѣль оубо бы еврее иже въ Егуптѣ живоущихь... In English (the translation of the extant Greek is by Mal-

[10] Malley 1965.

ley and highlighted with bold face): **If Plato were to have preferred [these truths] not out of a love of fame but in a God-fearing manner** ‖ to inquire those who knew well and for sure and were not overwhelmed by insanity of the loquacious parlance, but explained about God in a foreign script and language, he would have found Hebrews who had lived in Egypt...

I have secluded Malley's addition [these truths], because the Slavonic has infinitive вьпросити that obviously depends on ἐβούλετο (Sl. хотѣаше). In its turn, this infinitive has direct objects вѣдоущиихь, <не> побѣждаемыихь, and повѣдоующихь. With necessary correction (the negative particle before побѣждаемыихь) a following reverse translation is possible:

Οἷς εἰ ἐβούλετο Πλάτων μὴ φιλοδόξως ἀλλὰ θεοσεβῶς ‖ ἐρωτῆσαι τοὺς περὶ τούτων καλῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότας καὶ μωρίᾳ πολυλαλήτου φωνῆς <μὴ> ἡττωμένους καὶ δι'ἀλλοφύλου γραφῆς καὶ φωνῆς τὰ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ διεξιόντας, ηὗρεν ἂν Ἑβραίους τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διαβιοῦντας... The Slavonic construction обрѣль оубо бы (=ηὗρεν ἂν) is the required *apodosis* of the *irrealis* conditional period.

Now the second stitch.

> Нь, якоже речено бысть, от дрѣвныхь времень и от достойновѣрныих и священныих моужьь и богоу бывшиихь пророкь и тако бога увѣдѣвше {39^{v}} и того мирное здание, дльжнаа дѣлаемь противоу силѣ, егоже промысльника [43] и судию всѣмь исповѣдуемь праведним же и неправеднимь, вь настоещiим же житiи и боудоущемь, вь немже подобаеть и вьздание комоуждо по дѣломь его праведно и нелицемѣрно.

The Slavonic has the construction that corresponds to Greek double accusative: егоже промысльника (~ὃν προνοητὴν) for which the continuation survives in Greek as Malley's Fragment IV, including the verb on which this construction depends: καὶ κριτὴν πάντων ἴσμεν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι βίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ δικαίως καὶ ἀπροσωπολήπτως· δίκαιος γάρ ἐστιν καὶ δικαιοσύνας ἠγάπησεν. We know (him) a judge of all the just and unjust in this life and the next. Then it is that he will render to each one according to his works (Rom 2:6) with justice and impartiality.

For he is righteous and cherishes righteousness (Ps 10:7) (translation by Malley). Taking into account the Slavonic version, we get the following: "We know him as a supervisor and a judge etc." Accusative of the relative pronoun егоже obviously pertains to the same person as the genitive того, namely the same as the object in бога увѣдѣвше (=θεὸν ἐγνωκότες). A possible retroversion would look something like this:

> ἀλλ', ὡς εἴρηται, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων <...>[11] καὶ ἐκ ἀξιοπίστων καὶ ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότων προφητῶν καὶ οὕτω τὸν θεὸν ἐγνωκότες καὶ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργίαν, τὰ δέοντα πράττομεν κατὰ δύναμιν, ὂν προνοητὴν ‖ καὶ κριτὴν πάντων ἴσμεν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι βίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ δικαίως καὶ ἀπροσωπολήπτως.
>
> Yet, as has been said, having <learned> from old times and trustworthy and sacred men who were prophets of God, we gained knowledge of God in this way and of the creation of his (or this) world and perform our duties as far as lies in us, etc.

Thus seamless and accurate joints can be observed between the end of Malley's Fragment III, the Slavonic text, and Malley's Fragment IV. It means that a folio was lost in Coislin 305, the contents of which we now have solely in Church Slavonic. By some occasion the entire text pertains to just one extensive excerpt from *Contra Graecos* by Pseudo-Josephus.

What information can be gathered from the Slavonic text? First of all, it is now possible to identify the excerpted work as Jewish, and not Christian, as Malley attempted to do. The primary argument here is the strong emphasis the author puts on the Hebrew language. He says right away that the Hebrew sages expound their knowledge of God in a foreign (ἀλλόφυλος) tongue and writ. Многоглаголивыи гласъ (~πολυλάλητος φωνή) certainly alludes to the Greek language and philosophy written in it, which is the object of refutation here. A couple of paragraphs further the writer goes on: варварьскыимь нашимь езыкомь отеческыимь и дрѣвнѣишиимь и прьвыимь от прьваго человѣка не срамляющесе

[11] Something is missing here, for example a participle μαθόντες or διδαχθέντες.

сказати ("we are not ashamed to speak our paternal barbarian language, the most ancient and the primordial one from the first man"). There is also a well-known synchronism: Moses led the Jews out of Egypt "upon the end of Inachos' reign" (по кончинѣ оубо царства Инахова, якоже рѣхомь, изведение евреомь изь Егупта бысть Моўсеомь).[12] The Slavonic text requires a further thorough study after a proper edition, which is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this paper. However, the above data is sufficient to invalidate the main conception of Malley, who argues for the identity of this work of Pseudo-Josephus with various other tracts of clearly Christian provenance.

The two cases presented here amply illustrate the idea that Slavonic translations of Byzantine literary works sometimes preserve texts from quite unexpected corners, which happened to have been excerpted by Byzantine compilers. The nature of the Church Slavonic literary language frequently makes a rather reliable reconstruction possible, so careful study of Slavonic texts translated from Greek may still bring important discoveries not just for byzantinists, but also for researchers in other fields, such as Jewish studies.

[12] Cf. Tatian, 38, 1. Tatian also names the Pharaoh, under whom the Exodus took place — Ἄμωσις. In Slavonic it is Амось. If the source used here by George the Monk pre-dates Tatian, this may well be the earliest testimony for the synchronism Inachos–Amosis–Moses.

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The perfective non-past in Modern Greek: a corpus study

Alexandra Fiotaki[*] *& Marika Lekakou*

This paper presents a corpus-based analysis of the perfective-non past (hereafter PNP) in Modern Greek (hereafter MG). This verbal form has been called 'dependent' (Holton et al. 1997), as, unlike the other finite verbal forms in MG, it cannot stand alone, but requires one of the verbal particles ("subjunctive" *na*, optative *as*, "future" *tha*[1],) or a particular connective (e.g. the temporal connective *prin* 'before').[2] Relevant examples appear in (1).

(1) a. *grapso
write-PERF.NONPAST.1SG

b. na/as/tha grapso
SUBJ/OPT/MOD write-PERF.NONPAST.1SG

In line with recent descriptive grammars of MG (Mackridge 1987, Holton et al. 1997, Holton et al. 2012 etc; see also Moser 2009), we take the Greek verbal system to be organized on the basis of tense and aspect distinctions, namely past/non-past and perfective/imperfective.

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[1] *Tha* is more accurately described as a modal particle; for one thing, it can combine with past tense verbal forms, yielding modal (epistemic or metaphysical) interpretations. For discussion on the interaction between *tha* and the verbal forms it combines with, see Tsangalidis (1999). For a recent analysis, see Giannakidou and Mari (2017).

[2] Although the PNP is historically related to the subjunctive mood, synchronically there are good reasons to reject analysing it as an exponent of verbal mood. For detailed discussion see Tsangalidis (1999, Chapter 4).

Each of the four synthetic finite verbal forms in MG instantiates a particular combination of values for these two features, as depicted in Table 1, based on Holton et al. (1997). Past locates the eventuality prior to the utterance time, and non-past locates the eventuality as simultaneous or posterior with respect to utterance time. Perfective aspect presents the eventuality as completed, whereas imperfective aspect encodes habitual/generic and progressive/continuous interpretations.

Aspect/Tense	**Non-past**	**Past**
Imperfective	grafo	egrafa
Perfective	grapso	egrapsa

Table 1: Tense/aspect specifications of Greek synthetic verbal forms

Following Tsangalidis (1999), Lekakou & Nilsen (2009), Giannakidou (2009), and literature cited therein, the combination that the PNP instantiates, non-past tense and perfective aspect, constitutes something of a semantic anomaly -- whence the dependent nature of the PNP verbal form. In virtue of being specified as non-past, the PNP can only denote an interval that is simultaneous or posterior with respect to the utterance time; in virtue of being specified as perfective, however, the eventuality cannot temporally overlap the utterance time: it is impossible for a completed ("perfective") event to be simultaneous with the utterance time, which is conceptualized as a punctual event. See Comrie (1976), Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) and Smith (1997) for different formulations of this constraint. What this entails, essentially, is that the PNP can only refer to the future; the eventuality the verbal form denotes has to be interpreted at a future-shifted time (Tsangalidis 1999, Lekakou & Nilsen 2009).[3] Against this background, we investigate the occurrence of the PNP in embedded *na*-clauses. Our goal is to show that the distribution of the PNP in such environments follows from the above temporal and aspectual characterization, in combination with the semantic properties of the

[3] Consistent with this is the observation that in Slavonic languages the combination of non-past tense and perfective aspect yields future tense, see Comrie (1976) (see also Tsangalidis (1999) for relating this observation to the MG state of affairs).

predicate which embeds the *na*-clause. In other words, on the assumption that the tense and aspect information on the PNP is fully interpretable, the expectation is that all and only verbs that optionally or obligatorily impose a future orientation ('orientation' in the sense of Condoravdi 2002) on their complement will legitimately embed a *na*-clause with a PNP form; any verb that imposes a simultaneous interpretation on its complement, or any context which forces a habitual interpretation of the embedded eventuality, will not allow the PNP to surface -- instead, an imperfective form will be realized.[4]

Our empirical investigation will be based on a corpus of written MG texts. We devote the first part of the paper (section 2) to describing the properties of the corpus, as well as the methodology we used. In the second part of the paper (section 3), we discuss the two classes of embedding predicates, those taking *na*-clauses that disallow the PNP (section 3.1), and those taking *na*-clauses that permit the PNP (section 3.2). We argue that the distribution of the PNP follows from the temporal-aspectual requirements of the selecting predicates, in combination with the semantics of the PNP itself. In section 4, we summarize and conclude.

2. The corpus study

In the existing literature, there is no recorded list of verbs that (dis)allow the PNP in embedded *na*-clauses (though see Moser 1997 for discussion of relevant cases). In our attempt to define such a list, we studied 19 verbs, belonging to different classes of predicates, on the basis of Roussou's (2009) classification, namely modals, aspectuals, volitionals,

[4] Although discussion of the temporal properties of *na*-complements can be found in the syntactic literature, the discussion is for the most part related to the nature of the subject of the *na*-clause (PRO or pro; see Terzi 1992, Iatridou 1988/1993, Varlokosta 1994, Spyropoulos 2008, among others); what is more, in such discussions, the dimension of aspect, which we consider crucial for the distribution of the PNP, is overlooked (though see Moser 1994, 1997, 2009). We will have nothing to say on the nature of the *na*-clause subject. Our aim is to contribute to a better understanding of *na*-complements in general, by paying particular heed to both temporal and aspectual properties of the cases at hand.

perception verbs, verbs of mental perception, psych verbs, epistemic predicates, verbs of saying, and verbs of knowing. The particular verbs we studied appear in (2):

(2) *prepi* 'must', *bori* 'can', *arxizo* 'start', *stamato* 'stop', *thelo* 'want', *epithimo* 'desire', *vlepo* 'see', *akuo* 'hear', *thimame* 'remember', *ksexno* 'forget', *xerome* 'be glad', *lipame* 'feel sorry', *pistevo* 'believe', *nomizo* 'think', *leo* 'say', *diatazo* 'order', *iposxome* 'promise', *ksero* 'know', *matheno* 'learn/teach'

We employed a corpus-based approach, in order to reach conclusions which have generalizability and validity, and which could be computationally implemented. Regardless of the extensiveness of the corpus data, however, a corpus can only serve as an empirical basis for a case study. Theoretical analysis is needed, in order to interpret the corpus evidence and to reach reliable conclusions (Hunston et.al. 2000, Scott and Tribble 2006). We have attempted to combine corpus methodology with theoretical analysis.

The data were drawn from the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC; hnc.ilsp.gr), a balanced online monolingual corpus of MG texts which currently contains approximately 50.000.000 words, developed by the Institute for Language and Speech Processing (ILSP). The HNC contains data from various written sources (books, internet, magazines, newspapers, etc), dating from 1990 onwards, which provide evidence for the current use of MG. The corpus is tagged for part of speech (POS-tagged) and it allows word-, lemma- and POS-searches. It also allows queries for up to three combinations of the above, in which users can specify the distance among the lexical items. For each query, up to 2000 sentences are returned (Hatzigeorgiou et al., 2000).

In our study we searched for the 19 verbs in (1) as lemmas, combined with the complementizer *na*, and we specified the distance between the complementizer and the verb to be up to 5 words. From the retrieved data, we annotated the first 700 sentences in order to have a clear picture of the structures supported by each verb. The HNC provided us with a total of 9.638 sentences for all the verbs in (1); as shown in Tables 2 and 3, not all *na*-embedding predicates returned 700 sentences each.

We examined these sentences to see which ones contained the PNP in the relevant structure (main clause + subordinate *na*-clause), and came up with 11 (out of the initial 19) verbs, which allow the PNP in the embedded clause. In total, the HNC returned 6138 sentences for these verbs but 3233 sentences of them contained the relevant structure. The complete empirical picture is given in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2 contains the verbs that allow the PNP in the embedded clause, ranked by frequency. In terms of general tendencies, we see that the PNP is particularly frequent under volitional verbs, with *epithimo* (‘desire’) scoring the highest frequency, followed by *thelo* (‘want’); *bori* (‘can’), *ksexno* (‘forget’) and *iposxome* (‘promise’) also rank highly as verbs selecting PNP-featuring *na*-clauses.

Verb	Total number of clauses	Percentage of clauses with the relevant structure
epithimo (‘desire’)	700	92,80%
thelo (‘want’)	700	78,28%
bori (‘can’)	700	72,70%
ksexno (‘forget’)	342	70,76%
iposxome (‘promise’)	574	63,24%
prepi (‘must’)	700	58,57%
leo (‘say’)	700	50,71%
diatazo (‘order’)	700	27,14%
thumame (‘remember’)	137	23,35%
nomizo (‘think’)	185	7,02%
ksero (‘know’)	700	4,28%

Table 2: Verbs that allow the PNP in the embedded clause

Table 3 contains the verbs whose *na*-clause complement contained no instances of the PNP in our corpus. Among these verbs, three (*xerome*, *lipame*, *pistevo*) in fact returned no results at all, (even though under certain circumstances they do take *na*-clause complements). See section 3.1 for discussion.

Verb	Total number of clauses	Percentage of clauses with the relevant structures
arxizo (‘start’)	700	0%
stamato (‘stop’)	700	0%
vlepo (‘see’)	700	0%
akuo (‘hear’)	700	0%
xerome (‘be glad’)	0	0%
lipame (‘be sorry for’)	0	0%
pistevo (‘believe’)	0	0%
matheno (‘teach/learn’)	700	0%

Table 3: Verb that disallow the PNP in the embedded clause

Since this study aims to relate the distribution of the PNP to the temporal-aspectual restrictions imposed by the selecting predicate., we annotated the 3233 sentences deriving from the HNC focusing on the temporal features necessary. For the corpus annotation, we used the BRAT Rapid Annotation Tool (BRAT; /brat.nlplab.org/), a web-based annotation tool designed for settings of annotations for natural language processing. It supports two types of annotations: the text span and the relation annotations. The design and implementation of BRAT offers comprehensive visualization, intuitive editing, integration with external resources, integrated annotation comparison, high quality visualization of any scale, easy export in multiple formats, as well as a rich set of annotation primitives (Stenetorp et al. 2012).

The annotation schema we used is based on the ILSP PAROLE Tagset (http://nlp.ilsp.gr/nlp/tagset_examples/tagset_en/), which consists of 584 morphosyntactic tags for all parts of speech (Lambropoulou et al., 1996). This tagset is also used by the online service nlp_depparse_ud (http://nlp.ilsp.gr/ws/), which generates POS and lemma annotations for each token, as well as syntactic representations compatible with the Universal Dependency Grammar.

The annotation process we designed for our study involved two steps. In the first stage of annotation, we parsed the 3233 sentences in the online tool nlp_depparse_ud, in order to obtain a fully annotated corpus. This expressivity is important for the exploitation of the corpus in all fields of linguistic research. The annotated data were then converted into the brat format for further editing in the BRAT Rapid Annotation Tool. In the second stage, we evaluated the annotations in the BRAT Rapid Annotation Tool, focusing on the examined structure. Thus, the annotation schema for the verbs and the particle *na* has been checked and redefined. Verbs had been annotated for 10 features conveying information on POS type, finiteness, tense, aspect, voice, number, gender and case (for passive participles), following the ILSP PAROLE Tagset. *Na* was in the first instance POS-tagged as PART(icle) and annotated for the feature ParticleType with the value Sub(junctive).

Although the annotation schema provided us with morphologically rich information, we decided to extend it towards better, more expressive and precise annotations for the verb type PNP and the particle *na*, as presented below:

Following theoretical literature (e.g. Agouraki 1991, Tsoulas 1993, Roussou 2000, Lekakou & Quer 2016; see in particular Roussou 2000, Lekakou & Quer 2016 for summaries of the relevant literature), but also computational treatments of MG (e.g. Fiotaki & Markantonatou 2014), the particle *na* is annotated as compl(ementizer).

The verb type PNP (perfective_non past) is annotated with the value perfective for the feature Aspect, the value non-past for the feature Tense and the value YES for the new feature Dependent (Holton et al. 1997, and much subsequent literature).

This process of evaluation gave us a clear picture of the structures supported by each verb. Since this study also aims to enrich an LFG/ XLE Grammar for MG, the results and conclusions could be applied in the computational templates.[5,6] These templates will be defined in order to assign the allowed structures. A detailed and accurate presentation of the allowed structures is necessary, in order to obtain a better performance of the syntactic parser. In table 4 we provide, in the first column, the annotated verbs along with their English translation, and in the second column the attested temporal values of the selecting verb.

Selecting Verb	Temporal values of the selecting verb
prepi ('must')	a.past b.non-past c.future in the past d.future
bori ('can')	a.past b.non-past c.future d.future in the past
thelo ('want')	a.past b.non-past c.future d.future in the past e. PNP

[5] Templates are schemata that provide functional generalizations that are not correlated with inflectional morphology.

[6] The Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) of MG is implemented in the XLE system (Xerox Linguistic Environment; http://www2.parc.com/istl/groups/nltt/xle/.). It provides a two-layer representation: constituent structure (c-structure, tree representation) and functional structure (f-structure, AVM representation). For the basic principles and concepts of LFG, see Kaplan et.al (1982), Kaplan et.al (1995), Falk (2001) and Dalrymple (2002).

epithimo (‘desire’)	a.past b.non-past c.future in the past d.PNP
thimame (‘remember’)	a.past b.non-past c.future d. PNP
ksexno (‘forget’)	a.past b.non-past c.future d. PNP
nomizo (‘think’)	non-past
leo (‘say’)	a.past b.non-past c.future in the past
diatazo (‘order’)	a.past b.non-past
iposxome (‘promise’)	a.past b.non-past c. PNP
ksero (‘know’)	a.past b.non-past

Table 4: Structures attested for each verb allowing the PNP in the selected *na*-clause

As indicated in Table 4, most of the examined verbs in the attested examples exhibit a considerable variety of tense forms. A closer examination of the corpus evidence collected for the verbs under examination is provided in the next section.

3. The distribution of the PNP

Clearly, some predicates allow the PNP in the *na*-clause they embed, whereas others do not. The question is, which factor is responsible for the distribution of the PNP? We argue that, broadly speaking, the two classes of predicates differ in whether they are compatible with future orientation of the complement clause. We examine each category in turn, starting from the predicates whose *na*-complement cannot feature the PNP.

3.1 Verbs that disallow the PNP in na-clauses

In the cases we have studied, the ban against the PNP seems to be due, in general, to a requirement imposed by the selecting predicate, namely that the eventuality in the complement clause occur simultaneously as the matrix-eventuality. Since the PNP is future-shifted, it is not a form suitable in this context, and hence is not expected to occur in such environments.

The most paradigmatic example of this situation are perception verbs. *Na*-complements of perception verbs, such as *vlepo* and *akuo*, are interpreted as occurring simultaneously as the matrix verb. The requirement for such a temporal overlap has been noted for direct perception structures in other languages; e.g. for English bare infinitive complements to perception verbs, see Felser (1999:39ff), and references cited therein; for Bulgarian, see Smirnova (2008). This requirement entails that a future-shifted complement cannot appear, whence the illicitness of the PNP.

A second verb class that disallows the PNP are aspectual verb such as *arxizo* and *stamato*. Similarly to perception verbs, these predicates embed a *na*-clause which is obligatorily imperfective non-past.[7] (In fact, for the aspectuals we considered as well as perception verbs, the complement *na*-clause can only feature the imperfective non-past verbal

[7] Interestingly, it seems that throughout the history of Greek, imperfective non-finite forms (infinitives or gerunds) were consistently selected by aspectual verbs. See Lavidas & Drachman (2012) for recent discussion and a treatment of Ancient Greek aspectuals in terms of Fukuda's (2008) functional head analysis.

type, regardless of the tense of the embedding predicate.) According to Moser (1997:172), the choice of imperfective aspect in these cases is consonant with the particular aspectual verbs' semantics, which focuses on stages of culmination of an event.

A third class of predicates patterning the same way is the class of verbs of knowing, such as *matheno* and *ksero* (on the latter, see also the following section); in our corpus, no instance of *matheno* ('learn'/'teach') embedded a PNP form. Interestingly, *na*-complements of all three such classes, aspectuals, perception verbs, and verbs of knowing, are considered by Spyropoulos (2008) as anaphoric subjunctives, namely subjunctives whose event time "is identical with the matrix one, which means that the temporal reference of AS is anaphoric to that of the matrix clause" (Spyropoulos 2008:162-163). Spyropoulos considers a consequence of this the fact that a temporal modifier that is future-oriented (such as *avrio* 'tomorrow') is disallowed in such *na*-complements. Given this, it is hardly surprising that the PNP, a form which we have been treating as future-shifted, is not allowed in the corresponding sentences.

Two further cases of embedding predicates that have not shown up in the corpus with a PNP-containing *na*-complement are *pistevo* 'believe' (a case of an epistemic verb) and the phych verbs *xerome* 'am happy' and *lipame* 'am sorry/regret'. These three verbs did not only fail to embed a PNP-containing *na*-clause in our corpus, they failed to combine with a *na*-clause complement at all (see Table 3). It would, however, be wrong to take this as an indication of grammatical impossibility.

For all three verbs under consideration, a *na*-clause complement is not the only complementation option, it is, however, a non-primary, low-frequency option. *Pistevo* canonically takes a declarative *oti*-clause complement, whereas *xerome* and *lipame* can also combine with *pu*, in which case they behave as factive verbs (Christidis 1982), whence the term factive emotives/emotive factives (see Giannakidou 2006 and references therein). Crucially, selection of a *na*-clause by factive emotives in MG incurs tense-aspect distinctions which are not as yet properly understood.[8] As our corpus did not provide relevant data, we cannot relate

[8] See Quer (2001) for similar observations on the basis of Catalan, and see also Moser (1994, 1997) for a proposal that capitalizes on the role of (a)telicity. To the extent that

the distribution of the PNP to this particular class of verbs. For *pistevo*, however, we have more to say, since we examined another epistemic verb, *nomizo* 'think', which did occur with embedded PNP in our corpus. Both *pistevo* and *nomizo* only take a *na*-clause complement under particular circumstances (the so-called 'polarity subjunctive'). The issue is taken up in section 3.2.

3.2 Verbs that allow the PNP in na-clauses

In this section we discuss the predicates that do allow the PNP in the complement clause. We claim that the occurrence of the PNP is expected, as long as future reference of the embedded eventuality, with no progressive or habitual interpretation, is the targeted interpretation, i.e. whenever the semantic components of the PNP are called for.

The first category of verbs to consider in this realm are modal verbs, such as *prepi* and *bori*. These verbs allow all four verbal forms in the *na*-clause they embed, but the choice of form in the complement has consequences for the overall interpretation.[9] As Lekakou & Nilsen (2009) show, the interpretation of the verbal forms is consistent with their tense and aspect specification. Crucially, the orientation of the PNP in the complement clause is future. See Lekakou & Nilsen (op.cit.) for relevant discussion.[10]

The second case of embedding predicates are volitional verbs. In Table 2, the volitional verbs *thelo* and *epithimo* are presented as the class with the highest frequency in the relevant structure (matrix verb and

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the PNP is licit in the *na*-clause complement of factive emotives, its occurrence is consistent with the claimed future orientation of the form.

[9] Another dimension that affects interpretation is the tense of the modal itself: non-root (e.g. epistemic) interpretations are not available, when the modals themselves are in past (or future) tenses (e.g. Iatridou 1990, Roussou 1999).

[10] Across languages, there is a tendency for root modals to have future orientation (i.e. for the temporal interpretation of their complement to be in the future); see Matthewson (2012) and references therein. We have not investigated which of the modals in our corpus receive a (non)root interpretation; this could possibly yield interesting results. Given the noted tendency of root modals and the high occurrence of the PNP especially with *bori*, we expect the latter to occur mostly with a root interpretation.

na-embedded PNP verb form). The corpus data show that in this verb class a variety of tense forms are allowed for the matrix verb (see Table 4 for the temporal values the embedding verb can take). The PNP occurs regardless of the choice of tense in the matrix clause. This strongly suggests that these verbs exhibit a significant preference for the PNP. This, we argue, follows, from the future-orientedness of the PNP.

When in English a volitional predicate, such as *want*, selects an infinitival complement, the event time of the complement is argued to be posterior to the matrix event time, see Wurmbrand (2014) and references therein, and also Banerjee (2018); the claim that *want* future-shifts its complement can also be found in semantic analyses, such as Heim (1992), von Fintel (1999), and Lassiter (2011).

We take the Greek verbs *thelo* and *epithimo* to behave similarly to English *want*. The difference is that Greek lacks infinitives, and so the equivalent of the structure "*want* + infinitival complement" is "*thelo* + embedded *na*-clause". An example is given in (3). Note that what is desired in (3) concerns the **outcome** of the game. This is, of course, what is expected, given the future orientation of the PNP.[11]

(3) Thelo na kerdisi ton agona.
want-1sg. C win-PNP.3sg the-ACC game
'I want (lit. desire) to win the game.'

The mental perception predicates, *thimame* and *ksexno*, seem to highly select PNP in clauses they embed, especially the verb *ksexno* (see Table 2); the verb *thimame* does not concentrate the highest frequency, but this could be explained by the fact that the corpus gave us only 137 occurrences of this verb in total, including wrong outputs.[12] According to Spyropoulos (2008), *thimame* and *ksexno* belong to the category of verbs

[11] *Thelo* and *epithimo* can also embed an imperfective non-past, in which case, however, the interpretation is either progressive or habitual, which is consistent with the semantic import of imperfective aspect in MG.

[12] Wrong outputs are those where, for instance, the PNP is selected by a verb that is itself embedded under the verb under consideration, as in e.g *ksexase oti prepi na diavasi gia avrio* 'she forgot that she must study for tomorrow.'

that embed an anaphoric subjunctive, i.e. a subjunctive whose temporal reference is identical to that of the matrix predicate. This explains the restricted options, regarding the verb in their complement clause, but in order to relate these options to the distribution of the PNP more in particular, we would like to suggest the following treatment of these verbs.

In the literature on English, mental perception verbs are classified as implicatives, when they take infinitival control complements (White 2014). Implicatives have been related to root modals (Hacquard 2009, Wurmbrand 2014, White 2014; see also Quer 2001 for relevant discussion). Recall that root modals show a strong cross-linguistic tendency for future orientation (see footnote 9). Applying this to MG, where control verbs takes *na*-clause complements, given the above reasoning, we expect the PNP in the relevant cases of implicative verbs, i.e. *thimame* and *ksexno*. Under specific syntactic conditions, the verbs *thimame* and *ksexno* behave as control verbs (see particularly Roussou 2009). The example in (4) illustrates this pattern, with *thimithike*, embedding a PNP structure, behaving as a control predicate.

(4) Thimithike na grapsi /*grapso tin ergasia tou.
remembered-3sg C write-PNP.3sg/*write-PNP.1sg the homework
'He remembered to write the homework.'

For the analysis of epistemic predicates (such as *pistevo*, *nomizo*) it should be mentioned that even though *pistevo* did not show any occurrences with the PNP in the corpus (see section 3.1), it can embed a PNP in general, as long as matrix negation is present and the verb is in the first person singular. In those cases, a *na*-clause is possible, in particular what has been termed a 'polarity subjunctive', i.e. a subjunctive licensed by operators also licensing polarity items, see Roussou (2009:1814-1815). An example of such a *na*-clause appears in (5) below. The contrast with (6) is revealing, as far as the claim concerning the future orientation of the PNP is concerned: whereas the verb in the embedded clause in (6), with imperfective non-past, has an on-going interpretation (the game is not yet over), the verb in the embedded clause in (5), with the PNP, can only refer to the final outcome of the game.

(5) Den nomizo/pistevo na kerdisi ton agona.
neg think/believe C win-PNP.3sg the game
'I doubt (lit. don't think/believe) s/he will win the game.'

(6) Den nomizo/pistevo na kerdizi ton agona.
neg think/believe C win-INP.3sg the game
'I doubt (lit. don't think/believe) s/he is winning the game.'

The next verb class are verbs of saying, namely the verbs *diatazo* ('order'), *iposxome* ('promise') and *leo* ('say'). Verbs of saying are those verbs that involve the intent to convey a message to another person (although the lexical semantics of each verb that is taken to belong to this class includes more than just an act of communication). For the verb *diatazo* ('order'), its lexical semantics imposes a future orientation in the embedded eventuality: it is impossible to issue an order for a past event. The same applies to the verb *iposxome* ('promise'): it is only possible to make a promise concerning the future.

(7) O arxigos dietakse na sinexisoume tin epivivasi.
the chief-NOM order-3sg C continue-PNP.2pl the embarkation.
'The chief ordered us to continue the embarkation.'

(8) Iposxethike na miosi tis times.
promised-3sg C reduce-PNP.3sg the prices.
'He promised to reduce the prices.'

The case of *leo* ('say') is similar, although the lexical semantics of the particular verb seems more varied. The verb *leo* can be used to convey an order (see e.g. (9)), or to express a thought/plan/suggestion (as in (10)). Regardless of these subtleties, the temporal reference of the embedded event is in the future: past tense on the embedded verb (as in (9)), or a temporal adverb such as *xtes* 'yesterday' (as in (10)) are disallowed (these diagnostics apply to *diatazo* and *iposxome* with the same results).

(9) Tis ipe na sikothi /*sikothike amesos.
her-ACC say-3sg C get.up-PNP.3sg/*get.up-PERF.PAST.3sg immediately.
'S/he told her to get up immediately.'

(10) Leo na kimitho ligaki (*xtes).
say-1sg C sleep-PNP1pl. for a little yesterday
'I am thinking (lit. saying) of taking a nap.'

Lastly, the verbs of knowing *matheno* ('learn'/'teach') and *ksero* ('know') do not behave identically as regards the examined structure. The verb *matheno* was discussed in session 3.1, since it did not show any occurrences with the PNP in the corpus. By contrast, the verb *ksero* did, although at a very low rate: only 4,28 % clauses featured a PNP (see Table 2). In general, verbs of knowing require the INP in the embedded *na*-clause (recall that for Spyropoulos (2008) such verbs embed temporally anaphoric subjunctives). Moreover, when they embed a *na*-clause, these verbs involve a root modal (ability) interpretation (cf. their epistemic guise, when they embed a declarative *oti* ('that')-clause). Concerning the limited occurrence of the PNP in the embedded clause, as in examples such as (13), we would like to suggest that these cases involve a silent complementizer *pos* ('how') before *na*. This complementizer can be overt, and its (c)overtness seems to make no difference regarding interpretation (note its obligatory presence in the equivalent English sentence).

(11) Opios kseri (pos) na zisi, kseri kai (pos) na pethani.
whoever know-3sg how C live-PNP.1sg, know-3sg and how C diePNP.1sg
'Whoever knows how to live, also knows how to die.'

4. Conclusion

The goal of this paper has been to provide a corpus-based study of the distribution of the PNP verbal form in MG. Our aim was to test the

claim, found in the theoretical literature, that, due to the tense-aspect information that the PNP encodes, its temporal reference is in the future, relative to the matrix event time. We tested this claim on the basis of data drawn from the HNC. The use of the HNC yielded good quality data and gave us a useful overview of the examined phenomenon in MG. On the basis of existing classifications of the verbs embedding *na*-clauses, we discussed 19 verbs, falling into two major categories: those that allow the PNP in the embedded clause, and those that do not. The former category includes several classes of verbs, whose semantics is compatible with a future-shifted complement. Verbs in the latter category disallow a PNP complement, because of their particular semantic (temporal-aspectual) requirements.

Our discussion of the distribution of the PNP was limited to a subset of *na*-subordinate clauses. Although we discussed such contexts in connection to the semantic properties of the embedding verbs, we do not make any commitment as to what future-shifts the PNP (*na*, or the selecting verb). We take this to be an important issue, which future research will settle. Also, since we studied the occurrence of the PNP in a subset of *na*-complement clauses, a thorough examination of this verb form should include remaining contexts, including other verbs selecting *na*-complements, as well as other instances of the PNP (e.g. following the other modal particles, or in adjunct clauses). We expect future corpus-based and experimental studies to shed further light on the distribution of the PNP.

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Thessaloniki during the Zealots' Revolt (1342-1350): Power, Political Violence and the Transformation of the Urban Space

Yannis Smarnakis

During the first half of the fourteenth century a series of urban riots took place in many Byzantine cities. Most of them were associated with the so-called Second Civil War (1341-1347) when rival factions of the ruling elite, formed around John V Palaiologos' regency and the *megas domestikos* John Kantakouzenos respectively, struggled for power.[1] Among these urban riots, the most famous was the revolt that took place in Thessaloniki in 1342 resulting in the seizure of power by the Zealots' faction and the creation of a semi-independent local regime that survived until 1350.

Despite the scarce and rather vague evidence provided by the available sources, contemporary scholars who have studied the Zealot revolt have proposed several interpretations of the movement. Older, traditional Marxist approaches supported the view that the Zealots had a political program of social reform and studied the revolt within the context of a class struggle between the local landowning aristocracy and the bourgeois elements or proletariat of the city.[2] On the other hand, the recent

[1] For the political context see in general Nicol 1993: 185-208. On the urban riots of the era see Kyritses 2012. For a reappraisal of the social aspects of the Second Civil War where the author emphasizes the divisions within the aristocracy see Malatras 2014.

[2] Zealots were already viewed as social reformers by Tafrali 1913. Kordatos 1928 soon followed in the same interpretative current by using the analytical tool of the class struggle to explore the revolt. Several studies in the 1950s and 1960s by East European Marxist scholars supported similar views. For an overview of these works see Barker 2003: 30-32. Most of the relevant Marxist literature regarded Zealots as social revolutionaries with a program of property redistribution, mainly on the basis of an alleged

literature on the subject attributes the civil unrest to diverse causes and associates it with various political, social or even religious contexts. The malfunctioning of the local communal institutions prior to the rise of the faction, the importance of the personal strategies of the Zealots' leaders in formulating a political agenda for a diverse group of people coming from all social strata, the religious differences associated with the Hesychast controversy, a local separatist tradition or even conjectural economic factors like the high cost of bread have been proposed in the relevant studies as the main initial causes of the uprising and the reasons for its continuation.[3]

The aim of this paper is to explore the transformations that occurred in the urban space of Thessaloniki during the revolt by focusing mainly on the tactics that the Zealots employed to alter both the social and political functions and the symbolical meanings of certain zones of the city. In my view, a study of the Zealots' policies regarding the urban space can also shed some light on the Zealots' broader political program and eventually leads to a reappraisal of their uprising. The first part of the paper is devoted to some brief considerations on the interrelationship between political power, ritualized violence and space. It sets up a

anti-Zealot discourse against the confiscation of Church properties written by Nicholas Kabasilas. However, Ševčenko 1957 and 1962 persuasively argued that the discourse was unrelated to the revolt.

[3] Papadatou 1987 and 1991 viewed the Zealots as a political aggregation of sailors and other people who claimed their participation in the local communal institutions. Matschke 1994 in an important contribution to the debate defined the Zealots as a group of people coming from all social strata with no well structured political program who mainly depended on the strong personalities of their leaders. Kotsiopoulos 1997 viewed the revolt within the context of the religious conflicts of the era as an effort on the Zealots' part to establish a theocratic regime that strongly opposed the Orthodox doctrine expressed by Gregory Palamas and the Hesychasts. Barker 2003: 21 argued that the Zealots' period should be explored within the broader context of a recurrent Thessalonian separatism. Kyritses 2012: 273-274 emphasized the importance of a grain shortage in 1345 just before the severe riots that ended with the massacre of many of the Zealots' rivals. According to Malatras 2012/3, the revolt should be viewed as an attempt by a local faction of the aristocracy to appropriate power by exploiting the power of the people for its cause. For analytical historiographical surveys of the relevant literature see: Barker 2003: 29-33; Malatras 2012/3: 231-233; Congourdeau 2013: 27-30; Congourdeau 2014b: 13-18.

theoretical background that enables an exploration, in the second part, of the interaction between the Zealots' political tactics and the urban space. The paper concludes with some brief thoughts on the Zealots' identity, especially in terms of the faction's composition and its political program.

1. Some Theoretical Considerations on Power, Ritual and Space.

During the last few decades the concept of "space" has been extensively used in the social sciences, and particularly in history, as an analytical category. In the relevant literature space is no longer perceived as merely the product of natural procedures or human activities, a pre-determined entity that provides the background of political, social and economic life.[4] My own approach relies mainly on Henri Lefebvre's path-breaking analysis in which the social production of space is conceived through a tripartite dialectic model. According to the French philosopher, space is always in a process of transformation through social relations closely bound up with the forces of production, including technology, knowledge, social division of labour, the state and the superstructures of society.[5] In particular, space is the product of the interaction between representations of space ("conceived space", which includes theories or more generally the production of knowledge about space), spatial practices ("perceived space", which corresponds to codes of social/spatial conduct defined by the continuous interaction between humans and

[4] For space in social theory see: Zieleniec 2007; West – Pavlov 2009. For a comprehensive account of the "spatial turn" in the humanities see Warf and Arias 2009. For history in particular see indicatively: Kingston 2010; Williamson 2014. The concept of "space" as an analytical tool has often been used in recent western medieval studies. For relevant historiographical overviews see indicatively: Cassidy – Welch 2010; Goodson, Lester and Symes 2010; Cohen, Madeline and Iogna Prat 2014. Spatial issues have also been explored in the context of Byzantine history and archaeology, although in most cases the relevant studies either follow traditional empirical methods of analyzing the textual and material evidence or rely upon an essentially structuralist background ignoring the recent theoretical contributions. For a critical assessment see Veikou 2016: 144-147.

[5] Lefebvre 1991: 85.

space), and finally representational space ("lived space", which is defined by the experiences, thoughts and feelings of the subjects that move in, inhabit, appropriate or imagine space).[6] Lefebvre's model perceives space not simply as the product of social relations but also as a means of production itself, a site that produces human activities and exchanges. Furthermore, it is also regarded as a powerful tool that regulates thought and action, thus becoming a means of control, and hence of domination and power.[7]

A central issue in my own research is the interaction between the Zealots' modes of exercising power and the urban space. More specifically, I argue that the construction of a new network of "sites of power" by the faction inside the city altered the local spatial practices and produced both physically and mentally a new urban political topography.[8] Following a Foucauldian approach, I understand "power" not as a substantive entity that can only be possessed and exercised by the rulers but as a matter of techniques and discursive practices deeply embedded in the network of social relations that shapes the micropolitics of everyday human life. In Foucault's analysis power is considered as a productive force that directs human activities, structures the field of possible actions and generates new knowledge.[9] The implementation and articulation of power relations also lead to specific spatial configurations that in turn create new discourses, power techniques and knowledge.[10]

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[6] Ibid., 36-46.

[7] Ibid., 26.

[8] The issue of the spatial dimensions of power has been extensively debated in the relevant literature. For a useful overview of the main relevant theoretical contributions see Allen 1999. For an example of a collection of studies dealing with the interrelation of power and space in the early Middle Ages see the essays in De Jong, Theuws and Van Rhijn 2001.

[9] Foucault 1980: 146-165, 233-239; idem 2001a; idem 2015: 225-237.

[10] Although Foucault did not systematically elaborate a theory of space, his thought has had a strong impact on the "Spatial Turn" in the humanities. Especially the spatial dimensions of his conceptualization of power and knowledge explored in several of his writings have deeply influenced much of the recent literature on space. For his outlook on the production of spatial discourses see: Foucault 1980: 63-77; idem 2001b. For the spatial dimensions of the exercises of power and the production of disciplinary

The new spatial practices produced by the Zealots' actions in order to impose their dominance on the city were interrelated with both institutional changes and the extensive use of political violence, especially in ritualized forms. In Foucault's approach ritual techniques play a fundamental role in how power is structured and exercised. According to his view, the ritualization of violence operates on the most basic and fundamental level of power relations: that of the human body. Through violent rituals the body becomes a political field produced by the material exercise of power.[11] Furthermore, the social body "is the effect not of consensus [or coherence or control] but of the materiality of power operating on the very bodies of individuals".[12] Thus the social body is perceived as the product of a shifting network of power relations out of which the sovereign's power is also constituted.[13] In this context the ritualization of violence is mainly a strategy for the construction of certain types of power relations that aim to fashion individuals by reshaping, formalizing, supervising and controlling political, social and eventually spatial functions.

Apart from its close interrelation with the articulation of power relations that shape the social body, ritual violence plays an important role in the formation of cultures of violence through its performativity.[14] It performs the group's identity, internal hierarchies and goals, defining the symbolic borders between the "self" and the "others". It establishes new hierarchies through performances that stress the superiority or the "normal" behaviour of a particular group in juxtaposition to the inferiority or the "abnormal" activities of others.[15] Ritualized violence is both performing and performative; it constitutes a form of spectacular com-

spaces such as prisons and clinics see: Foucault 1995; idem 2003. For the "heterotopias" which are conceived as "other" spaces linked to alternative cultural and social praxis see Foucault 1984. For comprehensive overviews of Foucault's thought in relation to space see: Zieleniec 2007: 125-149; West – Pavlov 2009: 111-165.

[11] Foucault 1995: 25-26.

[12] Idem 1980: 55.

[13] Idem 1980: 187; idem 2015: 230.

[14] Carol 2007: 10; Wood 2007: 108. On the performativity of ritual see in general the comprehensive overview by Bell 1992: 37-46

[15] Carol 2007: 13; Skoda 2013: 169.

munication while at the same time achieving concrete goals. However, violent rites cannot attain their aim if the "vocabulary" of gestures they use is not understood by the audience of the rituals. Only through the extensive use of familiar cultural paradigms can the audience acquaint itself with the symbolic meanings of the violent acts.[16]

The concept of the performativity of ritual violence and its close relationship with spatial practices again leads us to a conceptualization of space not as a stable and predefined entity but as a dynamic process of continuous changes and transformations. The form and the meanings of space are generated through the articulation of certain types of power relations embedded in several social or broader cultural practices and in the performative actions of various agents.[17] Thus a study of the ritualization of violence by the Zealots can serve as an illustrative case study of the interrelation between political acting and urban space in the late Byzantine world.

2. The Zealots' politics and the urban space.

Let us now explore the local political life in Thessaloniki during the Zealots' era and its interaction with the urban space by beginning with a brief chronological survey.[18] The spark for the revolt was ignited immediately after the decision by the city's governor, Theodore Synadenos, to declare his loyalty to Kantakouzenos by openly expressing his will to deliver the city into his hands (1342). At that time the Zealots, a group of citizens supporting John V Palaiologos, rose up in rebellion, clashed violently with their enemies in the streets and finally managed to prevail

[16] Skoda 2013: 3, 18.

[17] The concept of space as a "practiced place" has already been extensively explored by Michel De Certeau whose reflections on the issue have significant analogies to Lefebvre's conceptualization of "spatial practices" and "lived space". In his view, space is produced by the ensemble of activities and movements occurring in a specific place. Cf. De Certeau 1984: 91-110. For the interaction between performance and space see Rose 1999.

[18] For a detailed chronological account of the political events see Congourdeau 2013: 31-43.

and seize power. The rebels expelled many of their opponents after their victory and looted their properties.[19]

The rivalry between the Zealots and Kantakouzenos' supporters inside the city continued during the following years, reaching its peak in 1345/6. At that time John Apokaukos, who had been appointed by Constantinople as one of the two governors of the city, decided shortly after the death in Constantinople of his father Alexios – who was a member of John V Palaiologos' regency - to change sides and defect to Kantakouzenos. He assassinated the leader of the Zealots, Michael Palaiologos, and gained control of Thessaloniki for a few months. However, the Zealots regrouped and counterattacked in the following year under the leadership of another member of the Palaiologos' family named Andreas. This time the Zealots prevailed and John Apokaukos was arrested and executed along with many of his supporters.[20]

The civil war formally ended in 1347 when Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople. The two opposing sides came to an agreement: Kantakouzenos was recognized as emperor while John V Palaiologos became co-emperor and heir to the throne.[21] After the reconciliation of the two rival aristocratic factions the position of the Zealots in Thessaloniki became extremely precarious. Andreas Palaiologos defected to the Serbian court in 1349 following a failed attempt on his part to regain total control of the city by eliminating the rival side. He later became a monk on Mount Athos.[22] The Zealots attempted to negotiate the submission of the city to Stefan Dušan but their opponents strongly opposed this plan and asked the imperial government to support their cause.[23] The following year Kantakouzenos along with John V Palaiologos entered Thessaloniki and persuaded the assembly of the people to accept their authority. The most prominent members of the Zealots' faction were arrested and imprisoned in Constantinople while the others were expelled from the city.[24]

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[19] Kantakouzenos, II, 233,8 – 235,9.

[20] Kantakouzenos, II, 568,14 – 582,4; Gregoras, II, 740,10 – 741,5.

[21] Nicol 1993: 207.

[22] Kantakouzenos, III, 109, 4-16.

[23] Ibid., III, 109,16 – 111,8.

[24] Ibid., III, 117,4-25.

During the revolt a new regime had been established in Thessaloniki that resembled that of a semi-independent city-state. Supreme power was held by two *archontes* (governors) appointed by the Zealots and the imperial government in Constantinople respectively.[25] Kantakouzenos also mentions a council (*voule*) apparently composed of two rival groups of people, each of which was totally controlled by the Zealots' archon and his co-governor respectively.[26] Assemblies of the people (*ekklesiai*) were also occasionally summoned especially when important matters had to be settled. Such an occasion is mentioned in 1345 when the city's inhabitants took the decision to send ambassadors to Kantakouzenos to negotiate the terms of a possible surrender.[27] In 1350 another assembly

[25] The Zealot leaders to hold this office were Michael and Andreas Palaiologos. Their co-governors, appointed by the imperial government, were, in chronological order: Michael Monomachos (1343), John Vatatzes (1343), John Apokaukos (1343-1346) and Alexios Laskaris Metochites (1348-1350). On all these persons see Congourdeau 2013: 173-175. Kantakouzenos clearly mentions this system of co-governing the city during his narration of the rivalry between Michael Palaiologos and John Apokaukos. See Kantakouzenos, II, 569,1-3: Παλαιολόγος γὰρ ὁ Μιχαὴλ, κεφάλαιον ὢν τῶν Ζηλωτῶν καὶ συνάρχειν ἐκείνῳ [John Apokaukos] τεταγμένος, λυπηρὸς ἦν μάλιστα, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρώμενος οὐκ ἴσως. Ibid., II, 570, 3-5: σκηψάμενος [John Apokaukos] δέ τι βουλεύεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν, μετεκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα [Andreas Palaiologos], ὡς κοινωνήσοι τῆς βουλῆς.

[26] Kantakouzenos, II, 569, 22 – 570, 6 mentions one assembly of this council in 1345 where groups of armed men escorted both John Apokaukos and Michael Palaiologos. The meeting ended with Michael Palaiologos' assasination by his rivals. A second assembly took place in Apokaukos' house on the acropolis on the eve of the massacre in 1346. See Kantakouzenos, II, 574,24 – 575,3. Councils of advisory character where mainly the local elites were represented often took place in many Byzantine urban settlements in this era. For general overviews on the composition and the function of these local councils see: Kioussopoulou 2013: 115-118; Kontogiannopoulou 2015: 56-82.

[27] Kantakouzenos refers to the composition of this assembly in the following words: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίαν φανερῶς συναγαγὼν ἔκ τε τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τῶν μάλιστα ἐν λόγῳ… (Kantakouzenos, II, 573, 10-12: "He [John Apokaukos] convoked an open assembly of the best citizens, the soldiers and the other citizens especially those among them who had the right to speak publicly…"). The "best citizens" were apparently the members of the local aristocracy while the "soldiers" were probably those who held *pronoiai* in the region. I do not translate the term "τῶν μάλιστα ἐν λόγῳ" as "the most prominent among them" since in this spe-

was summoned which decided to eventually submit the city to the imperial authority.[28] Unfortunately, there is no mention in the sources of the place where these assemblies were held, although we could suppose that the public *agora* was probably the site of these meetings.[29]

The city had already been granted privileges that probably included the running of some local institutions by John Vatatzes in 1246 when it was reintegrated into the Byzantine state. At that time a group of distinguished citizens demanded the issue of a chrysobull which would reassert protection of the local established customs and rights and the liberty of the citizens.[30] This particular wording of the request implies that similar privileges had also been granted in the past. The chrysobull has not survived but judging from similar imperial documents concerning other urban centers of the empire, the civic privileges would have included exemptions from taxes and duties, probably a court for cases of civic and canon law composed of local judges and also a senate of the magnates acting as an advisory body to a governor appointed by the imperial government.[31] However, during the period of Zealot rule a radical reformation of the local political institutions took place that drastically altered the city's relationship with the imperial center.

The new political regime of Thessaloniki, which was structured around the division of power between the two co-governors, represent-

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cific context the term "ἄριστοι" precisely refers to those who belonged to a group of distinguished people. In my view, the term literally refers to "those who had the right to speak publicly". If my interpretation is accurate then it seems that the assemblies of the people functioned in a relatively organized institutional framework where the right to speak publicly was confined to specific persons probably appointed by the two rival sides; in other words, the term refers to the most prominent members of both political groups. General assemblies of the people were occasionally summoned in late Byzantine cities usually to confirm the rulers' decisions. However, it seems that they did not occur within a regulated framework. On this issue see Kontogiannopoulou 2015: 83-87.

[28] Ibid., III, 117,11-23.

[29] On the political character of the *agora* see infra.

[30] Akropolites, I, & 45, 26-28.

[31] On the privileges of late Byzantine Thessaloniki see: Patlagean 1998; Maksimović 1988: 248–57. For references to the function of local councils in Thessaloniki during the same period see Kontogiannopoulou 2015: 65-66, 94-95.

atives of the Zealots and the imperial government respectively, also had important spatial dimensions. The authority of the co-governors was exercised in separate urban zones since the harbor was under the control of the Zealots' leader while the rest of the city was ruled by the imperial governor.[32] Not only was the power of the two governing poles restricted to particular places but, more importantly, both sides had their own localized base of political support.

Kantakouzenos mentions the crucial role played by the *naftikon* and the *parathalassioi* in the events that led up to the massacre of many members of the rival faction by the Zealots in 1346.[33] These terms literally refer to people engaged in maritime activities who also lived in a seaside quarter.[34] The same group of people is again mentioned in the context of the events preceding Andreas Palaiologos' defection to Serbia (1349) when the latter tried to mobilize the *parathalassioi* against his opponents. However, on that occasion the rival side prevailed by attacking first, thus forcing Andreas Palaiologos to leave the city and

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[32] Kantakouzenos, in narrating the events that led up to the final clash between Andreas Palaiologos and John Apokaukos, observes that the inhabitants of the seaside quarter had their own authority distinct from that of the rest of the city. See Kantakouzenos, II, 575, 12-14: ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἰδιάζουσαν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὶ παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως· ὧν ἐκεῖνος [Andreas Palaiologos] τότε ἦρχε.

[33] Kantakouzenos, II, 575, 8-12: περὶ ἣν οἰκοῦσι πᾶν τὸ ναυτικὸν, οἱ πλεῖστοί τε ὄντες καὶ πρὸς φόνους εὐχερεῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὡπλισμένοι πάντες, ὥσπερ τὸ κράτιστόν εἰσι τοῦ δήμου, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι πάσαις αὐτοὶ τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους ἐξηγοῦνται προθύμως ἑπομένου, ᾗ ἂν ἄγωσιν αὐτοί. The term *parathalassioi* is used in the same context as a synonym for *naftikon*. See ibid., II, 576, 7-8, 18-19.

[34] In this specific context the terms *naftikon* and *parathalassioi* define a group of people who both practiced professions related to maritime activities and dwelt near the harbor front. Matschke 1994: 24-26 has already argued that the people designated by the term *naftikon* were related to trading activities. In the older literature it had been suggested that the term referred to a naval guild. See for example Sjuzjumov 1968: 28. Nevertheless, there is no mention of the existence of such an institution in the city at that time. Moreover, all references to guilds have disappeared from the Byzantine sources after the 12th century. For another view in which the authors identify *naftikon* with the armed crews of the imperial fleet cf: Papadatou 1991: 18-22; Kyritsis 2012: 269-270. The fleet, however, had already left the city in 1343 to avoid a battle against the overwhelming naval power of Umur, who had come to the aid of Kantakouzenos. See Kantakouzenos, II, 390,24 – 391,1.

to eventually find refuge at the Serbian court.[35] So it seems that a group of men living in the harbor zone with jobs related to the sea (probably sailors, dockworkers or even fishermen) formed the core of the Zealots' armed forces.

The harbor, situated at the southwestern corner of the city, was fortified by an inner wall with towers[36] that spatially distinguished its people and their activities from the rest of the urban space. Kydones, in his well-known "Monody on the Fallen in Thessaloniki", written immediately after the bloody events of 1346, describes the harbor as a distinct, separate city thriving within the broader urban fabric of Thessaloniki.[37] The port linked the city with the Italian commercial networks and provided the agricultural production of the Macedonian hinterland with access to international markets. During the first half of the 14th century it operated mainly within the transportation networks of the Aegean Sea, maintaining close contacts with Constantinople, Chios and Negreponte. Its role in long-distance trade was less important, although there was much sea traffic between the city and Venice.[38]

On the other hand, Kantakouzenos' supporters had their base in the acropolis, a fortified triangular quarter situated upon a hill in the north-eastern part of Thessaloniki. This area was less populated than the lower part of the city and served as a barracks and also as a residential area for the imperial governor, the military personnel and some aristocratic families.[39] John Apokaukos had a house in this quarter from which he governed the city;[40] he also retreated there with some of his followers when he was planning to murder Michael Palaiologos.[41] His residence

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[35] Kantakouzenos, III, 109,4-16.

[36] Bakirtzis 2003: 43.

[37] Kydones, Monody: 641.

[38] On the role of Thessaloniki's port in the Italian maritime trade of the era see Jacoby 2003: 103-107. For the agricultural production of Thessaloniki's hinterland see Laiou 2000: 200-203.

[39] On the late Byzantine acropolis see Bakirtzis 2003: 43-47. Kantakouzenos, II, 579, 4-5 briefly describes the acropolis as a small separate town with its own inhabitants: πόλει γάρ τινι ἔοικε μικρᾷ καὶ οἰκήτορας ἰδίους ἔχει…

[40] Kantakouzenos, II, 571, 22-23.

[41] Ibid., II, 570, 1-3.

was used for political assemblies too since it is mentioned that such a meeting with Andreas Palaiologos and his men took place there just before the bloody events of 1346.[42] The acropolis was also the Zealots' main target in their attack against John Apokaukos and his followers, which ended with victory for their faction and the mass executions of their opponents.

The exercise of supreme power by both co-governors constantly produced tensions between them and often led to violent confrontations between their supporting factions. Political violence reached unprecedented heights during the lifetime of the semi-independent city-state of Thessaloniki. Large-scale executions and exiles of adversaries, plundering and destruction of dwellings and properties, fights around fortified places, aiming at the annihilation of rivals marked the political life of the city between 1342 and 1350. It is worth mentioning the well-known anti-Zealot account of Gregoras in which the city's regime is described in gloomy colours as a system of mob rule with no central guidance that had nothing in common with any of the known classical polities.[43] However, political violence – especially in its ritualized forms - was also a productive force since it invested with new symbolic meanings several urban zones, created a new network of "sites of power" and eventually forged new rival political identities which were mutually exclusionary and oppositional and were also both related to distinct spatial zones. In other words, it generated new conceptualizations, perceptions and uses of the urban space that drastically altered the spatial experiences of the individuals and shaped their mental horizons.

The Zealots' violent political action was characterized by the frequent use of religious symbols and rituals. According to Kantakouzenos, during the uprising that brought them to power (1342), members of the faction invaded the houses of their opponents holding crosses and declaring that their actions were guided by that holy symbol.[44] Moreover,

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[42] Ibid., II, 575, 2-3.

[43] Gregoras, II, 796, 2 – 12.

[44] Kantakouzenos, II, 234, 11-17: εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπονοίας καὶ τόλμης ἦλθον, ὥστε καίτοι τὰ δεινότατα τολμῶντες, σταυρὸν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀδύτων ἁρπάζοντες, ἐχρῶντο ὥσπερ σημαίᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτῳ ἔλεγον στρατηγεῖσθαι, οἱ τῷ πολεμίῳ μᾶλλον τοῦ

a few years later, in the context of their rivalry with John Apokaukos (1345), a few Zealots holding candles forcibly rebaptized in vats placed in the city avenues some of their opponents who belonged to the lower social stratum, arguing that the latter had lost the chrism of baptism due to their support of Kantakouzenos. They also forced those who were passing by to pay a fixed amount of money for the ritual. If they declined to pay, they were considered to be supporters of their rival and had to undergo the same treatment.[45]

The confrontations with Kantakouzenos' followers certainly had some religious overtones since the latter were staunch supporters of Hesychast theology, which introduced into official Orthodox doctrine monastic methods of achieving communion with God through inner quietude. The Zealots' opposition to Hesychasm was very strong and most likely a result of their political rivalry with Kantakouzenos. The faction forbade Gregory Palamas, the leading theologian in the Hesychast movement, to enter the city after his appointment to the metropolitan see of Thessaloniki (1347).[46] However, the extensive use of religious symbols and rituals in the entirely political context of a civic confrontation mainly served to juxtapose on a symbolic level the "political orthodoxy" of the Zealots with the "heterodoxy" of their adversaries. Furthermore, the uses of religious rituals and symbols as political tools strengthened

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σταυροῦ ἀγόμενοι. καὶ εἴ τις πρός τινα ἔκ τινων ἰδίων ἐγκλημάτων διεφέρετο, τὸν σταυρὸν ἁρπάζων, ἐχώρει κατὰ τῆς οἰκίας, ὡς δὴ τοῦ σταυροῦ κελεύοντος.

[45] Ibid., II, 570,21 – 571,4: …ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀγυιὰς, δεξαμενάς τινας ὕδατος πληροῦντες, εἶτα καὶ ὑφάπτοντες κηροὺς, τινὰς τῶν τὰ Καντακουζηνοῦ ᾐρῆσθαι δοκούντων βασιλέως συλλαμβάνοντες, ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, ἀνεβάπτιζον ὡς ἀπομοσαμένους τὸ βάπτισμα διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κοινωνίαν· τούς τε παριόντας ἐκέλευον ἀργύριον ῥητὸν κατατίθεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν. καὶ ἦν ἀνάγκη πράττειν κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνων κέλευσμα, ἢ ὑποπτεύεσθαι αὐτίκα ἦν, ὡς τὰ Καντακουζηνοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ᾐρημένον καὶ ἀχθόμενον πρὸς τὴν ἐρεσχελίαν.

[46] Ibid., III, 104,5 – 105,22. Kantakouzenos, III, 104,15-17 mentions that both of the city governors stated that they did not recognize his own imperial authority and thus refused to accept Gregory Palamas' appointment. Meyendorff 1964: 89-93 has also noted that the Zealots' anti-Palamism was merely a result of their anti-Kantakouzenism. On the context of the rivalry between Gregory Palamas and the Zealots see Rigo 2014 with references to the earlier literature. On Hesychasm see in general Meyendorff 1964; idem 1974.

the bonds between the members of the faction, creating the necessary solidarity and sense of belonging to the same community. Through this ritualization of the civic conflict the Zealots performed and stressed their own identity, declared their superior political "orthodoxy" in sharp contrast to the inferior "heterodoxy" of their enemies and claimed a dominant role in the life of the city. The forced rebaptisms in particular were not only an act of public purification of Kantakouzenos' supporters but also a declaration of the Zealots' exclusive right to use the purifying power of the water to convert their opponents politically. The choice of the city's central avenues as the sites for these rebaptisms and the obligation of the passers-by to pay a certain amount of money also had strong political connotations. Through these acts the faction transformed the arterial streets of Thessaloniki[47] that regulated the movements of people and products into "sites of power" under its own total control.

The ritualization of violence also aimed at terrorizing the Zealots' opponents, thus becoming a powerful instrument of social control. In 1343 Turkish troops under the leadership of Umur, emir of the beylik of Aydin, who had allied himself with Kantakouzenos, blocked Thessaloniki and cut off all land communications with its hinterland. Umur sent an embassy to the city to demand its surrender; in return he promised to release all the men that had been captured by his troops. The Zealots, fearing that Kantakouzenos' followers inside the city would seize the opportunity to persuade the people to accept the proposal, decided to terrorize their rivals with cruel acts and murders.[48] According to Kantakouzenos' account, they arrested a certain Palaiologos, a member of the aristocracy, in his own house – a man they suspected of supporting their rivals, although in fact he had given no grounds for such suspicions. They executed him in the public agora and then quartered him; placing each of the pieces of the corpse over the city gates while the head was put on a spike and

[47] 14th-century Thessaloniki had retained some basic features of its Late Roman Hippodamean street plan, although many residential neighborhoods had been transformed into labyrinthine urban insulae. The main avenues of the late Byzantine city followed the course of the modern streets of Aghiou Demetriou, Egnatia and Venizelou. On the street plan of the city see Bakirtzis 2003: 42-43 and fig. 4.

[48] Kantakouzenos, II, 393,7-17.

displayed in the streets. The Zealots also arrested a member of the middle class named Gavalas. The prisoner had his nose and ears cut off and his body mutilated before being executed. Several others were expelled from the city after also having their noses and ears cut off.[49]

The symbolic meanings of these punishments were primarily associated with the Zealots' intention to establish their own control over the city's urban space and social body. The execution of the aristocrat took place in the public agora, a significant urban political locus. Its site has been identified with the Roman market south of the basilica of Saint Demetrios. In the late Byzantine period the area consisted merely of an open square with no buildings or commercial activities taking place there. It had a purely political character as a meeting-place for the Thessalonians but also as a site of executions and public humiliations.[50] During the period of Zealot rule the agora was a contested public space since both rival factions claimed their dominant role in the city's political life by performing their own rites of violence there. In the context of the events following the assassination of Michael Palaiologos a part of the demos that apparently supported the anti-Zealot faction, after murdering some rivals who had sought refuge in the Acheiropoietos basilica, dragged a Zealot into the agora, where he was lamed and stoned to death.[51]

The display of the pieces of the aristocrat's corpse over the city gates was a strong ritual performance of the Zealots' dominance over Thessaloniki. The gates were sites of great political significance since they linked the city with the outside world by controlling the flow of humans

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[49] Ibid., II, 393,17 – 394,5: καὶ Παλαιολόγον τέ τινα ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, οἴκοι σχολάζοντα διὰ τὸ ὑποπτεύεσθαι καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν παρεσχημένον, ἐξαρπάσαντες ἀπέσφαξαν ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας ἀγορᾶς, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ σῶμα διελόντες τετραχῆ, τὰ μὲν τμήματα ἐν ταῖς πόλεως πύλαις ἀπηώρησαν ἑκάστῃ τμῆμα· τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ δόρατι ἐνθέμενοι καὶ τὰ ἔγκατα σύροντες ἀνηλεῶς περιῄεσαν τὴν πόλιν. Γαβαλᾶν δέ τινα ἐκ τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν τὰ ὦτα πρότερον ἐκτεμόντες καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέλη διαλωβησάμενοι, ἔπειτα ἀπέκτειναν. ἑτέρων δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγων τοιούτων ῥῖνας καὶ ὦτα ἐκτεμόντες, ἔπειτα κατεδίκασαν ἀειφυγίαν, καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας, ἐξήλαυνον τῆς πόλεως.

[50] Bakirtzis 2003: 57 with references to the earlier literature.

[51] Kantakouzenos, II, 571,8-15.

and products entering or exiting the urban space. In his case study of ancient Rome's spatial practices, Lefebvre has already observed that the roads allowed the city to assert its political centrality at the core of its subject territories.[52] In the case of Thessaloniki, in the specific political context of the period when the city had been cut off from its hinterland by Umur's troops, the display over the gates of their rival's dismembered corpse was a clear statement of the Zealots' intention to restore the ties between Thessaloniki and its rural surroundings. In other words, it was a violent rite addressed not only to an audience inside the urban space but also to outsiders that threatened the city as a political entity.

The punishment imposed on Gavalas, who belonged to the middle class, before his eventual execution, also had strong political connotations. The severing of noses and ears, along with blinding, was often used in the Byzantine world as a penalty for usurpers. In this way the punished person was considered disabled and unfit to exercise supreme political power by rising to the imperial throne. Thus at first the symbolic meaning of Gavalas' mutilation was clearly associated with the Zealots' intention to present the members of the middle class as being unsuitable for ruling the city on their own. On a broader perspective, the material exercise of power through the torture and mutilation of the bodies of individuals belonging both to the aristocracy and the middle class had a powerful political function. On a symbolical level, through the productive force of ritualized violence, they metaphorically represented a civic social body under the Zealots' total control.

Another imaginative rite of violence took place in the city in the summer of 1342. At that time Alexios Apokaukos had arrived in Thessaloniki representing the regency with seventy warships in a demonstration of military strength aimed at Kantakouzenos' troops in Macedonia.[53] In July a Serbian shepherd named Tzimpanos captured two members of aristocratic families, the *protosebastos* Constantine Palaiologos and Arsenios Tzamplakon, on their way back from Serbia where they had negotiated an alliance with Stefan Dušan on Kantakouzenos' behalf. Tzimpanos delivered them to Apokaukos and received as a re-

[52] Lefebvre 1991: 245.

[53] Kantakouzenos, II, 243,12-18.

ward numerous city properties that had previously belonged to Tzamplakon.[54] At first Apokaukos personally treated the prisoners with cruelty and then ordered Palaiologos to be imprisoned while Tzamplakon was handed over to the captains of his ships to be publicly humiliated by their sailors. The captive was forced to climb aboard the deck of a ship in the harbor while the whole city was gathered in the docks to attend the ritual punishment. Tzamplakon was dressed in monastic clothes while his tormentors had also put a Turkish hat on his head and forced him to hold two candles in his hands. The sailors started to kick him from behind; then they came in front of him and kissed him, shouting loudly: "Behold Kantakouzenos' patriarch!". Once this humiliating public performance was over, the captive was sent back to prison.[55]

The peculiar ritualized public humiliation of Tzamblakon had been organized by Apokaukos' navy officers but it took place in the harbor where the Zealots' faction had its base. The whole event had a theatrical character. It was carefully directed on a seaside stage with all the participants playing distinct roles, while the humiliated protagonist even wore a costume. Moreover, it was addressed to an audience familiar with the symbolic language of similar religious rituals. Publicly performed rituals and ceremonies formed an essential part of Byzantine political and religious life. They were fundamental components both of court life – which itself was perceived as a paradigm for the rest of society and the "barbarian" world – and of the broader Byzantine conception of the world.

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[54] Kantakouzenos, II, 256,4-20.

[55] Ibid., II, 256,20 – 257,9: εἰς τοὺς δεσμώτας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ πολλὰ ἐνυβρίσας καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιδειξάμενος πικρίαν, πρωτοσεβαστὸν μὲν ἐκέλευεν εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἀπάγειν, Τζαμπλάκωνα δὲ τοῖς τριηράρχαις παρεδίδου, ὡς ἅμα τοῖς ναύταις ἀτάκτως ἐνυβρίσουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ μίαν τῶν τριηρέων ἀναγαγόντες, καὶ τοῦ δήμου σχεδὸν τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων παντὸς παρόντος, τὰ μοναχῶν, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν, ἠμφιεσμένον, ἐπέθηκαν τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλόν τι, ὃ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ δημώδεσι τῶν Περσῶν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φορεῖν ἔθος, λαμπάδας τε ἡμμένας ἀμφοτέραις κατέχειν ἀναγκάζοντες ταῖς χερσὶν, ὄπισθεν μὲν ἐλάκτιζον ἐπὶ τὸν πρωκτόν· εἶτα παριόντες, ἔμπροσθεν ἠσπάζοντο, „οὗτος" ἐπιβοῶντες „ὁ πατριάρχης Καντακουζηνοῦ." μετὰ δὲ τὴν πολλὴν ἐκείνην ἐρεσχελίαν καὶ τὸν θρίαμβον τὸν ἄτιμον, ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἀπάγειν.

The primary aim of this theatrical performance was to ridicule the rival and provoke laughter in the audience. On a symbolical level the whole event was a parody of the admission of a patriarch or any ecclesiastical official into the city. Through an elaborate theatrical language that could be easily understood by the civic audience Kantakouzenos' rivals declared their sovereignty over Thessaloniki by clearly stating that the ecclesiastical authorities had to be approved by them in order to be legitimate.

The spatial dimensions of this theatrical performance were equally important. The harbor area was intended to represent the main entrance to the city that linked the urban space with overseas territories. It was also perceived through the presence of the fleet as a nodal meeting-point of sea routes, a space not only of economic but mainly of political value whose control enabled those in power to regulate the relations between the city and its broader hinterland. Moreover, in a way similar to the aforementioned symbolic use of the city gates, the theatrical parody of the admission of a patriarch approaching from the sea was ultimately a performance that was just as much addressed to political enemies outside the city that threatened to sever its ties with the rest of the world.

The massacre of John Apokaukos and many of his supporters in 1346 was also invested with strong symbolic meanings. The prisoners were led naked onto the city walls where Apokaukos was executed first. He was thrown off the walls but initially survived; some time later, however, a Zealot finished him off by cutting off his head with a sword while others kept striking his body even after his death. His followers were executed in the same way, being thrown off the walls at several different points while the Zealots shouted loudly that the executions were taking place in their name.[56] Then the heads of some of the dead prisoners were

[56] Ibid., II, 580,18 – 581,3: οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον τοὺς δεσμώτας ἄγειν καὶ κατακρημνίζειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ δεσμῶται ἤγοντο γυμνοί. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπόκαυκος κατεκρημνίσθη· οὕτω δὲ συμβὰν ὀρθὸς ἔστη καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπιπολὺ, μηδενὸς προσάπτεσθαι τολμῶντος. ἔπειτά τις προσελθὼν τῶν Ζηλωτῶν, καὶ μαλακίαν τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορήσας, ἀπέτεμεν αὐτὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν μαχαίρᾳ. εἶτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι περιστάντες κατέτρωσαν τὸ σῶμα ὅλον. ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐῤῥίπτουν ἀπὸ τῶν

placed on spikes and displayed in the main streets to terrorize those who had similar political views.[57]

The execution of the prisoners by throwing them off the city walls at different points as the Zealots shouted their own name symbolized both the latter's absolute control over the material and symbolic borders of the urban space defined by the walls that enclosed it[58] and the expulsion of the rival faction from the city, which in this context was perceived as a merely political entity. The display of their opponents' heads was a powerful performance that symbolized their dominance over the now utterly lifeless bodies of their defeated enemies. Taking place in the main streets as it did, this rite of violence was another way for the Zealots both to declare their total control over the arteries that regulated movement inside the city and to effectively exercise politics of terror that aimed to produce a disciplined civic body.

During the eight years of their political action the Zealots systematically shaped a new topography of power in late Byzantine Thessaloniki. They made extensive use of political violence in order to construct a network of "sites of power" through which they performed their own powerful position in the civic life of the city. The harbor was at the center of this urban network, being both the faction's base and a space of political centrality since it controlled the city's main communications with the rest of the world. The arterial streets leading to the main city gates were the most important components of this power network. They regulated the movements of humans and products inside the urban fabric and between the city and its environs, also serving as channels for the broader diffusion of political discourses and practices. Unlike the harbor, where the Zealots were completely dominant, these streets were contested spaces whose control was continuously claimed by the faction through the exercise of physical violence and the imaginative political use of religious rituals. The public agora, an

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τειχῶν, ἀπαιτούντων ὀνομαστὶ τῶν Ζηλωτῶν, οὐκ ἐφ' ἕνα τόπον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλείους.

[57] Gregoras, II, 741,3-5:…ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς τῆς πόλεως πλατείας περιενεγκεῖν ἀπηνῶς τὰς δυστυχεῖς αὐτῶν κεφαλὰς, εἰς ἔκπληξιν τῶν ὅμοια βουλευομένων.

[58] On the significance of the city walls as symbolic borders between an "inside" and an "outside" world see Bakirtzis 2012: 157-158.

open space where the city's inhabitants probably gathered for public assemblies, was also a contested political space since both of the rival factions performed their own rites of violence there in order to metaphorically declare their dominance over the whole city. Finally, the walls – the material and symbolic borderlines of the urban space – were invested with a strong political meaning during the events that led up to the execution of the Zealots' opponents in 1346. Through the Zealots' politics, this new political topography, which included vital parts of the urban space, contrasted with the traditional center of power, the acropolis, where Kantakouzenos' supporters had their base. This radical transformation eventually made the city itself the principal seat of power, a space whose control also expressed the status and the might of the prevailing faction.

One of the most important consequences of this new political context with its specific spatial dimensions was the shaping of new rival civic identities. The Zealots systematically performed their own civic identity through political activities and rituals that contrasted their "political orthodoxy" with the "heterodoxy" of their opponents. Their main goal was to display a model of "right" political conduct according to which the affairs of the city had to be managed by a local civic body and its own institutions without much intervention from the imperial government and its agents. They tried to shape and reinforce, through institutional changes, the extensive use of political violence and the powerful symbolic language of diligent performative acts, the cohesion of a new civic community which was to accomplish this goal. They eventually attempted to impose their own political identity not only as the dominant one but more importantly as the only acceptable one in the civic context. On the other hand, the rival faction is presented by the sources as acting in a traditional way, aiming mainly to restore an alleged harmony and order that characterized the previous state of affairs. However, with their final victory the supporters of the imperial government managed to put a definitive end to the Zealots' efforts to create a new civic community with a political culture related to the functions of a city-state almost independent from any external authority.

3. Some Thoughts on the Zealots' identity.

Who were the Zealots and how was their faction organized? Did they have a political program of their own or did they simply seize the opportunity to gain profit for themselves within the context of a dynastic rivalry? According to Kantakouzenos' account, which has been thoroughly analyzed above, the core of the faction consisted of people who dwelt in the harbor district and were engaged in activities relating to the sea. However, the Zealots were not followed by the whole of the *demos*, the lower social strata of the city, since on at least three occasions Kantakouzenos either narrates conflicts between the two groups or clearly distinguishes their political stances.[59] An important reference to the origin of the Zealots is provided by Philotheos Kokkinos, author of the life of the local Saint Sabbas the New. Philotheos notes that these men did not belong to the council or the aristocracy nor to the middle class but were rather a mob of foreign migrants from remote Byzantine territories and the islands of the Cyclades.[60] They blindly and slavishly followed one or two demagogues whose main purpose was to harm the city and the Church.[61]

This passage provides valuable assistance in enabling us to understand the social conditions prevailing in the harbor district during the Zealots' revolt. Apparently, a great number of migrants from the Cyclades, which were under Venetian control, and also from other parts of the Byzantine state had arrived in the city probably seeking work on the ships or in the port warehouses. The relatively thriving economic life of the harbor could explain the arrival of such a migratory wave. These men could easily have been recruited by the Zealots in order to increase both their manpower and their impact on the city's proletariat.

Apart from members of the lower social strata who were connected

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[59] Kantakouzenos, II, 570,24, 571,8-9, III, 109,12-13.

[60] Vita Sabbae, &3, 31-36: ἢ τἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ τῆς βουλῆς ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων, οὐδέ γε τῆς δευτέρας καὶ μέσης, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, μοίρας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ συρφετώδους ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τούτων οὐχ ἡμεδαπῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπηλύδων τινῶν βαρβάρων ἔκ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐσχατιῶν καὶ τῶν κύκλωθεν νήσων ὑπ' ἀνάγκης φυγάδων αὐτόθι συνελαθέντων.

[61] Ibid., & 3, 37-46.

with the life of the harbor, a small section of the local aristocracy led the Zealots during most of the period of their political action. Their known leaders came from the aristocratic family of the Palaiologoi, although their exact relationship with the ruling dynasty remains unknown. They probably had close ties with the seaside quarter where Andreas Palaiologos had his residence.[62] Considering the commercial activities that characterized the harbor district, the ties between the Palaiologoi and this urban area could be explained by their economic involvement in maritime activities. During this period aristocratic families began to invest their capital not only in imperial offices and land, just as they had traditionally done, but also in commercial and shipping enterprises related to long-distance trade.[63] In this respect, personal and business relations between the Palaiologoi and dockworkers, sailors, craftsmen or migrants living and working in the port could explain the mechanisms used by the Zealots to recruit supporters.

The Zealots, however, were not just a group of people used by a branch of the local aristocracy who sought to achieve its own political goals. They came to the political fore suddenly in 1342, initially as supporters of the Palaiologoi in the civil war but soon went on to formulate their own distinct political agenda focused on the local civic life. They continued their political action after the resolution of the dynastic struggle in 1347 and even after Andreas Palaiologos had departed for Serbia. In his narration of the events immediately after John Apokaukos' temporary victory, Kantakouzenos briefly mentions that the Zealots' most distinguished members were imprisoned in Platamon and other small

[62] Kantakouzenos, III, 109,12.

[63] On the commercial enterprises of late Byzantine aristocracy see Oikonomidès 1979: 119-123, 126-128; Laiou 1980: 199-202, 221-222; Matschke and Tinnefeld 2001: 158-220; Matschke 2002: 803-805. According to the aforementioned literature territorial losses and the impact of Italian maritime activities caused the economic reorientation of the Byzantine elite during the second half of the 14th century. Recently Jacoby 2015: 84-85 has convincingly argued that aristocratic families had already in the late 12th century started investing in trade and shipping. On the activities of the aristocracy in Thessaloniki with an emphasis on the late 14th and early 15th centuries see Necipoğlu 2003; eadem 2009: 57-64.

towns, while the mob was evicted from the city.[64] His reference to the fate of the remaining Zealots when Thessaloniki was eventually reintegrated into the Byzantine state also implies that the faction was not organized through clientelism but had structured internal hierarchies. Kantakouzenos again distinguishes the most prominent members of the faction who were sent to prison in Constantinople from the rest who were expelled from the city.[65] It seems that the Zealots were organized as a party with a distinct internal hierarchy which continued to function even after the departure of its last aristocratic leader.

The Zealots were probably not interested in the redistribution of wealth or in taking other measures in favor of the socially and economically weak since there are no such references in the sources.[66] However, they did have a program of political reform. Their main aim was to seize power in the city by eliminating their rivals and actively participating in the government of Thessaloniki through the establishment of novel local institutions that resembled those of a semi-independent city-state. They made diligent use of pre-existing religious and family conflicts in order to expand their influence and to define the political borders separating them from their enemies. Through their political activities they transformed the urban space by making the city itself a site of power par excellence. They eventually formed a political party whose main goals were domination of the city and the redefinition of Thessaloniki's relations with the imperial center.

The Zealots' revolt is an illustrative example of the radical politics to which the rise of the cities during the late Byzantine era could lead. The economic and social changes associated with the growth in the maritime trade under the control of Venice and Genoa and the progressive

[64] Ibid., II, 571, 18-21: καὶ τῶν Ζηλωτῶν, ὅσοι μὲν ἐν λόγῳ ἦσαν, κατέκλεισεν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ, πρὸς Πλαταμῶνα πέμψας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολίχνας, ὅσαι ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἐτέλουν· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον συρφετὸν ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως.

[65] Ibid., III, 117, 23-25: καὶ ἐκέλευε συλλαμβάνεσθαι τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν λόγῳ, οὓς καὶ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἤγαγεν ἐπανελθών. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευεν ἐξωθεῖσθαι·

[66] On the other hand, John Apokaukos is mentioned as having imposed taxes on the rich when he was the sole governor of the city. See ibid., II, 572,3-4.

decline of the imperial authority led to a broader decentralization of political power in the late Byzantine world. Several urban centers acquired a certain degree of autonomy while contemporary political thinking often emphasized the importance of the city as a predominantly political space.[67] Kantakouzenos himself observes that eventually the new regime, in which supreme power was exercised by the two co-governors, rendered Thessaloniki autonomous from the imperial power.[68] The Zealots' politics addressed issues of self-government in a civic context and successfully attempted to transform the urban space into a political field where their party claimed sovereignty by violent means. They eventually invented their own way of acting in Thessaloniki during the 1340's, when the city gradually alienated itself from the Byzantine state and began to evolve into an almost autonomous city-state.

[67] On the rise of the cities and its political and intellectual dimensions see: Maksimović 1988: 248-267; Zachariadou 1989; Kioussopoulou 2013: 111-121; Shawcross 2013.

[68] Kantakouzenos, III, 104,17-18: τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ, ἑαυτοῖς ἰδίᾳ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκης ἀρχὴν περιποιοῦντες.

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"The nobility of the sea and landscape": John Craxton and Greece*

David Wills

John Craxton (1922-2009) was one of the generation of travellers who in the 1950s and 60s, in the aftermath of wartime terrors, rediscovered for the British the joys of living in the Mediterranean. But unlike his friend and long-time correspondent Patrick Leigh Fermor, Craxton's representations of Greece did not reach a mass audience, nor did his artwork attain the celebrity of his sometime housemate Lucian Freud. Nonetheless, Craxton's achievements were recognised by his fellow professionals when he was awarded the title of Royal Academician late in life, and since his death several exhibitions have sought to establish his place in twentieth century art. This article is the first to set his work and writings within the context of the representation of Greece by other British travellers and writers of the same time period. Central to this will be my analysis of John Craxton's own thoughts, taken from his archived letters.[1]

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[1] Unless otherwise referenced, the words of John Craxton in this article are taken from his letters to Joan and Patrick Leigh Fermor: Acc. 13338/32, John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland. These are written in "what my prep school teacher accused me of, witty anglo Craxton", and Craxton did worry that Joan would be "irritated by my spelling mistakes and strange grammar". In addition, his letters are usually undated and lacking in punctuation. For this article, I have largely left these various eccentricities unchanged.

Following an outline of his life, contacts and achievements, centred on his travels and residency in Crete, I will briefly summarise Craxton's current reputation within the art world. I then move to the main purpose of this article, which is the consideration of various themes within his art which comprise his representation of Greece. This will be set within a theoretical context: his vistas of Greek mountains and coasts will be illuminated through reference to Simon Schama's seminal analysis of the cultural construction of landscape, alongside Lencek and Bosker's work about *The Beach*; aspects of Queer history will inform my discussion of Craxton's portraits of local sailors and shepherds; the work on animal-human relations by the anthropologist Garry Marvin provides the starting point for understanding Craxton's representation of goats and cats; and, above all, Craxton's thinking about Greece will be considered in the historical context of British artists and travellers in Greece, their rhetoric of authenticity and primitiveness, and their worries about the changes wrought by modernity.

A long life in brief

Craxton's childhood home in the St John's Wood area of London was often alive with soirees hosted by his professional musician parents. Like his later friend Patrick Leigh Fermor, he had a rather unconventional school career: he was, says his biographer Ian Collins, "beyond education".[2] Of the series of boarding schools he was packed off to, the most successful from the young Craxton's point of view was what was known then as Betteshanger School in Kent. The unusual educational philosophy of this establishment was that pupils should learn what they wanted: it thus attracted those who were, according to one of the first cohort, "a bit odd".[3] One of the benefits of this freedom were frequent sketching trips to local landmarks such as Betteshanger Colliery, the Mill at Wickhambreaux, and Dover Harbour. When it was determined that the former laundry of Lord Northbourne's great house should be converted into the school chapel, the death of Thomas Becket in Can-

[2] Collins 2011, 25; Worth 2015.

[3] Personal communication from Stephen Sides, May 2014.

terbury Cathedral was chosen as a suitably local Kentish theme for the altar wall. In 1936, Craxton and another pupil's design were "adapted, combined, and painted across the east end [of] the Chapel during the summer term". This was effectively his first art commission. Other activities at school included "a witty and even creative performance" in *Twelfth Night*, as Olivia.[4]

Moving on from the Kentish locations near to his school, the inspiration and subject for Craxton as a teenager came from his stays in rural Dorset and Wales. The resulting works often featured a rather lonely figure, based on himself, dreaming or reading amid a tangled profusion of foliage and trunks, as he admitted himself in a letter to the artist E.Q. Nicholson: "I'm drawing tree roots & farms & melancholy farm hands".[5] Medically tested and rejected for wartime military service, his artistic career was furthered by entering the circle of the collector and critic Peter Watson. Craxton's London contacts thus came to include the poet Stephen Spender, photographer Joan Leigh Fermor, and artists Lucian Freud, Francis Bacon, John Piper, and Graham Sutherland. Joan, a well-known society figure in London, took Craxton with her to nightclubs during the wartime blackout. On a 1946 visit to the Continent, he met Pablo Picasso, and Paul Klee's widow.[6]

Watson felt that Craxton and Freud needed further guidance, and facilitated their formal training at Goldsmiths College of Art. Convinced that artists needed the right conditions in which to work successfully, Watson also generously paid for Craxton to rent a studio in St John's Wood, where he was joined by Freud who took the top floor of the building.[7] The Craxton-Freud partnership was a lively one, surviving their initial joint residencies in Greece, but later descending into acrimony: "Lucian <u>now</u> has two sparrow hawks (alive) in his studio. Local kittens I'm sorry to say are purloined to satisfy [their] cruel cravings".[8] Peter Watson's co-biographers argue that he was closer to Craxton than

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[4] *The Betteshanger Chronicle* 1936, 20-21; 1935, 7.

[5] Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.

[6] Fenwick 2017, 108; Collins 2011, 75.

[7] Clark and Dronfield 2015, chapter 14; Martin 2007, 28.

[8] Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.

he was to Freud, "perhaps because [Craxton] was more genial, less intense", but have concluded that, despite an attraction, there was never a sexual relationship between them.[9] Craxton's large masterpiece which now hangs as part of the Tate collection, an early outing for his later signature theme of goats and shepherds, was dedicated to his patron: *Pastoral for P.W.*

But according to his friend and collector Sir David Attenborough, Craxton "felt imprisoned in this country".[10] In a letter from East Anglia, the young artist wrote that "The willow trees are nice and amazing here but I would prefer an olive tree growing out of a greek ruin".[11] It was Lady Norton, the wife of the British ambassador in Athens, who, having been introduced to Craxton's work through a lunch with Watson, facilitated this long-held dream of travelling to Greece. In May 1946, Craxton arrived in Athens for the first time. As Ioanna Moraiti has recently written,

> He felt as though he was returning home. It was not only the colour and the light of the Greek landscape which charmed him, but the temperament of the people suited his own philosophy of life. He could live on very little money, mix with simple people, enjoy moments of everyday life and set down a record of these in his works.[12]

From the temple at Sounion, he dashed off a postcard: "I'm off again in a day to an island where lemons grow & oranges melt in the mouth & goats snatch the last fig leaves off small trees".[13] On a recommendation from Patrick Leigh Fermor, Lady Norton sent Craxton off to the island of Poros, which remains, as Fani-Maria Tsigakou has pointed out, "a spot that suited both the traveler's demands and the artist's sketchbook".[14] There was an attractive and busy main harbour, peaceful coves just a short distance away, and attractively wooded hills, all in a compact

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9 Clark and Dronfield 2015, chapters 14-15.
10 Worth 2015.
11 Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.
12 Arapoglou 2017, 38.
13 Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.
14 Tsigakou 1991, 94.

island located in comfortable proximity to Greece's capital city. Here, the goats begin to appear regularly in his paintings, along with beach scenes. Furthermore, as Ioanna Moraiti notes, "Craxton stopped depicting himself in imaginary compositions and began to produce actual portraits of the local people".[15]

When George Millar and his new wife Isabel sailed their ketch, *Truant*, from England to Greece in 1946, Craxton, together with Lucian Freud, appeared integral to the local colour of Poros:

> We saw a lanky youth in a faded blue shirt, khaki drill trousers touched here and there with oil paint, Athenian sandals worn over white socks with yellow stripes. Brown hair grew on his small face like bushes that seek to encroach on and smother a herb garden, and this effect was underlined by a wispy moustache growing outwards from the division of his upper lip, as though the besiegers had managed to land a feeble air force.[16]

The sandals and facial hair suggest that Craxton had swiftly determined to go native, as he was indeed to confess in 1949: "I'm becoming rapidly Greek in my behaviour".[17] Treating the impecunious artists to dinner at a local restaurant, the Millars found further evidence of this.

> The sweet that they insisted I *must* eat, a small cake covered with ultra-white, powdery sugar, had so revolting a taste and so powerful a reek of rancid goat's milk that I only managed to swallow it out of politeness to Craxton and Freud, who had wolfed theirs with every appearance of great hunger and enjoyment.[18]

Leaving Freud behind in Poros, Craxton wanted to explore more of Greece. Whilst travelling in a small boat from Athens to the Dodecanese, he recorded the warmth of his reception: "I like being in Greece because here if I say I'm a painter people say 'fine thing' instead of that

[15] Arapoglou 2017, 40.
[16] Millar 1948, 356.
[17] Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.
[18] Millar 1948, 358, original emphasis.

suspicious look that one gets most times."[19] He was also welcomed to Hydra, the next island to Poros, as a guest of the Greek painter Nicos Ghika. Whilst Ghika proved to be an important influence on his art, Craxton's experience of Hydra was ultimately tainted by disappointment and disaster. A family inheritance, Ghika's house was a crumbling eighteenth century mansion which he had been restoring since the 1930s. However, it was later destroyed by fire, and Craxton returned in 1961 as Ghika's official representative to view the blackened wreck.[20] The main suspect, a local man Foti, blamed faulty electrics whilst he was making coffee in the vacant house: "he woke up & his hair was alight his bed falling through the floor". Craxton himself, having examined the burnt evidence, had his own theory: a lighted cigarette dropped on a mattress after a night of heavy drinking. Craxton was generally disillusioned with Hydriot attitudes, and had to refresh himself through a return to more unspoiled locales:

> after two days in Poros I was able to reafirm my love for Greek people (what is it one loves is it the wonderful human warmth?) aliveness? excess of generosity? anyway if I can't put this feeling into exact words I can only say that these feelings are lacking in Hydra. I felt that I was going mad. Those grudging good evenings those bloody children throwing stones & kicking ladies that don't fork out, those girls who try & let their rooms for the same price as a room in Athens that has a shower etc.

Hydra was stifling of his artistic output too. He contrasted the inspiration provided by his later home of Crete with what he had left behind: "Its a painters island in that it has so many pictorial ideas & it inspires me to invent – Hydra nags me with its purity & great beauty I feel under pressure to conform to its rules & of course to on guard against seeing it as Nico paints it."

Renting (and later buying) a house overlooking the western Cretan harbour of Chania, Craxton had finally found his Arcadia, "that timeless air that gives me a chance to breath & the imagination to work." Crete

[19] Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.

[20] Arapoglou 2017, 51-2 and 74.

was the location for almost all of the portraits and landscapes that he subsequently produced during the rest of his long working life. Chania was a *real* place – "a town that has a raison d'etre" – and the contrast with Hydra was obvious: "its wonderful not to have those endless acres of petty bourgeois ice cream eaters looking bored all along the sea front – instead little dives for fishermen with – snails, prawns – kelftedes etc." Craxton's view of Crete was part of a pattern of desire found in other travellers: *more* authentic, *more* rugged, *even closer* than the rest of Greece to the edge of Europe. He blended in, taking to the mountains on an early visit when he was still based in Poros:

> the Embassy sent telegrams to Crete to find me dead or alive since I said I would be gone a few days & I was away three weeks all the police of Crete were ordered to find me, of course I didn't help them much as I dressed as a Cretan with a hankerchief round my head & a turned up moustache!![21]

Craxton maintained that he adopted a strict working routine: despite the tempting attractions, he did not take a break until lunchtime. "The cool breeze of the sea always seems to waft into my room what a blessed climate! Midday I can whiz around the point to the beach, put on my mask & enter the aquarium of the sea peering at the fish." The evenings seem to have fallen into the perfect pattern too: "They had a bouzouki player & singer in the restaurant underneath me, the singer's voice sounds like a sheep with a noose round its neck. The tourists clap politely after each song & go home to bed at 10.30 which suits me." However, elsewhere in his extant letters he confessed that his working regime frequently fell victim to the perfectionism which also afflicted his correspondent Patrick Leigh Fermor, who had become notorious with his publisher for his endless corrections to his allegedly finished travel books: "I've spent months on a painting changing, altering, repainting determined to trap an image that I want so I'm extra grateful to be reminded of how you work, it gives me encouragement, and some sort of hope." Living in Greece with a sense of permanency helped his

[21] Last quote in paragraph only: Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80. Otherwise: Acc. 13338/32, John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland.

state of mind too: "the wonderful calm everywhere & the nobility of the sea and landscape make me wonder if it was really me that bites his nails in traffic jams and breaths in all that dust & filth of London." It hardly seems surprising that Craxton was always drawn back to Greece: "I can't tell you how delicious this country is & the lovely hot sun all day and at night Taverna's hot prawns in olive oil & greek wine & the soft sweet smell of greek pine trees. I shall never come home. How can I?"[22]

But living in Crete was not without difficulties. Throughout his life Craxton chose to avoid political comment or campaigns. Uniformed military personnel were frequently the subjects of his work – a series of paintings of soldiers and sailors was produced in the 1980s, for example – but the only conflict which actually made it onto canvas was Bosnia in the 1990s. During the early 1970s, under the dictatorship of the Colonels (1967-74), Craxton continued to produce his trademark studies of animals, local people and dramatic landscapes, but these were in Africa and the Canary Islands, not Greece. He had been forced into exile, not returning until 1977.[23] He was distressed to find that he had come under Greek suspicion: "perfectly innocent acts were charged with ulterior motives". These included an earlier application to visit the naval base at Suda to supervise the casting of a shield he had designed for the ship Laskos. To Joan he explained that this suggested to the Greek secret service that he was an enemy agent: "I've written a full explanation & though I'm just a small bit flattered at being thought intelligent enough I have a mounting anger at the incredible provincial gullerbility of any serious person suspecting me especially in the evidence to hand." He subsequently had interviews with military officials who turn out to be very affable, though initially appear intimidating: "he looked at me with very searching eyes through his thick glasses – so I'm pleased to see he found me fairly alright as a person." Beforehand though, he admitted to being "shit scared".

Craxton would occasionally experience professional traumas too, feeling that his work had been misrepresented or that he could not fulfil

[22] Last quote in paragraph only: Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80. Otherwise: Acc. 13338/32, John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland.

[23] Collins 2011, 132, 143, 148, 158.

what was required of him. Reaching his widest audience through his covers for the books of Patrick Leigh Fermor, he became enraged when these were not treated with due respect by the publishing house. With changes having been made to the colours of his design for *In Tearing Haste*, a 2008 book of Leigh Fermor's letters, this became "in reality a travesty of what I had in mind". He was least certain of himself when depicting countries he had no first-hand experience of: "my imagination only really works from experience". In an evident reference to the work of the Belgian cartoonist Hergé, he self-critiques his draft illustration for *Three Letters from the Andes* (1991) with the comment that "the llama is a bit too tintin"!

Becoming a well-known figure around Chania town, Craxton found himself distracted by tasks other than painting. Literary projects included corrections to the English edition of the programme for a Battle of Crete commemoration, for which he insisted on the spelling *Xania* – "Hania or Chania is so absurd". In the 1990s, he even served for a time as a British consular representative, meaning that he was "defender of British tourists in trouble – visiting police stations, courts and prisons when his busy social diary allowed and lending money to travellers in distress if he had some at the time".[24] A chance meeting on the waterfront with British photographer John Donat in November 1960, just six months after Craxton had himself arrived, led to a joint project to record the ancient icons and frescoes to be found in isolated churches and monasteries, which were vulnerable to theft and decay.[25] This was an early manifestation of Craxton's fears that modernity would encroach even onto this most traditional Greek island. During that same decade, he helped the film director Michael Cacoyannis find locations for *Zorba the Greek*, and offered tips to a visiting amateur artist – the actor Anthony Quinn. The filming led to an ongoing deluge of tourists, for which Craxton shouldered some blame. This is reflected in his design for a greetings card showing a pair of middle-aged tourists – bespectacled, backpacked, bum-bagged – and bemused by the exotic local delicacies

[24] Arapoglou 2017, 182.

[25] Vassilaki 2014.

offered on a board advertising a restaurant named *Zorba's*.[26] He was, in short, forced to recognise change, but was determined to make the best of it. On the occasions that he ventured back into the mountains, his biographer has found, "he was greeted like an old friend and treated to the old hospitality".[27]

As was inevitable for someone long-lived, the passage of time brought great personal change. Friends died, including the well-known local tour guide Tony Fennymore: "Tony was a GOLDEN MAN, a life enhancer. I'm not looking forward to Chania without his great company."[28] In his later years, Craxton resembled, according to the first meeting experienced by his biographer, "an elderly Cretan chieftain, who even sported a shepherd's stick and a woven rucksack".[29] Craxton acknowledged the support offered in this phase of his life by his partner Richard Riley: "Richard needs a break as he toils on my behalf, a guardian angel, so rare these days." His relationship with both Joan and Paddy Leigh Fermor remained warm until their deaths, in 2003 and 2011 respectively, and is expressed in the liveliness of his many surviving letters. In one, he sends her a recipe for a type of wax polish. In another, he asks Paddy if he can borrow £50 as he needs to get the roof fixed. Commiserating with the Leigh Fermors over a customs hold-up they had suffered at Brindisi gives him the opportunity to point out that "I have lots of clothes of paddys so you know where he can find them if he needs them." Travel writer Tim Salmon, who first met Craxton in the early 1960s, recalls "a wonderful story-teller and a man of great charm".[30] On a postcard with an illustration of an octopus, survives a typical example of Craxtonian humour: praising Greece as "very very unspoilt still", he adds: "you really get your squids worth".[31] In Scotland, some dignitaries at a reception held for an exhibition of his work

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[26] Illustrated in Collins, 2011, 171.

[27] Collins 2011, 171-2.

[28] Letter of condolence from John Craxton, accessed on 24/5/17 at *Fenny's Crete* website, http://www.fennyscrete.com/emailTributes.php

[29] Collins 2011, 7.

[30] Salmon 2010, 10.

[31] Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.

simply didn't know what to make of him: "I was happy on vodka & some puns were not what they expected – one Scottish wife asked me what the colors of my latest painting were going to be I told her pink & green (the truth) ack Mr Craxton you shudna joke with me".

Full-scale retrospectives of John Craxton's work have only really come after his death: at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge in 2013-14, the Dorchester and Salisbury museums in 2015, and most recently the 2017-18 exhibition which toured Nicosia and Athens before arriving at the British Museum, London.[32] David Attenborough has correctly noted that Craxton's earlier works set in England had been sombre, but that in Greece "his landscapes become positively joyous".[33] It was this very joyousness that, Ian Collins argues, caused Craxton's early promise alongside Freud to be then followed by a descent into relative obscurity: "Sour critics who found his mature work too sunny, decorative, playful and altogether too gay hinted at the envy of people left off the guest list for a life-long party."[34]

Authenticity and primitiveness in Crete

Writing in 1992, John Craxton's friend and correspondent Paddy – formerly, Major Patrick Leigh Fermor – set out the reasons for the close bond he felt with an island people he had fought alongside in a clandestine war against Nazi occupation: "the emotions of gratitude, brotherhood-in-arms and unity of purpose played a part, and the Cretans' instincts of hospitality and their kindness".[35] John Lodwick, who as a Captain in the Special Boat Service carried out raids on a number of islands as a seaborne equivalent of Paddy's Special Operations Executive, wrote with similar warmth: "I think that there was none of us who did not love those Cretans."[36]

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[32] Fitzwilliam Museum 2013; Collins 2015; Worth 2015; Arapoglou 2017.
[33] Collins 2011, 9.
[34] *John Craxton* 2011, 4
[35] Kokonas 2004, 18.
[36] Lodwick 1947, 126

British military officers such as Leigh Fermor and Lodwick had first-hand experience to support their view of the heroic simplicity and honesty of the Cretans and their rural lifestyle. But, as the anthropologist Seán Damer has shown, the nature of those from the mountainous Sphakia region, to the south of Craxton's urban Chania, had been scripted as backward and freedom-loving as far back as the mid-nineteenth century. It has proved enduring and attractive: "this image, this identity, is one that is seized upon with glee by tourists, for the reality of the EEC is that elsewhere in Europe, the 'noble savages' of the mountain peasantry have all but been wiped out by 'economic progress'."[37] An example of this longstanding representation can be found in Henry Miller's oft-cited 1930s travel writing, in which he compares Cretan men to other supposedly "primitive" people: "the Cretans come in garbed in handsome black raiment set off by elegant high boots, of red or white leather oftimes. Next to Hindus and Berbers they are the most handsome, noble, dignified males I have ever seen."[38]

Craxton had therefore not merely chosen a country – Greece – which has regularly been represented by foreign travellers as traditional and authentic; he had chosen the most backward island amongst so many others; and the most primitive region of that island was where he gained artistic inspiration from shepherds and wild places. According to his friend Tim Salmon, "The Greece that he loved was the vernacular Greece of sheepfold and harbour-side, the Greece of the people, who, dirt poor in those days, had only their traditions of heroic virtue to live by: physical courage, loyalty, family honour, the sacred duty of hospitality to guests".[39] Meanwhile, Craxton himself enjoyed the benefits of town living, including the sights of sailors drinking in lively tavernas, so that it was the human wild-life that came to him. As he explained, it proved to be the perfect inspiration for his work: "Crete is a country in its own right & the landscape full of new ideas, forms – shapes and colour. The people of Xania are incredibly kind & helpfull – I feel very happy here." Among the Cretans themselves, there was a perceived division between

[37] Damer 1989, 19.
[38] Miller 1950, 116.
[39] Salmon 2010, 11.

more sophisticated urbanites and the still-primitive countryside, as Michael Herzfeld found in the anonymised village which was the subject of his 1970s fieldwork: "To the townsfolk, the Glendiots and their immediate neighbors are still fearsome mountain people, admired for their preservation of idealized ancient virtues as much as they despised and feared for their supposed violence and lawlessness."[40] This primitiveness could be negative, as Leigh Fermor found to his cost. When embedded in Crete during the Nazi occupation, he inadvertently shot and killed a colleague from the Greek resistance outside their remote hideout. This act demanded vengeance, Leigh Fermor's remorseful apologies being rebuffed. On a post-war visit with Joan, a member of the dead man's family lay in wait for him with a rifle.[41]

Finding ancient parallels or Classical survivals has long been a staple of the literary representation of Greece, and this continued for British travellers and residents of Crete for much of the twentieth century.[42] For example, David MacNeil Doren maintained in the 1970s that a scene of women carrying water on their shoulders was "exactly like those depicted on ancient vase paintings: for life has changed little for the rural people of Crete in the forty-odd centuries since the Minoan civilisation flourished here".[43] It was in Poros that Craxton first came across young Greek men dancing, "one picking up a chair in his teeth & lifting it above his head".[44] Another of Craxton's extant letters (now in the John Murray archive) includes a drawing of a man somersaulting over an overturned chair, to which he has added an annotation: "flk survival". This "folk survival" was a reference to the frescoes of bull-leapers found at Knossos, Crete's most celebrated ancient site, which Craxton had first visited in 1947. Of the musical accompaniment to this dancing, Craxton wrote from Poros of "the lyra a wonderful Cretan instrument as old as apollo".[45] A few of Craxton's works include figures clearly derived from classical

[40] Herzfeld 1985, 8.
[41] Cooper 2012, 259.
[42] Wills 2007.
[43] Doren 1974, 44.
[44] Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.
[45] Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.

sculptures. For example, a *Horse and Rider* of 1962[46] greatly resembles the young men and their mounts from the Parthenon frieze, which had reopened in their purpose-built British Museum gallery that same year. But despite the echoes of antiquity and the apparently unbroken primitive traditions, many British observers of the post-WW2 period also expressed anxiety about change. By 1980 Crete had become "Greece's fastest-growing holiday destination".[47] Lawrence Durrell, a friend of both Henry Miller and Patrick Leigh Fermor, warned that "tourism has swamped the island with summer sun-lovers – which has had an inevitable effect on prices, urbanization, and *morals*."[48] Rather condescendingly, Durrell here suggests that the Cretans are childlike, unable to resist the lure of seductive incomers, their behaviour, lifestyle and wealth. In his book *Bitter Lemons* about events in 1950s Cyprus, Durrell likewise characterised the Greeks as lacking maturity and restraint: the supporters of political extremism are typically represented as alcoholics, children, or child-like.[49] In several of his letters, Craxton showed his dismay at the effects of visitors on Hydra, who themselves expressed their dissatisfaction with the holiday island: "you hear nothing but complaints from the trippers about urchins & rocks & no place to sit no shade etc". Taking a swim in the sea, he found it "looked like a huge salty martini (full of bits of lemons)". The decorations he found when he visited Athens at Christmas were a further uncomfortable indicator of global homogenisation:

> every shop window was dotted with fake frost & snow with mangas dressed as Father Christmas selling trees made of greengrocer raffia, balloons hundreds of them, made of every possible obscene shape huge mamoth grape bunches everywhere & every pavement packed like Oxford St. Who said they don't celebrate Christmas here.

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46 Illustrated in Arapoglou 2017, 132.

47 Mead 1980, 13.

48 Durrell 1978, 59, my emphasis.

49 Durrell 1957, 133; Roessel 2000, 237.

Landscapes

The South had advantages for Craxton as an artist: "of course everything looks incredible after London's ambiguous haze the sun has the power of a huge continuous flash light blinging [blinding?] and seeming to come from two or three directions throwing black shadows at different angles". The Cretan landscape, at least inland, was rugged and angular. During his post-war retracing through the mountains of his journeys behind the Nazi lines, Xan Fielding, another of Leigh Fermor's wartime colleagues, experienced the "constant visual shock of precipices and jagged skyline". The gorges were "like parallel cracks in the graining of a block of wood"; above, the sky became merely a "narrow belt of blue which followed the parallel edges of the crags [and] sparkled distantly above us, like tubular lighting in the roof of a lofty tunnel".[50] Crete is here portrayed as physically extreme Greece. As Lawrence Durrell explained, the landscapes were "quite different from those of the romantic Ionian islands", because "the Aegean is pure, vertical, and dramatic".[51]

In his seminal study of the human interpretation of landscapes, Simon Schama pointed out that "There have always been two kinds of arcadia: shaggy and smooth; dark and light; a place of bucolic leisure and a place of primitive panic."[52] As with Craxton, who escaped to his arcadia from the stifling intellectual and literal atmosphere of London, only to base himself in the town of Chania, "*both* kinds of arcadia, the idyllic as well as the wild, are landscapes of the urban imagination".[53] Mountains can be awe-inspiring or even menacing places: the contemplation of immense structures which have existed for immeasurable time serves to dwarf the size and achievements of the human figure, a sense which can sometimes be found in Craxton's work. A *Cretan Gorge* from 1966, for example, has the same long vertical shapes and colours which found their way onto his design for the cover of Leigh Fermor's book *Rou-*

[50] Fielding 1953, loc 5226, 1393, 1669.
[51] Durrell 1978. 58.
[52] Schama 1996, 517.
[53] Schama 1996, 525, original emphasis.

meli, published the same year. Rocks and foliage alike are twisted into steep curves or right-angles. The only gentle roundness is to be found in the few surviving leaves. On *Roumeli*, two of Craxton's signature goats manage to steal onto the canvas, but, as with the man chasing them, they are dwarfed by their forbidding surroundings. Arcadia is here nature in extreme: the naked and clear vertical lines of the rock, the sparseness and weird shapes of the vegetation, and the slight presence of humanity is merely present in order to highlight its insignificance.[54]

In his artistic style, Craxton was certainly influenced by his friend Ghika's "Cubist compositions, with the jagged lines of hills and the dazzling light".[55] Neither of them can be said to have followed the tradition of most nineteenth century artists, who "depicted the Greek scenery in a Claudian diffused light that tended to blur forms".[56] But Craxton did come to recognise and appreciate the gentler, more domesticated region of arcadia which was to be found on the abundant Cretan coastline. "I really enjoy the sea now … I find association with water help one to feel the land with more understanding & stimulation."[57] Although he expressed dislike for the invasion of tourism, the crowds of sun seekers did provide some advantages: "I have always planned to paint a beach scene maybe now with models to spare I will pluck up courage." With a few exceptions such as 1940s Dunkirk and Normandy, or the Mediterranean migrant tragedies of recent years, the beach has long been associated with leisure and pleasure, as Lencek and Bosker have set out in detail. The Impressionist painters, for example, focused on "the hedonistic physicality of the seashore".[58] Later, for post-war "hippies", the Mediterranean offered "pristine beaches where conditions were right for regressing to their preindustrial ideal of life".[59]

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54 Both illustrated Fitzwilliam Museum 2013, 38-9.

55 Arapoglou 2017, 78.

56 Tsigakou 1981, 28.

57 Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.

58 Lencek and Bosker 1998, 128.

59 Lencek and Bosker 1998, 251.

For many visitors, then, right through to today, the beach is about forgetting work and money. Craxton's *Beach Scene* from 1949[60] is an illustration of the pure exuberance of life on Poros. Local boys with tanned skin strip off their shirts and wade in, or just sunbathe. Two young women throw a ball to each other across the gentle waves of the bay. Another sits in her bathing costume on the shore, clutching the shirt of the child she is watching as his pale body hovers in the shallows. For a girl by the sea painted in 1957,[61] a figure Craxton returned to for a number of different works, the seashore similarly represents pleasure and fun. Wearing a yellow semi-transparent dress, which reveals the lines of her legs and torso against the backdrop of the water, she is simply engaged in gaily waving a red scarf above her head.

Shepherds, sailors, and other portraits

People who dwell in the mountains can be thought of not merely as possessors of a primitive lifestyle, but also as having retained their ancient virtues. Simon Schama has set out, for example, how the eighteenth century myth of mountain utopia was pedalled, particularly with reference to the pastoralists of the Swiss Alps:

> Protected from lowland greed, fashion, and luxury by the blessed barrier of the mountains, he drank the cold, clear water that gushed from mountain brooks, inhaled the pure Alpine air untainted by the stinking miasma of metropolitan life. His food was given to him by his habitat: the milk of goats and cows, the fruits and herbs of the upland orchards. His dwelling was a rustic timber chalet, his clothes made from the skins of mountain animals. His wants were simple, his speech candid and economical.[62]

Nineteenth century painters of Greek themes had been attracted to the figure of the dignified mountaineer, particularly during the War of Independence, "whose nobility and heroism are worthy of the principles

[60] Illustrated Souliotis 2012, 31.
[61] Illustrated *John Craxton* 2011, 17.
[62] Schama 1996, 479.

of his legendary ancestors".[63] In WW2 Crete, the British recognised in their official military report that "the shepherd is the true King of the mountains" and was invaluable in the struggle against the Germans: "Their excellent sight and swift feet, their knowledge of paths and caves and hiding places, their endurance of fatigue, cold and hunger, and, not least, their old fashioned hospitality, were at our disposal and made the shepherd the mainstay of our life in Crete."[64] In works such as *Shepherds at Night* and *Homage to Alones* (both 1949)[65] John Craxton, in the immediate post-war period, tried to reproduce the spartan nobility of life in the mountains. In these scenes, set at night amidst stark rocks, nestling into a hooded cloak and warming the hands on an open fire are the only comforts. Craxton's more detailed portraits of his Greek neighbours, from around the same period, are similarly direct and unflinching. The sitter often stares uncompromisingly forward, offering a challenge to the viewer, much as the Greeks famously ask direct personal questions of foreign travellers they have only just met.[66] The *Head of an Aged Cretan* (1948),[67] for example, has a dramatic white beard set off by a black costume that is intended to be traditional dress. As late as the 1970s, the traveller David MacNeil Doren found such flamboyant rural costume sported casually: "Through this wonderland of light and colour strode the country people at their daily tasks: men in knee-high boots and baggy blue breeches, with yellow-fringed black bandannas wound around their heads."[68] In Craxton's portrait, however, whilst the wrinkled skin, wavy beard and piercing blue eyes are detailed, the coat and headdress are left comparatively unspecified and formless. Craxton recognised the importance of the man himself, not the folk curiosity that a more obsessive focus on the costume would have invited.

The anthropologist Michael Herzfeld recorded feuds among Cretan villagers – admittedly exceptional but nonetheless potentially deadly –

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63 Tsigakou 1991, 80.

64 Kokonas 2004, 121-2.

65 Illustrated Collins 2011, 92-3.

66 For the alleged Greek trait of the curious questioning of travellers, see Wills 2007, 82.

67 Illustrated Collins 2011, 14.

68 Doren 1974, 44.

over such issues as stolen sheep, plots of land, or goats' destruction of olive shoots.[69] Such disharmony is not overtly reflected in Craxton's work, where the men are shown joyfully linking arms in tavernas, and goats cheerfully strip trees without sanction. MacNeil Doren described "smoky little *tavernas* patronized by fishermen or sailors – places with sawdust on the stone floors, raucous with the voices of bronzed and mustachioed men in high-necked, dark blue wool sweaters."[70] *Still Life with Three Sailors* (1980-85)[71] has a typical scene at a table packed with mezes and bread, the small tumblers of wine being knocked back. The smart naval dress, hats neatly stacked on a vacant chair, and the glint of a watch on a wrist, shows Craxton to be giving these men due respect: they aspire to be worldly sophisticates, not peasants sealed in the past.

In such establishments, Herzfeld observed that drinking was "an affirmation of manliness".[72] Craxton attempted in several of his works to evoke both the joy and the intensity of the taverna patrons who, no doubt under the influence of alcohol, expressed themselves in dancing, as described by Xan Fielding:

> two or three stealthy steps forward, and the dancer was then launched into the long series of complicated movements, flicking his ankles, stamping his feet, slapping his heels. Then came the sinister swoops and dips, the drunken, off-balance lurches and miraculous recoveries – all executed as though in a trance, with the performer's head thrown back and smiling at the ceiling or else bent forward in dreamy contemplation of his own shoes; and all the time his fingers would be snapping.[73]

Craxton's *Three Dancers – Poros,*[74] of the same year as Fielding's account, are a male trio dressed in everyday trousers and shirts, who are united by their exuberance, a handkerchief held aloft between them, and the alcohol evident from the tumblers they have temporarily aban-

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69 Herzfeld 1985, 77 and 79.
70 Doren 1974, 26.
71 Illustrated Collins, 2011, 152-3.
72 Herzfeld 1985, 126.
73 Fielding 1953, loc 2825.
74 Fitzwilliam Museum 2013, 33.

doned on the table alongside. Outside of the bars, Craxton would spy men working on the harbour side. From such observations in Samos he produced, also in 1953, *Mending the Nets,*[75] a portrait not of the man's face, whose eyes only are visible as he is bowed over his task, but of the rugged hard work itself. The fisherman's unclad forearms and calves are thickly substantial, whilst the nets he mends with such concentration, the tools of his work and survival, appear delicate. *Two Figures and Setting Sun*, which Craxton worked on a number of times between 1952 and 1967,[76] features two men, both naked to the waist, one almost appearing to dance as he industriously tenderises an octopus by smashing it down onto the quay, the other much more relaxed as he lies on his back, sunbathing.

The twentieth century history of the male-on-male gaze of foreigners in Greece has been outlined by scholars such as Robert Aldrich and Dimitris Papanikolaou. The association of Greece with homosexuality had originated from a knowledge of antiquity: the pairs of men integral to the military system of ancient Sparta, the required nudity of athletes during the Olympic Games, the celebration of male anatomy through statuary. "The South was thus Arcadia, a state of nature and still-throbbing heart of classical culture all at once – a place to fantasise and, also, to live out fantasies."[77] The male-gazing in Greece did not of course derive exclusively from an interest in Classics: "They made a pilgrimage southwards to find culture; they also wanted to find boys: they usually found both."[78] For John Craxton, as the catalogue for the recent *Queer British Art* exhibition at Tate Britain has argued, "the handsome, tanned Aegean sailor was inscribed not only by the democratic and athletic legacies valued by the ancient Greeks, but also embodied a compelling homoeroticism."[79] In December 1948, Craxton records his activities as being far from artistic or intellectual: "Just before Christmas I spent several days & nights wandering around Piraeus to the brothels & in the

[75] Fitzwilliam Museum 2013, 32.
[76] Collins 2011, 155.
[77] Aldrich 1993, 167.
[78] Aldrich 1993, 12.
[79] Stephenson 2017, 133.

bars full of American sailors ending up sharing a bed with a Greek sailor for warmth!!"[80]

Papanikolaou has argued that for Western intellectuals of this period, "the ideal Greek lover had thus to be a working-class young man (variations on a shepherd, a fisherman's son, a rural worker, a boy on a donkey), a figure who was essentially speechless. The silent working-class youth was seen as part of the landscape, sharing its stillness and muteness."[81] This was a common homoerotic motif in cultural products by Greeks as well. One of C.P. Cavafy's poems has as its subject the "the pornographic photograph of a young man, sold clandestinely on the street".[82] Eleni Papargyriou has noted that it is not the homosexual content of the photograph which attracts the disquiet of the poem's narrator, but rather, "Cavafy seems to be more disconcerted by the social circumstances that lead young (most likely working class) men to this kind of occupation."[83] The male subjects of portraits by Craxton were likewise not of high-status but were working men, captured at work or leisure, and usually without their names attached. In the case of a *Soldier by the Sea* of 1985,[84] unlike some of Craxton's earlier work from the 1940s, the sitter becomes a mere khaki-uniformed model, hand on hip and one foot up on a low wall – reduced to a pose more than a person.

Animals – goats and cats

Goats are integral to almost every landscape painting by Craxton. A vital animal for many Cretan livelihoods, goats were encountered by Xan Fielding as they waited to pass

> through the narrower gap of the milkman's legs, which straddled each animal as it came along and held it in position over the pail. The pen was tightly packed: a ruffled pool of horns and beards and am-

[80] Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.
[81] Papanikolaou 2006, 217-8.
[82] Papargyriou 2011, 80.
[83] Papargyriou 2011, 81.
[84] Collins 2011, 148.

ber-coloured eyes, an ocean of goat, in which no one goat could be distinguished from another.[85]

This is well illustrated in a large painting now in Bristol City Art Gallery, *Four Figures in a Mountain Landscape* of 1950-51.[86] The two animals in the foreground, one being hauled to milking and the other currently being milked, immediately stand out, being as white as the liquid being squeezed into the bowl. It only becomes apparent upon more prolonged inspection that the whole of the darker background of the painting is alive with faces, their eyes slowly giving them away as they await their turn in a packed mass. A 1958 *Landscape with Derelict Windmill,*[87] despite the clear presence of the redundant sails on the horizon and farmhands prominently concentrated on their work, is dominated by an enormous goat fully outstretched to strip the last greenery from an already skeletal tree.

The anthropologist Garry Marvin has demonstrated that "the representation of animals is perhaps always an expression of human concerns, desires, and imaginings".[88] Craxton's goats were, at least in part, a symbol: "Goats are essential domestic animals in the Mediterranean and yet they destroy the landscape, nibbling away at the trees and devouring every green shoot. My paintings comment on life but it is all implicit."[89] Patrick Leigh Fermor, in an introduction to Craxton's work, ventured the explanation that "they represent independence and escape".[90] Ian Collins argues that there was also divine symbolism from ancient myth: Zeus had been brought up in the mountains by a wild goat, and the horned and furry Pan was a mischievous presence lurking in the wildest of the Greek countryside.[91] Goats flank Pan, his arms outstretched in triumph, as acolytes in one of Craxton's set designs for the 1964 ballet

[85] Fielding 1953, loc 4705.
[86] Fitzwilliam Museum 2013, 26.
[87] Fitzwilliam Museum 2013, 35.
[88] Marvin 2001, 273.
[89] Collins 2011, 88.
[90] Arapoglou 2017, 129.
[91] Collins 2011, 91.

Daphnis and Chloë.[92] In Craxton's diploma work from 1984-5, submitted as was required upon his election as a Royal Academician, a single file of goats is dwarfed by the extraordinarily conical mountains which form the backdrop.[93] More commonly, however, it is the goats which have the upper hand in their surroundings – over the vegetation they are consuming or over the shepherds attempting to control them. *Voskos I* of 1984[94]consists of a single shepherd who appears to be doing an elaborate dance; but the tune is evidently being piped by the frisky and uncooperative goat which he straddles. Essential to Craxton's vision of Crete, the goats in his landscapes suggest that life is a constant tussle for supremacy.

Cats were another of Craxton's favourite themes. Exuberant and mischievous, they were, like the goats and the dancers, virtually untameable and full of life. "I have a cat called aphrodite because she was fished out of the sea having been thrown in as an unwanted kitten. She is very clever & alas has eaten up all of my pet mice – ones that I had taken a fancy to, that lived in the walls."[95] In 1959's *Still Life with Cat and Child,*[96] a girl is catching the lean feline in the act as it stretches out its paws towards the irresistible array of seafood on the table: black sea urchins, whole octopus and squid, and, its extraordinarily long feelers dominating the whole scene, a lobster. At the Chania quayside restaurants, Craxton used to order such eccentric displays of seafood that even the famous naturalist David Attenborough was left perplexed.[97]

Conclusion

The era during which John Craxton knew Greece, and more particularly resided in Crete, coincided with the growth of the country as a mass tourist destination. From the 1950s, and increasingly from the 1970s,

[92] Collins 2011, 104.
[93] Collins 2011, 147.
[94] Fitzwilliam Museum 2013, 44.
[95] Tate Archive, London, TGA 977/1/1/80.
[96] Collins 2011, 125.
[97] Collins 2011, 10.

Greece was imagined, dreamed about and encountered as a welcoming and comfortable place, ripe for sunbathing and relaxation. Craxton's apparently playful paintings were often similarly full of fun. Ironically, however, his hideaway on a Greek island, far from the prominent galleries of London or even Athens, meant that his work made little contribution to the popular imagining of Greece during his lifetime. Yet his paintings also offer a challenge to the image of the Greeks and their country as open-book welcoming. Craxton's style – the jaggedness of the lines which made up the natural landscape, the wild exoticism of the seafood, the grudging domestication of the goats and cats – was a signal that visitors, whether tourists or more permanent residents, should not feel *too* comfortable. As Patrick Leigh Fermor found through the vendetta against him in Crete, Greece, although apparently placid and picturesque to the casual eye, could be anything but safe.

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Thomas Arentzen, *The Virgin in Song: Mary and the Poetry of Romanos the Melodist*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017, xiii + 265 pp., 10 black and white figures, ISBN: 978-0-81-224907-1.

Arentzen's book is based on his PhD dissertation in the University of Lund. His research focuses on Mariology and the representations of Theotokos in the hymnographic works of Romanos the Melodist (ca 485-560). Studies on this excellent Early Byzantine era poet, famous for his hymns (*kontakia*) are quite extensive; however in his review *The Virgin in Song*, consisted of four chapters, Th. Arentzen attempts a re-examination of Romanos' references to Theotokos in his *kontakia*.[1]

In chapter one, "The Song and the City" (pp. 1-45), Arentzen introduces his readers to the 6th century historical, social and liturgical environment, an era during which Romanos the Melodist lived and composed his *kontakia*. Thus, Arentzen makes special mention to the hymnographer and the nature of his hymnographic works as well as the city of Constantinople, where Romanos lived and produced his work. He also talks about the liturgical space and time, as they were formed in the 5th and 6th centuries, as well as the ceremonies in the Byzantine capital. Special reference is made about the use of *kontakia* in ecclesiastical services, while the author also deals with the practices of rhetoric (such as *ethopoiia*) frequently used by Romanos, the audience of Constantinople, the social position of women and the perception of virginity during the 6th century. Arentzen is impressed by some vivid images in Romanos' *Kontakia*, used by the poet to connect with the public (for example "*on the Massacre of the Innocents*" and "*on the Raising of Lazarus*"[2]). Finally, there's a special reference to Mariology and the development of

[1] 2017 may be considered to be a year dedicated to Romanos the Melodist, as, in addition to Arentzen's study, saw the light of publicity the book of Sara Gador-Whyte, *Theology and Poetry in Early Byzantium: The Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist,* Cambridge University Press, 2017.

[2] See also Barbara Saylor Rodgers, "Romanos Melodos on the Raising of Lazarus", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 107 (2014) 811-830.

the worship of Theotokos. As the writer notes, "The study tracks three different ways of imagining the Virgin's corporeal and relational presence in six-century Constantinople with an erotic appeal, with nursing breasts, and with a speaking voice" (p. 44).

Chapter two, "On the Verge of Virginity" (pp. 46- 86), examines the notion of Mary as "a young maiden". Analysing the *kontakion* "*On the Annunciation*", Arentzen chooses to portray the Virgin not as an ascetic model, nor as a vessel or pathway to Christ' incarnation. On the contrary he emphasizes more her female existence as a virgin, as "the poet builds up an erotic tension with sexual allusions" (p. 65) between the male-shaped figure of Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin, who "does not renounce sexuality or aim to transform herself in any ontological way" (p. 81). Moreover, Arentzen notes that Romanos calls the faithful to see the Virgin "as a source of knowledge and salvation, of fertility and pleasure, of nourishment and intimacy" (p. 81). He points even to the eroticism of certain scenes or verses that highlight the sexuality of the Virgin (e.g. "*On the Harlot*" or "*On the Annunciation*"). In one of the book's appendices, the author quotes the *kontakion* "*On the Annunciation*" in Greek as well as providing his own English translation. For ease of cross-referencing, it would have been preferable however for the Greek text to be quoted alongside the English one.

In chapter three, "The Mother and Nurse of Our Life" (pp. 87-119), Arentzen discusses the notion of Virgin Mary as a young mother and how she is represented breastfeeding in Romanos' *kontakia* written for the Christmas Feast ("*On the Nativity I* and *II*") and "*On the Nativity of the Virgin*". Although the pictorial depiction of the Virgin nursing infant Jesus is known in byzantine art by the Greek term *galaktotrophousa*, Arentzen notes that in the early Christian literature, for example in the works of Clement of Alexandria, the Christocentric idea of the God Father who nurses "the Church with the milk that is the Logos (i.e. the Holy Eucharist)" (pp. 101-102, 112-113) is more common. In his detailed analysis on the aforementioned *kontakia* Arentzen shows that Romanos' approach to the breastfeeding Virgin is quite revolutionary for he is drawing the worshippers' attention on Mary herself rather than the infant Christ. That is to say Romanos is more interested in showing

not why "He was born" but "that [Virgin] having him at her breast she is being lifted [...] into the divine realm" (p. 102) highlighting her role as a *mediatrix* (*μεσιτεύουσα*) between God and the whole world.[3]

Mary's voice is the theme of chapter four, "A Voice of Rebirth" (pp. 120-163). In this chapter the writer focuses on Mary's voice and on how it interacts with other characters (divine or human) in Romanos' works, like "*On the Nativity II*" and "*On Mary at the Cross*".[4] As Arentzen notes, people had never heard Theotokos "talking" before Romanos' innovation to integrate her into his *Kontakia*. Indeed, in the early Christian literature Virgin Mary, as virgin in general, does not speak publicly. The writer points *inter alia* Athanasios' of Alexandria view, that Theotokos was silent and did not express herself, as well that of Severus of Antioch, that she was silent even during birth.

As it has been already mentioned Theotokos acts as a *mediatrix*, speaking in person to Christ on behalf of all the world; however, according to the writer, this role is just intercessory and doesn't allow her to express her personality. On the contrary, Virgin in Romanos' *kontakion* "*On the Marriage at Cana*" receives the questions of the faithful, via the poet's mediation, and she responds in turn about the miracle of her Son. In his *kontakion* "*On Mary at the Cross*", Theotokos –as the only one present during the Crucifixion– discourses with Christ or/and on behalf of Christ, as a *mediatrix* between Him and the human kind. In another *Kontakion*, that "*On the Nativity II*" Virgin Mary (as a woman and descendant of Eve) discourses with Adam and explains that she will become a *mediatrix* on his behalf. So through Romanos, "Mary's voice addressed to the audience", i.e., the congregation, and converse-

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[3] The term was used in a Prayer to Theotokos attributed to Ephraim the Syrian (4th century), who calls her "mediatrix of the human race: Ἐπεὶ σὲ προστάτιν καὶ μεσῖτιν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ σοῦ τεχθέντα Θεὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος, Θεοτόκε, εὐμοίρησε", K. G. Phrantzoles, *Ὁσίου Ἐφραὶμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα,* vol. 6, Thessalonike 1995: 5:313 and elsewhere; and again by Basil of Seleucia (5th century) in one of his Sermons («μεσιτεύουσα Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις»: PG 85, col. 444). Cf. pp. 137-138 in Arentzen's study.

[4] For a different reading of the same *kontakion* see also Kristina Alveteg, "In Silence We Speak: Romanos Melodos and Mary at the Cross", *Studia Patristica* 42. *Papers presented at the Fourteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2003*, eds F. Young et al., Leuven: Peeters, 2006, pp. 279-283.

ly "the congregation comes to speak through her voice" (pp. 120-121). Arentzen reminds us that the voice "as authoritative presence was important to Byzantine *rhetors*" (p. 120) and that in Romanos' *kontakia* "there are two aspects of Mary's voice … the *dramatized* voice and the *thematized* voice" (p. 122). Indeed, the various strategies of *ethopoiia*, which was part of the preliminary rhetorical education (*progymnasmata*), are used by Romanos to show via speech and gestures Virgin's presence and character, when she addresses the congregation.

The book ends with the writer's "Conclusions" (pp. 164-173), two Appendixes (1: "*On the Annunciation"* in Greek with English translation and 2: Catalogue of Hymns Referred to in the Study, in pp. 175-190), Notes (pp. 191-226), Bibliography (pp. 227-253), an Index (pp. 255-262) and Acknowledgements (pp. 263-265). It also contains nine figures.

The author has obviously good knowledge of Greek as he has translated many extracts of Romanos' *kontakia* into English (necessary for readers unfamiliar with Greek). However, there is no parallel text in Greek, while the translation of certain lyrics has certainly a personal touch. Moreover, an attempt to interpret the persona of Virgin Mary through Romanos' hymnographic work focuses particularly on the sexual aspect resulting in some cases to the desanctification of Theotokos. In this regard, it should be noted that Greek titles are hardly found in Arentzen's bibliography, although the work of Romanos the Melodist has been the subject of many studies in Greek.[5]

[5] See for example: N. B. Tomadakes, «Ρωμανικὰ μελετήματα. Α΄) Ὁ ἐσωτερικὸς διάλογος τῶν Ὕμνων Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελῳδοῦ. Β΄) Ἀνέκδοτος Ὕμνος Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελῳδοῦ εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον. Γ΄) Ἡ πατερικὴ γνῶσις Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελῳδοῦ», *ΕΕΒΣ* 26 (1956) 3-36; K. Metsakes, *Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία. Ἀπὸ τὴν Καινὴ Διαθήκη ὡς τὴν Εἰκονομαχία,* Athens, [2]2010, pp. 357-509; Th. Detorakes, *Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία,* Rethymno: Panepistemiakes ekdoseis Krētes, [2]1997, 46-55; A. S. Korakides, *Ρωμανού του Μελωδού ύμνος και λόγος: δύο μελέτες,* Thessalonike, 1990; I. G. Kourebeles, *Ἡ Χριστολογία τοῦ Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελωδοῦ καὶ ἡ σωτηριολογικὴ σημασία της,* Thessalonike, 1998 (unpublished Diss.); Idem, *Ρωμανοῦ Μελωδοῦ θεολογικὴ δόξα. Σύγχρονη ἱστορικοδογματικὴ ἄποψη καὶ ποιητικὴ θεολογία,* Thessalonike, 2006, and Idem, "Les expressions christologiques «double par nature» et «Christ invincible dans la nature vaincu» de Romanos le Mélode

Overall, Arentzen has written an informative study that should have broad appeal to those interested in how Christian perceptions about Virgin Mary developed and changed during the early Byzantine period and how Romanos the Melodist's poetry contributed to these.

Dr Demetrios Agoritsas
University of Ioannina

par rapport à leur perspective antihérétique", *Orthodoxes Forum* 19.1-2 (2005) 95-107. See also Eva C. Topping, "The Apostle Peter, Justinian and Romanos the Melodos", *BMGS* 2 (1976) 1-15.

Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*. Oxford University Press, 2018, xvi + 438 pp., ISBN 978-0-19-881203-6.

A book dealing with the liturgical tradition of Jerusalem and Palestine like the one of Daniel Galadza's it's not an easy read. It is addressed to a knowledgeable audience. As a matter of fact, the whole study, originally produced as a doctoral thesis at the Pontifical Oriental Institute of Rome and defended in 2013, is an extraordinary feat. Not only does it deal with the Hagiopolite liturgical tradition but it also investigates the reasons why it was replaced by the so-called Byzantine or Constantinopolitan liturgical rite.

In his very comprehensive introduction, Galadza expands on the theoretical and historical context of his study. As he notes (p. 5) "the liturgical Byzantinization of the calendar and lectionary of Jerusalem is the focus of this book". Particular reference is made to the term "Byzantinization" in order to understand how two different liturgical traditions went from coexistence and interaction to the replacement of the former (that of Jerusalem) with that of Constantinople (pp. 4-11). After introducing the historiography on this matter and the fact that the old tradition is still being preserved in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the author stands by the research method he followed, that of textual comparison of the different liturgical traditions. Moreover, he defines some of his research areas, like the Hagiopolite liturgical calendar and lectionary, without examining at all the role of the ecclesiastical architecture and archaeology.

The study consists of two parts. The first part deals with the "Liturgy of the Byzantine Jerusalem" (ch. 1) and "The Historical Contexts of Byzantinization" (ch. 2). The second part of the book focuses on the "Byzantinization" of the "Liturgy of St James" (ch. 3), the "Liturgical Calendar of Jerusalem" (ch. 4) and the "Lectionary of Jerusalem" (ch. 5). After an extensive and detailed analysis spanning almost 250 pages, the author concludes (pp. 350-357) that the Church of Jerusalem lost its authentic liturgical tradition in favour of the so called 'Byzantine rite', during the seventh and thirteenth centuries. This change could be due to the multiple sieges of Jerusalem and the whole Palestine that resulted in

the decrease of the Christian population in the area and the decline of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. We should also note the changes in sacred topography, the large numbers of pilgrims who exposed the local liturgical tradition to foreign influences, as well as the role of monks, who rewrote the cycle of feasts in the Hagiopolite Calendar during a lingering osmosis with the Constantinopolitan liturgical tradition.

Focusing his attention on the sources, such as the manuscripts of the Liturgy of St James, the Jerusalem's liturgical calendar as well as the lectionaries, Galadza notes that despite the Arab conquest in 638, Greek remained the main operational language, whilst Arabic, Georgian and Syrian were also used in the church services. In addition, he concludes that Byzantium did not try to impose its own Constantinopolitan liturgical tradition in Jerusalem and so the 'Byzantinization' of the Jerusalem Patriarchate was "not consciously or systematically imposed by Constantinople", but it "was a gradual and spontaneous reform".

Furthermore, Galadza provides two appendices: one containing a detailed catalogue of 36 Hagiopolite liturgical manuscripts used in his study (pp. 359-387), and a second one with annotated maps and plans (pp. 388-392). The book also contains a glossary (pp. 393-396), quite helpful for a specialised study like this, a bibliography (pp. 397-519) and three indexes (one of *Biblical References*, one of *Manuscript References* and a third *General* index).The indexes could provide a starting point for further research on this complex and specific study.

There's little to be said for such a focused research by an expert in the field of liturgic, such as D. Galadza. However, the author raises an interesting issue that may need further analysis, that of the reintroduction and partial use of the Hagiopolite liturgical tradition. Indeed, during the last decade, in many Orthodox Churches there is an ever-increasing tendency to carry out the so called "archaic" Liturgy of St James. This fashionable celebration has been 'interpreted' as liturgical renewal in the Orthodox Church and has been severely criticised. Commenting on the above, Galadza notes that: "the problem here is not the celebration of JAS [...] but the incomplete understanding of this liturgy, of how it is supposed to function within the current Byzantine rite and the ignorance of the calendar and lectionary directly connected to JAS" (pp. 18-19).

With regards to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the author implicitly expresses his regret for the 'Byzantinization' of its ancient liturgical tradition, pointing out some failed attempts to return to its original form during the first half of the 20th century. While Galadza mainly ascribes the failure of these efforts to the Greek-centred character of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, he contrasts this with the calls to restore the ancient liturgical tradition within the Melkite Greek Catholic Community.

The fact that the liturgical tradition of Jerusalem was not active for centuries makes its restoration quite difficult, while the proposals for its partial reinstatement have been criticised *inter alia* as aiming to corrupt the liturgical life of the Orthodox Church. But that's another story.

This is an excellent and neat publication by Oxford University Press. However, there are a couple of things that may have escaped the author's attention. Many authors' names are absent from the Bibliography even though they can be found as bibliographic references in the footnotes. There should be some logical explanation for all these absences but it is not provided anywhere.

Another point is the great number of oversights in the writing and accentuation of the Greek words and passages. This is quite surprising as the author deals mostly with Greek texts and he is expected to have a good knowledge of Greek. We note hereupon some words and phrases that need correction.

Σιῶν instead of Σιὼν (p. xiv); Τᾶ instead of τὰ (p. 1); ἱερὰς instead of ἱερᾶς (p. 21); ἐκεινοις instead of ἐκείνοις (p. 23, n. 100); Ἱεράτικον instead of Ἱερατικόν (p. 25, n. 106); ἀνάγιον instead of ἀνώγιον (p. 36); θεἰων instead of θείων (p. 38, n. 57); χρησιτὸς instead of χρηστὸς (p. 42); Σηγησάτω instead of Σιγησάτω (p. 59); Φοκᾶ instead of Φωκᾶ (p. 87); δειχωνίας instead of διχονοίας (p. 98); συγγραφῆνται instead of συγγραφῆναι (p. 136); Ἱεροσωλυμίταις instead of Ἱεροσολυμίταις (p. 137); Σαπκὶ instead of Σαρκὶ (p. 142, n. 418); Διπτυχὰ instead of Δίπτυχα (p. 144, n. 436); χρημαρτίζουσαν instead of χρηματίζουσαν (p. 147, n. 454); Συγγραγικῶν instead of Συγγραφικῶν (p. 149, n. 469); Κυρπίων instead of Κυπρίων (p. 160, n. 23); ἠμῶν instead of ἡμῶν (p. 163); των instead of τῶν (p. 170, n. 85); Ἱεροσόλυμον instead of Ἱεροσολύμων (p.

170, n. 85); Λειτυοργία [...] Ἰακόβου instead of Λειτουργία [...] Ἰακώβου (p. 170, n. 85); ἠμῶν instead of ἡμῶν (p. 171); Ἀδελφόθεου instead of Ἀδελφοθέου (p. 199, n. 257); ἀωνείας instead of ἀγνείας (p. 204, n. 281); τοῦον instead of τοῦτον (p. 210); ἱστοριαν instead of ἱστορίαν (p. 216, n. 351); Λειτουργηκῆς instead of Λειτουργικῆς (p. 235, n. 100); Ἑβδομὰ instead of Ἑβδομὰς (p. 236, n. 104); Βαπτίστου instead of Βαπτιστοῦ (p. 251, n. 164); ποιτηκὰ instead of ποιητικὰ (p. 255, n. 183); Κωνστανωνσταντινουπόλεως [...] δὲ instead of Κωνσταντινουπόλεως [...] δὲ (p. 268, n. 249); προσκύνησις instead of προσκύνησιν (p. 288); ζωοπιοῦ instead of ζωοποιοῦ (p. 288); πεντήκοστα instead of πεντήκοντα (p. 294); ἐξακοσίων instead of ἑξακοσίων (p. 294); εν instead of ἐν (p. 294); ὀγδοήκοντα instead of ὀγδοήκοντα (p. 294); Ὁμοίον instead of Ὁμοῖον (p. 374); ὁρύς instead of ὄρους (p. 368); αγιας instead of ἁγίας (p. 374); ζωοπιῶν instead of ζωοποιῶν (p. 374); συγώρη(σ)ον instead of συγχώρη(σ)ον (p. 374); Κρυπτοφέῤῥης and Κρυπτοφέρρης (p. 377); Θευρουαρίῳ instead of Φευρουαρίῳ (p. 383); Ιωάννου instead of Ἰωάννου (p. 386)

Despite these remarks, D. Galadza's book on *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem* is a very well-argued and well written study, skilfully weaved by the author. Undoubtedly, he deals with a large amount of literature and proves to handle very efficiently the subject in question. In addition, he provides English translations of many liturgical texts and hymns as well as a glimpse of Jerusalem's lost liturgical tradition. It is actually the first major attempt to study the history of Jerusalem's liturgy and its Byzantinization and by doing so the history of the Christian community of the Holy City and Palestine during the Middle Ages.

Dr Demetrios Agoritsas
University of Ioannina

Adam J. Goldwyn, *Byzantine Ecocriticism. Women, Nature, and Power in the Medieval Greek Romance*, The New Middle Ages. Cham: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2018, 240 pp., ISBN 978-3-319-69203-6.

Ecocriticism is a theoretical school current among scholars of literature since the 1990s. Studying ideas about the environment as conveyed by literary texts, it privileges questions of ecology and ecological implications in literature. How do landscapes of wilderness feature in a story? How do humans imagine their own place in the natural world? The field of *Byzantine Studies*, on the other hand, focuses on the historical world of the Byzantines. Yet these two separate fields, argues Adam Goldwyn in his recent book, may have much to learn from each other. *Byzantine Ecocriticism. Women, Nature, and Power in the Medieval Greek Romance* is, as far as I can tell, the first monograph dedicated entirely to precisely this, Byzantine ecocriticism (which means, of course, ecocritical readings of Byzantine texts rather than the Byzantines' ecocritical readings). In fact, the book reads partly as a manifesto that heralds the emergence of this new discipline. It asserts that we can no longer read historical texts as innocent of ecological consequences; we cannot be uncritical of their environmental ideologies – "reading in the Anthropocene requires a fundamental revision of literary criticism" (p. 7).

Goldwyn points out that "much yet remains unknown about the environmental attitudes of a multifaceted culture that lasted a thousand years and covered large and ecologically diverse swathes of three continents and the seas and waterways that linked them" (p. 20). Since he attempts to open up this new field, he spends the introductory chapter, "Byzantine Studies in an Age of Environmental Crisis," explaining what ecocriticism is and making a case for why it is important. The chapter comprises an instructive review of scholarship and trends in environmental humanities and discusses to what degree ecocriticism is or should be political, a kind of academic activism.

In addition to – or rather as a part of – the ecocritical perspective, the author introduces intersectional perspectives, engaging not least *ecofeminism* and *queer ecocriticism*. The patriarchal system and its hegemony

attempts to control women like it wants to control the natural environment; women, children, slaves, animals, and plants are all subject to male power. This adds a distinctly social aspect to his investigation.

Goldwyn's source material consists of Middle and Late Byzantine romances and novels. After the first introductory chapter follows a reading of metaphors in *Digenis Akritis*. The author pays attention to the way romantic love is imagined in terms of gardens/cultivation and animals/hunting, of male control of plants, animals, and women. He continues by reading three Komnenian novels, focusing on the violence of such control and the silencing of women's or animals' or plants' experiences. Male control, then, is ultimately carried out in the narration itself, which eclipses the pain of the prey and the wounds of the raped.

Yet there is also something transformative going on, he contends, when plants are described as humans and humans are described as plants; perhaps the clear distinctions are less clear than we would at first imagine? Chapter 4 engages Palaiologan stories – and various European translations and translation strategies – to explore cultural ideas about witchcraft, magic, and female control over nature. The final chapter ventures into the complicated terrain of posthumanism and the sort of hybridization where clear borders between human and non-human, organic and inorganic, animate and inanimate are being renegotiated. Goldwyn argues that if we start exploring such aspects of the romances we may be able to re-evaluate our own condition through the readings of Byzantine texts. In Digenis, for instance, we may discover "a model for a Byzantine posthumanism, for the line between monstrousness and heroism is as blurry as any other" (p. 200). It is in such instances, when Goldwyn is able to turn things around and let the reader be surprised by the upending of categories, by the intimacy between ivy and oak, that he is at his very best.

"It is past time for Byzantinists to demonstrate [concerns for eco-ethics …]. The future of the world – and thus of Byzantine Studies – depends on it." (p. 231). Thus concludes this groundbreaking volume. It is driven by a strong ethical impulse and a sense of urgency: We cannot retreat to our private rooms and read old tales while the world outside is in crisis. Goldwyn is a highly competent reader of literary texts, but

what distinguishes this book is its ability to put Byzantine stories into conversation with a number of critical perspectives, other literary texts (ancient and modern), and contemporary political concerns.

The disadvantage of Goldwyn's (eco)feminist approach is, perhaps, that the study ends up as slightly more conventional than it might otherwise have been. Studies of gender in the Byzantine world have been around for quite some time already, and, after all, criticizing older texts for their misogyne is pretty much duck soup to a modern feminist (cf. e.g. Ursula Le Guin's critique of male narrativity cited on pp. 191ff). Goldwyn's attention to the ecocritical is more pioneering, and it also brings out the most interesting nuances of the book, the ambiguous places where plant life and human life intersect. On the other hand, the author demonstrates exceptionally well how issues of gender and nature are interwoven in the romances.

In any case, this is a book that any Byzantinist should read, be provoked by, and be inspired by. From now on there exists such a thing as Byzantine ecocriticism.

Thomas Arentzen
The Faculty of Theology
University of Oslo

Nigel G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy. Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 2nd edn (London, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 231 pp., ISBN PB: 978-1-4742-5047-4.

Twenty-five years after the first edition, this precious and acclaimed book on Greek in the Italian Quattrocento by the renowned Oxford scholar, Nigel Wilson, has been re-issued. In his original one-page preface, reprinted here, Wilson modestly defines his work as a preliminary sketch of the period. Five lines added at the end clarify that this second edition contains only minor adjustments and a fuller, if still highly selective, bibliography. These refinements demonstrate not only that the author has kept abreast of the vast scholarship in the field, but also that his contribution to the period still stands unchallenged.

Although I have not been able to compare the two editions side by side, the basic structure of the work appears unaltered. The book consists of fourteen pithy chapters roughly divided into two parts around the middle of the fifteenth century, although this evident chronological break is not signaled explicitly. Chapters 1-9 cover the first half of the fifteenth century, and are mostly devoted to single figures of early humanists such as Chrysoloras, Bruni, Vittorino da Feltre, Guarino and Filelfo; the chapter on 'Greek Prelates' deals with Plethon and Bessarion, the latter under the sub-section 'the Greek cardinal' (8.ii). Chapters 10-14 move on to the second half of the century articulated this time in geographical terms, from 'Rome under Nicholas V and his successors' moving up the peninsula to Florence, Padua, Bologna, Ferrara and Venice (with the exception of a 'downward' moment all the way to Messina). Within these cities, that mirror the locations of the early humanists in the first half of the century, with the notable exception of Mantua, and with the occasional mention of Milan, the figures singled out for mention are Argyropoulos, Ficino, Chalcondyles, Janus Lascaris, Politian, Aldus Manutius and Marcus Musurus. Besides these, a large number of minor figures make their appearance, if often little more than by name. Chapter 15 is not merely a summarizing conclusion, but pushes the enquiry further into the sixteenth century with new information.

The particular expertise of the author as textual editor and paleographer is evident in the angle chosen for the presentation of the material. When declaring that 'the capacity to correct texts with success [is] a rare gift' (p. 174), we read not only a judgment about past scholars, but a statement from experience. In taking on the duty to 'mention the deficiencies of even the most gifted men', as in the case of Theodore Gaza (p. 91), Wilson speaks as if from an ideal *panoptikon* where the standards for quality are beyond appeal. To give just a few examples, Filelfo 'cannot be ranked with the greatest figures of the '400' (p. 57), Bessarion's notes on the *De caelo* by Simplicius 'prove that he misunderstood Latin' (p. 72), Andronicus Callistus, though perhaps in need of further study, shows for the time being 'no proof of exceptional talent' (p. 133). Yet one senses the author's excitement as the quality of scholarship devoted to Greek texts and their edition steadily improves, towering in the achievement of Musurus, who earns the palm as 'the ablest textual scholar that Greece has ever produced' and is rewarded with rare appreciative adjectives such as 'intelligent' and 'excellent' (p. 172). To use an unfashionable word in the English-speaking world, but one with much currency still in Sweden, this is a world of (all-male) philologists, where searching, reading, transmitting, and, by the advent of the printing press, divulging an informed and erudite love for Classical texts constitutes the very fibre and stuff of life. Philological success is the measure of the man, the name of the game. All these activities go on in the mind of these scholars, who are presented as if disembodied and geared towards one single aim: the preservation of the Greek heritage beyond the decline and fall of Constantinople (an event, that of 1453, only twice mentioned in the book).

This intellectual world acquires a lived dimension on a couple of occasions. One is the recalling of a Platonic-style symposium by Ficino, where the persons named as guests, including himself, become real human beings after their being assigned reading parts: 'A division of this kind was approved by all. But the bishop [Antonio Agli of Fiesole, who was assigned Pausanias' speech] and the doctor [the other Ficino, who was assigned the speech by Eryximachus the doctor] being forced to leave, one for the cure of souls, the other for that of patients, handed over their parts in the discussion to Giovanni Cavalcanti. The others

turned towards him and sat ready to listen in silence'. (p. 107) Thus the staging of the *Symposium* for the feast of the circle of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1468 was disrupted by the real tasks of its members. Another instance where the real life of an emigré breaks in is when we descend to Sicily to meet Constantine Lascaris, described as 'one of the least fortunate refugees from Byzantium'. Wilson spends some words to consider his predicament through a letter denouncing poverty and neglect, matters that he reckons can be accounted as sufficiently real, rather than attributed to a sporadic fit of depression (p. 137). When during this letter Lascaris contemplates alternatives to Messina, he concludes that Britain cannot be envisaged as a possible solution, since 'Andronicus Callistus had died there friendless'. The bitter isolation and uncertain positions of these emigrés only transpires from these references. Financial considerations creep into the path of Aldus' career also, though on the whole lack of detailed information appears not to allow pursuit of this kind of evidence for researching these personalities more in the round.

Wilson's specific concern is to highlight the establishment and as far as possible the functioning of educational institutions by looking at the curriculum chosen and the teaching methods employed. Reference to specific manuscripts aids the task of mapping out such activities. Professorships in Greek at major Italian towns enabled a certain continuity of study and thus a growth in the knowledge of the language and of Classical literature by the end of the '400. After all, the production of Aldus's press must have had a relatively large market of buyers, however fleeting and unpredictable their status may have been. Wilson sees these developments as markedly and characteristically Renaissance as opposed to medieval. These historical periods are treated in the book as neatly separate, as signaled by the opening statement, 'In Western Europe in the Middle Ages Greek was not generally known' (p. 1). The very poor quality of translations from Greek up to the 1300 is taken as a sign of the meaningfulness of such a break; and an ascending curve is traced in this respect culminating in the time (if not exactly corresponding to the work) of Aldus. Although Wilson occasionally acknowledges some precursors to the philological methods developed by the humanists, as in the work of the twelfth-century biblical scholar Maniacutia, he is con-

tent to keep them defined as 'medieval' without problematizing such definitions. Although such convenient divisions are enshrined in historical and literary handbooks, Wilson's blanket endorsement demonstrates a certain disregard, if not disdain, of recent scholarly attempts at questioning chronological boundaries in order to remove them. At any rate, this is not the kind of discussion to be found in this book.

Wilson's point of view, apparently amply justified by his evidence, is strictly focused on the Classics, as opposed to Christian writings in Greek. The predominance of Classical literature in the education of a Christian society, and the neglect of the vast resources of Patristic writings, is a surprising, if apparently endemic, situation over which Wilson ponders. Emblematic is his remark about the manuscript of the *Homerocentones* that the Camaldolese monk Pietro Candido presented to his abbot: 'It is difficult to see what spiritual enlightenment could have been obtained by reading stories from the New Testament told in hexameters, each verse of which was constructed from parts of two or three lines of Homer' (p. 161). Literary refinement and the fascination with the clash and merging of ancient and Christian cultures were, however, at the very heart of the papal and ecclesiastical sponsorship of Greek scholarship, of which Camaldoli appears to have been a major centre. Wilson's idiosyncratic treatment of the Council of Florence (1439) is telling in this respect. He compares this assembly, tongue-in-cheek, to a modern academic conference where what is happening on the fringes is more important than the official proceedings. He judges its outcome 'a specious union' and goes on to deal with matters of geography instead: the introduction by Plethon of a text by Strabo may lie behind the project of discovery of the Americas soon after to be undertaken by Colombus. In this vein, the role of the Latin Church in the sponsorship and preservation of Greek humanist culture is considered with a degree of puzzling reticence and dealt with only when unavoidable, as in the case of ecclesiastical figures such as Ambrogio Traversari and Marsilio Ficino. Bruni's Latin version of St Basil, *Discourse to the Young* (pp. 16-18) provides another opportunity for discussing relative pedagogies.

Despite or perhaps because of the richness of the information provided, one concern can be raised about the audience for such a book.

This distillation of knowledge is packed with names and titles of works well beyond what current-day Classical Languages students can hope to master, or even be superficially acquainted with. One is therefore inclined to compare this book to one mentioned in it, the *Thesaurus cornucopiae et horti Adonidis*, a compilation of learning aids, which Aldus printed in 1496. Wilson describes it as a pedagogical effort that did not quite achieve its aim: 'one needs to be quite a good scholar already in order to derive any benefit from it' (p. 155). Similarly, for all its *akribia*, this small book on the Renaissance is hardly written with a pedagogical bent, at least by modern standards. Many authors and works are mentioned without further context or explanation; the notes are laconic in the extreme; in them, articles are cited without titles, and there is no final bibliography to supply such essential information and act as an easy point of reference. A high level of previous knowledge is expected to follow topics that are discussed from already given premises. For example, in none of the references to the 'Pandects', a collection of Laws from the Greek *Digest* preserved in a single manuscript in Florence, are their contents, importance or features of this manuscript explained. Rather, their mystique as a precious 'talisman' and the consequent jealous preservation of the manuscript in question is described with that knowledge taken for granted. One needs to know, moreover, how to look this item up in the index: the Pandects in fact appear as the first entry in the list of manuscripts for the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, as an unnumbered codex (index iii), with slightly different references from the entry under *Digest* in the list of ancient authors (index i). These choices prove the point that a considerable amount of previous knowledge is presupposed by the book.

Yet even for an advanced researcher the task is not an easy one. The tantalizing mention of rare works, for example, *Pinax* by Cebes (p. 170), cannot easily be followed up without scouting for references outside the book, since no footnote is provided. Moreover, mention of Aldine editions is often made without giving the exact title of the book, but only a list of contents. It may be obvious for Renaissance experts how one can retrieve these copies, in what libraries to find them, and with what reference material, but none of this information is provided here.

In other words, any further research one might like to undertake from the many enticing leads provided by Wilson cannot be started without considerable effort. Finally, as a reader, one often finds oneself placed outside the possibility of judging for oneself about the subject. While Wilson has done great service to scholarship in reading and digesting an impressive number of prefaces to Renaissance editions, the wider context of these not-easily reachable works is often elusive: his confident sifting and selective presentation of the evidence does not enable one to form one's own opinion. This condition is not easily accepted, even in the case of boundless trust for one's guide (a Virgil for a Dante). Reading these pages can therefore result in over-exposure to a dense mass of information difficult to keep abreast of.

Among the bibliographical additions, one may remark for this Scandinavian journal a reference to the 2014 edition of Eusthatius of Thessalonica by Eric Cullhed in the context of the discussion of Bessarion's ownership of his autograph manuscript (the reference is found at ch. 8, p. 74 n. 25 and the pages where Cullhed discusses the issue are 37*-39*). In this as in other cases, however, the main text has not been substantially altered. Other additions include recent monographs on individual authors and a few editions, mainly by Italian scholars. The adjustments in the text reveal the merging of two redactions, so that 'recent discoveries' can refer to literature from 1969 (as at p. 42 n. 18) or to a 2014 publication (as at p. 81 n. 11), which can cause bafflement.

To return briefly to the indexes. These are divided into four groups: Ancient authors, medieval persons (and authors), manuscripts, and general. Although they are relatively short (11 pages), one wonders whether such division is helpful. The indexes omit all titles. These could have served as useful subdivisions for longer entries, such as 'Aristotle', and guided the reader to recurring discussions, such as that about his *Poetics*. Moreover, titles of unattributed works such as the *New Testament* (in italics) and Psalter (not in italics) are oddly found in the index of ancient names, whereas others, such as *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, or indeed the *Thesaurus cornucopiae*, are entirely omitted. In the manuscript index, I would have preferred to find citations for codices in the Laurenziana prefixed by 'Plut.', the correct shelfmark necessary to search for

them in (among other things) the online catalogue. The first entry, 25 sin. 9 is also odd, as the 'sin.' is in theory applicable to all the following signatures, but not found there. Finally, the two El Escorial manuscript shelfmarks should match each other by following the same conventions (usually, with a capital Greek letter and full stops).

These small points of precision do not detract from Wilson's admirable and admired contribution to scholarship. One should not of course stop at such cavils. Wilson's understanding of the place of Greek scholarship in the Renaissance, his careful delineation of the relative importance of Aristotle and Plato in this panorama of learning, his attention to cultural manifestations, including painting, botany and medicine, are all riches to be drawn from this slender book. Its agility is deceptive, though, in so far as absorbing it will take much more than the time it takes to read.

[List of misprints:
p. 33: pracsertim should read praesertim
p. 42: Muntua should read Mantua
p. 91, par. 2: insert full stop after 'Vittorino's school'.
p. 121, par. 2: insert comma after 'Roman empire'.
p. 145 : Codro' – add s (twice).
p. 150: the quotation in Latin is not translated.
p. 172 and 215 n. 25: Organon italics.
p. 186 n. 3; Urh. gr. should be Urb. gr.
p. 201 n. 19: Fubini is not at n. 2 as indicated, but at n. 3.
p. 203 n. 17: Unterauchungen should be Untersuchungen.
p. 217 n. 44: duo should be due.
p. 228 Modens should be Modena.]

Index i, s.v. Favorinus: the ancient author at p. 149 is not the same as the character at p. 154 (see index ii, Camers, Favorinus), so that the reference to the latter page should be removed here.

Barbara Crostini
Uppsala University

Erik Sjöberg, *The Making of the Greek Genocide: Contested Memories of the Ottoman Greek Catastrophe*. Berghahn Studies on War and Genocide 2017, 258 pp., ISBN 978-1-78920-063-8.

Inevitably, Genocide Studies straddles the fine line between history and politics. Following a 2003 state-initiated program to teach young people about the Holocaust, the Swedish government funded a *Forum för levande historia* ("Forum of living history"). Subsequently, the question of whether schools should also teach children about atrocities committed in the name of Communism led to a drawn-out debate in 2006 on the right or responsibility of politicians to engage with history. In the same vein, a similar controversy arose in 2010 over an issue that had been brooding for many years: should the Swedish parliament officially acknowledge the fate of the Ottoman Armenians in 1915 as a genocide? In the end, the Swedish Parliament not only acknowledged the Armenian genocide, but also included Ottoman Assyrians and Pontic Greeks in their endorsement, a fact that drew harsh criticism from some observers who cited the uncertainty of the numbers surrounding especially the Pontic Greek case and the controversy that the same claim had recently aroused among genocide scholars in the United States.

It is the decades-long discussion that had preceded the Swedish parliamentary decision – mainly in Greece, but also internationally – that is the subject of Erik Sjöberg's recent book *The Making of the Greek Genocide*. Even through a cursory analysis of its title, which contains the words "making" and "genocide," one can sense the potentially problematic nature of the topic and how easily it might offend a reader irrespective of their perspective. Fortunately, the book quickly dispels whatever misgivings the reader might have: despite his thorough engagement with a vast and complex material, the author skillfully avoids getting caught in the crossfire of different interpretations. The chain of events from the Balkan Wars and First World War to the Greek-Turkish war and final disappearance of the Ottoman Empire are all related in the first chapter, but the book is not devoted to them. The wars, deportations, ethnic cleansings and population exchanges that led to the annihilation of the Greeks in Asia Minor are merely the prologue to the debate over

a national trauma that was initially forgotten under the burden of all the other tragedies and challenges that the young Greek state faced in the mid-twentieth century which included foreign occupation, civil war, and military dictatorship.

The case for a Greek genocide began in the Pontic community in 1980s Greece, and its initial overtones were leftist if not anti-nationalistic. The Pontic Greeks had always been markedly distinct from other Greek groups in the Eastern Mediterranean, and as survivors and refugees they had repeatedly felt neglected and excluded from the national identity promoted by the Greek state. By rediscovering their own trauma, they not only gave a voice to their own dead, disappeared or dispersed ancestors and relatives, but also to their own community within Greece and abroad. Sjöberg follows the many turns, twists, and transformations which, over the course of the ensuing two decades, pushed the Pontic claims for recognition politically rightwards, getting adopted first by nationalist Greeks who saw the Pontic trauma as that of the Greeks as a whole, then by the Greek community in the United States. Living in a country that had, by and large, come to equate the term genocide with the Jewish Holocaust – and where calls to recognize the Armenian claims regularly clashed with political interests to maintain good relations with Turkey – American Greeks began to uncover their own forgotten family traumas, and soon joined demands for a joint recognition of the Greek, Armenian and Assyrian/Syriac genocides as a "Christian Holocaust". This highly contested designation led to a falling-out within the International Association of Genocide Scholars, who both feared a gradual watering down of the concept and deplored the lack of systematic scholarship on the subject. In fact, the recognition turned out to be dissatisfying to many others as well: whereas the Pontic Greeks had effectively lost their special status and become genocide victims along with other Greeks and Christians, the Armenians found it problematic to share their own much more uncontested claim with the Greeks, whose expulsion from Asia Minor took place under significantly different conditions, with a much less obvious claim to victimhood.

For a book that is, to a great extent, based on newspaper columns, debate articles, and political proclamations in one direction or the other,

it is impressive how it still manages to create a fluid and captivating narrative. Some might claim that giving too much precedence to the surrounding debate and political discourse rather than to the tragedy itself, may somehow diminish and relativize the fate of the Pontic Greeks. Conversely, others might claim that more attention ought to have been given to how the debate diverted the attention from significant failures of the modern Greek state, as well as the United States, to acknowledge the diverse voices and memories of their own subjects and communities. In the end, however, neither of these are Sjöberg's objective. The book he has written is as history ideally should but rarely manages to be: a thorough but very clearly delineated investigation, where the various pieces of the source material form a fully readable whole.

Olof Heilo
Deputy director, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul

Richard Clogg. *Greek to Me: A Memoir of Academic Life*. IB Tauris. 2018, 384 pp., ISBN 9781784539887.

Richard Clogg is one of the great British Hellenists. His works have become standard texts in universities, and have even been set in the Greek education system (that bastion of pedagogical pedantry and scholarly conservatism). Over his career, Clogg has sought to recover the scholar's interest in modern Greece from the 'distorting mirror of antiquity' (p. 12). He prefers to call his field not 'modern Greek history', but 'the modern history of Greece' (p. 106), or altogether 'to dispense with "modern" when talking about Greece' (p. 163–4), which he sees as an injustice imposed by dominance of the Classics. The author's scholarship is marked its broad scope and generality, which he unfairly calls '[o]ne of the problems in my career' (p. 130). He has published on the Greek Enlightenment and the independence movement, the Phanariotes, Greek party politics, and the cultural ambiguity of the Karamanlides. Since 1981, Clogg has been working on an official history of the British Special Operations Executive's (SOE) role in supporting the wartime resistance in Greece. Yet it is possible that Clogg will be remembered less for his own scholarship than for the role he assumed as an observer of academic politics in Britain. Indeed, this memoir grew out a project to write 'a book about what I termed "ethnic" chairs and the "privatisation of knowledge" in the English-speaking world' (p. 267).

Clogg has held academic posts at Edinburgh, King's College in London, and St Antony's in Oxford. By far, his time at King's was the most interesting. When a 'third' university was established in London in the nineteenth century, it gave birth to another centre for gossip and politics, though perhaps of a kind less caustic than at Oxford and Cambridge. The great academic scandal of the 1920s in London was the 'involuntary resignation' of Arnold Toynbee at the hands of wealthy benefactors at King's College (p. 176). Toynbee had been selected as the inaugural holder of the Koraes Chair, established with Greek money for the maintenance of Byzantine and modern Greek studies in England. The catch was, it turned out, that the price of tenure was giving up academic freedom. Toynbee's critical attitude to the catastrophic Greek campaign

in Asia Minor was a step too far for his financial supporters. The affair remained controversial still sixty years later, when Clogg published his analysis of the material in the archives, which had been kept hidden for decades in the department. In writing *Politics and the Academy: Arnold Toynbee and the Koraes Chair*, Clogg had (in his own words) 'knitted a sock' for his career.

The chapter on Toynbee in Clogg's memoir is—for those who have read *Politics and the Academy*—largely repetitive. But the author does offer one judgment, not present in that earlier book, which it seems the cure of time has made possible. Clogg concludes that—despite the fact Toynbee was probably fair in his assessment of Greek atrocities in Turkey—he was motivated by a 'mishellenism' (p. 210), for which '[e]ven his mother … [had] reproached him' (p. 201). It was one thing for Toynbee to question the 'civilising mission' of the Greeks in the East, and another for him to allege, contrary to the evidence, 'that it was the Greeks rather than the Turks that had set fire to Smyrna' (p. 198). Clogg devotes several pages to a thorough assassination of the man's character (pp. 210–6). The author is a fair judge of a man driven by race prejudice and misanthropy.

The fifth chapter, on Clogg's own troubles at King's decades after Toynbee, is the most interesting in the book, for its indictment of ugly scholarly squabbles at the college and elsewhere. But Clogg's interest in hanging out the 'dirty academic linen' (p. 175) is not driven by a mere interest in scandal. The real casualty of the Toynbee affair was neither the man himself nor the rich Anglo-Greeks who had torn him down so that the holder of *their* chair would also to be on *their* side (see p. 219). Instead, the sad victim was Greek itself, which would cease to be taught at King's not so long after it had begun, following the withdrawal of Greek money from the lectureship. Clogg claims that it was not until he and Philip Sherrard had campaigned for its re-endowment in the 1970s that the language was revived (p. 205).

Clogg's recollections leave one to wonder what it is about Greek studies that seems to produce a boundless quantity of controversy, and a plentiful supply of material for career gossips (think Maurice Bowra and Kenneth Dover). In Clogg's sixth chapter, 'Greeks bearing chairs: chairs

bearing Greeks' (p. 251), we find a plausible explanation in that modern Greek studies has never been able to be properly placed. It is variously tacked on as an afterthought to Classics, Middle Eastern studies, and Byzantine history departments. This is an academic manifestation of the very problem of modern Greek identity. Its consequence has been a never-ending territorial war among the characters in Clogg's autobiography. The greatest hatreds have been fostered between Byzantinists and what Clogg calls Greek 'modernists', proving the old cliché that fiercer enemies are made of brothers than strangers. Perhaps fittingly, this memoir does not resist the author's urge to sully the reputation of several well-known Hellenists with whom he has crossed swords during his career.

Nonetheless it would be wrong to think that Clogg was involved only in the internal debates of the academy. His first battles were fought, rather, on the subject of the Greek military junta. In this book, he strikes at the reputation of (supposedly) left-wing characters like Francis Noel-Baker MP, who had once supported the Greek Left during the war, and saw no inconsistency in their later support for the regime of the colonels. Clogg, who recounts his own role as one of the BBC's go-to anti-junta commentators, reminds us that Noel-Baker's affection for Greece was no deeper than an interest in protecting his property on Euboea. Clogg cannot help himself from correcting misspellings in several of Noel-Baker's quotes (p. 73: 'The State's functions remained inactif [sic]', 'The parliamentarism reached to an impass [sic]', p. 81: 'a British … Lobbiest [sic]'). It seems thus that losing his holiday house was the least of Noel-Baker's worries.

The maintenance of a philhellenic sentiment in Britain remained important for Greece during the junta, as it had always been. In 1967, when the regime sought an author for an English-language history of modern Greece which would not merely exculpate the colonels but praise them, they went to Hugh Trevor-Roper. It was a wise decision, though it did not save his reputation from being trashed two decades later in the Hitler diaries scandal. Clogg seems to have taken great pride in his attacks on the junta's foreign PR campaign. It was also a battle that was fun to fight, precisely because the rhetoric of the regime's defenders was so

vacuous and easy for Clogg to refute, often in spirals of correspondence to major publications like the *Times Literary Supplement*.

Clogg's efforts in this campaign, and elsewhere in his academic life, often won him enemies. He offers a piece of hearsay:

> at a dinner party of "philhellenes" in London my name cropped up and I had been dismissed as the person who wrote about Greece as though it were North Vietnam. … this was clearly intended as an insult, but in fact I found the comment rather flattering. I think it quite appropriate … not to view [Greece] through rose-tinted, or should that be blue-tinted, philhellenic spectacles… (pp. 284–5).

That Clogg chooses not to refute the 'insult', but to wear it proudly, is evidence of the man's bold conviction, a devotion to scholarship and a distaste for its manipulation. Thus when the regime contacted Clogg with the offer of a donation of Greek books for the library at King's, he did not reject it on the grounds they would be pure propaganda, for the books 'would all be part and parcel of the academic record' (p. 65–6). Though this may seem an admirable choice to put scholarship above politics, it was, rather, an intelligent move to assure the record allowed future scholars to read the original literature of a base and repugnant regime.

The enterprise of so thorough and excellent an autobiography as this demands attention to the places where it is let down. Often Clogg cannot resist the temptation of exhausting the record. Some of his digressions lead the reader into stories which are interesting but only marginally relevant, as when he regrets the prevalence of a myth about Tony Blair's time at Fettes. The slender connection to Clogg—they both went to the same school, though more than a decade apart—leaves the reader to wonder why it matters whether or not Blair's politics were formed by the burning of an effigy of Hugh Gaitskell on Guy Fawkes Night at the school (p. 15–6). When he recounts a rumour from the junta, Clogg tells us that '[p]resumably a search of the newspapers of the time would reveal whether or not this anecdote is true' (p. 44). Clogg professes he does not have 'the time … to try to verify' it (p. 43), leaving one to wonder why he bothered to put it in at all. There is also a tendency to oversimplify. This is the case when he describes the *Septemvriana* as

'the beginning of a sad process which effectively doomed the once large Greek minority in Turkey to virtual extinction.' (p. 18) That must more properly be dated to the exchange of populations in 1922.

These are faults that ought not to have passed the editor's sieve. But often the book gives the impression of never having been read thoroughly before. It is frequently repetitive, often not only repeating the exposition of a subject or character, but doing so in identical phrasing. There are some simple, but important, lapses of language, as when a Greek word is transliterated in two different ways in the same sentence (Korais/Koraes, p. 36; cf. Euboea/Evia, pp. 52/108). Yet these oversights are less oppressive than the general decision to transliterate every word of Greek, even when a quote or full title is given (e.g. 'Prossalendis' tract, *O airetikos didaskalos ypo tou Orthodoxou mathitou elegkhomenos*': p. 295). One must oppose this choice, which has become a noticeable trend, on both aesthetical and scholarly grounds. It is hard to see how a book, which will be picked up mostly by readers with some Greek, either advances the cause of Greek scholarship, or widens its audience, by cleansing its pages of Greek letters. Nevertheless, the errors here listed are but small slips in an otherwise thrilling account of a fascinating life.

There is an obvious principle about academic politics in the Toynbee affair: 'that a Koraes professor seeking a quiet life should steer well clear of modern history' (p. 224). Clogg never took heed of this lesson. For his willingness to speak about the academy and Greece without the distortion of rose-tinted glasses, he has been unjustly labelled a 'second Lord Elgin' (p. 300). This certainly caused Clogg great trouble in his own career, but his memoir is all the more interesting for it.

Kyriaco Nikias
University of Adelaide, Australia

Contributors

Dmitry Afinogenov is a research associate at Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of World History in Moscow and professor of Byzantine literature at the Dept. of Byzantine and Modern Greek philology, Faculty of Philology, Moscow Lomonosov University. Main interests include the history of the Byzantine Iconoclasm, Greek Medieval hagiography, and study of Slavonic translations as sources for textual criticism of the Byzantine literature.

Alberto Bardi (PhD, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich 2017) has been fellow at Dumbarton Oaks (Harvard University) and visiting scholar at the Max-Planck-Institute for the History of Science in Berlin, at the Department of History of Science at University of Oklahoma (Mellon Fellowship Award) and at the German Center of Venetian Studies in Venice. His areas of inquiry are Greek and Latin Philology, Byzantine Studies, and History of Science, especially the History of Astronomy in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance. His current research focuses on the cross-cultural entanglements of Greek, Arabic, Persian, and Jewish astronomy in the Byzantine Empire. He is also working on the edition of the astronomical work of the Byzantine scholar Georgios Chrysokokkes.

Barbara Crostini is associate professor (docent) in Byzantine Greek at the Department of Philology and Linguistics, Uppsala University. She has worked on two manuscript catalogues at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Trinity College Library, Dublin, and has collaborated to the project of digitizing all Greek manuscripts in Sweden (www.manuscripta.se). She is preparing a digital edition of MS Vaticanus graecus 752, an eleventh-century Psalter with catena and illustrations, about which she recently published a collection of essays with Glenn Peers for the series Studi e testi (Vatican City, 2016).

Alexandra Fiotaki holds a Degree in Linguistics from the University of Athens and a Master's in Language Technology– Technoglwssia in the Cross-University Program of the University of Athens, the National Technical University of Athens and the Institute for Language and Speech

Processing. She is currently a Researcher Ph.D Student in Linguistics at the Department of Philology, University of Ioannina. She has worked in national and European research projects that employed syntactic patterns for parsing Greek and English corpora, ontologies to represent lexical knowledge and knowledge about cultural objects.

Marika Lekakou is Assistant Professor of Linguistics (Syntax and Semantics) at the Department of Philology, University of Ioannina. She holds a degree of Philology from the University of Athens and a PhD in Theoretical Linguistics (2005) from University College London. Prior to her appointment at the University of Ioannina she worked as post-doctoral researcher within the ESF-funded European Dialect Syntax Project (Meertens Instituut, KNAW, Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences). Her research interests lie in Theoretical Syntax and Semantics, as well as the Syntax-Semantics Interface. She has worked on a number of research topics from a cross-linguistic perspective, including argument structure alternations, the morphosyntax and semantics of definiteness, compound tenses, long-distance wh-questions, mood and tense-aspect-modality interactions. She has a special interest in morphosyntactic dialectal variation and has served as Principal Investigator of a project on Southern-Italian Greek (Griko).

Filippo Ronconi is associate professor (Maître de Conférences) at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales) of Paris, where he created the chair "Writing and Society in Byzantium". As a paleographer-codicologist, he is the author of articles and books on Greek and Latin manuscripts, on the transmission of grammatical, philosophical, and patristic texts in Byzantine Empire and beyond, on the composition and first transmission of Byzantine literary texts, on the history of Byzantine libraries and on the circulation of books in the medieval Mediterranean. He is director (with Jean-Luc Fournet) of the International Itinerant Paleographic School (IIPS) and responsible (with Aurélien Berra) for the ALGreM project (Anthologie du Livre Grec Manuscrit - Greek Manuscript Book Anthology).

Yannis Smarnakis is lecturer in Social and Cultural History of Byzantium at the University of the Aegean (Greece). His main research interests include the history of the political thought, the Byzantine identities, the urban revolts and the historiography of Byzantium.

Anne Weddigen graduated from the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris and is writing her PhD on the Harmonics of Manuel Bryennios. The study of Paris. gr. 2494 was undertaken while working as a research collaborator on the catalogue of Greek musical and mathematical manuscripts at the French National Library in Paris.

David Wills is treasurer of the UK's Society for Modern Greek Studies. Following degrees in ancient history and archaeology from Cambridge and University College London, he was awarded his PhD in 2003 on the history of travel writing about Greece. Publications include *The Mirror of Antiquity: 20th Century British Travellers in Greece* (2007) and *Greece and Britain Since 1945* (2010 / 2014). Recent journal articles concern British fictional accounts of the Salonica Front in the First World War, novels about the 1950s "Cyprus Emergency", Hollywood movies set in Greece, and the travel writer Sir Patrick Leigh Fermor.