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Editorial

The *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* has reached its ninth year of publication, sustaining its foundational tenets and commitment to serving as a forum for Byzantine and Modern Greek studies. Starting with this volume, Christian Høgel, who has until now been a member of the journal's Editorial Board, will also serve as Editor-in-chief, sharing the responsibility with Vassilios Sabatakakis.

The ninth volume of the *SJBMGS* comprises seven studies, of which six are centred around Byzantine archaeology and literature, one on the reception of Byzantium by modern historiography, and two on modern Greek studies.

In her article Elizabeth Zanghi contributes to the study and understanding of Byzantine art in Cappadocia (El Nazar Kilise). The subsequent three studies by Byron MacDougall, Konstantinos Chryssogelos and Antonios Pontoropoulos make significant contributions to the study of Byzantine literature. The study by George Terezakis, which examines "The evolution of Byzantine historical studies in Greece", is of particular note as it bridges the Byzantine and modern eras. A further related article is that by Varvara Spinoula, who examines how Georgios Markos Tertsetis in the nineteenth century inspired and exploited Pericles' Funeral Oration to compose his own funeral eulogies. Finally, David Wills' study is on 'The 'conquest' of Greece's Mount Olympus by Anglophone travellers since 1900'.

The volume also comprises two book reviews. The first, by Barbara Crostini, is on "Constructing Saints in Greek and Latin Hagiography". The second one, by Dimitrios Agoritsas, is on the history of late Byzantine and early Ottoman Thessaly. The volume concludes with a presentation of Alexandra Fiotaki's dissertation in the field of Modern Greek Linguistics, delivered by Georgios Mikros.

It is imperative to emphasise that the *SJBMGS* is an inclusive forum that extends a warm welcome to early career scholars, encouraging their

contributions to the advancement of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. The journal is dedicated to fostering a collaborative environment where scholars can engage in the development of history, philology, literature, and linguistics related to these fields. The journal encourages and supports academic exploration of the Greek past in a diachronic manner.

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Narratological Devices in Cappadocian Wall Paintings:
The case of the infancy cycle at the El Nazar Kilise[*]

Elizabeth Zanghi

The story of Christ's infancy, an important exegetical narrative that underscores the Virgin's role in the incarnation and in the salvation of the world, became a common theme in Byzantine church decoration at least by the 9th century. Examining how the pictorial representations of the infancy overlap or diverge from textual accounts of the story shows that they are not simply visual representations or reconstitutions of the texts. Rather, they create unique narratives, borrowing, imitating, and drawing from various models, but also often changing and adding new narratological devices that are not present in

textual narratives. This article examines one 10th-century iconographical cycle of Christ's infancy in particular, at the El Nazar Kilise in Göreme, Cappadocia. Using a narratological lens, especially the concepts of order, speed, mode, and voice, it explores how the pictorial narrative transforms and is transformed by the ecclesiastical space in which it is told.

Introduction

The El Nazar Kilise in Göreme is a cruciform rock-cut church with a mostly intact iconographical program painted on its walls [fig. 1-2]. Around the church, over a dozen other edifices are cut into the strange, other-worldly rock formations, creating a somewhat cohesive group of monuments. As is the case with most Cappadocian rock-cut monuments from the Byzantine period, there exists no textual evidence of the founders or donors of any of these edifices.[1] Therefore, in order to understand the function of El Nazar Kilise, it is necessary to study the painted and sculpted decoration of the church as well as its archeological setting in relation to the other edifices throughout the site. For this reason, the current study is only a small part of a larger study of the church. It presents the cycle of the Infancy of Christ represented in the southern arm of the church, painted sometime during the 10th century, and proposes to use narratological methodologies in order to better understand the space in which the narrative is painted, concentrating on four aspects of its narration: order, speed, mode, and voice.

When studying narratology as art historians, the first problem comes from confronting the actual definition of narratology. Although recent studies have successfully shown the benefits of studying iconography from a narrative perspective,[2] for to Gérard Genette, a narrative must

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[1] Only a few churches in the region possess dedicatory inscriptions which help to date the monuments precisely. See Thierry 1995, 419–455.

[2] The recent volume edited by Sulamith Brodbeck, Anne-Orange Poilpré and Ioanna Rapti, *Histoires Chrétiennes en images : Espace, temps et structure de la narration*, is a prime example (Brodbeck, Poilpré & Rapti 2022). Another pertinent example is a book chapter by Judith Soria in the volume *Storytelling in Byzantium: Narratological approaches to Byzantine texts and images* (Messis, Mullett & Nilsson 2018). In her contribution, Soria examines the iconographic programs of three churches in Mace-

be recounted by a narrator, orally or in writing. According to Gennette, theater, film, and other forms of visual art are simply, "representations" or "reconstitutions" of the story – in its narratological sense – while the narrative proper requires it to be represented by exclusively verbal discourse.[3] Since his argument is based mainly on the lack of a clear narrator in visual art forms, therefore, I will attempt to contradict the claim that visual narratives do not have a narrator, using El Nazar as a case study.[4] In fact, in addition to establishing possible functions for the particular part of the church where the cycle is presented, studying its narrative will help us evaluate the roles of the faithful – the viewers – in assigning meaning to the narrative and to the space, giving them agency as narrators themselves.

The story of the infancy is a particularly interesting case to study, because its textual tradition is spread out throughout multiple texts. Unlike scenes from the Passion of Christ, for example, which are relative-

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donia and Serbia from the 13th and 14th centuries in order to understand the narrative structure of the cycles of Christ's Passion and to argue that the representations of the apostles allow those apostles to act as intermediaries who invite the viewer to enter into the narrative (very broadly speaking). Part of her argument for studying iconography through narratology is based on a definition of narration as being "a sequential representation of sequential events," which is how the scenes of the Passion tend to be painted in church naves. She continues by saying that an essential part of a narrative is action or changes in state between balance and unbalance, or, in other words, moments or situations that perturb a stable scene, which she is able to describe very effectively in the scenes of the Passion. Soria's source material, however, differs in some important ways from the scenes that the present article examines. Namely, the scenes from the Passion of Christ are relatively homogenous throughout the four canonical gospels. This has an effect on the way in which an artist chooses how to represent the scene, because he or she has a stable textual model. See Soria 2018, 177–197.

[3] Genette in Jost 2017, 267: "Si l'on envisage (définition large) toute espèce de "représentation" d'une histoire, il y a évidemment récit théâtral, récit filmique, récit par bandes dessinées, etc. Personnellement, je suis plutôt, et de plus en plus, pour une définition étroite de récit : haplè diègèsis, exposé des faits par un narrateur qui signifie les faits par voie verbale (orale ou écrite), et en ce sens il n'y a pas pour moi de récit théâtral ou filmique. Le théâtre ne raconte pas, il "reconstitue" une histoire sur scène, et le cinéma montre sur l'écran une histoire également "reconstituée" (en fait, bien sûr, constituée) sur le plateau."

[4] Studying non-traditional literary sources from a narratological perspective is no longer a controversial topic, and authors in many academic fields have been employing narratology to study various types of sources since at least the 1980's. See Ryan 2014.

ly homogenous throughout the four canonical Gospels, the infancy is only told in two of the four Gospels, Matthew and Luke, and these two Gospels tell it in differing ways.[5] Additionally, many details about the infancy of Christ are completely absent in the canonical Gospels, so that apocryphal texts become important sources, notably the Protoevangelium of James.[6] The early conceivers or designers of the infancy cycles, therefore, have the job of patching these different accounts of the story together. Secondly, because of the patchwork nature of the story and because there is no single textual model to which they can turn, the viewer has the task of piecing together the different scenes and engaging with them, perhaps mentally attaching words to make sense of the story.[7] In certain cases, they may even attach words to the story that are vocalized during the liturgy or the offices. That being said, since the formation of the textual tradition of the Infancy considerably predates its iconographic tradition, and since some narratological devices from the texts overlap with the iconographical cycles, it is advantageous to have an understanding of these texts, and we will refer to them throughout the article.[8]

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[5] See *Gospel of Luke*, 1469–1474 (1:1–2:52); *Gospel of Matthew*, 1386–1387 (1:18–2:23).

[6] The Protoevangelium of James, so-called because the author claims to be Joseph's son James, is an apocryphal gospel that recounts the life of Mary and the infancy of Christ. One of its main purposes was to affirm the virginity of Mary. It was most likely composed originally in Greek sometime in the 2nd century, and it circulated widely throughout the Greek-speaking world. See Minmouni 2011, 343–345; Ehrman & Pleše 2011, 31–33. For a critical edition of the Greek text, following the most ancient version of the text, see *Protoevangelium of James*.

[7] The idea of "filling in the gaps" of a story by the viewers of a visual narrative was studied by S. Lewis in her contribution to the *Companion to Medieval Art. Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*. She uses the example of Guda, a nun who is represented multiple times in ornate initial letters in a 12th-century Gothic manuscript. Lewis attests that Guda's convent sisters could fill in the gaps of Guda's story in between the different depictions of her. See Lewis 2019, 150–155.

[8] Regarding the apocryphal infancy Gospels, we will only refer to the Protoevangelium of James throughout this article for multiple reasons. We will not refer to the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, for example, because the text does not include the scenes from Christ's infancy that are depicted in the church. The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, on the other hand, does include some of the scenes of the infancy that are missing in the Protoevangelium of James. It is a Latin text which probably used a Latin translation of the Protoevangelium of James as its model, but with many significant changes and

The Iconographical program at El Nazar

Although any information concerning the donation or foundation of El Nazar is lost, the majority of its 10th-century painted program is still intact.[9] In the central part of the church a large representation of Christ's Ascension fills the dome. He is surrounded by flying angels, Mary, and the twelve apostles. The apse is decorated by the Theotokos flanked by two archangels, a prophet, and a holy bishop. The narrative part of the program begins in the southern arm with the cycle of Christ's Infancy, which will be detailed below, and it continues in the western arm with depictions of Christ's Baptism and Transfiguration. The cycle is interrupted by a double portrait of Constantine and Helena (also in the western arm), then carries over into the northern arm with scenes from Christ's adult life and his Passion: the Journey into Jerusalem, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Crucifixion, and the Anastasis. Underneath the image of the Anastasis, three as-of-yet unidentified saints are painted in a privileged space, directly above a funerary chapel.[10] The rest of the church is filled with portraits of other various saints (full-length and three-quarter portraits as well as busts within medallions) and non-figural decoration.

The story of Christ's Infancy at El Nazar starts with the scene of the Annunciation [fig. 3]. The scene is labeled Ο ΧΕΡΕΤΪΣΜΟΣ – literally

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additions. The text circulated in Latin speaking spheres, most likely as a replacement for the Protoevangelium of James in the Latin West when the Protoevangelium was banned by Pope Gelasius towards the end of the 8th century. Therefore, it does not seem pertinent to add this text to the present study, which focuses on a Greek-speaking region in the Byzantine empire. For the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, see Elliott 2005, 68. For the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, see Gijsel 1997, 2–15; Mourad 2002, 207; Ehrman & Pleše 2011, 73–77.

[9] Here, we will only detail the 10th-century phase of decoration, but we should note that there is an earlier phase of decoration which was most likely painted sometime during the 9th century. A full description of both phases of decoration is included in my PhD dissertation currently under redaction. The Greek name of this church is lost. The name El Nazar signifies, in Turkish and in Arabic, the "evil eye" or "the view", and it was most likely attributed to this church because of the panoramic view of multiple plateaus and valleys around the church.

[10] Theories concerning the identification of these saints will be detailed in the aforementioned dissertation, along with possible identifications of other unidentified saints.

"the greeting" – which is a reference to the salutation spoken by the Angel Gabriel, χαῖρε or χαιρετισμός. This greeting is present in both the Protoevangelium of James and the Gospel of Luke, but also in the *kontakion* for the Annunciation written by Romanos the Melode. In the *kontakion*, the word is repeated throughout the hymn as a refrain that may have been sung by the congregation.[11] The iconographical scene recounts the moment when the angel, coming from the right, greets the Virgin and announces the news that she will be the receptacle of the Lord. She is wearing a blue-gray *maphorion* on top of a purple-crimson dress, and she stands up in front of a large cushion, which is supported by a highly ornate chair. Her placement in front of the chair evinces the upward motion she made when the angel arrived. She holds her right hand over her heart, while her left hand clings to a purple thread, denoting the activity leading up to this crucial moment and overlapping into it (before the angel arrives, Mary is said to be preparing the thread for a new curtain for the Temple). She is covered by a strange architectonic structure with curtains wrapped around its colonnettes, giving us an idea of the possibly indoor/outdoor setting. This scene is told in the Protoevangelium of James and in the Gospel of Luke, but the detail of the thread for the Temple is only present in the Protoevangelium.[12] The end of the scene is marked by the back of the angel, which separates this scene from the next, the Visitation.

A certain amount of time passes between the Annunciation and the Visitation. In the Protoevangelium, it is said that Mary first returns to preparing the purple thread before leaving to visit her cousin, but the scenes at El Nazar are only separated by a very small sliver of empty space in-between the back of the angel and the Visitation Virgin. She is wearing the same clothes as the previous scene, and she is facing in roughly the same direction, but this time, her attention is given to Elizabeth. The majority of this figure is destroyed,[13] but she is labeled above

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[11] Romanos the Melode, *Hymns. New Testament*, 13–41.

[12] This detail is one of the elements used by the author of the text to explain Mary's holiness and her devotion to the Lord already before the angel's announcement. See Cunningham 2022, 229.

[13] A more complete image of the scene is visible in the early photograph by Guillaume de Jerphanion. See fig. 11b.

her head, as is the title of the scene, and one of her hands is still visible on Mary's right shoulder. The top of her halo is also visible, showing that she is at a lower level than Mary, and an unhaloed servant girl, labeled to the right, closes the scene under another architectonic structure with a roof similar to that of the previous scene. The servant is absent in all textual retellings of this scene; she may serve as a physical witness to the miraculous event,[14] or as a symbol of Elizabeth's affluence and her priestly family.[15] These two scenes take up one full register, on the upper half of the eastern vault in the southern arm of the church. Because they share this space, the viewer gets a sense that Mary has traveled to see her cousin, giving the viewer, again, a sense of the passage of time. Then, after the Visitation, a long series of events from the textual accounts of the story are skipped.

The next scene follows on the upper part of the flat southern wall of the same arm. It recounts the nativity of Christ, and it takes a full register with none of its iconographic elements surpassing the border of the register. The scene separates itself, therefore, in time and space from the other elements of the story, although it fits into the chronological sequence [fig. 4]. It also distinguishes itself in the way that the scene is staged compositionally; it is the only episode in the infancy cycle that is organized almost completely horizontally rather than vertically. The Virgin is stretched out, lying down on a long cushion. She takes up most of the composition, but she gazes towards the Christ child who is lying in an ornate manger.[16] The gaze is shared by two animals who separate the Virgin from the child. The viewer also perceives the great star at the top right of the scene, indicating the time that the scene is taking place.

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[14] Jolivet-Lévy 2001, 189. Although the servant is absent in the textual accounts of the scene of the Visitation, it is perhaps notable that there is a servant present in the story of the conception of Mary (Judith, the servant of Anna) in the Protoevangelium of James, who is a kind of prophetess (ch. 2 and 3). See *Protoevangelium of James (English translation)*, 40–43; *Protoevangelium of James*, 68–75.

[15] We see this, for example, in many representations of Anna, the mother of Mary, wherein she is depicted with servants in order to stress her status as an aristocrat. See Panou 2018, 94–95.

[16] It is embellished in a very similar way to the chair in the scene of the Annunciation.

This scene is less dynamic than the previous ones. Even one of the characters who should be present in the scene, Joseph, is placed outside the composition [fig. 5]. He holds his hand to his cheek, indicating either disgruntlement or meditation, and he faces towards the scene of the Nativity, though he is clearly separated from it.[17] His back turned towards the characters in the next scene separates him even further. In fact, the register in which he is portrayed represents three distinct moments, creating a moving, chronological sequence, starting with Joseph, and then moving on to the next scenes [fig. 5]. Next to Joseph, two midwives perform the first bath of Christ. This scene is not present in any of the textual sources, although the midwives are introduced in the Protoevangelium before and immediately after the birth of Christ. Both midwives are named with an inscription. Salome, who pours water into the washing basin, is to the right of the scene. The other midwife, labeled "Mea", short for Emea, to the viewers' left, holds the Christ child upright.[18] She sits on a chair facing the basin, but her face is turned slightly forward towards the viewer. Neither of these two characters are haloed. Christ, who is haloed, sits in the basin with his arms and legs both crossed.

This scene then overlaps with the next episode, with the angel who will announce the news to the shepherds. The angel, flying completely horizontally above the head of the midwife Salome, moves from one scene to another, linking them in both time and space. The shepherds are present in both the Protoevangelium of James and the Gospel of Luke. One shepherd, aged with a long white beard and white hair, is visibly looking towards the approaching angel. He is holding a staff in his left hand and his right hand is raised. The middle figure holds up his right hand, and the final shepherd is sitting on a rock holding a flute, signaling that he is a musician.[19] Below the shepherds, there are multiple animals.

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[17] A more in-depth look into the posture of Joseph is detailed below, in a section outlying the speed of the narrative.

[18] For more on the introduction of the midwives into iconographical scenes of the first bath of Christ, see Schiller 1971, 61.

[19] We see this detail a bit better in the photograph by Guillaume de Jerphanion. The mantle of the musician is decorated in a very similar way to the dress of the second midwife, Salome. See fig. 11e.

Two are anchored firmly to the ground, while one climbs up a tree and another seems to be in the midst of jumping in the air.

The text written directly to the right of the angel is difficult to decipher. Jerphanion transcribed it as follows:[20]

ΠΑΥСΎΑСΤΕ ΑΓΡΑΒΛΟΥΝΤΕС Ύ ΤΟ///////////////// Ύ ΠΎΜΕΝΕС

We can make a connection between this text and a verse found in the *sticheron* for the nativity written by Romanos the Melode,[21] which says: "Come therefore, shepherds who tend your beasts…and cease playing the flute (Νέεσθε λοιπόν, οἱ φυλάσσοντες ποιμένες ... παύσασθε αὐλοῦντες...)."[22] There is, of course, a difference in spelling for the word "flute" (ἀγραβλοῦντες), but similar orthography is found in other churches in the region. We see it clearly at the Cistern Church (Avcılar 13), for example, which is found further south on the opposite side of the same valley as El Nazar [fig. 6].[23] This spelling may have been a popular regional spelling or pronunciation of the word.[24]

Next, jumping to the lower register of the flat southern wall, the narrative continues chronologically with the scenes of the Adoration of the Magi (which is told in both the Protoevangelium of James and the Gospel of Matthew) and the Flight into Egypt (which is only narrated in the Gospel of Matthew) [fig. 7]. The first scene shows the Christ child on the lap of his mother with Joseph at their backs and the three magi in

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[20] Jerphanion 1925, vol. I, 185.

[21] A *sticheron*, similar to a *troparion*, is a refrain to the psalmody. *Stichera* differ from *kontakia*, for which Romanos is especially known, and which are full hymns including prologues, refrains, and multiple stanzas.

[22] The text continues: "...and, jumping with joy, admire how the Mother of God holds her son in her arms before the dawn." See Romanos the Melode, *Hymns. New Testament*, 150–151 (verse 18).

[23] The same spelling is also found at the Ayvalı Kilise à Güllüdere, one of the few churches in the region dated securely by inscription (913–920). See Thierry 1965, 107.

[24] Further, Jerphanion suggests that there may be a play on words, since the word ἀγραυλοῦντες signifies "spending the night in the fields." See Jerphanion 1925, vol. I, 185 n. 4.

front.[25] The magus who reaches for the holy family is almost completely destroyed, but it is clear that he is actively moving towards them. The second and third magi seem to be turned towards each other, each holding their gift up to their midsection, but they are still moving towards Christ and his family. This movement, therefore, is going from right to left, which is in contrast to the next scene, the Flight into Egypt. In this next scene, Christ, sitting again with his mother, is riding on a donkey being led by one of Joseph's sons, James, who is labeled above his head. Joseph is following from behind with his hand raised. We should note that James is not present in the only textual account of this scene, in the Gospel of Matthew, and that this is the only scene in which James is portrayed at El Nazar, though he takes an important amount of space in the composition.[26] He holds the reins of the donkey in his hand, and he leads the action forward, connecting this part of the scene with the next, as he looks towards the representation of the city of Egypt, depicted on the lower register of the western vault [fig. 8].

An important part of this next scene, the personification of the city of Egypt, is almost completely destroyed, but we read the first letters of ΕΓ[υπτος], above the damaged depiction of the female figure who holds a lit torch in her right hand.[27] To her left, [η] ΠΟΛΙΣ is visible above the representation of the city, with multiple busts of people looking through windows in a two-story architectural unit, complete with a parapet on top. Immediately next to this city scene, the Pursuit of Elizabeth and John the Baptist is portrayed [fig. 8], which is narrated only in the Protoevangelium of James and which is labeled at the top of the scene. This episode should take place at roughly the same time as the previous episode, but their settings are visibly very different. The pursuers are depicted in a sort of forest, in front of a mass of trees, moving in the direction of Elizabeth. Only one of these pursuers is still visible, but it is clear that he is turned away from Egypt and moves towards the

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[25] Although they are now destroyed, the names of Mary and Joseph are still visible in Jerphanion's photograph of the scene. Of the three magi, only Balthasar's label is still visible, but they are labeled as a group to the right of the young magus in the middle.

[26] In the Protoevangelium, James is indeed present in other parts of the text. See note 53.

[27] The majority of the female personification was already destroyed at the time of Jerphanion.

main characters of this next scene. He is on a much smaller scale than Elizabeth and John, who are portrayed sitting in a cave,[28] both looking towards the pursuers. The cave and the top of Elizabeth's halo breach the border of the scene, perhaps inviting the viewer to refer back to the scene of the shepherds and the animals who were also favored by the Lord and chosen to be witnesses to the birth of Christ. Then, the scene closes with the back of John the Baptist, labeled as the Prodromos, creating a sort of frame at the extremity of the register.

To continue chronologically, then, it is necessary to move back to the lower register on the eastern vault, where the Presentation of Christ at the Temple is depicted [fig. 9]. In the textual retelling of this story, in the Gospel of Luke,[29] there are only five characters: Christ, Mary and Joseph, the priest Symeon, and a prophetess named Anna. At El Nazar, however, Joachim is added to the group. The main visual apex at El Nazar is found towards the center of the composition, slightly to the right, where Mary holds the Christ Child above an altar towards Symeon. The priest has his hands covered as is the custom, and he reaches out to take the child. Behind him, the depiction of the ciborium is badly damaged. On the other side of the composition, the Virgin seems to be at the front of a train of characters. She is followed by Joseph, Joachim, and Anna. Joseph lifts his hands, covered by his mantle. Typically, he would be holding two doves, as per the Jewish tradition.[30] At El Nazar, this part of the scene is somewhat damaged, but his hands seem to be free of any burden.

Behind Joseph, the two remaining characters raise their right hands. The first, Joachim, is not present in the textual retelling of the episode in the Gospel of Luke. We may read this addition as a possible mistake, due to confusion in the identity of Anna, who is depicted behind Joa-

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[28] Technically, as it is described in the Protoevangelium (ch. 22.3), it is the miraculous opening of a mountain, and not a cave. *Protoevangelium of James (English translation)*, 66–67; *Protoevangelium of James*, 174–177.

[29] The Presentation is not narrated in the other canonical Gospels, nor is it narrated in the Protoevangelium of James. It is narrated in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, but we have chosen not to examine this text, as discussed previously. See note 8.

[30] We see Joseph's doves clearly in other churches in Cappadocia, such as the Ayvalı Kilise in Güllüdere. For a photo see Thierry 1965, 110, fig. 9.

chim; if the artist assumed that Anna in the story was meant to be the mother of Mary instead of the prophetess at the Temple, it would not be strange to add Mary's father, Joachim, as well. However, it is also possible that the addition of Joachim and the superimposition of Mary's mother onto the character of the prophetess shows a conscious choice made by the designer of the image, possibly to stress Mary's importance in the scene.[31] In fact, in the Protoevangelium of James, Anna and Joachim are both important characters, and their own faith in God and the story of the conception of their child, Mary, serve as markers of Mary's holiness.[32] Therefore, it is possible that they play a similar role in this visual retelling of the story.[33]

It is also notable that, similarly to the scene of the Pursuit of Elizabeth, the halos of the Virgin, Christ, and Symeon surpass the border of the scene, creating a connection to the episodes depicted above, the Annunciation and the Visitation. The depiction of Symeon even seems to be a continuation of the depiction of Elizabeth directly above him. Both characters lean slightly forward, and they are both painted on the same axis. This episode is also remarkable because of its scale. It is only the second scene in the infancy of Christ to take an entire register, after the Nativity. This size may be owed to its connection to the living episode of the Celebration of the Eucharist which may have been performed directly below the iconographical representation. In fact, immediately below the scene, there is a small apsidiole with space for an altar [fig. 10].

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[31] I thank Nicolas Varaine for this suggestion. I have not found another example of this iconography, but at the Bahattin Samanlığı kilisesi, there is an as-yet unidentified sixth character. It is possible this character could represent Joachim, especially since he appears outside of the architectural structure that frames the rest of the characters, perhaps showing that he is only symbolically part of this scene. For a drawing of the scene, see Thierry 1963, 165, fig. 40. Anna's importance in stressing the role of the Virgin in the Economy of Salvation is explored by Eirine Panou. See Panou 2018, 11–13.

[32] Cunningham 2011, 163–178; Cunningham 2022, 225–242.

[33] In fact, the Presentation of Christ at the Temple is categorized as a Marian Feast, emphasizing the importance of Mary, rather than Christ. Annemarie Carr explains this in her article, "The Presentation of an Icon at Mount Sinai." She gives the example of the icon of the Kykkotissa at Sinai as well as a homily written by Neophytos of Paphos to illustrate how Byzantine authors and audiences viewed the feast in this way. See Carr 1994, 244–246.

This may have been a place for celebrating the Eucharist when multiple liturgies took place on the same day.[34] The iconography of the Presentation of Christ at the temple is a clear reference to the celebration of the Eucharist, with Christ being held up by his Mother in the way that his body is held up by the priest. This scene is the last episode in the cycle of the infancy in the church.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

Through detailing the iconographical program in the church at El Nazar, it is clear that the infancy cycle incorporates elements from the three pertinent textual sources into the visual retelling of the story, making the cycle a kind of hyper-'text' relying on multiple hypotexts.[35] However, it is also evident that some of the narrative devices being used in the pictorial cycle distinguish it from the textual narratives that recount the story of Christ's infancy. In what follows, I will try to highlight these devices, and introduce some new ones, which will allow us to form some responses to the questions we laid out in the beginning of the article. Namely how can the narratological devices incorporated in the visual retelling of the story of Christ's infancy help us understand the space in which it is told and the role of the faithful within the space?

Narratological Devices used in the infancy cycle

To analyze the infancy cycle at El Nazar, four of the categories laid out by Gérard Genette are particularly useful: order, speed, mode, and voice.[36] It makes the most sense to start with the order of the scenes, because it is the aspect that is the most easily detectable at first glance,

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[34] Gordana Babić explains the tradition of only performing one Eucharistic liturgy per day on a single altar. See Babić 1969, 9. She bases her arguments on F. J. Goar's 1647 *Euchologe*, which is based on the written tradition of the liturgy from as far back as the 8th–9th centuries, as well as a passage in Eusebius of Cesaraea's description of the Basilica of Tyr.

[35] For more on hypertextuality and imitation, see Nilsson 2010, 195–208.

[36] Certain categories are less useful in describing this particular iconographical narrative. I did not find Frequency, for instance, which is based mainly on the treatment of repetitive actions or the repetition of statements, to be very helpful in reading the narrative cycle of the infancy at El Nazar, which seems to be told using *singulative* narration throughout the cycle. See Genette 2007, 111–113.

and it is the first and most evident indication of its narrative time and any discrepancies it may have with the story's 'historical' time. As opposed to that of literary or oral narratives, the entirety of an iconographical cycle's order can be perceived simultaneously when the viewer looks at it from a certain distance, and the viewer even has the ability to change the order of the scenes and to read the story differently. Genette explains this characteristic of visual art by contrasting it with textual narratives.[37] He uses the example of film which can be watched backwards, image by image, as opposed to books, which are completely nonsensical if you read them backwards, word by word or sentence by sentence. This contrast is even more stark with iconographical narrative; not only can viewers interpret the scenes backwards, they can even mix up the order in any way they please by simply moving their eyes differently. That being said, it is clear that there *is* an established order, based on where each episode is placed spatially, even if a viewer could choose to disregard that order.

Order

At El Nazar, the different scenes unfold in a mostly chronological order. Moving from left to right and from top to bottom, first there is the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, Christ's first bath, and the Announcement to the Shepherds [fig. 7]. From there, the story skips forward to the presentation of Christ at the Temple, and then, it goes back in time to the feast of the Epiphany, or the Adoration of the Three Magi in Bethlehem. This scene is then followed by the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt and the Pursuit of Elizabeth and John the Baptist during the Massacre of the Innocents. If the retelling of the story were strictly chronological, the Presentation would be depicted after the Pursuit of Elizabeth.[38] The Presentation of Christ at the Temple, therefore, can be

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[37] Genette 2007, 21–22.

[38] According to the textual accounts and the Liturgical calendar, the Presentation of Christ (February 2nd) should take place after Christ's circumcision (January 1st). The Adoration of the Magi (January 6th), and the ensuing Massacre of the Innocents and the Pursuit of Elizabeth and John the Baptist, should take place before the Presentation. It should be noted that the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew follows the order that is

thought of as a prolepsis or anticipation that is placed in between two parts of the story like a sort of parenthesis. Prolepses can serve many different functions, but here, it may act as a sort of analogy. Rather than following the story in a strictly chronological order, it may establish the following order of sequences:

> Mary, while sewing a thread for the Temple, learned of her pregnancy from an Angel of the Lord [fig. 11a]. Soon thereafter, she visited her cousin Elizabeth, who prophetically recognized the presence and the importance of the child in Mary's womb [fig. 11b]. Then, the baby was born [fig. 11c, 11d], surrounded by animals and the stars, and even the lowly shepherds were graced with the good news [fig. 11e], because this was the savior of the world, who would save us from our sins through grace and through the Eucharist (which is analogized by the Presentation of the Christ at the Temple, above an actual Eucharistic altar) [fig. 11f]… Then, moving along, after the birth of the Child, he was visited by three wise men with gifts who were instructed to reveal the location of the Child to the jealous king Herod [fig. 11g]. But, when these men chose not to divulge his location, and the king instructed his soldiers to kill every child under the age of two, Mary and Joseph (and Joseph's son) fled to Egypt with the newborn child [fig. 11h], and Elizabeth fled to the mountains to hide with her infant son, John the Baptist [fig. 11i].

The analogy is between the scene of the Presentation of the Temple on the one hand and the celebration of the Eucharist and the Passion on the other.[39] Already, the iconography of this scene makes this connection, with Mary holding Christ over the altar, and the connection is made

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depicted in the cycle at El Nazar, with the Presentation of Christ before the Adoration of the Magi. Helena Rochard cites this text when detailing the order of scenes in some Egyptian churches, but I have decided not to consider this pseudo Gospel as a possible model at El Nazar, as stated above, note 9. See Rochard 2022, 25–39.

[39] This connection is not uncommon in Cappadocian churches. For example, Catherine Jolivet-Lévy makes the connection between the Presentation of Christ and his Crucifixion at the Bahattin Samanlığı kilisesi at Belisırma where the Presentation is depicted above the depiction of his Crucifixion. A similar connection is made at the Saklı Kilise (Göreme 2a) where the Presentation is depicted directly below the Crucifixion. See Jolivet-Lévy 2009, 96.

even more clear by its placement above the Eucharistic altar in the small apsidiole below. Therefore, the placement of this scene can be seen simply as an architectural and liturgical necessity, but when it is read in the context of the narrative, it adds another layer to the interpretation of the story. It moves the story forward in time, adding an essential element, which is the analogy between the Christ child and the Eucharist. Liturgically, this analogy is present in Romanos' *sticheron* for the Hypapante which would have been chanted on the feast of the Presentation. In stanza 16, the character Symeon says, "Since you have come to be, through your goodness, the resurrection and the life for all, allow me to leave this life," to which the Christ child responds in stanza 17, saying, "Now, my friend, I let you leave this fleeting world for the eternal one…Soon, I will come find you there, setting free all of humanity, I, the only friend of man."[40] Finally, the *sticheron* concludes stanza 18 with the supplication, "Save the world, which is yours, save your flock, and save all of us, you who for us became man without undergoing any change, the only friend of man."[41]

This manipulation of the order of the narrative so as to create an analogical prolepsis is something that is not present in the main textual accounts of the story nor in the liturgical calendar which both move from the Annunciation and the Visitation (celebrated on March 25th),[42] to the scenes from the Nativity (celebrated from December 24th–26th), and finally to the Circumcision of the Lord (celebrated on January 1st).[43] The Feast of the Presentation is celebrated more than one month later, on February 2nd. In the iconographical cycle at El Nazar, the Pres-

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[40] Romanos the Melode, *Hymns. New Testament*, 194–197: "Πάντων ζωὴ καὶ ἀνάστασις παραγέγονας διὰ σὴν ἀγαθότητα • τῆς οὖν ζωῆς με ἀπόλυσον ταύτης…" and "Νῦν σε ἀπολύω τῶν προσκαίρων, ὦ φίλε μου, πρὸς χωρία αἰώνια … ταχέως δὲ φθάνω σε λυτρούμενος ἅπαντας, ὁ μόνος φιλάνθρωπος."

[41] Romanos the Melode 196–197: "Σῶσον σου τὸν κόσμον, σῶσον σου τὴν ποίμνην, καὶ πάντας περιποίησαι, ὁ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀτρέπτως γενόμενος, ὁ μόνος φιλάνθρωπος."

[42] The order of the readings for this day is a bit complicated, because it falls during the moveable cycle. See for example *Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (mar.-aug., moveable)*, 30–81.

[43] The passage from Luke is read on January 1st as the Gospel reading. See *Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (sept.-feb.)*, 383–389.

entation of Christ at the Temple is mixed in with the various parts of the Nativity, offering a new order for the retelling of the story. In that way, instead of being a reflexion of the linear order of the text and the yearly celebrations of the events, the order of the iconographical cycle is used to establish an exegetical analogy and to connect the episode to the ecclesiastical space and to the hymnody which would be heard or even sung by the people engaging in the visual narrative.

There exist other instances where the order is slightly interrupted in the retelling of the visual narrative in order to add to the interpretation of the scenes. This happens, notably, at places where the iconography of a scene breaches its border. For example, on the lower register of the western side of the vault, the mandorla-shaped cave in which Elizabeth hides with John the Baptist crosses into the upper register and touches the scene of the Announcement to the Shepherds, inviting the viewer to consider the divine revelation given to the shepherds in relation to the divine aid accorded to Elizabeth and John the Baptist. Similarly, on the other side of the vault, Symeon's halo in the depiction of the Presentation of Christ passes into the scene of the Visitation, touching the feet of Elizabeth, creating a link between two episodes in which characters are chosen by God in their old age to be witnesses to the divine incarnation. In both instances, the order of the narrative is slightly interrupted so that the viewer can move forward or backwards in the historical time of the narrative in order to make exegetical connections.

Speed

Next, the speed, or tempo, of a narrative is another way an author or an artist can manipulate the story time in their formulation of narrative discourse. At El Nazar, the speed or pace of the story of Christ's infancy is not at all constant. There are clear elements of acceleration or ellipses, time standing still, and even the collapsing of time. We see acceleration, for instance, in the portrayal of the Annunciation and the Visitation. The two panels depict two distinct episodes, one happening after the other, with certain plot elements happening in between (namely the vocation of the purple thread). However, the time that passes between the two

episodes is accelerated in the visual retelling of the events. It is almost as if Mary, after having stood up in astonishment following the appearance of the angel with the news of her pregnancy, never sat back down to finish the purple thread, but instead left her post and moved immediately to meet her cousin. The characters in the two scenes are painted on the same scale, and Mary shows almost the exact same posture in both scenes. The legend labeling Mary in the scene of the Visitation is even painted within the scene of the Annunciation, above the left wing of the archangel. The connections and the overlapping of these two episodes accelerate the time between them. However, we see something different with the next episode, the Nativity of Christ. It is painted on a different register at a different angle, and with a somewhat large amount of essentially empty space at the leftern-most part of the scene, creating a sort of frame around the episode.

In that way, the artist creates a sort of pause in the narrative, giving a greater amount of detail and apportioning a great amount of wall space for a scene that does not necessarily take more historical time than the others. Often in Cappadocian mural painting, the scene of the birth of Christ and his first bath are painted in the same panel, like we see at the Tokalı Kilise [fig. 12]. In other cases, such as at the Karabaş Kilise in Soganlı [fig. 13], the shepherds can also be included in the scene. This technique saves space and allows the artist to represent a more considerable amount of historical time within a smaller space in the narrative. It also introduces chronological depth to the image, allowing the viewer to experience the passing of time within one single panel. At the Tokalı Kilise, for example, Christ in the basin with the midwives is depicted at the base of the panel's triangular composition, he is larger than Christ in the manger, and he is placed in the front of the pictorial plane. The spatial relationship between the two depictions of Christ, within the same panel, prompts the viewer to move their gaze from the scene of the First Bath to the scene of the Birth of Christ, therefore inviting them to move back in time while at the same time allowing them to make a connection

between the two episodes.[44] On the contrary, at El Nazar, one entire re-
gister is devoted to Christ and his mother, alone with the animals and the
night sky. It helps the viewer appreciate this particular moment in time,
which underlines the importance of Mary in the scene. Additionally, its
placement in this particular space, on the flat wall of the southern arm,
allows the viewer to ignore the rest of the story if desired. Then, on the
next register, Joseph, the First Bath of Christ, and the Annunciation to
the Shepherds are given a full register – in contrast to many of the sce-
nes of the Nativity in which they are superimposed to the moment of
his birth – elongating even further the time allotted to the Nativity at El
Nazar.

    This idea of a pause in the narrative is strengthened when the viewer
finally does move on to the next register. Here, Joseph is sitting in the cor-
ner, separated from Mary and Jesus, but he is looking and leaning towards
them. This part of the story is customarily described as the "dream" of
Joseph, and it refers typically to the dream during which Joseph is fore-
warned by the Lord of Herod's murderous plan. In this passage from the
canonical Gospel of Matthew (Mt 2:13–15), the dream takes place after
the appearance of the shepherds following the birth of Christ. However,
when looking at the narrative in El Nazar, it is perhaps pertinent to refer
back to a very curious passage in the Protoevangelium of James in which
Joseph experiences a moment when time stands still before the birth of
Christ.[45] Joseph claims that he was both "walking" and "not walking,"

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[44] A similar spatial relationship between scenes is explored by Irina Bräden in her doctoral
dissertation. She looks at different compositions of the miracle of the three men on the
rock in the sea who were saved by Saint Nicholas. See Bränden 2018, 214–217.

[45] *The Protoevangelium of James (English translation)*, 60–61 (18:1–2): "[Joseph]
found a cave there and took her into it. Then he gave his sons to her and went out to
find a Hebrew midwife in the region of Bethlehem. But I, Joseph, was walking, and
I was not walking. I looked up to the vault of the sky, and I saw it standing still, and
into the air, and I saw that it was greatly disturbed, and the birds of the sky were at
rest. I looked down to the earth and saw a bowl laid out for some workers who were
reclining to eat. Their hands were in the bowl, but those who were chewing were not
chewing; and those who were taking something from the bowl were not lifting it up;
and those who were bringing their hands to their mouths were not bringing them to
their mouths. Everyone was looking up. I saw a flock of sheep being herded, but they
were standing still. The shepherd raised his hand to strike them, but his hand remained
in the air. I looked down at the torrential stream, and I saw some goats whose mouths

and that the sky and the birds in it were standing still, as were the workers in the fields and the shepherds and the sheep, until suddenly "everything returned to its normal course," and he went to look for a midwife.

If we concede the possibility that the image of Joseph has a relationship to this passage, it may be a sign that the artist is playing with narrative time. Not only is the scene of the birth of Christ depicted on its own, with the first bath and the shepherds represented outside of the frame, it is separated from other scenes by a character who literally witnesses time standing still. The cycle's designer may have also shown time standing still visually in the way that the animals and the shepherds are portrayed in the scene, in particular the animal who seems to be in a strange, upright position. We may also link the passage to the shepherd who holds his hand in the air, possibly evoking the moment in the Protoevangelium when the shepherds are said to raise their hands to hit the sheep, without their hands ever lowering down to hit them. As explained in what follows, this manipulation of time helps us understand the function of the space.

Mode

Genette admits that there can be confusion between the voice and mode of a narrative, and he explains that whereas *mode* can describe the perspective from which a story is told, *voice* is concerned with the actual voice of the narrator. To study the mode of the story, then, Genette differentiates three kinds of focalization that can be used by an author: zero, internal, or external focalization.[46] However, as Silke Horstkotte and Nancy Pedri convincingly argue, Genette's definition assumes that the focalization is in direct relationship to *who* the narrator is, and he is mostly concerned with whether or not the *narrator* is an internal or external character.[47] Adhering to Manfred Jahn's conception of "windows

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were over the water, but they were not drinking. Then suddenly everything returned to its normal course." For the Greek text, see *Protoevangelium of James*, 146–151.

[46] Genette 1991, 11–12.

[47] Horstkotte & Pedri 2011, 332.

of focalization,"[48] Horstkotte and Pedri conclude that it is more useful, especially when studying visual narrative, to view focalization in terms of the cognitive experience of the *reader* or, in this case, the viewer of the narrative. It is more pertinent to ask, therefore, how the viewer perceives different aspects of the narrative; are they influenced by the internal characters (with an internal understanding of the events) or by an external narrator – the viewer him or herself – who has more authority and foresight in understanding how the events work together globally?

At El Nazar, there is a significant shift in the focalization within the narrative. In the first few scenes (the Annunciation, the Visitation, and even the Nativity), Mary is the focalizing figure. She is framed in the Annunciation by an architectural structure, she is the largest figure in the scene of the Visitation,[49] and she takes up almost the entire panel of the Nativity, lying down almost horizontally. Even more significantly, in addition to her importance within these compositions, most of what the viewer sees is framed by what *she* sees. This is most evident in the Nativity: her eyes attract the viewer's attention, as they are painted at the apex of the composition, but her gaze leads the viewer to look at the Christ child, who, of course, is an essential part of the story as well.

The mode of perception is similar in the scene of the Presentation of Christ, on the lower register of the eastern vault: Mary, depicted in the center of the composition, holds Christ slightly above her, her arms and her gaze again guiding the viewers. Then, Mary and Jesus act together as the objects of perception in the next scene, the Adoration of the Magi. Here, Mary is presented as the Theotokos, but rather than looking frontally, she looks forward towards the Magi, moving the narrative along. Finally, in the Flight into Egypt, she drives the narrative along with Jesus through their movement on the donkey. We can understand these portions of the narrative as having a narratorial focalization, since it invites the viewer to make connections to future events (i.e. the Death and Resurrection of Christ) of which Mary, the focalizing figure, is unaware. Because of this foreshadowing, perception is discerned by an

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[48] Jahn 1996, 241–267.
[49] Elizabeth is not much smaller, but she is depicted lower than the Virgin, and the servant is on a completely different scale.

external narrator, the viewer, who has more information than the focalizing figure–the Virgin.

However, on the western vault of the southern arm, it is as if Mary cedes the focus to other characters, first to Joseph, the midwives and the shepherds on the upper register, and then to Elizabeth and John the Baptist on the lower register. Indeed, Mary is completely absent in these scenes. This change in the objects of perception on the western side of the vault reveals a switch from narratorial to internal focalization. The narrative is no longer focused on dogmatic foreshadowing, but instead on characters who are depicted as models for the faithful. Joseph, the midwives, the shepherds, Elizabeth, and John the Baptist are all examples for how to receive the lord, and they act as characters to whom the viewer may relate: Joseph, who had to make a decision on how to react to the pregnancy of his betrothed, the midwives who doubted the purity of Mary but then believed, the shepherds who were chosen by God to be witnesses to the birth of Christ even though they were outcasts, Elizabeth and John the Baptist (the Prodromus), who were the first people after Mary to be blessed with knowledge of the coming of the Lord. In this way, this part of the narrative is perceived by the viewer based on the choices and emotional experiences of the internal characters. Importantly, then, the shift in the mode of focalization from narratorial (or external) to internal, highlights the shift from the narrative through the *instruments* of the incarnation to the models for the *reception* of the incarnation.

The change in the mode of perception works with the ecclesiastical space to make this distinction even more evident, allowing the viewer to read the story with a clearer interpretation of the scenes. Christ and the Virgin are on parallel or adjacent planes to the place reserved for the miracle of the Eucharist (the apsidiole and its Eucharistic altar), whereas the actors of reception face the altar, so that they may witness the miracle. The spatial configuration of the scenes and the shifting modes that place the viewers on similar grounds as the New Testament models adds to the idea of the liturgical self that Derek Krueger identified in his book, *Liturgical Subjects*.[50] According to Krueger, throughout the

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[50] Krueger 2014. I thank Milan Vukašinović for this suggestion.

Liturgy, through the chanting of hymns and reciting of prayers (often written in first-person), the faithful could compare themselves to Old and New Testament sinners who were saved through faith and repentance. The inward contemplation was then augmented through the scripture and Eucharistic prayers that they heard throughout services. In a similar way, as the faithful at El Nazar prepared themselves to receive the Eucharist, they could place themselves on the same spatial plane as the New Testament characters who act as examples for the reception of Christ.

Voice

Next, to study the voice of the narrative it is necessary to actually identify *who* the narrator is. In most textual cases, the narrator, and therefore the voice, is distinct from the author.[51] This is the case in the textual examples of the infancy. The distinction between narrator and author is particularly clear in the Protoevangelium of James, in which the author tells the story from the perspective of two distinct narrators. First, there is James, the supposed son of Joseph.[52] He is the narrator for the majority of the story, but for a moment, the narrator changes, and Joseph tells the story in first person:

> Καὶ εὗρεν ἐκεῖ σπήλαιον καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν καὶ παρέστησεν αὐτῇ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ζητῆσαι μαῖαν Ἑβραίαν ἐν χώρᾳ Βηθλεέμ. Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰωσὴφ περιεπάτουν καὶ οὐ περιεπάτουν. Καὶ ἀνέβλεψα εἰς τὸν πόλον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἑστῶτα, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἔκθαμβον καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἠρεμοῦντα…[53]

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[51] This is the case mostly in fictional settings. Here, we will not get into questions concerning the fictionality or historicity of the infancy of Christ. For the importance of the distinction between author and narrator, see Nilsson 2021, 278.

[52] Of course, it is very unlikely that the author is the supposed James, half-brother of Jesus, but this version of the story, with the final epilogue naming James, can be attested as early as the 2nd century thanks to writings by theologians like Origen, and in manuscripts ranging from the 4th to the 16th centuries. See Ehrman & Pleše 2011, 35.

[53] *Protoevangelium of James*, 146–151 (ch. 18). For the English translation, see above note 45.

This is not only a change in perspective, but also in voice. The narrator changes from an external character, James, who relates the story externally with an almost omniscient understanding of the events,[54] to an internal character, that is Joseph, while he recounts his own mystical experience as time stands still, allowing the reader to perceive Joseph's inner voice.

In the visual narrative of the infancy at El Nazar, however, there is no such change. The voice does not change, because the artist does not create a distinct voice to tell the story in the first place. However, this does not mean that there is no narrator or no voice. The designer and/or artist unveils certain elements of the story on the walls of the church, taking on the role of the author, so that the viewer can string together the story themselves, giving the viewer the role of the narrator. Mieke Bal introduces the idea of the spectator/narrator in the *Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, when she describes an image that shows a cat imitating a yoga master, Arjuna [fig. 14]. In the image, the artist illustrates three groups of characters: Arjuna, the cat, and the mice. It is the viewer's responsibility, since he or she has an understanding of the whole scene, to add narration to the scene: Arjuna is meditating, the cat sees Arjuna meditating and imitates him, and the mice laugh at the cat. Then, as Bal writes: "The spectator sees more. She sees the mice, the cat, and the wise man. She laughs at the cat, and she laughs sympathetically with the mice, whose pleasure is comparable to that felt by a successful scoundrel."[55]

In other words, the viewers witness the perspective of the author/artist as well as that of the characters in the story, but they perceive those perspectives with their own voices. In order to study the narrative voice, therefore, it would be necessary to study the audience: the Byzantine viewers who would have added their own voices to the story. This, of course, is problematic for several reasons. For one thing, it is not clear who the audience at El Nazar was.[56] However, it is possible to

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[54] Even though James does make an appearance in the story, he is mostly recounting moments from the story during which he is absent.

[55] Bal 2017, 34.

[56] This is a problem I am investigating in my doctoral thesis.

make some pertinent observations based on what is known about Byzantine liturgy and offices. First, it should be noted that the sequence of Christ's infancy never appears uninterrupted in the liturgy or in liturgical readings. The chronological order of events presented in the iconographical program at El Nazar and other churches is spaced out throughout the liturgical year, as we briefly noted earlier.[57] The Annunciation is celebrated on March 25th, and the Visitation is told on the same day. The various parts of the nativity are recounted from the 24th to the 26th of December, though not in the same order as the iconographical cycle. Finally, the Presentation of Christ at the Temple is read on February 2nd, almost a full month after the Feast of the Circumcision of the Lord, which is on January 1st, and many events from the adult life of Christ are celebrated in between. Furthermore, these events are never read in order during the Offices of the hours, nor when certain events are alluded to through the reciting of psalms.[58]

It is possible, therefore, that the cycle of Christ's infancy as depicted in the southern arm of El Nazar was the only example of an uninterrupted chronological depiction of Christ's infancy available to the audience.[59] In this way, even though there was a kind of author giving a certain

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[57] See notes 43–44.

[58] We can partially track which psalms allude to which events through marginalia in illuminated manuscripts, especially in psalters, such as the Khludov, the Bristol, and the Theodore psalters. See Parpulov 2017, 302.

[59] Even if the audience did possess a textual copy of the infancy of Christ (the Protoevangelium of James, for example), certain elements, such as the Flight into Egypt and the Presentation would be absent. To that point, we are lucky to have an idea of the books that a Cappadocian church or monastery may have had at its disposal, thanks to the Testament of Eustathios Boïlas. In his will, he notes a number of books that he wishes to leave to his monastery in Cappadocia, but the Protoevangelium is not listed. Although it is possible that a copy of the Protoevangelium was not mentioned by name (since the will includes certain "other books"), it is clear that the majority of the books were for liturgical use – a Gospel book, a Gospel Lectionary, a synaxarion, a psalter book – or commentaries by church fathers, though not including Origen or Clement of Alexandria, two of the most well-known authors to comment on the Protoevangelium of James. Boïlas mentions a ὁμοίως καὶ ἕτερον Εὐαγγέλιον μέμβρινον as well as Τετραβάγγελον μικρὸν λαιφανᾶτον πτωχὸν (translated by Parani, Pitarakis, and Spieser as "de même, un autre Évangile de parchemin; un petit Tétraévangile avec une reliure de tissu simple"). The two different words (Εὐαγγέλιον and Τετραβάγγελον) show that there was already a distinction between the Gospel books and Lectionary

perspective to the story – the artist or designer of the iconographical program – it was the role of the viewer to piece together the different scenes in the story him or herself and to act, therefore, as narrator.[60] Additionally, as mentioned briefly above, some of the episodes are labeled with text that may refer to certain hymns that would be chanted during the liturgy or the offices, notably the words that seem to be spoken by the angel in the scene of the Annunciation to the Virgin and the angel in the scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. In that way, the legends serve as kinds of paratext which prompt the viewers to literally lend their own voices to the narrative[61].

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Concluding remarks: Narratology and the ecclesiastical space

Now that we have underlined the different visual narratological devices used in the infancy cycle, I would like to conclude this article by outlining some ways that these devices help us understand the space in which the story is told. First, I have demonstrated that the prolepsis of the Presentation of Christ in the narrative clarifies the function of the small apsidiole in the eastern side of the southern arm. The Eucharist could be performed in this place on days when there was more than one liturgy to celebrate, and it is possible that the iconography is connected to the special feasts that would be celebrated there. As Gordana Babić explains in her volume on subsidiary chapels in Byzantium, spaces con-

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books. For more on this, see Jordan 2009, 2–3. For the Testament of Eustathios Boïlas, see Lemerle 1977, 13–63; Parani, Pitarakis & Spieser 2003, 143–165.

[60] I should note, here, that I do not wish to emphasize the individual experiences of individual viewers, but rather the fact that the viewers of the iconographic program are given the role of the narrator, due to the fact that piecing together the different parts of the narrative is something that is not done for them. In other words, stringing the scenes together, putting them in order, adding any details, and, more generally, giving words to the pictures that they are seeing, is something that they must do themselves, since no single text exists that does this for this particular combination of scenes.

[61] The idea of legends acting as prompts for viewers who could use their voices during the liturgy is explored by Catherine Jolivet-Lévy in her contribution to the volume *Visibilité et présence de l'image dans l'espace ecclésiale*. See Jolivet-Lévy 2019, 391–392.

tiguous to a church's sanctuary, where secondary liturgies could take place, could be decorated with hagiographical imagery in relation to a particular saint's cult, probably a cult that was special to the founder of the church or the donor of the painted program.[62] We see this trend in Cappadocia at Balkan Deresi Kilisesi 4, for example, where the southern arm is decorated with scenes from the life of Saint Basil,[63] attesting to a particular devotion to the saint by the church's community, or at least its donor. It is possible to read the iconography in the southern arm at El Nazar in a similar way. Through analyzing the mode of perception of the cycle, we saw that Mary, who is not the focus of the canonical accounts of the narrative, is clearly the driving force in the narrative at El Nazar for a majority of the cycle. The choice to make Mary, as opposed to Christ, the focus of the narrative (or, the mode through which the story is told), may indicate that the space had some sort of connection to the cult of the Virgin.

To make this point more clear, we can compare this arm with the lateral arm on the northern side. At the same time that an *arcosolium* was added at the entrance to the church and the 10th-century decoration was realized, a chapel was added to the eastern wall of the northern arm. In this part of the church, the iconographical program is focused on Christ – his Passion and Resurrection [fig. 15]. With the exception of a large triple-portrait of a military saint and two lay martyrs directly above the chapel, Christ is the driving force of each iconographical scene. Since this part of the church is also attached to the chapel, we can read its decorative program as a reflection of the funerary or commemorative function of the chapel. In contrast, the southern arm, where Mary is the focalizing figure for a majority of the narrative, is a space devoted to Mary – her holiness, purity, and her role in the incarnation.

The speed of the narrative as a way of manipulating the historical time of the story may also be helpful in understanding the function of the space. I have shown, for example, that there is a considerable amount of wall-space devoted to the Nativity of Christ. The narrative pauses at the

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[62] Babić 1969, 82–90.

[63] For a description of the scenes, see Walter 1978, 245–247. For a description of the architecture of the church, see Wallace 1991, vol. II, 119–126.

episode of his birth, and the moments directly following his Birth (notably his first bath and the annunciation to the shepherds) are stretched out in their own register. The emphasis on the episodes directly related to the moment of the incarnation of Christ through the slowing down of time may intensify the emphasis on the role of the Virgin in the economy of salvation, adding to the hypothesis that this part of the church was devoted to the cult of the Virgin. Finally, then, the identification of the voice, or the narrator, is also instructive. The author (or the designer of the visual narrative) has done the job of bringing all of these elements together, giving the spectator the perspective he or she needs to actually read the pictorial story, allowing him or her to become the narrator of the story in his or her own imagination, sometimes even prompting the viewer to vocalize parts of the story. The changing mode through which the story is told, with models for the reception of Christ on the western vault facing the altar, adds to the idea of superimposing the viewers into the narrative as the narrators of the story. In this way, we understand that the faithful are meant to engage with the story and the space in which it is depicted.

To conclude, it is clear that the pictorial infancy cycle is not simply a visual "representation" or "reconstitution" of the textual accounts of Christ's infancy. Rather, it is its own narrative, borrowing, imitating, and drawing from various models, but also often changing and adding to the narratological devices that are present in the textual models. Since the accounts of Christ's infancy first started in textual or oral forms, it is necessary to understand the textual accounts that recount the story, but these texts were not the only methods of spreading the story and adding to its exegetical function. Visual representations of the infancy of Christ offer insight into how the story could be linked to the ecclesiastical spaces in which it was depicted, and, perhaps more importantly, the visual representations help us understand the roles that viewers could have in the retelling of the story.

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Fig 1: *El Nazar Kilise, Göreme, floor plan and central dome. Plan and photo credit: E. Zanghi.*

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Fig. 3: *El Nazar Kilise, Göreme, eastern vault of the southern arm. The Annunciation and the Visitation. Photo credit: J. Zanghi.*

Fig. 4: *El Nazar Kilise, Göreme, southern wall of the southern arm. The Nativity of Christ. Photo credit: E. Zanghi.*

Fig. 5: *El Nazar Kilise, Göreme, western vault of the southern arm. Joseph, the First Bath of Christ, and the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Photo credit: J. Zanghi.*

Fig. 6: *The Cistern Church (Avcılar 13), southern vault. The Nativity of Christ. Photo credit: J. Zanghi.*

Fig. 7: *El Nazar Kilise, Göreme, southern wall of the southern arm. The Nativity of Christ (top), the Adoration of the Magi (bottom left), the Flight into Egypt (bottom right). Photo credit: J. Zanghi.*

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Fig. 10: *El Nazar Kilise, Göreme, apsidiole on the eastern wall of the southern arm. Photo credit: E. Zanghi.*
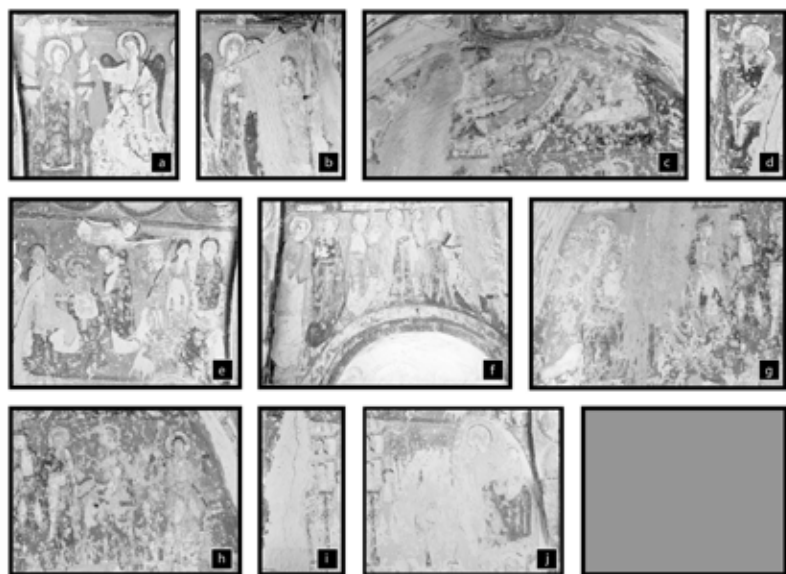
Fig. 11: *El Nazar Kilise, Göreme, scenes from the Infancy of Christ in the southern arm. From three photos taken by Guillaume de Jerphanion, cropped and reorganized. Photo credit: Collection chrétienne et byzantine dite Photothèque Gabriel Millet, École Pratique des Hautes Études.*

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Fig. 13: *Karabaş Kilise, Soğanlı, southern vault. The Nativity of Christ. Photo credit: E. Zanghi.*
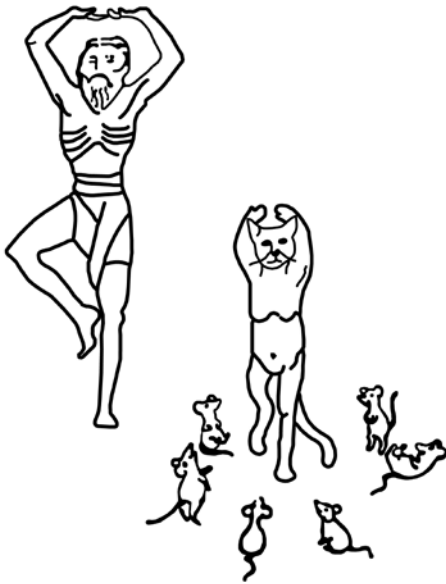
Fig. 14: *Drawing of the yoga master Arjuna. Based on Fransje van Zoest's drawing in Bal 2017, p. 134.*

Fig. 15: *El Nazar Kilise, Göreme, northern arm. The Passion of Christ. Photo credit: E. Zanghi.*

Joy of Division: John Doxapatres' Commentary on Hermogenes' On Issues and the role of Porphyry's Isagoge in the Byzantine Rhetorical Curriculum

Byron MacDougall

Between the late second and the early fourth century CE, two treatises with a special focus on processes of division (διαίρεσις) were composed that would become, each in its own way, staples of Byzantine school curricula for over a thousand years. The Περὶ στάσεων of Hermogenes of Tarsus, a technical treatment of *stasis* or "issue" theory, was incorporated by the fifth century into the five-part *Corpus of Hermogenes*, which in turn would serve as the standard sequence of textbooks in the Byzantine rhetorical classroom.[1] In that Byzantine tradition, the work can be referred to alternatively as "the treatise on division" for its discussion of how to divide a given stasis into its so-called

1 For the formation of the Corpus of Hermogenes, which included besides the two genuine works by Hermogenes (*On Issues* and *On Forms of Style*) also the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonios and two treatises (*On Invention* and *On the Method of Force*) falsely attributed to Hermogenes, see Patillon 2008, v–xxiii, and Kustas 1973, 5–26; on the rationale behind the choice of Aphthonios to introduce the corpus, see Kennedy 2003, 89. For an overview of Corpus of Hermogenes in the Byzantine rhetorical curriculum, see Riehle 2021, 300–301, as well as Papaioannou 2017.

κεφάλαια or "heads of argument".[2] The other treatise with a focus on division was Porphyry's *Isagoge* or "Introduction", which was canonized, largely thanks to the Alexandrian Neoplatonists in Late Antiquity, as the introductory text in the logical curriculum, and hence to philosophy as a whole. It would retain this status throughout the Byzantine period, when it was treated as a "quasi-member of the *Organon*".[3] While offering an account of the "five predicables" (πέντε φωναί) of genus, species, difference, property, and accident, the *Isagoge*'s most decisive contribution to Byzantine philosophical culture (and to philosophy more generally) was its treatment of how a genus is divided into species through the addition of specific differences, and how those species are further subdivided into sub-species, a process immortalized visually in the *Arbor Porphyriana* diagrams that accompany the *Isagoge* and its Latin translations in both the Byzantine and Western traditions.[4] Thus, generations of Byzantine students received training in two types of division, with one treatise on division meant for the rhetorical classroom and the other for the philosophical classroom, all neat and tidy.

Or was it so neat and tidy? This paper turns to an unedited Byzantine commentary on Hermogenes' *On Issues* to show that the border between those classrooms, and indeed between the two respective treatises on division themselves, was more porous than we might imagine. Scholars since George Kennedy have drawn attention to the philosophical underpinnings of stasis theory and its focus on division and definition in general, and to Hermogenes' logically inflected language in particular—he refers explicitly for example in the second sentence of the proem to the process of division from genera into species and differentiates it from

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[2] See also Heath 1995, 61 on how, despite the traditional title being *On Issues* (περὶ στάσεων), "there is good reason to suspect that Hermogenes himself would have called it *On Division*".

[3] Erismann characterizes the *Isagoge* as a "quasi-member of the *Organon*" in Erismann and MacDougall 2018, 43. For general background on the role of Porphyry in the logical curriculum see Erismann 2017.

[4] For a brief overview of tree-diagrams in Byzantine manuscripts (though with no mention of Hermogenes) see for example Safran 2020, 370–371; for Byzantine diagrams in general see also Safran 2022. For a helpful introduction to diagrams in manuscripts of the *Corpus of Hermogenes*, see especially D'Agostini, (forthcoming), and D'Agostini 2024.

his own focus on division of a *stasis* into its heads of argument—and it is such features as these which helped attract the notice of Neoplatonist commentators like Syrianos in the first place.[5] We know as well that Porphyry himself was deeply interested in rhetoric more broadly and *stasis* theory especially, and its potential for teaching the methods of definition and division, since he is said to have written a commentary on another work of stasis theory, namely that of Hermogenes' second-century contemporary Minucianus, a work which was eventually eclipsed by the former's treatise on the same topic and which no longer survives except in fragments.[6]

Thus the philosophical background to stasis theory on the one hand, and the interest on the part of philosophers like Porphyry and Syrianos in handbooks of stasis theory for teaching dialectical methods like division and definition on the other, have long been familiar to scholars.[7] Receiving less attention however is the fact that the *Isagoge* and *On Issues* do not just overlap in their concern with division—however dif-

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[5] Kennedy 1980, 182. See also Heath 2003a, 154, on how *stasis* theory had been constructed around the three questions, familiar from the dialectical tradition, of if a thing exists; what it is; and what kind it is; see also Valiavitcharska 202, 492n28 on how Aristotle's predicables, which later received definitive treatment in Porphyry's *Isagoge*, formed the philosophical background to stasis theory to begin with.

[6] For Porphyry's commentary on Minucianus, see especially Heath 2003a, as well as e.g. Kennedy 1980, 183 and Pepe 2018, 88. In addition to the testimony of the Suda that he wrote a commentary on Minucianus, Porphyry is also said by other sources to have written, variously, a "handbook" of rhetoric (τέχνη) or a "handbook on issues" (ἡ περὶ τῶν στάσεων τέχνη); Heath 2003a, 143–144 suggests that these different testimonies may all refer to one and the same work, the commentary on Minucianus's work on issue-theory. Incidentally, this lost commentary by Porphyry seems to have inaugurated the commentary tradition on technical rhetorical treatises, *tout court*; see Heath 2003a, 146. Despite his interest in *stasis* theory, Porphyry seems however never to have responded specifically to Hermogenes himself, for whatever reason; see *id.* 148.

[7] For the place of division and definition among the traditional dialectical methods in the philosophical classroom, see Lloyd 1988, 8–11. Porphyry and Syrianos were far from exceptional in being Neoplatonists who were invested in *stasis* theory; for example a certain Metrophanes of Eucarpia, described by Syrianos as a Platonist, wrote about issues and authored a commentary on Hermogenes; see Heath 2003a 144. For Minucianus' lack of formal definitions that would satisfy the specifications Porphyry himself outlined in the Isagoge, and how this represented one reason for his ultimate eclipse by Hermogenes, see Kennedy 1980, 183–184.

ferent their approach to division might be—but each treatise explicitly refers to the logical methods of division (διαίρεσις) and demonstration (ἀπόδειξις) in its very first sentence. As we will see, such formal parallels can be multiplied. While today scholars of Porphyry on the one hand and Hermogenes on the other might not feel compelled to juxtapose the two texts against one another for philological purposes, the same cannot necessarily be said for their Byzantine counterparts. Thus, in the commentary on the Περὶ στάσεων in question, namely that of John Doxapatres (11th century), we find the two treatises being read against one another as a matter of course.[8] In addition to the textual parallels between Porphyry and Hermogenes that Doxapatres calls attention to, his commentary offers more evidence of how the relationship between rhetoric and logic had been reversed since Late Antiquity, when philosophers like Porphyry and Syrianus grew interested in using treatises on stasis theory by Hermogenes and other rhetoricians like Minucianus as training for logic.[9] With Doxapatres and other Middle Byzantine rhetorical commentators, it is the rhetoricians who are interested in using Porphyry and the *Organon* as training for rhetoric.[10]

I. *Stasis* theory, Hermogenes, and the Commentary tradition

Before turning to Doxapatres and his commentary, it will be useful to review Hermogenes' work on *stasis* theory itself, as well as the long

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[8] For Doxapatres see e.g. Hock 2012, 127–132; Kustas 1973, 25n2 suggests that his name meant he was a monk. Very little is known about him, except for the fact that he was an extremely prolific commentator on the *Corpus of Hermogenes*: in addition to the *On Issues* commentary discussed here, we also have a commentary on Aphthonios's *Progymnasmata*, edited in Walz *Rhetores Graeci* (*RhG*) II 1835, as well as commentaries on the *On Invention* and *On Forms of Style*. The latter two, like the commentary on *On Issues*, remain unedited, with the exception of their *prolegomena* which were published in Rabe 1931: for that of *On Issues* see lxxvi–lxxxix and 304-318 (= *Prol.* no. 20); *On Invention* civ–cvi and 360–374 (= no. 27); and *On Types of Style* cxiv–cxv and 420–426 (= no. 33); Rabe's edition of Doxapatres' *Prolegomena* to Aphthonios also supercedes that of *RhG* II, see xlviii–liii and 80–155 (= no. 9). See Rabe 1931, L for the admiration later generations held for Doxapatres' work.

[9] See above n. 7.

[10] For the merging of philosophy and rhetoric in middle Byzantine education, see especially Valiavitcharska 2020.

tradition of commentaries that grew up around it.[11] Essentially, stasis theory deals with identifying which kinds of arguments are to be used in a given situation in forensic or deliberative oratory, depending on what the precise "issue" or στάσις at contention is. Hermogenes did not of course invent stasis theory, which can be traced back to Hermagoras of Temnos and the second century BCE, but it was in his own period that it came to be more fully elaborated by rhetorical theorists during what was after all the high-water mark of the Second Sophistic.[12] Hermogenes' treatise was thus at first just one of many, and we see him engaging enthusiastically in what were vigorous ongoing debates about the finer points of stasis theory. However, by the time of the formation of the *Corpus of Hermogenes*, his own work had long secured its position as *the* definitive treatment.[13] The goals of his treatise, and of stasis theory more generally, are first as mentioned above to identify for any given scenario or "question" (ζήτημα) in a forensic or deliberative rhetorical setting what the precise "issue" (στάσις) is, and second to divide one's approach to tackling the question into the "heads" of argument (κεφάλαια) that go with its particular *stasis*. Hermogenes' treatise begins by outlining the *staseis*—which earlier had been limited to as few as five but by his own day had reached the canonical number of thirteen[14]—and showing how by asking a series of questions we can identify the stasis of the question at hand. Thus, if the parties do not agree on the facts of the case, the stasis is conjecture (στοχασμός); if the facts themselves are not in dispute but their correct classification is, the stasis is definition (ὅρος); if the parties agree on both the facts and their characterization, but disagree on how to qualify either aspects of the acts involved or the law or laws in question, the stasis will fall under the umbrella groups of "logical" (λογικαί) or

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[11] For the Greek text of Hermogenes, I cite Patillon 2009. For English translation and commentary *see* Heath 1995.

[12] Heath 1995, 19–20.

[13] See for example Pepe 2018, 92–93.

[14] In the commentary tradition, Minucianus is credited with being the first to establish the canonical number of thirteen, but according to Heath 2003a, 153, "this is unlikely to be true".

"legal" (νομικαί) staseis, respectively, and so on and so forth.[15] Some of the staseis, including conjecture and definition, have sub-staseis or sub-species (εἴδη) of their own, which are treated in turn. The procedure can thus be likened to the dichotomous keys in field guides that amateur naturalists use to identify species of trees and other flora.

After outlining the method for identifying the stasis, Hermogenes then proceeds to the division of the "headings" or "heads" of arguments (κεφάλαια) that are to be used for each stasis, usually indicating for each head whether it is used by the prosecution or defense or both. These "headings" represent different kinds of arguments or argumentative strategies, and they are often shared between multiple staseis. Furthermore, several headings share their name with a particular stasis, and in these cases the heading represents the key argument in that stasis, with the heading thus lending its name to the stasis.[16] For example, if we have identified that the stasis is definition, then the headings around which each party will construct their arguments are: the "presentation" (προβολή) or outline of the case itself; "definition"—here the eponymous heading (ὅρος), proposed by the defense to show that the act does not meet the strict definition required; a counterdefinition (ἀνθορισμός), proposed by the prosecution, which follows up with "assimilation" (συλλογισμός) that assimilates the defendant's act to the prosecution's counterdefinition; "legislator's intention" (γνώμη νομοθέτου), in which both sides claim that their account of whether the act meets the definition in question accords with the intent of the lawmaker; "importance" (πηλικότης), in which the defense stresses the virtuous significance of their act as a mitigating factor; "relative importance" (πρός τι), in which the prosecution downplays whatever mitigating significance the defense had cited; and so on and so forth.[17]

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[15] For helpful visualizations of this scheme, which more or less reproduce the diagrams of the staseis that were often included in the Byzantine manuscripts themselves, see Heath 1995, 71 and Patillon 2009, xliii.

[16] See especially Heath 1995, 26.

[17] IV.1.1–5. For the involved sequence from definition to relative importance, I follow here the essential treatment of Heath 1995, 103. Note that Patillon includes only in the critical apparatus Heath's final heading for definition, "common quality" (ποιότης κοινή).

Hermogenes' system is thus highly technical and full of specialized vocabulary, and partially for those reasons required the attention of a long series of commentators—many of whose works are available in modern editions thanks to the indefatigable efforts of Michel Patillon—with the earliest surviving example belonging to the second half of the fourth century (probably) with Sopatros.[18] To be dated shortly thereafter, at the end of the fourth according to its recent editor Patillon, is a commentary by a certain Eustathios.[19] There followed the commentary by the Neoplatonist Syrianos, the teacher of Proclus, who also wrote a commentary on the other genuine surviving treatise of Hermogenes, *On Forms of Style*;[20] and another by a Marcellinus, probably of the fifth century and generally identified with the author of a well-known *Life* of Thucydides.[21] The commentaries of Marcellinus and Syrianus together with a third commentary attributed to a "Sopatros" (convincingly shown by Heath to have been a different work than the Sopatros of our earliest extant commentary on the Περὶ στάσεων) were mined to produce the composite work dubbed the "Dreimänner Kommentar" by Hugo Rabe, who dated its compilation to the sixth century; of the three only the commentary of Syrianos was transmitted independently, though the sections of the Dreimänner Commentary attributed to Marcellinus and "Sopatros" have now been collected and published in separate editions.[22]

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[18] For a helpful overview of the Late Antique commentaries on the Περὶ στάσεων, see Pepe 2018, as well as Heath 2003a, 146; and Patillon 2009, lx-lxxiv. For Sopatros's commentary on the Περὶ στάσεων, first published in abridged form in C. Walz (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci V* (1833)*,* see now Patillon 2019b. For Sopater's as "almost certainly the earliest extant commentary", see Heath 2003b, 13. For the difficult problem of whether the commentator on Hermogenes in *RhG V* is to be identified with the Athenian rhetorician Sopatros who was the author of a *Division of Questions*, see e.g. Heath 1995, 245.

[19] Patillon 2018.

[20] Rabe 1892-1893; see now Patillon 2021.

[21] Patillon 2023.

[22] Rabe 1907. For the text see C. Walz (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci* IV (Stuttgart 1833) 39–846. For an essential treatment of the formation of the *Dreimänner Kommentar*, see Heath 2003b, 27–29 and 32-34. Heath argues that the sections of the *Dreimänner Kommentar* attributed to "Sopatros" were in fact taken from a separate composite commentary, which itself was made of extracts from the fourth-century Sopatros commentary (edited in abridged form in *RhG V),* another commentator named John,

Add to these the commentary attributed to a George of Alexandria, the first half of which survives and which is likely datable to the first half of the fifth century, and we can fill out a cool half-dozen Περὶ στάσεων commentators from before the seventh century whose works can be consulted in modern editions.[23] In other words, exegetical activity on Hermogenes' treatise on division was exceptionally intense from the fourth through the sixth century, and it has been insightfully observed that in this period rhetoricians invested their creative energies in participating in this ongoing discussion about Hermogenes rather than authoring new handbooks on stasis theory of their own.[24]

When, in the ninth century, evidence for active engagement with the *Corpus of Hermogenes* reappears, new generations of commentators thus had a long tradition of exegesis to look back to.[25] Largely unedited or only partially edited, the surviving mass of middle Byzantine (9th-12th century) commentaries on the *Corpus* attests to continuous interest in the *On Issues* in particular. This can be seen for one in the copying of important manuscripts, such as the two oldest witnesses of the so-called P-scholia: copied in the tenth and eleventh centuries (*Paris. gr.* 1983 and 2977, respectively), these manuscripts, which likely derive from a lost ninth-century archetype, preserve an extensive compilation of scholia

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and further unknown sources. Heath refers to this separate composite commentary as "Deutero-Sopatros" (dubbed "Pseudo-Sopatros" by its recent editor, Patillon), and suggests that its compiler was by coincidence also named Sopatros (hence the attribution in the *Dreimänner Kommentar),* and goes so far as to identify this Deutero-Sopatros with an Alexandrian sophist named Sopatros known to have been a teacher of Severus of Antioch. For the sake of clarity, it should be noted that Heath's scheme yields three "Sopatroi": the author of the "Division of Questions"; the author of the Hermogenes commentary printed in *RhG V;* and the homonymous compiler of the latter whose work was in turn extracted to form the Sopatros sections of the *Dreimänner Kommentar*. Those "Sopatros" sections of the *Dreimänner Kommentar* are now available in a separate edition like those assigned to Marcellinus: Patillon *2022*. For the pedagogical approach of the triple commentary see now Valiavitcharska 2020, 489-498.

[23] For George "Monos", see Patillon 2019a.

[24] Pepe 2018, 101.

[25] For the study of Hermogenes in the ninth century, see especially Valiavitcharska 2020.

on the entire *Corpus* that was probably put together in Late Antiquity.[26] Furthermore, this period also saw the production of new commentaries. Besides Doxapatres, it has been suggested that John of Sardis (ninth century), author of the oldest surviving commentary on Aphthonios' *Progymnasmata*, is also to be identified with a surviving anonymous commentary on the *On Issues*;[27] Doxapatres himself refers to an *On Issues* commentary by a predecessor of his, the poet, polymath, and soldier John Geometres (late tenth century), which however does not survive;[28] a commentary copied in a tenth-century manuscript (*Paris. Supp. gr.* 670; Diktyon 53405) by a certain Neilos the Monk has been attributed, albeit tendentiously, to the famous monk, Saint Neilos of Rossano;[29] and finally John Tzetzes, himself a careful reader of Doxapatres, produced a commentary on the *On Issues* as part of his massive set of commentaries on all the constituent works on the *Corpus of Hermogenes*.[30] Doxapatres' still unedited commentary on the *On Issues* thus represents a key point in this wider network of exegetical activity, and the following discussion is offered in the hopes of showing what closer engagement with these still largely unfamiliar materials can offer for the study of middle Byzantine education and literary culture more generally.

II. Doxapatres' *On Issues* Commentary and *Vienna, Phil. gr.* 130

Of foundational importance for our understanding of Doxapatres' commentary are the studies by Stephan Glöckner on its most important witness, a fourteenth-century manuscript now in Vienna (*Vind. Phil. gr.* 130; Diktyon 71244), identified by the siglum Wc.[31] It was Glöckner

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[26] For the *On Issues* sections of the P-scholia, see the edition by Walz 1833 in *Rhetores Graeci* 7, 104–690. For extensive discussion of the treatment of *On Issues* in the P-scholia, see Valiavitcharska 2020.

[27] See below note 39.

[28] Glöckner 1908, 26–27.

[29] For discussion and bibliography see Patillon 2018, XL as well as Chu 2023, 189.

[30] For Tzetzes as a close reader of Doxapatres, see Pizzone (forthcoming), and below, note 35.

[31] Glöckner 1908-1909.

who showed that the commentary attributed in Wc to Doxapatres represents a composite work, which can be divided into four sections. In the first section (ff. 84v–119v), the only one in which Doxapatres features abundantly, as Glöckner was able to show through comparison with other witnesses, his commentary is interspersed among material from two other sources in a kind of triple commentary.[32] In addition to Doxapatres, this includes a second, anonymous commentator whose entries are prefaced in red ink as belonging to "the other commentator" (ἑτέρου ἐξηγητοῦ); and finally a set of what were originally marginal scholia in one of the earlier commentaries that were used to produce the triple commentary. In Wc, comments of this third type are preceded by the label ἄλλως ("otherwise").[33] In the second section (ff. 119v–143v), the labels ἑτέρου ἐξηγητοῦ and ἄλλως are not found, nor can the material be identified with Doxapatres, with minor exceptions. In the third section (ff. 143v–162r), the triple-commentary structure resumes, but here instead of Doxapatres we have material from Tzetzes' commentary on the *On Issues*.[34] Finally, like the second section, the fourth section (ff. 162r–170v) lacks any identifying labels, and again as with the second section its material is not drawn from Doxapatres.[35]

For identifying these different sections and how their source material varies, of crucial importance was the fact that Glöckner was able to control Wc against two other witnesses to Doxapatres' commentary: *Vat. gr.* 1022 (Vt), in which the *On Issues* commentary, though incomplete, is also attributed to Doxapatres and which in addition to Doxapatres also features material labeled as belonging to the "other commentator" (ἑτέρου ἐξηγητοῦ), as in Wc's "triple commentary"; and *Vat. gr.* 106 (Ve), a thirteenth-century manuscript whose anonymous *On Issues* commentary represents a condensed version of the Doxapatres material in Wc, and which also features some of the third source of Wc's triple

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[32] Glöckner 1909, 3; see also Rabe 1931, lxxxix.

[33] Glöckner 1909, 23–24.

[34] As Pizzone (forthcoming) demonstrates, Tzetzes also left extensive notes on Doxapatres' commentary on Aphthonios in the antigraph of Wc that were in turn copied into the margins of Wc itself, and reveals himself throughout as a careful reader of Doxapatres.

[35] Glöckner 1909, 11–20.

commentary (i.e., those labeled ἄλλως in Wc, though they lack any such indication in Ve), but not the "other commentator" that accompanies Doxapatres in Vt and Wc.[36] Finally, Glöckner showed that the scribe of Wc, before switching from the "other commentator" back to Doxapatres in the first section of the commentary, almost always marks the end of the non-Doxapatres material with a small cross.[37] His observations made it possible to isolate virtually all of the sections of Doxapatres' commentary that are transmitted in Wc.

The codex itself consists of 170 folios of oriental paper, and was dated by Hunger to the first half of the fourteenth century.[38] The collection, which consists entirely of rhetorical content related to the *Corpus of Hermogenes*, begins first with Doxapatres' *prolegomena* (titled ὁμιλίαι or "lectures") on the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonios (f.1v–7v), followed by Aphthonios's text itself surrounded by commentary (f. 8r–83v); then an excerpt from Sopatros's commentary on the *Staseis* (f. 84r–84v = *RhG* V.79–83); and finally the commentary on the *On Issues*, together with the text of Hermogenes (f.84v–170v). Rabe showed that as with the *On Issues* commentary, the section on Aphthonios also takes the form of a triple commentary, divided between Doxapatres, the "other exegete" (ἑτέρου ἐξηγητοῦ), and material designated "other" (ἄλλως).[39] He also suggested that the manuscript would have once been part of a massive, complete set of the *Corpus of Hermogenes* together with commentary, with Wc representing the only surviving volume.[40]

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[36] Glöckner 1909, 8–11. Glöckner also showed that the *stasis* commentary in what is otherwise the most important manuscript for all of Doxapates' other works (*Vat. gr.* 2228 = Vδ) corresponds instead fully to the "other commentator" of Wc's triple commentary.

[37] Glöckner 1909, 5 n. 5.

[38] Hunger 1961, 238. Glöckner 1908, 7 and Rabe 1931, lxxvi, 304 had dated it to the 13th or 14th century.

[39] On the basis of two other manuscripts (*Vat. gr.* 1408 and *Coisl. gr.* 387), Rabe 1928, iii–xi identified the "other commentator" in the *Progymnasmata* commentary with John of Sardis, and also suggested that the incomplete *On Issues* commentary ascribed to "the other commentator" (ἑτέρου ἐξηγητοῦ) in *Vat. gr.* 1022 (Vt) and Wc is also the work of John Sardis; see Rabe 1931, lxxxix–xc; as well as Valiavitcharska 2020, 487n4 and Hock 2012, 10–13.

[40] Rabe 1909, 1020. Rabe cites the example of *Vat. gr.* 2228, also a copy of the *Corpus of Hermogenes* plus commentary, which was so large that it was divided into two

With pages measuring 240-245mm x 155-160mm, and the space of the text taking up most of that at 190-205mm x 125-135mm, and with an average of around 50-60 lines of commentary per page in the *On Issues* section, the first impression given by the appearance of the commentary is that of dense sheets of tightly written text. This impression is relieved only by blocks of space, stretching out from the inner margin of the page and taking up roughly half (though occasional ranging from one-third to two-thirds) of the width of a full line of commentary text, that accommodate a few lines of the text of Hermogenes at a time, sometimes as few as one or two lines and sometimes as many as 18 or more (f. 108r; 21 lines on f. 154r). Most pages have one of these blocks, some two or even three (ff. 101v and 119v), and others have none at all, in which case the entire face of the page is filled with commentary. As far as I can tell, on a given page the commentary text is written by the same hand as the block of Hermogenes text, with an exception on f. 94r, where the hand of the commentary changes half way down the page, and the four-line block of Hermogenes text is written by the first scribe, which supports the assumption that the scribe, taking his cue from his exemplar, first determined how many lines of Hermogenes he wanted to accommodate on a given page, and after blocking off the corresponding amount of space and copying the Hermogenes lines, proceeded to fill up the rest of the page with commentary. At least once more the hand changes, again to the extent I can judge, between ff. 138v and 139r, which also marks the beginning of a new quire.[41] The discussion that follows relies on my transcription of the manuscript, based on the photographic reproduction available online at the website of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.[42]

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parts, the first of which consists, like the Vienna manuscript, of Aphthonios and *On Issues*, in 190 folios, almost exactly what the total folio count of the Vienna manuscript would have been before the loss of several folios.

[41] Glöckner 1909, 8.

[42] https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7935686&order=1&view=SINGLE (last accessed 7/22/2024).

III. Doxapatres' Commentary and Porphyry's *Isagoge*

Even taking into consideration only those works of Doxapatres that have already been published—namely the Aphthonios commentary and the *prolegomena* to Aphthonios as well as to the commentaries on *On Issues*, *On Invention*, and *On Forms of Style*[43]—Doxapatres' interest in incorporating Porphyry's *Isagoge* into his exegesis already makes him stand out. For example, throughout all of the 33 rhetorical *prolegomena* collected and edited by Rabe, Porphyry is cited by name in connection with the *Isagoge* a total of eleven times—and six of those are in Doxapatres.[44] One such instance features in the *prolegomena* to the *On Issues* commentary. Most of these prolegomena are missing from Wc because of folia that have fallen out, and Rabe edited them based on Vt (*Vat. gr.* 1022). In the passage in question, which involves a discussion on why the works of the *Corpus of Hermogenes* are read in a particular order, Doxapatres notes that just as a body is prior to its shape and other accidents, so the *On Invention* (which discusses the structure of a speech) is ordered before *On Forms of Style* (which deals with a speech's stylistic elaboration). He then adds, notably, that "substances are prior to accidents, as we have learned in Porphyry's *Isagoge*, when he says that 'prior to the accident is that in which the accident occurs'" (ὅτι δὲ πρῶται γίνονται αἱ οὐσίαι τῶν συμβεβηκότων, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πορφυρίου Εἰσαγωγῇ μεμαθήκαμεν ἐν αὐτῇ εἰπόντος ἐκείνου πρῶτον εἶναι τὸ ᾧ συμβέβηκε τοῦ συμβεβηκότος).[45] By addressing his audience in such a way, Doxapatres suggests that together they are able to treat the *Isagoge* as a common point of reference, and as a textbook he can assume they have studied on their way to working through the *Corpus of Hermogenes*. As we will see again and again in the unedited commentary itself, this manner of quoting explicitly from Porphyry's *Isagoge* in order to provide explanations or parallels for the structure and thought of Hermogenes is characteristic of Doxapatres' method.

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[43] See above n. 8.

[44] Porphyry is cited on two other occasions elsewhere in Rabe's collection of *prolegomena* (Rabe 1931, 181.14 and 293.16), but in connection with his rhetorical commentary on Minucianus.

[45] Rabe 1931, 309.14–17.

IV. Doxapatres reading Hermogenes alongside Porphyry

We can begin with an entry of Doxapatres on the very first two words of Hermogenes' treatise, and it will be helpful to quote Hermogenes' first sentence in its entirety, as Doxapatres will have much to say about it that interests us here:[46]

πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων, ἃ τὴν ῥητορικὴν συνίστησι καὶ τέχνην ποιεῖ, καταληφθέντα τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς δηλαδὴ καὶ συγγυμνασθέντα τῷ χρόνῳ, σαφῆ τε τὴν ὠφέλειαν παρεχόμενα τῷ βίῳ κἂν ταῖς βουλαῖς κἂν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ πανταχοῦ, μέγιστον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ περὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδείξεως (Ι.1).

There are many important elements which constitute rhetoric as an art. These have of course been grasped from the beginning, and set in order by practice over time, and their practical usefulness, both in deliberative and in judicial contexts and everywhere else, is manifest. But the most important, in my view, is concerned with division and demonstration.

Doxapatres seizes upon Hermogenes' first two words— πολλῶν ὄντων— and immediately compares them to what Porphyry does in the *Isagoge*:

εἰ δὲ πάλιν εἴπῃ τις διὰ τί οὐκ εἶπεν "ὄντων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων", ἵνα τὸ ὂν προταγῇ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπου καὶ τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἐν τῇ πέντε φωνῶν πραγματείᾳ προετάγη τῶν ἄλλων; λύσις· ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ἐκείνῳ μὲν τὸ ὂν εἰκότως προετάγη ὡς καθολικωτάτῳ φιλοσόφῳ ὄντι, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο φιλοκαθόλῳ τυγχάνοντι, οἱ δὲ ῥήτορες οὐ τῶν καθόλου, τῶν μερικῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἀντέχονται. (f. 86r ll.39–42)

Furthermore, if someone should ask why he didn't say "there being many great things..." [i.e., ὄντων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων instead of πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων], so that "being" should precede the other words—which Porphyry also placed before the other words in his treatise on the five predicables—we shall reply that "being" was understandably placed first by that philosopher, as he was most universal

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[46] For the Greek text see Patillon 2009, 1; translation from Heath 1995, 28.

and for that reason happened to favor universal statements. But it is not universals that rhetors embrace, but rather the particulars.

What is Doxapatres talking about here when he says that "being" was understandably placed first by the philosopher? He is not referring to any metaphysical interest on the part of Porphyry in being *qua* being, as one might be tempted to think; this does not have to do with Porphyry alluding briefly, early on in his treatise, to the vexed question of the ontological status of universals. Instead, Doxapatres is talking quite literally about the very first word in the *Isagoge*, which just like Hermogenes' treatise begins with a genitive absolute of the verb "to be". However, unlike Hermogenes, Porphyry puts the participle for the verb "to be" first:[47] Ὄντος ἀναγκαίου, Χρυσαόριε... ("It being necessary, Chrysaorius..."). In other words, when it comes to discussing a relatively minor point related to word choice and order at the beginning of Hermogenes' treatise, Doxapatres' go-to comparison is the very beginning of Porphyry's treatise. Why, for Doxapatres and his readers, might it seem a natural or helpful procedure to read the respective proems of these two treatises against one another? We can get some purchase on this question by considering how Porphyry's first sentence continues after those opening two words:

> Ὄντος ἀναγκαίου, Χρυσαόριε, καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει κατηγοριῶν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ γνῶναι τί γένος καὶ τί διαφορὰ τί τε εἶδος καὶ τί ἴδιον καὶ τί συμβεβηκός, εἴς τε τὴν τῶν ὁρισμῶν ἀπόδοσιν καὶ ὅλως εἰς τὰ περὶ διαιρέσεως καὶ ἀποδείξεως χρησίμης οὔσης τῆς τούτων θεωρίας, σύντομόν σοι παράδοσιν ποιούμενος   πειράσομαι διὰ βραχέων ὥσπερ ἐν εἰσαγωγῆς τρόπῳ... (Busse 1.3–8)

> It being necessary, Chrysaorius, even for a schooling in Aristotle's predications, to know what is a genus and what a difference and what a species and what a property and what an accident—and also for the presentation of definitions, and generally for matters concerning division and <demonstration>, the study of which is

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[47] For Porphyry's *Isagoge*, I cite the text of Busse 1887, 1.3–8; translation taken (with some adaptation) from Barnes 2003, 3.

useful,—I shall attempt, in making you a concise exposition, to re-
hearse, briefly and as in the manner of an introduction...(tr. Barnes
3, with angular brackets marking an adjustment of my own to the
translation)

Porphyry says that the subject of his work, that is, the five predicables,
besides being necessary for understanding Aristotle's *Categories* and
the process of forming definitions, is also crucial "generally" for the di-
alectical methods of division (διαίρεσις) and demonstration (ἀπόδειξις).
These last two terms are of course the same two methods that Hermo-
genes singles out in the first sentence of his treatise as representing "the
most important" element of rhetoric (μέγιστον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ περὶ
τῆς διαιρέσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδείξεως). If it occurs to Doxapatres to
compare Hermogenes' introductory proem with that of Porphyry's, that
might be because they not only begin with strikingly similar formulas,
but they also foreground their focus on the same processes of division
and demonstration. Doxapatres takes it as a given not only that we are
already familiar with the *other* great treatise on division—that of divi-
sion not of political questions into so-called κεφάλαια but of genera into
species—but that these two treatises can be read against one another
with profit. Indeed, the formal parallels between the respective introduc-
tions of these treatises—the opening genitive absolutes and the explicit
references to the division and demonstration—seem striking enough to
me that I am tempted to think that the parallels themselves played an
active role in encouraging the interconnected use of the two treatises,
both with respect to Doxapatres and more broadly.

Furthermore, Doxapatres' *explicit* reference to Porphyry's *Isagoge*
in this entry can underscore for us the significance of his *implicit* use
of Porphyrian material in other comments of his on this same first sen-
tence of Hermogenes. Thus, the commentary tradition had long been
concerned with why Hermogenes seems not to define rhetoric at the be-
ginning of his treatise.[48] In contrast, Doxapatres argues that Hermogenes
does indeed define rhetoric, but that he does so periphrastically, by first

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[48] See Heath 2003a, 149 for how the commentators had also drawn attention to Minuci-
anus' similar failure to offer a clear definition of rhetoric.

hinting at the well-stablished definition of "art" and then adding language that specifies the rhetorical art in particular.[49] He then proceeds to show how Hermogenes' words can be unpacked so as to yield a proper definition of rhetoric, and the language Doxapatres uses to describe his approach is noteworthy (f. 86r ll. 13–15):

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ πᾶς ὁρισμὸς ἐκ γένους καὶ συστατικῶν διαφορῶν σύγκειται, ἴδωμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῆς ῥητορικῆς ὁρισμῷ, ποῖον μέν ἐστι τὸ γένος, ποῖαι δὲ αἱ συστατικαὶ διαφοραί.

Now, since every definition is composed of a genus and constitutive differences, let us see in the present definition of rhetoric what the genus is and what the constitutive differences are.

What Doxapatres means by this is that we define something, say a species like "human being", by identifying its genus (in this case, "animal") as well as the "difference" or quality that distinguishes it from other members of the same genus, which for humans as opposed to other animals is "rational". Thus, the (simplified) definition of human is "rational animal". This approach to producing definitions derives from Porphyry's *Isagoge*:

ἐπεὶ οὖν αἱ αὐταὶ <sc. διαφοραὶ> πὼς μὲν ληφθεῖσαι γίνονται συστατικαί, πὼς δὲ διαιρετικαί, εἰδοποιοὶ πᾶσαι κέκληνται. καὶ τούτων γε μάλιστα χρεία εἴς τε τὰς διαιρέσεις τῶν γενῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὁρισμοὺς...(ed. Busse 10.18–19

Since, then, the same differences taken in one way are found to be constitutive and in one way divisive, they have all been called specific; and it is they which are especially useful both for divisions of genera and for definitions (tr. Barnes 10)

The influence of the *Isagoge* meant that the process of forming definitions from genera and differences became part of the standard Byzantine

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[49] See also Heath 1995, 61 on how Hermogenes' first sentence "alludes to the common definition of art".

intellectual toolkit. However, Doxapatres' terminology here is noteworthy, especially how he specifies that "constitutive" (συστατικαί) differences, when added to genera, yield definitions. The term "constitutive difference" does not appear, for example, in the commentaries of Sopatros or Syrianus on Hermogenes, nor in the composite "Dreimänner" commentary. It appears once in the so-called P-scholia, where however it is used in a more general discussion and not in order to analyze the actual text of Hermogenes' treatise.[50] Again, Doxapatres' implicit use of Porphyrian material here should be considered in the light of his explicit reference to the proem of the *Isagoge* in an entry for this same sentence of Hermogenes. This is the first of several explicit invocations of the *Isagoge*, and that does set Doxapatres apart. Whenever Porphyry is cited by name in the commentaries of Sopatros, Syrianos, the "Dreimänner Kommentar", or the P-scholia, it is exclusively in reference to Porphyry's statements regarding *stasis* theory in his Minucianus commentary—never to the *Isagoge*.

After the *proemium*, Hermogenes' subsequent treatment of the classes of "person types" (πρόσωπα) that can potentially play a role in a declamatory theme based on *stasis* provides Doxapatres with his next occasion to cite Porphyry's *Isagoge*. The fifth item in Hermogenes' catalogue consists of composite types of hypothetical persons, for example the "rich young man" (νέος πλούσιος). Hermogenes says that one or the other of these labels on their own wouldn't offer much potential for building a declamatory theme around, but when combined they do. Doxapatres finds noteworthy the language Hermogenes uses to refer to "one or the other" of the two labels:

"τούτων γὰρ ἑκάτερον" [= *St.* I.5.10]: τρία τινὰ περίκεινται ἀλλήλοις· θάτερον· ἑκάτερον· ἕκαστον· ὧν τὸ μὲν θάτερον, ἐπὶ ἑνὸς· τὸ δὲ ἑκάτερον, ἐπὶ δύο· τὸ δὲ ἕκαστον, ἐπὶ πολλῶν λαμβάνεται· ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ καταχρώμεθα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος, ἐν τῇ τῶν πέντε φωνῶν πραγματείᾳ· ἐν τῷ, τὸ δὲ τί ἐστι κατηγορεῖσθαι γένος χωρίζει ἀπὸ τῶν διαφορῶν καὶ τῶν κοινῶς συμβεβηκότων· ἃ οὐκ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ ὁποῖον τί ἐστι κατηγορεῖται ἕκαστον ὧν

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50 *RhG* 7.396.31.

κατηγορεῖται [= Busse 3.17–19][51]· τῷ ἕκαστον, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑκάτερον· ἐν ἐκείνῃ τούτῳ χρησαμένου. (f. 94v ll. 9–13)

"for one of the two": A certain three words are related to one another: *thateron* ("one of the two"), *hekateron* ("each of the two"), and *hekaston* ("each one"). Of these, *thateron* is used with respect to one entity; *hekateron* with respect to two; and *hekaston* with respect to many. Sometimes however we use these words in an improper sense, just like Porphyry does in his treatise on the five predicables. For in saying "the fact that they are predicated in answer to the question 'What is it?' separates genus from differences and common accidents, each of which is predicated of the things they are predicated of in answer not to the question 'What is it?' but to 'What sort of so-and-so is it?'"[52], Porphyry has used *hekaston* instead of *hekateron*.

In other words, Doxapatres says Hermogenes uses ἑκάτερον loosely instead of θάτερον; he compares this to how Porphyry used the word ἕκαστον in a loose or improper sense, since in the passage in question (according to Doxapatres' reading of Porphyry) it refers to "each" of precisely two subjects (differences and common accidents), for which we might expect ἑκάτερον instead. The fact that Doxapatres explicitly cites Porphyry, not in reference to division or definition or anything else having to do with logic, but rather to offer a parallel for a question of semantic usage, is itself significant. For Doxapatres and his audience, the text of the *Isagoge*, in various points of detail, can serve as a common point of reference. Again, it represents a textbook whose material can be presumed to have been absorbed before the stage in the rhetorical curriculum when *stasis* theory is taught.

The next moment where Doxapatres turns to the *Isagoge* to explain Hermogenes' authorial moves is more involved, and shows the former engaging with some of the finer points of the Porphyrian method of forming definitions. This comes after Hermogenes has gone through his catalogues of classes of "persons" (πρόσωπα) and "acts" (πράγματα)

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[51] Note that Doxapatres' text of Porphyry differs here slightly from Busse's edition.

[52] The translation here has been adapted from Barnes 2003, 5 to account for the fact that Doxapatres takes ἕκαστον differently than Barnes does.

that lend themselves to *stasis* treatment in declamations (I.5–7 and I.8–12, respectively). He then proceeds to outline the characteristics that a given question must feature in order to be considered a ζήτημα συνεστώς, a "valid question" or "a question with issue" (I.13). Doxapatres refers to this set of characteristics—the lack of any of which renders a question "invalid" or "without issue" (ἀσύστατον)—as Hermogenes' κανών or "rule". Doxapatres breaks down each of the elements of the "rule"—the question must have persuasive arguments on both sides; a verdict can in fact be rendered, etc.—by showing how they differentiate valid questions from particular varieties of "invalid" or "nearly invalid but still practiced in declamation" questions. The word order of Hermogenes' rule is such that, according to Doxapatres, it differentiates valid questions from the various kinds of invalid and nearly invalid questions in no particular order, with, for example, kinds of invalid question followed by a kind of nearly invalid question, then by another kind of invalid question and a second nearly invalid question, then other kinds of invalid questions, and so on. Doxapatres here notes that one might reasonably wonder why Hermogenes did not define valid questions in such a way that he first differentiates them from what they are further removed from—namely the invalid questions—and then from what they are more closely related to, the nearly invalid questions. This is, after all, how one is taught to produce definitions, according to the hypothetical argument that Doxapatres rehearses. Take for example a long-form definition of human: "animal, rational, mortal". The first item, animal, is the genus to which humans belong, and which sets humans and other animals apart from what is furthest removed from them within the larger category of all living things in general, such as plants. The second item, rational, distinguishes humans and other rational beings (i.e., angels) from what is more closely related to them, namely the mute beasts, like horses. The third item, mortal, distinguishes humans from what we are closest to, namely rational but immortal animals (angels). Doxapatres responds to this hypothetical argument by noting that in presenting the essential characteristics of a valid question, Hermogenes is not offering a proper definition, but that even if he were, even the definitions that

Porphyry himself presents in the *Isagoge* aren't necessarily formulated in such a fashion:

ἐροῦμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι κύριος ὁ ὁρισμός· ἀλλὰ κανὼν τίς ἐστι μᾶλλον τὰ ἴδια τοῦ συνεστῶτος ζητήματ<ος>[53], παριστῶν· ἄλλωστε, οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁρισμοῖς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸ τοιοῦτον γίνεσθαι· αὐτίκα γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν ταῖς πέντε φωναῖς τὸ γένος ὁρισάμενος καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτὸ κατὰ πλειόνων καὶ διαφερόντων τῷ εἴδει ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι κατηγορούμενον [= Busse 2.15-16]· καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ πλειόνων, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόμων αὐτὸ διαστείλας· διὰ δὲ τοῦ διαφερόντων τῷ εἴδει, ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ ἰδίων· διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν διαφορῶν καὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων· διὰ δὲ τοῦ κατηγορούμενον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσημάντων φωνῶν· οὐ πάντως ἀπὸ τῶν πορρωτέρων καὶ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγυτέρων τὸ ὁριστικὸν ἐχώρησε· τῶν γὰρ διαφορῶν πλέον τοῦ ἰδίου συγγενειαζουσῶν τῷ γένει, οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον, καὶ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτὸ διεῖλεν· ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπαλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πρῶτον καὶ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τῶν διαφορῶν. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν· καὶ τῶν διαφορῶν· καὶ τῶν ἰδίων· καὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων μᾶλλον συγγενειαζουσῶν τῷ γένει· ἢ αἱ ἀσήμαντοι φωναὶ ...[54] πρῶτον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόμων· καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν διαφορῶν· καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν· καὶ τῶν ἰδίων· καὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων διέστελε τὸ γένος· καὶ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσημάντων φωνῶν. (f. 100v ll.48–56)

We will reply that the definition here is not a proper one, but rather a kind of rule that presents the properties of a valid question. Moreover, even when it comes to proper definitions themselves, there is not every necessity that such a thing be done. Thus take for example Porphyry himself in the *Five Predicables*, when he defines genus and says that it is predicated of multiple things that differ in species in answer to the question "What is it?". Here in saying "of multiple things", he differentiates genus from the individuals <sc. because an individual cannot be predicated of multiple things>; in saying "that differ in species", he differentiates it from species and properties; in saying "in answer to the question "What is it?", he differentiates it from differences and accidents <sc. which are predicated in answer to the question "What

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[53] ms ζητήματα.
[54] One word here is illegible.

sort of thing is it?">; in saying "predicated", he differentiates it from meaningless sounds. Thus the act of definition did not necessarily proceed from what is further removed and later from what is more closely related: for although *differences are more closely related to genus than property is*[55], he did not divide genus from differences first, and later on from property, but the reverse, dividing it from property first and then later from differences. Furthermore, although individuals, species, differences, properties and accidents are more closely related to genus than meaningless sounds are <...>, he first differentiated genus from individuals and differences and species and properties and accidents, and then later from meaningless sounds.

Once again we see here Doxapatres walking his audience through a granular analysis of Porphyry's text in order to provide a parallel for the way Hermogenes structures his own material: Porphyry's definition of genus is not formulated in such a way that it distinguishes genus first from what is furthest removed from it and later from what is more closely related to it, so there is no reason to expect Hermogenes' "rule" of what constitutes a valid question—whether or not the rule counts as a proper definition—to be so formulated either.

After providing his "rule" for what constitutes a valid question, Hermogenes says that he will outline the invalid questions according to their various types or "species" (εἶδος). Here once again Doxapatres explicitly compares Hermogenes' approach to Porphyry in the *Isagoge*, and how after defining genus he then immediately proceeded to outline the very things that had been differentiated from genus through the latter's definition:

"εἰρήσεται δὲ κατ᾽ εἶδος" (I.13.11): ἐπειδὴ διέστειλε τὰ συνεστῶτα ζητήματα, διὰ τοῦ κανόνος ἀπό τε τῶν ἀσυστάτων· καὶ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἀσυστάτων, ὑπισχνεῖται τὸν κανόνα διασαφῆσαι· ἐκ τοῦ παραδείγματος θεῖναι τούτων· ὧν τὸ συνεστὼς, διεστέλλετο ζήτημα· τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Πορφύριον ἔγνωμεν, ἐν τῷ τῶν πέντε φωνῶν

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[55] The text is most likely corrupt at this point, since Doxapatres' argument requires him here to say instead "for although differences are *not* more closely related to genus than property is...".

βιβλίῳ ποιήσαντα· κἀκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν ἐνείνῳ ὁρισάμενος τὸ γένος· καὶ εἰπὼν γένος εἶναι "τὸ κατὰ πλειόνων καὶ διαφερόντων τῷ εἴδει ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι κα[τα]τηγορούμενον" [= ed. Busse 2.15–16]· καὶ διαστείλας αὐτὸ ἀπὸ τῶν παρακειμένων, ἤγουν τῶν ἀτόμων· καὶ τοῦ εἴδους· καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου· καὶ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, μετὰ τὸν ὁρισμόν, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ περὶ τούτων διαλαμβάνει· δεικνύων τίνα ἐστὶ ταῦτα· ὧν ὁ ὁρισμὸς τὸ γένος διέστειλεν. (f. 101v ll.44–49)

"will be said according to species". Now that he has used the rule to distinguish valid questions from both invalid questions and nearly invalid questions, he promises to clarify this rule by providing examples of the things that he was just distinguishing from valid questions. We know that Porphyry did this same thing as well in his treatise on the five predicables. For he too first defines genus there by saying that genus "is what is predicated, in answer to 'What is it?', of several items which differ in species",[56] thus differentiating genus from the other terms in question, namely individuals, species, property, and accident. Then, after supplying the definition, he discusses those terms as if giving a summary[57], thereby indicating what these things are that the definition has distinguished from genus.

Thus, Doxapatres takes the organizational strategy of this section of Hermogenes—first the rule of valid questions, then an outline of what is excluded by that rule—and directly compares it to what Porphyry does when he first defines genus and then offers a brief treatment of the terms differentiated from genus through that definition.

After outlining the various "species" of invalid question, Hermogenes then offers an overview of three kinds of the "nearly invalid" questions that are still however used in declamatory practice (I.22-24). In an extended section of commentary on the opening sentence of this section (I.22.1-2), Doxapatres turns once again to the proem of the *Isagoge*, this time to offer a comparison and a possible answer for why Hermogenes chose to offer the "rule" for valid questions and then the

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[56] tr. Barnes 2003, 4.
[57] This refers to *Isagoge* ed. Busse 2.17–3.8.

outlines of the types of invalid and nearly invalid questions, in that particular order:

ῥητέον ἕτερόν τι, πρὸς λύσιν τοῦ ἀπορήματος· φαμὲν τοίνυν ὅτι ἐπεὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει τὰ ἀσύστατα τῶν συνεστώτων πρ<οτ>ακτέα εἶναι· διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νομοθετικὴν πρῶτον ἀναιρεῖν τὰ κακά· καὶ οὕτω ἀντεισάγειν τὰ χρήσιμα· τοῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον τὰ συνεστῶτα τῶν ἀσυστάτων, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν φιλόσοφον τάξιν, τὰ ἐντελέστερα τῶν ἀτελεστέρων, προτάττει· θέλων ἀμφοτέρας τηρῆσαι τὰς τάξεις ὁ τεχνογράφος, κατεμέρισε τὸν, περὶ τῶν συνεστώτων λόγον· καὶ τὸν μὲν κανόνα αὐτὸν προτάξας· τὴν δὲ μέθοδον μετατάξας, τὰ ἀσύστατα μέσα ἐτήρησε· πῆ μὲν τὰ συνεστῶτα τῶν ἀσυστάτων προτάττων· πῆ δὲ καὶ ἔμπαλιν ποιῶν· καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν προοιμίοις τῶν πέντε φωνῶν ἐποίησε· κἀκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ· ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μὲν τὸν σκοπὸν ἐδόκει δεῖν προτάττεσθαι τοῦ χρησίμου· τοῖς δὲ τὸ χρήσιμον, τοῦ σκοποῦ· καταμερίσας τὸ χρήσιμον· τὸ μὲν αὐτὸ πρὸ τοῦ σκοποῦ τέθεικε· τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸν σκοπὸν· φησὶ γὰρ οὕτως· ὄντος ἀναγκαίου Χρυσαόριε· καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους κατηγοριῶν διδασκαλίαν· ἰδοὺ ἐν τοῦ χρησίμου μέρος· εἶτα ἐπιφέρει τὸν σκοπόν· τοῦ γνῶναι τί γένος καὶ τί διαφορά· εἶτα πάλιν καὶ τὸ λεῖπον τοῦ χρησίμου λέγει· εἴς τε τὴν τῶν ὁρισμῶν ἀπόδοσιν, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· [= Busse 1.1-3] ὅπερ οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ πέντε φωνῶν βιβλίῳ ἐποίησε, τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιεῖ· πῆ μὲν τὰ συνεστῶτα τῶν ἀσυστάτων· πῆ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀσύστατα τῶν συνεστώτων προτάττων. (f. 104v ll.36-46)

Something else should be mentioned as a solution to the problem. Thus we say the following: since some believe the invalid questions should come before the valid questions, because the legislative approach to ordering also first gets rid of the bad and then introduces the good in its place, while others believe the opposite and that the valid questions should come before the invalid ones, since the philosophical approach to ordering puts the more perfect before the less perfect, our expert, in wanting to adhere to both principles of ordering, split up his account of the valid questions, putting first the rule itself then afterwards the method for valid questions, and then keeping the invalid questions in the middle. Thus in one way he puts the valid questions before the invalid questions, while in another way he does the reverse, and just like Porphyry does in the introductory part of the Five Predi-

cables, so too does Hermogenes here. For there <sc. in the *Isagoge*> as well, since some people think the goal of a work should come before its utility, while others think the utility should come before the goal, so Porphyry divided up the discussion of utility, and put part of it before the goal, and another part after the goal. For he says the following: "Since it is necessary, Chrysaorius, even for instruction in Aristotle's *Categories*"—behold here one part of the utility, and then he adds the goal—"in order to know what a genus is and what a difference is"—and then in turn he adds what is left of the utility—"and for the production of definitions" and so on. Thus, what Porphyry did in his treatise on the five predicables is the same thing that Hermogenes does in the treatise at hand, in one way putting the valid questions before the invalid ones, and in another the invalid questions before the valid ones.

This requires a bit of unpacking. Doxapatres first says that Hermogenes was faced with two competing principles for how to order his treatment of valid questions and invalid questions, one a so-called "legislative"[58] approach to ordering that would first dispose of the bad (in this case the invalid questions) before dealing with the good (the valid questions), and a "philosophical" one that would move instead from the more perfect (the valid questions) to the less so (the invalid ones). Doxapatres' take is that Hermogenes gets to have his cake and eat it too, in that he actually breaks up his overall treatment of the valid questions into the "rule" or κανών that outlines their required characteristics (I.13) and then the longer μέθοδος or method for identifying the *stasis* of any given valid question (II.1-17), with the treatment of invalid and nearly invalid questions being inserted in the middle (I.14-24). Thus, as Doxapatres puts it, from one point of view Hermogenes has ordered the valid questions before the invalid questions, and from another point of view he has done the reverse. Then, as a parallel to Hermogenes' compositional strategy of breaking up his treatment of valid questions, Doxapatres turns once again to the proem of the *Isagoge.* Here, in referring to Porphyry's introductory discussion of the "utility" (τὸ χρήσιμον) and "goal" (ὁ

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[58] The idea here seems to be that lawgivers first enact legislation delineating *illegal* activities before dealing with laws related to legal activities.

σκοπός) of his work, Doxapatres is drawing on the formulaic language used in the tradition of *prolegomena* of commentaries on works in the philosophical and rhetorical curriculum.[59] These *prolegomena* posed a standardized set of questions that were to be answered before studying the work in question, and these inquired for example into the title of the work in question as well as its "utility" and "goal". Doxapatres says that the phrases in Porphyry's proem that refer to the "utility" of the work— useful for learning the *Categories* and for producing definitions—are interrupted by a phrase that identifies the actual goal of the work, namely to learn what a genus and the other predicables are. Once again, we see Doxapatres referring his audience back to the *Isagoge* and to Porphyry's individual phrases in order to shed light on Hermogenes.

The last bit of Doxapatres to be examined here comes from one of his subsequent comments on Hermogenes' outline of "nearly invalid questions". Although it does not cite the *Isagoge* explicitly as in the previous examples, it is nevertheless revealing for how Doxapatres approached a key section of Hermogenes' treatise through a Porphyrian lens. In the lemma in question, Hermogenes has finished listing his eight types of invalid questions (I.14-21), and he proceeds to discuss an intermediate category between invalid and valid questions, the so-called "nearly invalid questions" that are nevertheless still practiced in declamation (ἕτερα ἐγγὺς μὲν ἀσυστάτων, μελετώμενα δὲ ὅμως, I.22.1-2). He lists three different types of such questions, namely the "ill-balanced" (τὸ ἑτερορρεπές), the "flawed in invention" (τὸ κακόπλαστον), and the "prejudiced" (τὸ προειλημμένον τῇ κρίσει). At this point Doxapatres notes that as with the types of invalid questions, which began with the "one-sided" (τὸ μονομερές), here once again Hermogenes begins with the more invalid and proceeds to the less so. He notes that one might plausibly ask why Hermogenes didn't reverse direction in his listing of the "nearly invalid but still practiced" questions, and begin instead with the more valid ones, since these questions occupy a middle ground between absolutely invalid and valid questions, and presumably Hermogenes could have just as easily begun with the more valid among

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[59] See Mansfield 1994.

the "nearly invalid but still practiced" questions, had he wanted to. Doxapatres responds that such a choice was not in fact available to him, since the qualifiers "more" and "less" can be used of the invalidity of questions but not of validity, so one cannot speak of beginning with the "more valid" questions when treating the "nearly invalid but still practiced questions" (in other words, when it comes to stasis, invalidity admits of degrees, but validity does not). He follows up with a comment on Hermogenes' approach to the valid questions that is telling:

> ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀσυστάτοις ἐστὶ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς συνεστῶσι τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι· πρῶτον γὰρ, πάντα ἐπίσης συνίστανται· καὶ οὐ τὸ μὲν μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ ἧττον· ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀσυστάτοις· τὸ μὲν μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἀσύστατον· τὸ δὲ ἧττον· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία τῶν συνεστώτων, οὐ δι᾿ ἀπαριθμήσεως ἐστίν· ἧς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἴδιον· ἀλλὰ διὰ διαιρέσεως μᾶλλον τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γενῶν εἰς εἴδη (f.105r ll. 20-25)

> We shall answer that while among the invalid questions there is a first and a second, among the valid questions there is no such thing. For first of all, they are all equally valid, and one is not more valid and another less valid than the other, as among the invalid questions one is more invalid and another less so. Secondly, his treatment of the valid questions is not conducted through enumeration, a property of which is to have a first and a second, but rather through division, namely that of genera into species.

What Doxapatres means by the final remark here is that in the upcoming section of *On Issues*, where Hermogenes gives an overview of how to determine the stasis of a given question (a section of the treatise that Hermogenes and his commentators refer to as a μέθοδος, II.1-17), his procedure is to identify the types of *stasis* by dividing them as genera into species—in other words, the type of division learned in Porphyry's *Isagoge*. It is important to distinguish this section or "method" of *On Issues* from the rest of the treatise (sections III-XII), in which Hermogenes fulfills the goal of the treatise he had announced in the proem, namely to teach the division of the political questions, once their stasis has been identified, into the corresponding "heads" of argument. *That*

is the kind of division that Hermogenes says his treatise is about, but Doxapatres pointedly observes that the "method" of classifying staseis in the preceding section (II.1-17) in fact represents an exercise in the *other* kind of division, the Porphyrian kind. This division of the *staseis* into their genera and species is reflected in the diagrams that often accompany the text of the Περὶ στάσεων, which, as Valiavitcharska has pointed out, strikingly recall the *Arbor Porphyriana*, the classic visualization of how a genus is divided into its constituent species based on the addition of specific differences.[60] Hermogenes had begun his treatise by announcing that he was concerned not with the division of genera into species, but of the political questions into their heads of argument (I.2). However, users of the Περὶ στάσεων like Doxapatres recognized that in classifying the *staseis* themselves through the method provided in the first part of the treatise, Hermogenes was for all intents and purposes concerned with the division of genera into species, and they approached the teaching of Hermogenes accordingly.

If the formal and thematic parallels between the respective proemia of the *Isagoge* and *On Issues* that were outlined earlier in this paper hint at an invitation for users of the two treatises to read them alongside one another, then that is an invitation that Doxapatres readily accepts throughout his commentary. The two treatises on division were anchors of the Byzantine curriculum, and in the *Isagoge* teachers of rhetoric had an ideal tool for framing Hermogenes' "method" of classifying the *staseis* by dividing them as genera into species. Beginning with the very first four words of Hermogenes' text, Doxapatres finds it useful to refer again and again to Porphyry's *Isagoge* in order to explain Hermogenes' language, ideas, and the organization of his material. The *proem* of the *Isagoge* in particular has been internalized so thoroughly by Doxapatres that he quotes from it twice in order to explain Hermogenes' choice of words and the order in which he wrote them; from later on in the *Isagoge* he twice quotes Porphyry's definition of a genus; and he even cites

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[60] Valiavitcharska 2020, 490. See especially *BNF Paris gr.* 1983 f. 10r, available here: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723839j/f16.item# (accessed: 7/22/2024). For a more detailed study of the rhetorical diagrams in this famous manuscript see also Valiavitcharska, forthcoming.

Porphyry for the simple purpose of providing philological support for Hermogenes' loose use of the adjectival pronoun ἑκάτερον instead of θάτερον. When Doxapatres analyzes definitions in Hermogenes' text, he does so by identifying what component of a given phrase represents the genus and what part the specific difference, following precisely the procedure Porphyry outlines in the *Isagoge*; when he turns to Hermogenes' *methodos* for classifying the *staseis*, he identifies it explicitly as an example of division from genera into species, and indeed it is in the form of an *Arbor Porphyriana* that this method is visualized in texts of the Περὶ στάσεων, both Byzantine and modern.[61] It is clear that for users of Doxapatres' commentary, whether teachers or students, Porphyry's *Isagoge* is expected to be a helpful point of reference, and that is worth lingering over.

In Late Antiquity (and much more recently)[62], philosophers commenting on the *Isagoge* famously argued over whether the treatise was meant to be an introduction to Aristotle's *Categories* specifically, or to logic and/or philosophy more generally. Doxapatres' commentary shows clearly that in its Byzantine afterlife, in addition to the role it played in the philosophical curriculum, Porphyry's "Introduction" also served to introduce something else altogether—the rhetorical curriculum and the *Corpus of Hermogenes*. In a recent discussion of an unedited, anonymous Byzantine commentary on Porphyry, we learn that the anonymous commentator explicitly says that the *Isagoge* is studied in order to learn the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonios, not the other way around.[63] As Doxapatres' commentary suggests, it seems that the same could be said of the relationship between Porphyry and Hermogenes as well.

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[61] For the Byzantine diagrams see above n. 60; for their modern counterparts see e.g. Patillon 2009, xliii and Heath 1995, 71.

[62] See Barnes 2003, xiv–xvi.

[63] MacDougall 2017, 742–743.

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Agathias' erotic kylix:
A study of AP 5.261[*]

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1. Introduction

A Christian[1] with a profound understanding of theology,[2] a clandestine Neoplatonist,[3] a moralist,[4] but one with a knack for humor and satire;[5] an exponent of the Justinian moral code[6] or the tactful voice of the era's subversion.[7] There seem to be different ways to view Agathias' take on literature (history and/or poetry) and reality itself, which to a certain degree extends to his peers, who made up the *Cycle*, a group of poets who contributed to the compilation of the same name prepared by Agathias, presumably shortly after the end of

[1] McCail 1969, 96; Cameron 1970, 16–17; McCail 1971, 225 (Agathias' poetry) and 247–249 (the *Histories*); Galli Calderini 1992, 120–127; Garland 2011, 153; Valerio 2014, 9–10.
[2] Pizzone 2013, esp. 97 and 101.
[3] Beck 1984, 73; Kaldellis 1999, 206 ("Agathias was not a Christian at all") and 240–248 (Agathias' Neoplatonic sympathies in the *Histories*), but slightly differently in Kaldellis 2003, 300: "The thorny question of Agathias' religion must involve his work as a whole. His use of myth as history does not itself prove much. Christians also used Greek mythology for similar purposes."
[4] McCail 1969, 95–96; Cameron 1970, 21 and 29 (on Agathias' erotic epigrams); Kaldellis 1999, 223 (Agathias' "moral" approach of History in the *Histories*, but not in Christian terms, in the scholar's opinion; on the moral aspect of the *Histories*, see also Smith 2022b, esp. 173 and 178–179).
[5] Ortega Villaro 2010, 287.
[6] McCail 1969.
[7] Smith 2015 and Smith 2022b, esp. 182–183.

Justinian's reign.[8] When it comes to the erotic output of the *Cycle* (the sixth book of the anthology, later incorporated into the fifth book of the *Anthologia Palatina*),[9] earlier studies deemed Agathias' poems as a tad conservative and moralistic, lacking the passion and the spiciness of his alter-ego, Paul Silentiarios,[10] whereas modern approaches take a different route: The poets of the *Cycle*, prominently represented by Agathias and Paul, were deliberately testing and eventually transgressing the boundaries of Justinian moral decorum, by producing verses teeming with overtly sexual innuendos, in which concepts of gender fluidity and homoerotic desire were integrated with facility.[11] Was then Agathias, the poet and historian, simply "performing Christianity," thus being attuned to the moral milieu of Justinian times, or was he using his rhetorical and poetical skills to undermine it covertly, while publicly faking conformity in order to advance his career or, more importantly, to keep himself safe from harm?[12] Then again, was Justinian Constantinople (where Agathias spent most of his professional life) *that* oppressive and regressive after all? Hans-Georg Beck begs to differ: The moral code was actually looser than generally assumed and therefore the daring erotic poetry of the *Cycle* would not have been under any serious threat.[13]

Such variety in scholarly opinion may lead to interestingly divergent results, when shared readings of different poets are undertaken. Take for instance Agathias in comparison to the chief hymnographer of Justinian's time, Romanos Melodos. In the early 1970s, Roland C. McCail saw in both poets the endorsement of the ascetic ideals of the Christian dogma;[14] in 2019 Steven D. Smith either juxtaposed the two poets –Ro-

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[8] On the *Cycle*, see Cameron & Cameron 1966, McCail 1969; Cameron 1970, 12–29; Valerio 2014, 7–15.

[9] Cameron & Cameron 1966, 7.

[10] McCail 1969, 95–96; Cameron 1970, 21–22; McCail 1971, 206 and 209; Beck 1984, 68. Nonetheless, the latter does not see a moralist in Agathias, even though he thinks that Paul is more creative in his erotic epigrams.

[11] Smith 2015 and 2019.

[12] McCail 1969, 96; Cameron 1993, 156–158; Kaldellis 1999, 228 and 252; Smith 2015, 501–503.

[13] Beck 1984, 73–75.

[14] McCail 1971, 220.

manos submitting sin to the authority of Christ,[15] Agathias liberating it from it – or he made them "partners in crime," arguing that jewelry worn by the Virgin Mary in one *kontakion* of Romanos made the Mother of God look suspiciously earthly and desirable, not unlike some of the contemporary ladies who appear in the erotic epigrams of the *Cycle*.[16] In other words, here Romanos is not regarded as the purifying force that confirms Agathias' faith; on the contrary, Agathias and his peers are apparently capable of "defiling" aspects of the pious hymnographer's literary work.

By taking into account all the above, we may wonder how a six-verse epigram, namely *AP* 5.261 by Agathias,[17] which builds on the relatively popular "cup-motif" of the previous Greek and Latin erotic literature, where the secret lovers kiss symbolically by drinking from the same spot of a cup during a banquet, fits into the aforementioned discussions. The answer is that hitherto it does not. Truly, with the exception of some brief mentions of the epigram, mainly with regard to its *Quellenforschung* or its relation to a couple of similar epigrams in the *Cycle* (5.281 and 9.770 by Paul; 5.295 by Leontios Scholastikos),[18] past and present scholarship has not dealt with it in depth. For Christian readings of Agathias this epigram seems rather unexciting, namely somewhat moralistic,[19] whilst it may also give the impression of merely recycling an ancient motif by means of *mimesis*. As for "iconoclasts," such as Smith, it may look like a "harmless" lyrical confession of a heterosexual male and nothing more – or else how are we to explain its absence from the scholar's detailed and fruitful gender-centered analysis of the

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[15] Smith 2019, 7–8.

[16] Smith 2019, 45–46.

[17] All references to the *Anthologia Palatina* are to the edition of Hermann Beckby (Munich, 1957). The epigrams of Agathias have been edited separately by Viansino 1967 and Valerio 2014. Those of Paul have been edited by Viansino 1963.

[18] Mattsson 1942, 48; Viansino 1963, 30–31 and 83.

[19] Volpe Cacciatore 1981, 470. Cf. the assessment of Cameron 1970, 21, where the epigram falls under the category of those that are "reflective and clever rather than passionate." This could be seen as a favorable take, if the poem in question were not an erotic one.

"banquet-poetics" in the epigrammatic poetry of the *Cycle*?[20] With these premises in mind, the aim of the present paper is twofold: first to engage in a close reading of the sources that transmit the "cup-motif" up to the time of Agathias, with the purpose of determining which comes closer, in content and form, to Agathias' epigram; second to explore the poem's poetics in the light of previous scholarship and the different approaches that have been taken to the study of Agathias' artistry. Among others, I will try to answer one crucial question: After detecting the source of 5.261, namely after defining the act of *mimesis* by Agathias at a first level, what else is there to say about the poem? Hopefully, some interesting things will surface that are worthy of our attention.

2. The motif of the erotic cup and Agathias

The text of Agathias' epigram is as follows:

> Εἰμὶ μὲν οὐ φιλόοινος· ὅταν δ' ἐθέλῃς με μεθύσσαι,
> πρῶτα σὺ γευομένη πρόσφερε, καὶ δέχομαι.
> εἰ γὰρ ἐπιψαύσεις τοῖς χείλεσιν, οὐκέτι νήφειν
> εὐμαρὲς οὐδὲ φυγεῖν τὸν γλυκὺν οἰνοχόον·
> πορθμεύει γὰρ ἔμοιγε κύλιξ παρὰ σοῦ τὸ φίλημα
> καί μοι ἀπαγγέλλει τὴν χάριν, ἣν ἔλαβεν.

I am not fond of wine. On the other hand, when you want to make me drunk, taste it first,[21] then offer the cup to me and I shall accept it. For if you touch the surface with your lips, it will not be easy (for me) either to stay sober anymore or to avoid the sweet cupbearer; for the cup carries over your kiss, announcing to me the grace it received.

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[20] Smith 2019, 33–71. The scholar takes a slightly different approach in Smith 2020, 132 and 141–142: Here he acknowledges the confrontation between asceticism and carnality in the poetry of the *Cycle*, with a focus on Agathias, which causes internal tension.

[21] The use of three forms in the present tense in the third verse conveys a sense of simultaneity as if the imaginary kiss is happening as soon as she touches the cup with her lips. However, the very last word of the epigram (ἔλαβεν) shows that there is a chronological sequence in the events: First she drinks from the cup, then she offers it to the cupbearer, who then hands it over to the poetic I.

As we can see, Agathias follows the long tradition of the "cup-motif," by showing two lovers exchanging a kiss via a ploy: Instead of actually touching each other's lips, they both drink from the same cup (κύλιξ), which functions as a mediator. It is important to note that in Agathias' version the recipient (the poetic voice) drinks from the same spot touched by the lips of the desired person (εἰ γὰρ ἐπιψαύσεις τοῖς χείλεσιν… πορθμεύει παρὰ σοῦ τὸ φίλημα). The setting is a banquet, for there is also a cupbearer who carries the cup from one banqueter to the next. It should also be stressed that the object of the poet's desire is a girl, as attested by γευομένη, whereas the gender of the poetic "I" is not specified – simply identifying it with the historical person of "Agathias" would mean ignoring the basic rules of narrative analysis, not to mention that in the *Cycle* there are epigrams in which the narrative voice is explicitly female.[22] Finally, it should be noted that the style of the epigram is that of a first-person lyrical confession. With all this in mind, it is time to see how the "cup-motif" appears in previous literature.

With the aid of remarks made by previous scholars, either on Agathias' poem or on other texts where the motif of the erotic cup appears,[23] we come up with the following list – with the word used for the drinking cup at the end of the reference:

-Meleager, *PA* 5.171 (1st-c. BC) – σκύφος
-Ovid, *Amores* 1.4.30-32; *Ars amatoria*, 1.575-576; *Heroides* 17.80-82 (1st-c. BC-1st-c. AD) – poculum (all cases)
-Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, 2.9 (2nd-c. AD) – ἔκπωμα
-Lucian, *Dialogues of the gods*, 8.2; *Dialogues of the courtesans*, 12.1 (2nd-c. AD) – κύλιξ and ἔκπωμα respectively
-Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 2.16 (2nd-c. AD) – poculum
-[Lucian], *Lucius or The ass*, 8 (2nd-c. AD?) – not mentioned
-Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 3.8 (2nd/3rd-c. AD) – κρατὴρ
-Philostratus, *Letters*, n. 33 (2nd/3rd-c. AD) – ἔκπωμα
-Aristaenetus, *Erotic letters*, 1.25 (first half of 6th-c. AD?) – ἔκπωμα

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[22] Smith 2015, 507–510. The scholar sees homoerotic implications in such instances. On the significance of creating different personae in the *Cycle*, see Smith 2019, 195–196.
[23] Mattsson 1942, 48, Viansino 1967, 128; McCail 1971, 208, n. 3; Whitmarsh 2010, 333.

To all these we could add Theocritus' *Idyll* 7, where, according to Vassilios Vertoudakis, the "cup-motif" is implied.[24] There, the goatherd Lycidas sings a song for a boy named Ageanax, with whom he is in love, and then says that he will be in fond memory of the boy as he sits in his cabin, drinking wine from his cups (και πίομαι μαλακῶς μεμναμένος Ἀγεάνακτος | αὐταῖς ἐν κυλίκεσσι καὶ ἐς τρύγα χεῖλος ἐρείδων, vv. 69–70). The passage does not involve two lovers drinking from the same cup, but the overall spirit of what in later centuries became the "cup-motif" is indeed here: Erotic desire and thinking about one's lover, while drinking from a cup filled with wine. One final text that needs to be added to the list, to my best knowledge hitherto not taken into account by scholars with regard to Agathias' poem, is the ninth dialogue from Lucian's *Dialogues of the gods*.

Certainly, since scholars have stressed repeatedly Agathias' impressive knowledge of previous literature, which leads to an elaborate intertextuality, both implicitly and explicitly, in his poetic, as well as his historical work,[25] it would not be fanciful to assume that he was aware of every single work that makes up the above list. However, "being aware of" and "conversing with" a specific work of the past on a given occasion are two different things, and so it is important to engage in a comparative study of our primary sources, in order to specify which is closer to the epigram in question. Within this framework, we should reiterate that the dramatic qualities of the poem include a specific *mise-en-scène* (a banquet / symposium) involving three people (the poetic "I", the female object of desire and the male cupbearer),[26] whereas the poetic diction is that of a lyrical confession. Therefore, there is a dramaturgical and a lyrical aspect to Agathias' poem, which need to be explored in relation to past exemplars.

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[24] Vertoudakis 2018, 300.

[25] Mattsson 1942, 103–171; Cameron 1970, 19–21; Galli Calderini 1992, 114; Kaldellis 1999, esp. 228–230.

[26] In 5.266 Paul uses οἰνοχόον as an adjective: δέπας οἰνοχόον (v. 6). The noun κύλιξ employed by Agathias is feminine and the *TLG* comprises no more than five cases, where its grammatical gender is masculine. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that Agathias is referring to anything else than to an actual cupbearer.

Let us begin with the first aspect. Among the primary sources, the ones that have three *dramatis personae* acting in a scene with an erotic cup are Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* (2.9), Lucian's *Dialogues of the courtesans* (12.1) and the *Dialogues of the gods* (9.2). In Tatius, a slave called Satyrus swaps the cups of the two in love without being asked to do so, but both protagonists comply and thus engage in symbolic kisses multiple times, with the cup as a mediator between their lips. In the *Courtesans*, jealous Joessa complains to her beloved Lysias that during the symposium he hands his cup over to the cupbearer and orders him to give it to no one except a girl by the name of Pyrallis, whom Joessa loathes.[27] Finally, in the *Gods*, Hera accuses Ixion, a mortal who has been granted permission to ascend to Olympus and attend the symposia of the gods, of sexual harassment. More specifically, she says to Zeus that Ixion would ask Ganymede, the cupbearer of Olympus, for Hera's cup after she has drunk from it and then he would interrupt his drinking and start kissing the cup, all this followed by his fixed gazes at her.[28] It is obvious, that this third case is the closest to Agathias, for both in Lucian and the Byzantine poet we have a female object of desire, a male cup-bearer and a love-struck person who fulfills his/her desire by using the drinking cup as a substitute for the lips of the erotic Other. In addition, we may notice that there is no sign in Agathias' epigram that the desire of the poetic "I" is reciprocated, thus it is possible that, as with Ixion, we are dealing with a case of unrequited love.

So much for the "dramatic" setting of the epigram. Now let us move to the lyrical aspect of the epigram. The poetic "I" in Agathias is burning with desire for the girl. Although not fond of wine, he/she will gladly receive the cup and drink from it, for it was first touched by her lips. It should be mentioned beforehand that Ovid's exempla are relevant to our discussion, especially the two verses from *Heroides* (17.80-81: Helen of Troy describes the sexual ploys of Paris during a banquet, including

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[27] Aristaenetus (1.25) relies heavily on Lucian's *Courtesans*, 12.1, but the roles have been reversed: The girl is now leading the game with the cup.

[28] καὶ εἴ ποτε πιοῦσα παραδοίην τῷ Γανυμήδει τὸ ἔκπωμα, ὁ δὲ ᾔτει ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ πιεῖν καὶ λαβὼν ἐφίλει μεταξὺ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς προσῆγε καὶ αὖθις ἀφεώρα ἐς ἐμέ.

having a sip from her cup, from the exact same spot as she drank) and those from *Ars amatoria* (1.575-576: The lover must seize the girl's cup and drink from the spot touched by her lips),[29] all the more since scholars surmise that the poets of the *Cycle*, especially Paul, were familiar with Latin elegy.[30] Interestingly enough, Ovid's specific mention of the girl's lips in *Ars amatoria* (labellis) is also found in Agathias' epigram (εἰ γὰρ ἐπιψαύσεις τοῖς χείλεσιν), although the words uttered by the vulnerable poet could have hardly been those of the self-assured Paris, who is gazing boldly at Helen (17.78-79). Even so, it cannot be ruled out that Agathias was aware of those parallels, all the more since scholars have noted a direct Ovidian influence on at least one occasion in Agathias' *Histories*.[31]

Moving on to the Greek tradition, the expression of erotic desire in association with a drinking cup that has been touched by the lips of the beloved person can be found as early as in the epigram of Meleager (5.171), but here the motif (which in Greek literature had not yet been properly developed – see the list for chronology) is somewhat reversed: Instead of having a drink from it, the poet simply wishes that he will have the same luck as the cup, namely of tasting the lips of the girl. An epigram (5.295) by Leontios Scholastikos, another member of the *Cycle*, was clearly inspired by Meleager,[32] but the same cannot be said about Agathias, who takes a distinctly different approach. In other words, it could hardly be argued that the epigram by Meleager formed the basis of the one by Agathias.

The next text that is of interest, namely Lucian's *Dialogues of the gods* (8.2), does not actually contain a lyrical confession, but it is highly

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[29] The two verses from the *Amores* (1.4.30–32) differ slightly: The whole game with the cup takes place in the presence of the girl's husband.

[30] See Smith 2019, 28–29 and 226, with bibliography; for Agathias, see also Alexakis 2008.

[31] Alexakis 2008; cf. Smith 2022b, 179, n. 14. See also Kaldellis 2003, 298, for yet another similar suggestion regarding the *Histories*, but this time it seems that, if there is indeed a direct influence, Agathias adapted more freely the Ovidian exemplar (cf. the remarks of Alexakis 2008, 615, n. 30).

[32] Ψαῦε μελισταγέων στομάτων, δέπας· εὗρες, ἄμελγε· | οὐ φθονέω, τὴν σὴν δ' ἤθελον αἶσαν ἔχειν.

relevant to Agathias' epigram, as we shall see. In this dialogue, Hera is once again complaining to Zeus, only this time regarding his mischievous behavior during the symposia: Sometimes, says Hera, the father of gods takes a sip from the cup and then offers it to his cupbearer, the young Ganymede. The lad also drinks from it and then returns it to Zeus. Then, the god drinks from the spot touched by Ganymede's lips, so that, according to Hera, he gets the feeling that he is both drinking and kissing the desired boy.[33] What we have here is the narration of an action, however there are two key elements that bring this passage close to Agathias. The first is the employment of the word κύλιξ for the drinking cup (although the Byzantine poet could have well written δέπας, which is fine metrically), which constitutes the sole such instance in the Greek tradition of the "cup-motif" before Agathias. The second is the explicit mention of drinking from the same spot (not merely from the same cup), so as to taste the lips of the desired person.[34] In this respect, although the "setting" of Agathias' poem comes from dialogue no. 9, the words uttered seem almost like an *ethopoiia* that resulted from a shared reading of both Lucianic dialogues: "What would Zeus / Ixion say during the symposium, as he is burning with desire for Ganymede / Hera?"

I think that with the passages from the two Lucianic dialogues we have found the texts with which Agathias was first and foremost conversing, his "main sources", so to speak. If he had knowledge of the Latin tradition as well, then the verses derived from Ovid could be regarded as "subsidiary sources." There is one more such source, namely

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[33] σὺ δὲ καὶ τὴν κύλικα οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως λάβοις παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἢ φιλήσας πρότερον αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ὁρώντων, καὶ τὸ φίλημά σοι ἥδιον τοῦ νέκταρος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ διψῶν πολλάκις αἰτεῖς πιεῖν· ὁτὲ δὲ καὶ ἀπογευσάμενος μόνον ἔδωκας ἐκείνῳ, καὶ πιόντος ἀπολαβὼν τὴν κύλικα ὅσον ὑπόλοιπον ἐν αὐτῇ πίνεις, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ παῖς ἔπιε καὶ ἔνθα προσήρμοσε τὰ χείλη, ἵνα καὶ πίνῃς ἅμα καὶ φιλῇς.

[34] Whitmarsh (2010, 333), discussing the motif of the erotic cup in Achilles Tatius, argues that "the motif of exchanging kisses by secretly drinking from the same part of the cup is Ovidian". However, he also claims (*op. cit*., n. 30) that in Lucian's *Dialogue of the gods*, 8,2 "the parallel is much less exact (Zeus drinking from the same cup as his cupbearer, Ganymede)." As can be seen (see the previous note), Hera says explicitly that Zeus wants to drink from the same spot, so as to taste the boy's lips. On the connection between Tatius and Lucian regarding the erotic cup, see also Schwartz 1967, 546.

Philostratus' love letter, no. 33. The author engages here in the most fully fledged confession we have encountered thus far, which even includes a mention of Zeus' desire for his cupbearer, Ganymede[35] – perhaps Lucian's eighth *Dialogue of the gods* is hiding behind this reference. The "cup-motif" appears at the end of the letter, in a way strongly reminiscent of Agathias' diction: The woman is asked to touch the cup with her lips and fill it with kisses, and then hand it over to those who crave it.[36] Despite the fact that, as shown, the word κύλιξ, the setting with the three "actors" (the desired female, the male cupbearer and the poet), and the fixation on the lips and the symbolic kissing, all point towards Lucian, it is quite possible that Agathias took heed of Philostratus' letter, which may have provided him with the idea for a lyrical expression in the first person. Within this context, Agathias' characterization of the cupbearer as γλυκύς, which could be construed as latently erotic, meaning that a *ménage à trois* is actually implied, relates both to Lucian's Ganymede and Philostratus' female wine server.

One more remark that should be made on the possible connection between Philostratus and Agathias is the former's assertion that the cup does not need to be filled with wine for the erotic game to happen – water is fine.[37] Could that be the inspiration for Agathias' claim of not being φιλόοινος?[38] Were it true, then perhaps this οὐ φιλόοινος should be understood somewhat differently, not so much: "I am not fond of wine", but rather: "It is not the wine I am interested in (but you)." In this way, instead of "moralizing" the overall meaning of the poem, this second reading would actually accentuate its erotic qualities and also highlight Agathias' impressive subtlety, already apparent in the ingenious treatment of the literature he had at his disposal regarding the "cup-motif." Still, we should not overlook the possible allusion to Lucian as well: In the ninth *Dialogue of the gods* (9.1), before Hera informs Zeus about

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[35] ἐμοὶ δὲ μόνοις πρόπινε τοῖς ὄμμασιν, ὧν καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς γευσάμενος καλὸν οἰνοχόον παρεστήσατο.

[36] καὶ τοῖς χείλεσι προσφέρουσα πλήρου φιλημάτων τὸ ἔκπωμα καὶ οὕτως δίδου τοῖς δεομένοις.

[37] εἰ δὲ βούλει, τὸν μὲν οἶνον μὴ παραπόλλυε, μόνου δὲ ἐμβαλοῦσα ὕδατος…

[38] Mattsson (1942, 48) regards the statement Εἰμὶ μὲν οὐ φιλόοινος as an "original and elegant expression."

Ixion's inappropriate behavior, her husband hastens to underline that this mortal is χρηστὸς καὶ συμποτικός, i.e. a good person and an excellent drinking-companion. What Zeus does not know of course is that Ixion is after his wife and, as we saw previously, this man did not shy away from demonstrating his lust; to the contrary he kept kissing the cup from where the goddess had drunk, in her presence. It would not be far-fetched to contend that Agathias took notice of the joke and then, with the aid of Philostratus, came up with the idea of someone who attends the symposia without being φιλόοινος.

However, the case of φιλόοινος cannot be considered closed, without paying a visit to the Greek epigrammatic tradition. The form φιλόοινος is an extremely rare variation of φίλοινος,[39] the latter found twice in the *Anthologia Palatina*, in two epigrams preceding the era of Agathias (6.248 by Marcus Argentarius, and 7.455 by Leonidas of Tarentum). That of Argentarius is a dedicatory epigram referring to a pitcher (λάγυνος, as a feminine noun), which is characterized as φίλοινος, but also as the "sister of kylix" (κασιγνήτη… κύλικος, v. 2). Later on it is described as "the sweetest confidant of lovers" (μύστι φιλούντων | ἡδίστη, v. 5-6), which means that we are once again dealing with a variation of the "cup-motif." In Leonidas' sepulchral, but essentially scoptic, epigram, we learn that on the tomb of a deceased old φίλοινος woman (v. 1) a kylix was placed, and that she was distressed because the kylix was empty (v. 6). In these two epigrams φίλοινος and κύλιξ go together, yet it is more important to stress that in Leonidas the adjective pertains to a woman, a fact that urges us to return to an issue mentioned earlier in this section: Since the gender of the speaker in Agathias' epigram is not specified, and the sole other use of the adjective φίλοινος in the *Anthologia* is about a woman, it would not be far stretched to assume that the gender of the voice of the poetic "I" in the Byzantine poem is feminine. This would mean that the epigram has homoerotic connotations, which is really anything but implausible, inasmuch as one half of Agathias' Lu-

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[39] Apart from Agathias, the *TLG* gives solely one more result for φιλόοινος, appearing in an obscure astrological text.

cianic exemplar (Zeus in love with Ganymede) does exactly the same.[40] Of course, Agathias' homoeroticism in 5.261 would concern lesbian love, a rather uncommon motif in the *Anthologia*, but Lucian happens to be useful even in this case, for in the fifth *Dialogue of the courtesans*, a girl named Leaena (Λέαινα) relates to her friend how she had intercourse with two affluent women, who had invited her to play cithara at their drinking party. The narration of the episode evokes a striking erotic scene involving female homoeroticism, against the backdrop of heavy drinking, thus resembling the scenery of Agathias' epigram. Finally, beyond Lucian, let us remind ourselves that in the seventh idyll of Theocritus, where an "embryonic" version of the "cup-motif" appears, the cup being again a κύλιξ, the goatherd is singing about a boy, and so the topic is once again homoerotic. It is certainly worth mentioning that Agathias was familiar with Theocritus, and with this idyll in particular, as attested by several relevant borrowings in the epigram 5.292, which is bucolic in nature.[41]

3. Agathias' erotic cup: A moral, a romantic or something else?

In the previous section we laid particular emphasis on words and vocabulary. This is justified by the very nature of *mimesis*. If the presence of κισσύβιον, denoting a rustic cup, justifies the assumption that Agathias is in dialogue with the *Aetia* of Callimachus,[42] then we are permitted to apply the same logic when we encounter a non-rustic drinking cup, namely κύλιξ, in an epigram of Agathias, in this way making a connection between this poet, Lucian and Theocritus – this would not be the first time someone would make the suggestion that the Byzantine poet either drew from these two ancient authors or that he "confronted" their

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[40] On how rich intertextuality may conceal strong homoerotic connotations, not apparent on a first reading, in a funerary epigram of Paul, see Smith 2022, 1157–1158.

[41] Mattsson 1942, 110 and Viansino 1967, 43–46.

[42] Valerio 2013, 94–96 and 101. For further connections between Agathias and Callimachus, see Smith 2022b, 175 and 179–180.

work.[43] Of course, *mimesis* is a demanding affair, which can become quite complex when the poet in question is skillful and inventive, like Agathias. As regards the poem under discussion, its topic may be related to the tradition of the "cup-motif," but the analysis of several keywords, such as φιλόοινος, χείλη and, of course, κύλιξ, brought forth an impressive variety of poetic and prose works that have something to say about the literary method of Agathias. Nonetheless, after the close study of the epigram's elaborated intertextuality, the question arises: What exactly did Agathias want to say? Moreover, how does this epigram function within the boundaries of the *Cycle*?

We have already said that the epigram in question has elicited more or less the same kind of response on behalf of scholars. It is generally assumed that it confirms Agathias' moralistic or romantic nature.[44] On the other hand, more radical readings of his poetry tend to ignore it altogether.[45] With the knowledge we now have of the epigram's debt to Lucian, but also to Leonidas' epigram, we start to realize that it owes as much to satire as it does to the erotic tradition.[46] This, in conjunction with the possible homoerotic aspects of the epigram, makes us suspicious about whether Agathias actually wanted to convey a moral message. Certainly, the reader's point of view plays a role, and therefore some would be willing to argue that Agathias is "purging" the motif of the erotic cup, thus creating an epigram based on controversial topics, but with the purpose of offering a Christian counterpart. My reading aims at exploring

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[43] On Theocritus, see n. 41 in the present study. On Lucian, see Kaldellis 1997 (Agathias refuting some arguments in Lucian's *How to write history*) Ortega Villaro 2010 (Lucianic influence both on Agathias' poetry and the *Histories*).

[44] On the moral reading, see n. 19 in the present study. On the romantic reading, see Mattsson 1942, 55–56.

[45] Beck 1984 and Smith 2015 and 2019. It is also absent from Smith 2020, where the scholar discerns in the poetry of the *Cycle* a tension between Christian morality and the carnal pleasures of this world.

[46] Agathias' debt to Aristophanes and the ancient comedy, especially in the preface of the *Cycle* (*PA* 4.3), has been noted many times: Mattsson 1942, 106–109; Viansino 1967, 24–25; Cameron 1970, 25; Ortega Villaro 2010, 268; Smith 2019, 35–37, 42–44 and 54–63. The Lucianic influence on Agathias is mainly stressed by Ortega Villaro 2010, where the Byzantine learned man is seen as an author "with a moral and didactic intention, which he very frequently expresses through humour, caricature and contrast" (p. 287).

other possibilities, without denying that Christian attitudes might have influenced the final product to some extent. However, for the purpose of the present study, I would like to turn the spotlight on Agathias the learned poet, who is being deliberately cunning, evasive and witty; if anything, we should not forget whom he was writing for. Such a refined epigram demands an audience of peers, who would be able and willing to decipher it and ultimately to appreciate the skillful way its author made use of the available sources, be it Lucian, Theocritus, Philostratus or the epigrammatic tradition.[47]

However, the peers of Agathias were not only poetry buffs; they were poets themselves, who communicated with each other via their verses. In this respect, we cannot look past Paul's 5.281, where the poet is burning with erotic desire after a girl poured water on his hair from a kylix that had been touched by her "sweet mouth" (γλυκερῶν στομάτων, v. 6) during the rowdy symposium that had just taken place. Paul is typically more flamboyant than Agathias when it comes to erotic poetry, but the sensible thing would be to assume that Agathias' and Paul's κύλικες are conversing with each other.[48] Both lines of interpretation would be valid: Agathias wrote his epigram first and Paul responded, or vice versa. Whatever the case, both poems involve a fetishistic attitude towards the erotic cup, a fact that eventually leads us to 5.285 written by Agathias, where the poet shows a peculiar fascination with a girl's girdle, which, as in 5.261, transmits the kisses between the lips that never touch.[49] McCail, keeping in line with his Christian reading of Agathias' erotic poetry (emphasizing the absence from it of consummated love), although acknowledging the "fetishistic element" in 5.585, sees "no ex-

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[47] Cf. Kaldellis 2003, 297: The mythological allusions in the *Histories* are written for the initiated few who were able to understand what Agathias was doing. Cf. Alexakis 2008, 611 and 615.

[48] Cf. Smith 2015, 511 on the "poetic correspondence" between Agathias and Paul: "It is as if the two poets are speaking their own special language." The scholar had just noted that the verb περικίδναμαι appears solely once before the sixth-century and then only three times, all in the poetry of Agathias and Paul. One of these is in 5.292.9, which is addressed to Paul.

[49] Some textual remarks on this epigram by Tueller 2016, 750–751.

plicit obscenity here."[50] Conversely, Smith, discerns Agathias' (sexual) phantasies with domination and submission, providing as evidence this epigram, as well as two more, where the belt / girdle makes an appearance.[51]

Regardless of whose analysis is more convincing, it becomes apparent that 5.261 is more relevant to the literary milieu and the learned sensibilities of the *Cycle*, and specifically to Agathias' overall poetic output, than hitherto noticed. First and foremost, it is anything but just another learned epigram which simply belongs to the long tradition of a given erotic motif, with a harmless personal touch by the romantic or ascetic concerns of the Byzantine poet. Inevitably, if Agathias' peers chose to delve into it (and the poet had left the leads for them: the scenery and words, such as φιλόοινος and κύλιξ), they would be faced with an exciting body of ancient passages, brimful of themes of strong erotic desire, but also with humor and fun. They would have certainly joined in the literary game one way or another, even if 5.261 had not yet been written, for they produced some epigrams with the "cup-motif" on their own, all erotically charged (even 9.770, written by Paul on the occasion of his daughter's wedding),[52] and as we saw, not necessarily influenced by the same texts that inspired Agathias (e.g. Leontios' 5.295 follows Meleager's 5.171, which is less relevant to Agathias' 5.261 than other sources). Without a doubt, this practice of passionate reading, writing and sharing with one's peers constituted the "sociolect" of the members of the *Cycle*, meaning that they had formed their own code of enjoying literature, in this way reinforcing the bonds that tied them together.[53]

On the other hand, the question of conscious "subversion" against the tyrannical oppression of Justinian, i.e. the reading of these epigrams in terms of implicit, yet conscious, social commentary and criticism, merits our attention. Even if we do not fully endorse this theory, there are some remarks made by its exponent, Steven Smith, which seem to

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[50] McCail 1971, 210.
[51] Smith 2019, 75–79.
[52] The χρύσεον χεῖλος (golden lip) of the girl is mentioned in the first verse. Viansino (1963, 30–31), aptly correlates this epigram with the erotic tradition. Garland (2011, 154, n. 105) sees a clear reference to the material culture of the era.
[53] Cf. Smith 2019, 54–63.

be pertinent to 5.261, and I would like to close this section by focusing on one of them. As we have seen, Agathias' epigram may be considered a poem that stretches the boundaries of accepted gender perceptions, by enabling possible homoerotic interpretations. Keeping this line of reasoning (but not commenting on this epigram in particular), Smith argues that the concept of *eromania*, namely erotic frenzy, is central to the love epigrams of the *Cycle*, one aspect of which is the act of "role-playing" by constructing "erotic personae."[54] Based on this approach, we could first contend that "Agathias, the romantic poet who eschews intercourse" is one such persona, present in one of the possible readings of 5.261. Moreover, if we associate the "role-playing" of *eromania* with *ethopoiia*, the par excellence rhetorical genre of speaking while pretending to be someone else, then the love-struck poetic "I" in Agathias' epigram may well be adopting the attributes of Lucian's Zeus and Ixion, as well as Lycidas, the goatherd from the Theocritus' idyll. From this perspective, the *eromanic* reading of the epigram becomes more intriguing: The poetic "I" could be someone attracted by people of the same sex, like Lucian's Zeus or Theocritus' Lycidas (not a problem today, but definitely one back then), whereas his / her behavior could be regarded, like Ixion's, as indecent and lewd. Be that as it may, it is striking that Smith bases his argument of "role-playing" on three texts that contain the "cup-motif", namely Philostratus' *Letters*, Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, and Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*. This is yet another strong indication that 5.261 deserves the special attention it has not received to this day.

4. Final remarks

From the lore of ancient literature, to discussions pertaining to the poetic and social function of the *Cycle's* literary production, 5.261 proves to be an epigram worthy of scholarly attention. Here we have six verses that have been crafted with great subtlety, so that a superficial reading will not reveal the complicated intertextual games that lie behind its composition. Beyond intertextuality, it is an epigram that needs to be strongly affiliated with Agathias' oeuvre overall, as well as with the poetry of

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[54] Smith 2019, 195–196.

his peers. In any event, the present diachronic and synchronic analysis of the poem, which could be described as anything but exhaustive, has hopefully revealed the many virtues of Agathias' poetic artistry. In the end, we cannot help but ask ourselves, by paraphrasing the famous words of Lady Macbeth: "Who would have thought a Byzantine kylix to have had so much wine in it?"[55]

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[55] *Macbeth*, Act 5, scene 1: "Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him".

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Letters and representations of female voices in late antique Greek rewritings of the *Alexander Romance*

Antonios Pontoropoulos

T he so-called *Alexander Romance* is a fictionalized biography of Alexander the Great, which has been falsely attributed to the Hellenistic historian Callisthenes. This text has been continuously translated and reinterpreted across different linguistic, cultural and historical contexts.[1] The oldest surviving Greek *Alexander Romance* dates to the Roman Imperial period, and is known as the *α recension*.[2] The text comprises a series of literary layers, including rhetorical performances, heroic quests, travelogues, wonderous adventures and fictional letters. Furthermore, the linguistic register of this text significantly departs from the highly

[1] On issues of authorship, see e.g. Stoneman 1994, 117–129; Jouanno 2002, 13–34; Hult 2018, 25–45. On the diffusion and mapping of the Alexander narratives, see Hägg 1980, 190–196; Konstan 1998, 123–138; Sanz Morales 2006, 129–388; Selden 2012, 19–59; Sanz Morales 2018, 189–193; Jouanno 2018, 468–478. Sanz Morales 2006, 129–388; Sanz Morales 2018, 189–193; Hult 2018, 25–45; Retsö 2018, 11–22.

[2] For a discussion concerning relative dates, chronologies and issues of authorship of the *a recension*, see e.g. Stoneman 1994, 117–129; Jouanno 2002, 1–37, especially p. 13, notes the mysterious and complex cultural character of the *Alexander Romance*; Whitmarsh 2018, 145–152.

Atticizing language of Imperial Greek and late antique literature.[3] Late antique and medieval rewritings, in particular, amplify the use of fictional elements, such as invented correspondences attributed to historical figures associated with the Macedonian campaign, as well as wondrous quests.[4]

In this article, I delve into the so-called *β recension*, dated to the 5th or 6th centuries CE, as opposed to the text of the *α recension*.[5] My focus lies on a series of letters purportedly written by female characters addressing Alexander.[6] I wish to argue that these epistolary texts provide instances in which women express themselves on matters of power, politics and dominance, while addressing their male recipient. The article revolves around the following questions: a) How is female subjectivity constructed within the context of these ancient epistolary texts? b) Do these epistolary texts afford opportunities for feminist readings that focus on gender perspectives? c) How do these letters ultimately serve as privileged platforms for understanding gender, cultural and linguistic differences? What interests me is not only the study of intertextual relations or cultural reception as such, but their potential significance for the construction of gender and cultural identity. Out of thirty-five preserved letters, there are fourteen exchanged between the Macedonian king and

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[3] On the language and style of the *Alexander Romance* (*β recension*), see e.g. Jouanno 2002, 252–253; Karla 2018, 167–182.

[4] For the later reception of the *Alexander Romance*, especially in the context Byzantine and vernacular Greek traditions, see e.g. Holton 1974, 4–5; Jouanno 2002, 248–465; Moennig 2016, 159–189, Stoneman 2022, 1–13. In the context of vernacular Greek tradition, especially, the Alexander text is rewritten in verse, and presents the reader with an example of a newer poetic narrative about the ancient conqueror, in diverse literary and cultural contexts. On which, see Holton's 1974 critical edition of the poetic rewriting of the *Alexander Romance*.

[5] For an in-depth discussion of the *β recension*, see Stoneman 1991, 8–17; Jouanno 2002, 247–248; Stoneman 2011, 1–20. For the purposes of this paper, I follow Bergson's critical edition. I note the text of *the α recension* (Kroll's critical edition), only in instances where I compare passages of the *β* with the *a recension*.

[6] There are thirty-five preserved epistolary texts either preserved as embedded letters in the broader narrative, or independently in late antique and medieval epistolary anthologies. On which, see Merkelbach 1977, 230–252; Rosenmeyer 2001, 169–192; Whitmarsh 2013, 172–175; Arthur-Montagne 2014, 159–189.

various women.[7] Furthermore, six letters are authored by foreign and exotic women who address the Macedonian conqueror. The writers and recipients of these epistolary texts are historical (Persian women or Olympias) or purely fictional individuals (queen Kandake and the Amazons).

These epistolary texts show a strong interest in female subjectivity. By the term "female subjectivity", I mean that these female letter-writers construct themselves as rhetorical and speaking subjects, through the lens of the letter-format and epistolary communication. These epistolary texts then provide women with a platform to express themselves against Alexander the Great. The broader biographical and historiographical literature regarding the Macedonian conqueror often presents female characters as Alexander's objects of desire.[8] In contrast, the correspondences within the context of the *Alexander Romance* highlight these women as influential powerbrokers, kingmakers and formidable foes.

These letters are part of a broader process of rewriting the story of Alexander the Great in new cultural and historical contexts. It is worth noting that these female letter-writers are not the explicit voices of a female subject, but instead they are always thematized by an ancient male author or editor and his own assumptions and stereotypes. This phenomenon, common in premodern literatures, is defined as *transvestite ventriloquism*, signifying the conceptualization of the female experience by male authors.[9] Given the scarcity of ancient texts produced by female authors (with a few notable exceptions, such as Sappho's poetry), these epistolary texts elucidate the manner in which women are represented as

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[7] On women in the *Alexander Romance*, see Carney 1996, 563–583; Mayor 2014, 336–338; Karla 2023, 230–243.

[8] For Alexander narratives as male-dominating traditions, see e.g. Peltonen 2023, 1–23; 98–143.

[9] For the concept of *transvestite ventriloquism*, see Harvey 1989, 115–138; 2002, 1–14. Elisabeth Harvey employs this concept in order to discuss a series of English Renaissance male-authored poems and the manner with which they construct female voices through the lens of specific intertexts. The lack of female-authored literature in the context of the ancient canon makes this concept useful in order to read literary and cultural representations of women in ancient, male-authored texts.

speaking and rhetorical subjects —expressing their own views, interpretations and perspectives— in ancient literary sources.

From a literary perspective, the use of fictional letters illustrates how these Alexander texts engage with contemporary literary and rhetorical trends. These letters are written in terms of the rhetorical tradition of the *progymnasmata*, and the rhetorical practices of *ethopoiea* and *prosopoeia*. In other words, the identities of these letter-writers are constructed in terms of historical individuals.[10] In her discussion of the letters in the *Alexander Romance*, Jacqueline Arthur-Montagne divides them into three categories: a) documentary letters; b) ethopoietic letters; c) miracles letters.[11] According to her analysis, "these categories activate three different 'horizons of expectation' triangulated through historiographical, rhetorical and travel genres in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods".[12] However, it is worth noting that these categories are not mutually exclusive and often overlap with each other.[13]

On the level of cultural identity, the late antique interest in the correspondences of historical or pseudo-historical individuals of the classical and Hellenistic periods of Greek cultural history is also part of a broader classicising discourse of the Roman Imperial period.[14] In the context of the *β recension*, especially, the editor employs the epistolary medium as a tool for creating a more homogenous, culturally and linguistically Hellenocentric and monotheist or Christianizing narrative.[15] In this manner,

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[10] For the rhetorical practices of *ethopoiea* and *prosopoiea* in late antiquity, see e.g. Pernot 2017, 205–216; Webb 2017, 139–154; Petkas 2018, 193–208. For the *ethopoeia* and *prosopoeia* in connection to the letters in the context of the *Alexander Romance*, see Arthur-Montagne 2014, 170–178.

[11] Arthur-Montagne 2014, 159–189.

[12] Arthur-Montagne 2014, 160.

[13] Ibid.

[14] For the broader interest of Imperial Roman and late antique authors and intellectuals in the classical period of Greek literature, see e.g. Whitmarsh 2005, 41–56; Kaldellis 2008, 13–41.

[15] On the cultural discourse of the *β recension*, see Jouanno 2002, 248–265; Garstad 2015, 467–507; Garstad 2016, 679–695; Garstad 2018, 49–77; Jouanno 2018, 468. In my analysis, following Garstad's readings (Garstad 2018, 49–77), I argue that the use of fictional letters, in particular, creates a conveyed monotheistic or Christianising discourse that often juxtaposes a rather monotheistic hero to pagan and foreign women (e.g. Alexander and the Persian women; Alexander and the Amazons).

correspondences between foreign characters are substantially shortened or entirely omitted, whereas letters that present us with Hellenocentric views are further underlined. Consequently, the classicising division between the Greek and the Barbarian, as constructed in the context of the *a recension*, is further stressed through the means of the letter-form. Moreover, Alexander is often presented as a monotheistic conqueror who writes to and battles against pagan and exotic women.[16] In a letter-exchange between the conqueror and the Amazons, for instance, the former is presented as a monotheistic and male conqueror who fights against these pagan women-warriors.[17] In this sense, the epistolary format further nuances discourses of gender and cultural identity. In all these respects, these letters are an integral part of a complex literary and cultural product of Imperial Greek and late antique literature.[18]

So far, modern scholarship has studied these letters focusing either on intertextual relations or on cultural reception.[19] The purpose of this article is, therefore, twofold: it explores how the epistolary medium constructs female agency in the context of a broader male-dominating narrative, and it provides a comprehensive study of discourses related to cultural and gender identities in the context of late antiquity. In the subsequent sections of this article, I discuss a series of letters produced by the Persian women, queen Kandake and the Amazons.[20]

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[16] See e.g. Jouanno 2002, 248–254 where she notes the culturally homogenous and Hellenocentric character of the particular recension. On the editor's care and effort to rewrite Alexander as a hero that is more aligned with Christianising and monotheistic literary and religious discourses, see also Jouanno 2002, 254–257; Garstad 2018, 49–77.

[17] See *Alexander Romance* 3.18-22.

[18] For a discussion and reevaluation of the *Alexander Romance*, see Konstan 1998, 122–138; Jouanno 2009, 32–48; Selden 2017, 421–446, Whitmarsh 2018, 132–133; Jouanno 2018, 467–477; Jouanno 2020, 209–220; Konstantakos 2021, 56–57. See especially Selden 2017, 426–428, who discusses the *Alexander Romance* as a text that undermines the cultural agenda of classicism and Atticism, by adopting a more vernacular language and showing a strong interest in aspects of ancient Egyptian history and culture.

[19] See Rosenmeyer 2001, 172–173.

[20] My translations of the *Alexander Romance* are based on Dowden's translation (Dowden 1989, 650–735) with corrections, when it is considered necessary. It is worth noting that Dowden's translation is based on a reconstruction of the *Alexander Romance* that takes into account different Greek versions of the narrative.

Persian women and Alexander the Great: epistolography and discourses of power

In the second book, Darius' mother addresses her son.[21] The letter follows a correspondence between Darius and various foreign figures within in his court or among his allies, including the Persian satraps and the Indian king Porus. Consequently, the reader is presented with a Persian and foreign perspective on the campaign.[22] The letter from the Persian queen serves as a signpost, underlining the concept of intimate epistolary communication, effectively combining the notions of family relationships with Imperial politics. Throughout her letter, the woman presents Darius, and by extension, the external reader, with the idea of Alexander as virtuous and just conqueror. In this way, the Persian woman acts as an advocate of Alexander. The letter bears similarities to the one preserved in the *a recension*. In a broader context, the text evokes cultural and literary registers from the classical period of Greek history, as well as classical representations of Greeks and Barbarians.[23] The letter's focus on the Persian royal family, in particular, alludes to Aeschylus' *Persians*. The tragic drama unfolds within the Persian court after the naval battle of Salamis and retells the Greek victory from a Persian perspective. The *Persians* serves as a cultural and literary precedent highlighting the division between the Greek and the barbarian worlds.[24] The Persian queen-mother's letter then alludes to this classicizing cultural polarity, emphasizing the superiority of Alexander (and, consequently, the Greeks) over Darius and the Persians.[25] The opening lines

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[21] See *Alexander Romance* 2.12. For a discussion of the Persian queen-mother as a powerbroker in the *Alexander Romance*, especially in the context of the *a recension*, see Karla 2023, 230–243.

[22] See *Alexander Romance* 2.10–12.

[23] For the use of classical and Hellenistic historiographical traditions in the context of the *Alexander Romance*, see e.g. Jouanno 2002, 127–190.

[24] See also Whitmarsh 2013, 184, where he notes the literary and cultural parallels drawn from Aeschylus' *Persians* in the correspondence between Darius and Alexander. For a discussion of the *Persians*, and the cultural divide between Greek and Barbarian, see e.g. Hall 1989, 56–100.

[25] For a broader discussion of the relationship between Alexander and the Persians, as portrayed in a wide variety of ancient sources, see e.g. Brosius 2003, 169–193, especially p. 169 where she points out that the Persians are always perceived through the

of the letter feature the conventional greeting formula (Δαρείῳ τῷ ἐμῷ τέκνῳ χαίρειν).[26] Additionally, the letter draws on a range of literary parallels from broader, Atticizing Alexander literature, especially concerning the treatment of the Persian family by the Macedonian conqueror.[27] In biographical and historiographical narratives, these references serve as tools of rhetorical characterization that elucidate Alexander's moral qualities.

The text of the letter in the *β recension* omits the name of the Persian queen-mother, Rhodogyne, as it is preserved in the *a recension*: Ῥοδογούνη μήτηρ Δαρείῳ τέκνῳ χαίρειν (your mother, Rhodogune, to my child Darius, greetings).[28] The opening formula in the *β recension* excludes any formal royal nomenclature, using only kinship terms: a mother addresses her son. In this way, the text becomes more personal and informal. Furthermore, the tendency to omit cultural details about foreign senders and recipients highlights the text's Hellenocentric character. The letter underscores the personal character of epistolary communication while highlighting the Greek elements of the narrative, portraying Alexander as the sole true Great king. Darius' mother leverages her maternal status to influence her son, the Persian Great King, and alter the course of the story. On a metaliterary level, it serves as a prolepsis, foreshadowing Darius' eventual fate within the narrative: Τὸ γὰρ μέλλον ἄδηλόν ἐστιν. Ἔασον οὖν ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖσσον καὶ μὴ ἐν ἀποτομῇ χρησάμενος ἀμφιβάλλων τοῦ ζῆν στερηθῇς (The future is unclear. Give up your hopes for an improvement in the situation and do not, when you are in doubt, act inflexibly and lose your life).[29] In this manner, the epistolary text appears to interact with the wider narrative. Darius'

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lens of Hellenocentric cultural discourses.

[26] *Alexander Romance* 2.12 (Bergson 91, 4).

[27] On the relationship between Alexander and the Persian women, see also Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander* 2.12; Plutarch *Alexander* 21.4-5; Diodorus Siculus *Historical Library* 17.38.4-7; Curtius *Histories of Alexander the Great* 3.12.18-23. For a discussion of the passages, see e.g. Carney 1996, 563–583.

[28] *Alexander Romance* 2.12 (Kroll 80, 5). Trans. Dowden 1989, 694 with corrections when it is considered necessary.

[29] *Alexander Romance* 2.12 (Bergson 91, 6–7). Trans. Dowden 1989, 694. For Darius' end in the narrative, see *Alexander Romance* 2.20 (Bergson 112–113, 7–14; 1–6).

mother also acknowledges how Alexander treats her and her family as true royalty: ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν ἐν μεγίστῃ τιμῇ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐχ ὡς πολεμίου μητέρα ἔσχε με ἀλλ᾽ ἐν μεγάλῃ δορυφορίᾳ, ὅθεν ἐλπίζω εἰς συνθήκας καλὰς <ὑμᾶς> ἐλεύσεσθαι (After all, we receive the greatest respect from King Alexander: he has not treated me as the mother of an enemy, but with great courtesy, and as a result I hope that a decent agreement will be reached).[30] By acknowledging the status of the Persian women, the Macedonian king redefines himself as the Persian Great king.[31]

Ancient sources concentrating on Alexander highlight his self-restraint and benevolent treatment of the foreign royal family. By means of comparison, Arrian's account of the Macedonian king, titled *Anabasis of Alexander*, includes an anecdotal story regarding how they were treated when the Persian princess prostrated herself before Hephaestion instead of the Macedonian king.[32] Instead of offering a Persian perspective on the Macedonian campaign, the letter further underscores the idea of Greek superiority over the Persians. In the realm of political discourse, the letter engages with late antique and early Byzantine concepts of world-dominion (οἰκουμένη) and Imperial political order.[33] It portrays Alexander as the "world master" or *kosmokrator* of global empire. In terms of political discourses and representation, the political characterization *kosmokrator* was employed, in late antique and Byzantine contexts, to refer to the emperors.[34] Here, Alexander is depicted as the almost unchallenged Great King and Emperor, whose status re-

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[30] *Alexander Romance* 2.12 (Bergson 91, 7–9). Trans. Dowden 1989, 694.
[31] For Persian women as guarantors of Persian Imperial order in the context of the Greek Alexander narratives, see Carney 1996, 570–571; Stoneman 2022,1–13; Karla 2023, 230–243.
[32] See Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander* 2.12.6–8. For a discussion of the passage, see e.g. McInerney 2007, 429.
[33] For Alexander and late antique as well as Byzantine concepts of world dominion, see e.g. Jouanno 2018, 463–464.
[34] For the motif of *kosmokrator* in late antique and Byzantine rewritings, see Jouanno 2002, 258–261; Jouanno 2004, 19–41; Whitmarsh 2018, 145–152; Kaldellis 2022, 216–241, esp. 216 where he notes that the Byzantines refashion Alexander as "a proto-Christian emperor".

mains unquestionable.[35] In contrast, Darius is portrayed as a character who disrupts the world order by challenging Alexander's dominion: Μὴ οὖν ταράξῃς, τέκνον, τὴν οἰκουμένην (Do not inflict chaos on the world, child: the future is unclear).[36] By presenting Alexander's kingship, the Persian queen evokes a Roman reinterpretation of the Macedonian conqueror.

The text concludes with the Persian queen-mother's plea that Darius will listen to reason. The letter's conclusion is followed by Darius' reaction: ἀναγνοὺς δὲ Δαρεῖος ἐδάκρυσεν ἀναμιμνησκόμενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συγγενείας. ἅμα δὲ ἐταράσσετο καὶ ἔνευε πρὸς πόλεμον (Darius read and wept, remembering his family bonds; but at the same time he was in confusion and came down on the side of war).[37] Darius is both moved and disappointed by his mother's behaviour. On a further level, the passage shows how these letters interact with the broader narrative, often serving as rhetorical devices of characterization that elucidate different traits of the characters. In other words, the letter emphasizes Darius' strong connection to the Persian royal family.

After Darius' demise, Alexander engages in a series of correspondences with the Persian women, beginning with Rhodogyne, Stateira and Roxane, followed by a separate letter addressing his future bride, Roxane.[38] The epistolary texts in the *β recension* are shorter in length compared to those preserved in the *α recension*.[39] The letters construct these female letter-writers as speaking and rhetorical subjects, presenting them as guardians of the Persian political order and symbols of the continuity of Persian monarchy. Through them, the Macedonian conqueror is established as the successor to the Great king, reinforcing Alexander's role as the guarantor of order and the ruler of the world. Alexander's first letter to the Persian women narrates Darius' death, his funeral and his hope that they would mourn for their father. This letter presents a first-person

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[35] Cf. also *Alexander Romance* 1.29 (in *β* and *γ recensions*) where the conqueror is presented with the title of "king of the Romans and the whole earth". For a discussion of the passages, see Whitmarsh 2018, 151.

[36] See *Alexander Romance* 2.12 (Bergson 91, 5–6).

[37] *Alexander Romance* 2.12 (Bergson 91, 10–11). Trans. Dowden 1989, 694.

[38] See *Alexander Romance* 2.22 (Bergson 119–122).

[39] On which, see Jouanno 2002, 252.

account of Darius' death and funeral, in contrast to the text's broader third-person narrative.[40] The letter concludes with the Macedonian king expressing his wish for others to kneel before Roxane, acknowledging her as his queen (προσκυνεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρου γυναῖκα βούλομαι καὶ κελεύω. ἔρρωσθε. I also wish and order her to receive obeisance from now on as Alexander's wife).[41]

Alexander's initial letter invites a response from the Persian royal women, who collectively write to the Macedonian king. In the first part of their letter, they acknowledge his superiority over the Persians and position themselves as responsible kingmakers who present him as their new great king. These female letter-writers represent the idea of the Other, as depicted in literary and cultural registers of the classical period. From a literary standpoint, this portrayal evokes the Greek historiographical tradition related to Persian royal women. For example, Herodotus, in his *Histories*, refers to the influence of the royal women, by characterizing the Persian queen, Atossa, as "all powerful".[42] In the context of the broader historiographical tradition, Atossa is also presented as the woman who invented epistolography as a means to exert public influence and political power. Furthermore, the historians and biographers of the classical and Hellenistic periods portray a series of Persian women as smart court politicians who interfere in (male) political affairs.[43] As noted by Maria Brosius, "this catalogue of Persian royal women exerting power at the royal court and, by all accounts, acting without

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[40] Cf. also *Alexander Romance* 2.20 (Bergson 112–113, 7–14; 1–6). For a discussion of the passage, see e.g. Rosenmeyer 2001, 183–184.

[41] *Alexander Romance* 2.22. (Bergson 120, 3–4). Trans. Dowden 1989, 703.

[42] See e.g. Herodotos *Histories* 7.4.1 ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος. For scholarship on Persian royal women and the ancient tradition of historiography, see Brosius 2020, 149–160.

[43] On Atossa in the broader historiographical tradition, see Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 178); Clemens of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.16.76.10 καὶ πρώτην ἐπιστολὰς συντάξαι Ἄτοσσαν τὴν Περσῶν (The first one to compose letters was Atossa of the Persians). For a discussion of the passages, see Rosenmeyer 2001, 25–26. On Persian women, in general, see Herodotus *Histories* 9.114–119; Ktesias (*FGrH* 688 F14) on Amestris, the wife of Xerxes I; Ktesias (*FGrH* 688 F16); Plutarch Artaxerxes 14.10, 16.1, 17.1, 19.2-3. 32.1, Deinon (*FrGrH* 690 F15b) on Parysatis' interference in Persian court politics. For a discussion of the passages, see Brosius 2020, 149–150.

(male) control or restraint shaped the Greek view of Achaimenid women."[44] In other words, the Greek historiographical tradition perpetuates stereotypical, fictional and negative representations of Persian women, political power and the strategic use of letter-writing. Of course, this is a fictional representation and does not necessarily correspond to ancient historical realities. In the *Alexander Romance*, however, these women are portrayed positively, unlike other Persian and barbarian characters in the plot.

The motif of the *kosmokrator* is again employed by the female letter-writers. The motif is repeated nine times, emphasizing the idea of Alexander as a "world master".[45] As noted, this repetition reflects late antique and early Byzantine discourses of *imperium* and world dominance.[46] The letter constructs the Persian women as agents of Alexander, advocating his rule as the new Imperial world order. In essence, this letter, written by foreign and female letter-writers, reimagines the Macedonian conqueror as a new Roman ruler. It is worth noting that the concept of power and *imperium* is negotiated through epistolary means, presenting these texts as an ideal tool for imperial governance.[47]

In the second part of the letter, the women formally acknowledge Alexander as "the new Darius", the Great king. While the Macedonian conqueror could be recognized as the new Great King of Persia without their intervention, their high royal status allows them to appropriate structures of royal and patriarchal power, serving as influential kingmakers. By sending letters, they introduce Alexander to the Persian public, and, by extension, to the external reader: Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσκυνοῦμεν τῷ μὴ καταισχύναντι ἡμᾶς. ἐγράψαμεν δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Περσῶν ἔθνει· ἰδοὺ νέον νῦν Δαρεῖον οἴδαμεν Ἀλέξανδρον μέγιστον βασιλέα. (We do obeisance to Alexander, who has not shamed us, and we have written to the whole of the Persian nation, declaring that "we recognise

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[44] Brosius 2020, 149.

[45] See Jouanno 2002, 252; Kaldellis 2022, 217.

[46] See Kaldellis 2022, 216–217.

[47] On the letter-form as reflecting discourses of power and governance, within the *Alexander Romance*, see Rosenmeyer 2001, 174–184; Whitmarsh 2013, 176–186.

Alexander, as the new Darius, the Great king").[48] Here, the letter serves as a metaliterary commentary, highlighting the concept of Imperial power and epistolary communication. On a deeper level, negotiating political power through the means of letter-writing reflects the broader use of epistolography in governance and administration across various Hellenistic, Roman Imperial and late antique contexts.[49]

Furthermore, by placing emphasis on the process of epistolary communication, these female letter-writers comment on the use of letters as an authentication device.[50] In her analysis, Arthur-Montagne notes the documentary and practical character of the letters that emphasizes a broader authentication strategy: "Perhaps these letters were carefully crafted to persuade readers of their status as genuine correspondence".[51] In other words, the letter is depicted as containing documentary and historical practices, in contrast to the broader narrative. It is important to note that both Darius' mother and his wife are portrayed as the letter-writers. The latter holds great importance for the line of succession as she is the bearer of the heir to the throne. The letter also serves as a cultural and civic commentary, presenting the idea that these Persian women are inclined towards flattery, as they readily acknowledge the superiority of the Greeks over the Persians.[52] What is innovative here is that these Persian women, who are depicted as adherents of Persian religion and customs, reconfigure Alexander as a pious and monotheistic conqueror. In other words, the women present the Macedonian conqueror as a guarantor of Imperial power, a "proto-Christian emperor".[53] Nevertheless, these Per-

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[48] *Alexander Romance* 2.22 (Bergson 121, 4–6). Trans. Dowden 1989,704 with modifications.

[49] For the use of letters in governance and administration in Hellenistic, Roman Imperial and late antique contexts, see Rosenmeyer 2001, 24–34; Ceccarelli, Doering, Foegen and Gildenhard 2018, 1–42; Ceccarelli 2018, 147–184; Mari 2018, 121–146; Osborne 2018. 185–204.

[50] On the use of letters in the *Alexander Romance* as authentication devices, see Arthur-Montagne 2014, 160–170, especially, p.161–162 where she discusses documentary letters in a broader literary and cultural context.

[51] Arthur-Montagne 2014, 161.

[52] On the manner that classical and Hellenistic historiography portrays Persian women as skilled court politicians and powerbrokers, see Brosius 2020, 149–150.

[53] On late antique and Byzantine rewritings of Alexander as a "proto-Christian" emperor, see Kaldellis 2022, 216.

sian women letter-writers are uniquely positioned within the broader narrative, as they are the only foreign characters that are presented in a positive light.

From a cultural perspective, the letter significantly departs from the *a recension*. In this context, there are several references to ancient Persian and Greek deities who are portrayed as patrons of the Macedonian conqueror.[54] In the *β recension*, references to pagan deities are entirely omitted. Alexander's genius and dominion over the world are presented as the outcome of fortune: ἡ τύχη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεῖ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης Ῥωξάνην πρὸς γάμους ἄγει (Fortune gives Roxana in marriage to Alexander, king of the whole world).[55] Here, the reference to *Tyche*, a Hellenistic deity, is seemingly reduced to a mere narrative device. By way of comparison, in his analysis of *Tyche* in late antique chronicles, Benjamin Garstad notes that religious and cultic references to the Hellenistic personification of fortune remain a persistent Hellenistic feature in late antique discourses and genres, partly due to the lack of a broader mythology.[56] Subsequently, the text of the letter conveys religious and social commentary concerning ancient cults and a more modern (monotheistic) worldview. In contrast to the *a recension*, where Zeus leads them to wedlock, in the *β recension* Alexander's wedding to Roxane is portrayed as the result of fortune.[57] In general, the editor

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[54] See *Alexander Romance* 2.22 (Kroll 97, 6–9) εὐξάμεθα ἂν οὐρανίοις θεοῖς τοῖς κλίνασι τὸ Δαρείου διάδημα καὶ Περσῶν καύχημα αἰώνιόν σε καταστῆσαι βασιλέα τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὡς λογισμῷ καὶ φρονήσει καὶ δυνάμει ἰσόρροπος πέφυκας τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς (we pray to the celestial gods, who have extended over you the diadem of Darius, to make you eternal boast of the Persians and king of the world, because you are born equal to the Olympian gods in mind, intention and power). The translation of *the α recension* is my own. For a discussion of the passages, see also Jouanno 2002, 256–257.

[55] *Alexander Romance* 2.22 (Bergson 121, 6–7). Trans. Dowden 1989, 704.

[56] For Tyche as the personification of fortune, see Sfameni Gasparro 1997, 67–109. For Tyche in late antique contexts, see e.g. Garstad 2005, 93–97 where he discusses Tyche in the context of Malalas' chronicle. See especially p. 95 where he points out that: "Tyche, nevertheless, continued to be popular and persistent in late antiquity, as a willful and personified explanation of life and literature, as an embodiment of civic pride, and as an object of cultic devotion".

[57] Cf. *Alexander Romance* 2.22 (Kroll 97, 16–17) Ῥωξάνην δέ, ἣν ἔκρινας σύνθρονον εἶναί σοι, ὡς ἐκέλευσας προσκυνοῦμεν, ὅταν Ζεὺς αὐτὴν εἰς τοὺς γάμους ἄξῃ (we

of the *β recension* depicts Alexander's conquest more as an outcome of mere fortune or sometimes divine Providence. While this epistolary text does not serve as Christian rewriting of the text, the editor's monotheistic and Christianizing interpretation of the letters is conveyed through the way that he reshapes traditional perceptions of Alexander's monarchy and its later reception.[58]

Alexander's response to the Persian women concludes the epistolary communication. In a similar monotheistic and pious tone, the Macedonian king rejects the divine honours that these women wish to bestow upon him, emphasizing his moral nature. The letter is rewritten in a manner that evokes Christian nuances: Ἐπαινῶ ὑμῶν τὸ φρόνημα. πειράσομαι οὖν ἄξια τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν φροντίσαι. κἀγὼ γὰρ φθαρτὸς ἄνθρωπος γεγένημαι. ἔρρωσθε (I applaud your sentiment. And I will struggle to act worthily of your affection—since even I am a mortal man. Farewell).[59] In his brief response, Alexander presents himself as a pious conqueror and an ideal letter-writer, summarising the nature of his kingship. He praises the Persian women for their royal spirit, but underscores that he is only mortal. In other letters as well, Alexander's monotheistic piety is contrasted with the pagan practices of foreign women, such as the Amazons.[60] Alexander's response to the Persian women is followed by a brief letter he writes to Roxane [as elsewhere] and another to his mother, Olympias, in which he takes great care of the various needs of the Persian royal family.[61] Throughout the epistolary exchange with these women, Alexander is depicted as a caring and ideal ruler.

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bow to Roxane as you ordered, whom you chose as your co-rule, when Zeus leads you to wedlock).

[58] See also Whitmarsh 2018, 149–150 where he notes Alexander's refashioning as a great king and conqueror, conveying a reference to the multifaceted character of Hellenistic monarchies.

[59] *Alexander Romance* 2.22 (Bergson 122, 1–2). Trans. Dowden 1989, 704.

[60] *Alexander Romance* 3.25–26 (Bergson 168–173).

[61] *Alexander Romance* 2.22 (Bergson, 3–9).

Alexander and exotic women: Queen Kandake and Alexander

In the subsequent section, I delve into a series of letters between Alexander and exotic women. In these contexts, the classicizing divide between Greek and barbarian, monotheistic/pagan and Christian is further highlighted. The third book includes a series of correspondences with heroines from exotic lands, such as the Macedonian conqueror and Queen Kandake and his letter-exchange with the Amazons.[62] These letters are embedded in the broader third-person narrative and offer the reader a first-person narrative of the events of the Macedonian campaign. They also construct a cultural and literary discourse about the Other: The letter-writers are again constructed as foreign and non-Greek, female and often non-monotheistic or pagan. These letters again contrast the Hellenizing as well as Christian virtues of Alexander the Great with these foreign women. However, they do not dominate the wider narrative, as the epistolary texts in the context of the second book (e.g. the letters of the Persian women or Alexander's correspondence with Darius).[63] These epistolary texts are transmitted in shorter form: Obscure cults, customs and foreign gender norms are silenced or omitted. In other words, they are less rich in ethnographic details compared to the letters of the *α recension*.

After conquering Persia and India, Alexander decides to visit the palace of Semiramis, which is connected to queen Kandake of the kingdom of Meroe.[64] The name Kandake refers to the title of the queen in the kingdom of Meroe, which was ruled by a series of matrilinear monarchs.[65] This episode presents a fictionalized perception of Roman Imperial geography, combining geographical and documentary information

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[62] For Alexander's correspondence with Kandake, see also Dowden 1989, 720n86; Rosenmeyer 2001, 184n24 where they both note that the episode existed as a separate fictional narrative which was not necessarily an epistolary text. See also Karla 2023, 230–243.

[63] Rosenmeyer 2001, 173.

[64] *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Bergson 152–153, 13; 1–3). For Semiramis, see e.g. Nawotka 2017, 211.

[65] For the name Kandake and the matrilinear monarch of Meroe, see e.g. Mayor 2014, 389–391; Nawotka 2017, 210–212.

about India, Asia and Africa.[66] Kandake is presented essentially as an Ethiopian queen. The letter constructs a fictional and cultural discourse about a fascinating and exotic kingdom which lies on the borders of Egypt. This representation of Ethiopia is part of the broader tradition that constructs the Ethiopians as a faultless people that lived happily in the south of the Nile.[67] Kandake's letter-exchange with Alexander combines the rhetorical categories of a documentary letter with an *ethopoeia*. They present us with a fictional correspondence but often include historical and documentary details, underlining a literary strategy of authentication. In this manner, these letters blur the boundaries between the "fictional" and the "real".[68] They are used as plot devices that could add some authenticity and historical currency to the wider narrative.

To understand how Kandake is constructed as a speaking and rhetorical character, we should first turn to Alexander's initial letter to the queen.[69] In this context, the Macedonian conqueror conveys his desire to see the kingdom in person. The epistolary text is presented in formal terms as a letter of request. In the opening lines, Alexander justifies his letter-writing: after his journey to Egypt, his attention was captured by the exotic kingdom that lies towards the south. Therefore, he asks for permission to enter the realm. The letter addresses queen Kandake of the kingdom of Veroe. Meroe is here twisted to Veroe.[70] The letter effectively refashions the exotic queen into a completely new (late antique Greek) cultural context.

Despite the fact that the epistolary text does not explicitly allude to a specific literary and cultural context, it constructs a vague literary discourse referring to Hellenistic and late antique place names. In her

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[66] On which, see Nawotka 2017, 211–212 where he also discusses the late reception of the episode in Byzantine and Arabic rewritings of the *Alexander Romance*.

[67] See also Homer *Odyssey* 1.23–24; Herodotus *Histories* 3.17–25; Diodorus Siculus *Historical Libraries* 7,18,3.31.4. For a discussion, see e.g. Snowdon 1970; Van Wyk Smith 2009, 281–331; 410–411; Jouanno 2014, 130 n. 9; 134–135

[68] For a discussion of the letters as an *ethopoeia*, see Arthur-Montagne 2014, 160–170.

[69] See *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Bergson 153, 4–8).

[70] Cf. *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Kroll 115, 10–11) Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλίσσῃ Κανδάκῃ τῇ ἐν Μερόῃ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὴν τυράννοις χαίρειν (Queen Kandake at Meroe and the princes under her, greetings. Trans. Dowden 1989, 721).

study of the episode, Corinne Jouanno notes that Kandake is reinter-preted through the lens of Greek and, especially, Biblical intertexts, thus conveying "a progressive disafricanisation" of the epistolary material.[71] The reference to the kingdom of Veroe, instead of Meroe, conveys a se-ries of different cultural references: on a primary level, Veroe could refer to the city of Veroia in the kingdom of Macedon, or the city of Veroia, in Hellenistic Syria. By means of comparison, the reference to the King-dom of Veroia could also evoke a Biblical reference to the second book of the *Maccabees*.[72] Additionally, the letter in the *β recension* does not include ethnographical information about ancient Egyptian culture and geography, as they are preserved in the *α recension*.[73] For instance, ref-erences to the importance of ancient Egyptian shrines are inserted in a vague manner (παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἱερῶν).[74] The letter effectively omits all the cultural references to the relationship between Veroe and Egypt, which are preserved in the *a recension*. The religious cult of Amon Ra is also totally silenced.[75] In contrast, the letter, as it is preserved in the *β recension*, reproduces a cultural and literary discourse which evokes Biblical narratives. The letter is concluded with Alexander's request to send him whatever they deem worthy.

Kandake's letter serves as both a documentary and an ethopoeit-ic piece. The letter reads as follows: Βασίλισσα Βερόης Κανδάκη καὶ πάντες οἱ τύραννοι βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χαίρειν (Queen Kandake of Veroe and all the princes to king Alexander, greetings).[76] She constructs herself as a speaking and rhetorical subject by appropriating structures of political power: she, as a queen, dominates the men of her kingdom. The epistolary text underscores the queen's identity, as a person of col-

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[71] See Jouanno 2014, 130.

[72] See *Maccabees* 2.13.4. On the rewriting of placenames and the Biblical echoes of the text, see also Jouanno 2002, 249n12.

[73] On which, see Jouanno 2014, 130–133.

[74] See *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Bergson 153, 5). Cf. *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Kroll 115, 11–14) in which Alexander refers, in detail, to the Egyptian priests, the local shrines, and the cult of Amon Ra.

[75] Cf. *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Kroll 116, 3; 8; 11) where Kandake refers to Amon Ra and his cult three times. For a discussion, see Jouanno 2002, 252.

[76] *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Bergson 153, 9–10). Trans. Dowden 1989, 721 with slight modifications.

our, stating: μὴ καταγνῶς τοῦ χρωτὸς ἡμῶν. ἐσμὲν γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς λαμπρότεροι τῶν παρὰ σοῦ λευκοτάτων (Do not think the worse of us for the colour of our skin. We are purer in soul than the whitest of your people).[77] These initial lines of the letter reference a Hellenocentric reception of people of colour and the concept of Ethiopian dark skin is contrasted with their pure souls, which is part of the wider ancient and late antique perceptions of Ethiopia as an exotic land. The letter also incorporates the epistolary motif of gifts accompanying the letter. Similar to Alexander's letter, the list of gifts, consisting of exotic materials and goods, holds more significance for the external reader than for the intended recipient of the letter.[78] This combination of documentary and fictional elements in the letter serves as a means of authentication employed by the editor of the Alexander narrative. It blurs the distinction between the fictional and the documentary, enhancing the credibility of these fictional heroes in the context of a historical account.[79] The letter concludes with a *recusatio*: καὶ γράψον ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ σοῦ, ὅτι πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐβασίλευσας. ἔρρωσο (And write to us about yourself since you have become king of the whole world. Farewell.).[80] The letter's conclusion evokes the political vocabulary of empire and world-order (πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης). The ending can be interpreted as either the queen's desire to learn more about Alexander's adventures (γράψον ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ σοῦ) or as indication that even if Alexander becomes the master of the world—as suggested by the motif of *kosmokrator*— she would have little interest in his campaigns. Consequently, the letter's conclusion appears more as a gesture indicating "do not write back".[81]

Queen Kandake's episode concludes later in the narrative when Alexander disguises himself as a messenger to personally deliver his letter along with a caravan of gifts.[82] Firstly, this part of the narrative effec-

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[77] *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Bergson 153, 10–11). Trans. Dowden 1989, 721.

[78] See *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Bergson 154, 1–8).

[79] On the manner that the letters combine the fictional and historical/documentary categories, see also Arthur-Montagne 2014, 169.

[80] *Alexander Romance* 3.18 (Bergson 154, 9). Trans. Dowden 1989, 721 with slight modification.

[81] On the letter's conclusion, see Rosenmeyer 2001, 185.

[82] *Alexander Romance* 3.20–22.

tively ends any possibility of further epistolary communication between the Macedonian conqueror and the exotic queen. Secondly, Alexander's disguise as a messenger serves as a metaliterary comment on the process of epistolary delivery, reflecting the sender's anxiety regarding the delivery of the missive. Additionally, this episode provides commentary on the overlapping categories of the fictional and the real, with what occurs within the context of the letter-exchange being interpreted as genuine and honest communication, while the broader narrative (Alexander's disguise) is considered fictional and deceitful.

Alexander and the Amazons

An episode between Alexander and the Amazons contains a final correspondence between Alexander and exotic, warrior-women who live in an isolated and magical island. These letters contain many ethnographical details concerning the Amazons' way of life and military culture which refer more to the external reader than the actual readers of the letters.[83] Literary and cultural representations of the Amazons serve as characteristic references to the Other, across different classical, Hellenistic and late antique literary registers and traditions. In this manner, these letters find parallels with a broader, classicising historiographical tradition according to which Alexander encountered the Amazons living in the east, after his campaigns in Persia and on his way to India. There are also implicit references to epic narratives about Amazons, such as the story about the Amazonian queen Penthesileia and Achilles, drawn

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[83] For the story of Alexander and the Amazons in the broader Alexander tradition, see Diodorus Siculus *Historical Library* 17.75–77; Strabo *Geography* 11.5.3–4; Plutarch *Alexander* 46; Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander* 7.13.2–3; Curtius Rufus *History of Alexander* 6.5.24–32; Justin *Philippic Histories* 2.4.33; 12.3.5–7; 42.3.7. For a discussion of the passages, see Andres 2001, 111–122; Baynham 2001, 115–126; Carney 2000, 263–285; Amitay 2010, 78–86; Mayor 2014, 319–338; 474 n. 5. On the ancient and late antique literary and cultural tradition about the Amazons, in general, see e.g. Amitay 2010; Mayor 2014, 319–338; Andres 2017, 155–180. For a discussion of the correspondence between Alexander and the Amazons in the *Alexander Romance*, see Rosenmeyer 2001, 187–192; Arthur-Montagne 2014, 173–174.

from the epic cycle.[84] Moreover, these epistolary texts evoke the story of Tomyris and Cyrus, as narrated especially in the Herodotean *Histories*.[85] All these narratives offer cultural and literary background against which to read the representations of the Amazons in the *Alexander Romance*.

Unlike the broader tradition about the conqueror and the Amazons that presents these women as mere objects of desire, the *Alexander Romance* constructs these women as speaking and rhetorical subjects that express their will against the Macedonian conqueror. In an initial letter, he addresses the Amazons as a group: Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀμαζόναις χαίρειν. (King Alexander to the Amazons, greetings!)[86] The subsequent section of the letter briefly summarizes his victories over foreign peoples in a first-person narrative.[87] The conclusion reads as an invitation: ὑμεῖς δὲ συναντήσατε ἡμῖν γηθοσύνως. οὐ γὰρ ἐρχόμεθα κακοποιῆσαι ἀλλ' ὀψόμενοι τὴν χώραν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς εὐεργετῆσαι. ἔρρωσθε (Meet us with joy; we do not come to do you ill, but to see your country and at the same time to do you good. Farewell!)[88] The letter-writer declares his amiable intentions and asks for a meeting with the female warriors.

The Amazons' response preserves much of its pagan character, as it is preserved in the context of the *a recension*.[89] Here too, the female letter-writers employ the conventional epistolary formulas of opening to declare war: Ἀμαζονίδων αἱ κράτισται καὶ ἡγούμεναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. ἐγράψαμέν σοι, ὅπως εἰδῇς πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδόξως ἀναλύσῃς. (The leading Amazons and the mightiest to Alexander, greetings: We have written to you so that you may be informed before you set foot on our land and not have to withdraw ignominiously!)[90] The use of the adjectives αἱ κράτισται καὶ ἡγούμεναι exaggerates the idea of military virtue and power of the ancient women warriors. The Amazons respond to Alexander's letter in

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[84] The story about the Amazonian queen Penthesileia and Achilles was represented in the lost epic poem of *Aethiopis*. For a discussion, see e.g. Fantuzzi 2012, 267–286.

[85] For the story of Tomyris and Cyrus, see Herodotus *Histories* 1.205–214.

[86] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 168, 5). Trans. Dowden 1989, 726.

[87] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 168, 6–11).

[88] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 168, 11–12). Trans. Dowden 1989, 726.

[89] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Kroll 124–125).

[90] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 168–169, 14–15;1). Trans. Dowden 1989, 726.

order to clarify that they will not tolerate any invasions. The first lines of the letter are read as an interpretation of the adjective σπουδαίας: διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἡμῶν διασαφοῦμέν σοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς οὔσας σπουδαίας τῇ διαίτῃ. (By our letter we shall make clear the nature of our country and of ourselves, who have a way of life to be reckoned with.)[91] The Amazons are presented as agents that are able to write and to defend their own country. In her analysis, Arthur-Montagne notes the manner that the letter conveys a military tone, by playing with the idea of σπουδαίαι: "For Alexander, the Amazons are 'to be reckoned with' as enemies in combat. For the reader, the Amazons, their way of life, and their legendary country are 'worthy of attention'."[92] Consequently, the text functions as metaliterary commentary, emphasizing the idea of the epistolary form as a means of negotiating political and military sovereignty. These women are allowed to write the final word in the narrative. By exploring the means of the letter-form, they are therefore presented as being in control of the broader, male-dominating narrative.

The subsequent section of the epistolary text contains a series of ethnographical discourses relating to these women's culture and military discipline, as well as their adherence to the ancient Greek traditional religion.[93] There is also an explicit reference to the Amazons' practice of procreating with their men and taking their female offspring to be trained in the Amazons' military way of life.[94] In terms of cultural and gendered discourses, the letter serves as commentary, constructing this all-female and pagan community as the absolute perception of the Other. Further on, the Amazons highlight that this long excursus of their culture and habits is meant to be read as a warning. Additionally, they comment on Alexander's military conquests: should the Macedonian army attempt to conquer them, they will be shamed for fighting against women. Should they win, they will be known to have wrongfully harmed women; should they lose, meanwhile, they would be presented as the

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[91] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 169, 1–2). Trans. Dowden 1989, 726–727. For a discussion of the passage, see Rosenmeyer, 2001, 188; Arthur-Montagne 2014, 174.

[92] Arthur-Montagne 2014, 174.

[93] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 169, 7–9).

[94] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 169, 9–11).

strongest military power that did not manage to conquer women (ἐὰν δὲ πολεμίων κρατήσωμεν ἢ πάλιν φύγωσιν, αἰσχρὸν αὐτοῖς καταλείπεται εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον ὄνειδος. ἐὰν δὲ ἡμᾶς νικήσωσιν, ἔσονται γυναῖκας νενικηκότες).[95] Nonetheless, the Amazons are presented as having absolute control over the narrative. The conclusion reads more as an ambivalent invitation to battle. On a further level, it resonates with Alexander's previous letter: βουλευσάμενος οὖν ἀντίγραψον ἡμῖν καὶ εὑρήσεις ἡμῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων (When you have reached a decision, write us a reply; you will find our camp on the boarder.)[96] In other words, this letter-exchange creates the impression of a military engagement through the means of the epistolary form.

By way of comparison, the Amazons' letter finds linguistic and semantic parallels with the story of the warrior-queen Tomyris and Cyrus, in the Herodotean *Histories*.[97] In particular, the letter's military and imperative character evokes the message Tomyris sends to Cyrus, before any battle occurs.[98] In the course of the narrative, the Persians and Cyrus lure the Massagetae into a banquet and kill them, after having intoxicated them with wine. The queen's son is captured after this trap.[99] Tomyris then sends a missive with a herald to Cyrus (πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον), demanding the release of her son and the Persians' immediate departure from her lands.[100] Her swift response is also presented in an imperative manner: ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρης ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας (give me back my son and depart unpunished from this country; it is enough that you have done despite to a third part of the host of the Massagetae).[101]

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[95] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 170, 7–9).

[96] *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 170, 10–11). Trans. Dowden 1989, 727.

[97] Herodotus *Histories* 1.211–216. For a discussion of the episode, see e.g.

[98] Herodotus *Histories* 1.206; 1.212; 1.214. For the function of letters in the context of the Herodotean *Histories*, see Rosenmeyer 2001, 45–60; Bowie 2013, 73–83.

[99] Herodotus *Histories* 1.211.1–2.

[100] See Herodotus *Histories* 1.212.1–2. On the use of heralds in order to deliver oral messages, see e.g. Bowie 2013, 77. See also Bowie 2013, 80–82 where he discusses how oral and written communication is blurred in the *Histories*.

[101] Herodotus *Histories* 1.212.2. Trans. Godley 1920, 267. Cf. *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 168–169; 15; 1).

As in the letter of the Amazons, the missive contains ethnographical information about the Persians' consumption of wine.[102] Here too, the employment of ethnographical discourse functions as social and historical commentary. According to Tomyris' interpretation, drinking leads Persians to madness.[103] Cyrus' reaction to the message is his total neglection. The reader is presented with the idea of epistolary discourse that allows this female queen to express herself as a speaking and rhetorical subject. Epistolary communication is again interpreted as a means that allows women to appropriate patriarchal structures of power. The episode is concluded with the death of Cyrus the Great.[104] In the *Alexander Romance*, the Amazons clarify in a similarly imperative manner that they would not accept any intrusion in their lands.[105] These literary allusions to the Herodotean episode of Tomyris highlight the divide between a male and virile —here increasingly monotheistic conqueror— contrasted to barbarian and pagan women.

The Macedonian king's response contains a counter-argument, concerning the nature of his campaigns against the Amazons: it would be shameful if the Macedonian men campaigned and were defeated by the Amazons, but, on the other hand, it would also be shameful if they did not fight these warrior-women at all.[106] The letter brings up the idea of a civilized, virile, army which fights against these women on the fringes of culture. In the context of the *α recension*, the letter includes Alexander's vows to a series of ancient Greek deities – including Zeus, Hera, Ares and Athena – not to harm the Amazons. In contrast, the letter of the *β recension* contains only Alexander's vows to his father and mother (ὄμνυμι ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἐμὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐμὴν μητέρα μὴ ἀδικῆσαι ὑμᾶς)[107]

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[102] See Herodotus *Histories* 1.212.2. Cf. *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 169, 1–12).

[103] See Herodotus *Histories* 1.212.2.

[104] See Herodotus *Histories* 1.214.

[105] See *Alexander Romance* 3.25 (Bergson 168–169, 15;1) ὅπως εἰδῇς πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδόξως ἀναλύσῃς.

[106] *Alexander Romance* 3.26 (Bergson 171, 4–6). For a discussion of the letter, see e.g. Rosenmeyer 2001, 188; Jouanno 2002, 256.

[107] *Alexander Romance* 3.26 (Bergson, 171, 8–9); Cf. *Alexander Romance* 3.26.4–6 (Kroll 126, 8–9) ὄμνυμι πατέρα ἡμῶν Δία καὶ Ἥραν καὶ Ἄρην καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν νικαφόρον μὴ ἀδικῆσαι ὑμᾶς (I swear to our father, Zeus, Hera, Ares, and to Athena who brings victory, not to harm you). For a discussion, see Jouanno 2002, 256.

Here too, this rewriting serves as cultural and gender commentary: there is a strong contrast between the cultured and monotheistic Alexander as opposed to the pagan women. In the letter's conclusion, Alexander offers a resolution: the Amazons could choose to advance to the borders so that they would be seen by the Greeks. Moreover, they are asked to provide their services to the Macedonian army. The letter implies that they would work either as mercenaries for his army or as their concubines. The epistolary text concludes as follows: βουλευσάμεναι δὲ ἀντιγράψατε ἡμῖν. ἔρρωσθε (When you have reached a decision, write us a reply. Farewell.)[108] In this context, the letter's conclusion evokes the previous letter of the Amazons, sustaining the idea of dialogue in the means of the letter-form.

In a final letter to Alexander, the Amazons decide to allow the Macedonians to enter their country: Ἀμαζόνων αἱ κράτισται καὶ ἡγούμεναι βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χαίρειν. δίδομέν σοι ἐξουσίαν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ θεάσασθαι ἡμῶν τὴν χώραν (The leading Amazons and the mightiest, to king Alexander, greetings: We give you permission to come to us and see our country).[109] In her reading, Rosemeyer notes that "the very act of writing back to Alexander is the first step in submission: they are bullied by his letter, tempted by his terms."[110] By employing the epistolary form, these women assert traditional structures of patriarchy, and therefore construct themselves as speaking and rhetorical subjects. It is the Amazons who decide to offer their allegiance to the Macedonian conqueror. The letter's final lines refer to Alexander as their δεσπότης or ruler, evoking a reference to the motif of the *kosmokrator*.[111] The letter concludes any further interaction between Alexander and the Amazons. In this manner, the reader is presented with the Amazons' interpretation of the story.

By way of comparison, the conquest of the Amazons is also mentioned in a subsequent letter Alexander sends to his mother Olympias.[112] This letter presents the interaction between the conqueror and

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[108] *Alexander Romance* 3.26 (Bergson 172, 1–2). Trans. Dowden 1989, 728.
[109] *Alexander Romance* 3.26 (Bergson 172, 4–6). Trans. Dowden 1989, 728.
[110] Rosenmeyer 2001, 189.
[111] *Alexander Romance* 3.26 (Bergson 172, 13).
[112] See *Alexander Romance* 3.27 (Bergson 173, 4–6). For a discussion of the letter, see Rosenmeyer 2001, 189.

the warrior-women in a much shorter version. All in all, by employing the letter-form, these women are allowed to express their own views and perspectives, against the backdrop of a male-dominating narrative. Furthermore, the letters underscore the agenda of the editor of the *β recension* who tends to rewrite Alexander in terms of a Christianising and monotheistic cultural discourse, as opposed to the female and pagan warrior-women. In all these respects, the letter exchange between Alexander and the Amazons undermines traditional representations of gender and dominance.

Conclusions

Through my analysis, I have shown how fictional letters within the *Alexander Romance* serve as platforms that construct discourses of gender and cultural identity. In particular, the use of the letter-form allows the women characters to construct themselves as speaking and rhetorical subjects. In this manner, they manage to express their views, effectively shifting the perspective of the broader narrative from a male to a female point of view. In the context of the late antique rewriting of this fictionalized biography of Alexander the Great, these letters construct complex literary and cultural representations of women: Pagan and exotic females are strongly contrasted to a pious and, often, monotheistic Alexander. These cultural representations of female characters are aligned with the broader (Christianizing) agenda and cultural politics of the editor of the *β recension*. These women often serve as representations of the absolute Other, effectively undercutting all civilised norms of late antique Christian and Roman society. On a deeper level, these epistolary texts function as signposts that contain metaliterary comments concerning epistolary communication, the process of epistolary delivery or fictional letter-writing. In the realm of late antique literature and fictional epistolography, these letters are uniquely positioned within the broader context of ancient fictional letter collections, as they present us with the sole instances in which women purportedly write about political power and dominance.

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19th century Greek funeral eulogies and their relation to Pericles' Funeral Oration: the case of Georgios Markos Tertsetis*

Barbara Spinoula,

In 1846, the orator Georgios Markos Tertsetis (1800-1874) observed: 'Ἐγκωμιάζοντας ὁ ρήτορας τοὺς ἀποθαμένους, ἐνθυμεῖται πολὺ τοὺς ζωντανοὺς' (In praising the dead, the orator profoundly remembers the living).[1] He was referring to one of the most significant speeches in Greek antiquity—and indeed, one of the most influential in the history of world literature: Pericles' funeral oration. Delivered in 430 B.C. at the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens, this speech commemorated the soldiers who had perished in the first year of the Peloponnesian War.[2]

It was not the only funeral oration Pericles ever delivered,[3] but it is the only one Thucydides has recorded. Being a talented leader and inno-

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[1] Tertsetis, "Μελέται βουλευτικῆς εὐγλωττίας (1846)" [Studies on eloquence of the members of parliament], in Konomos 1984, 287. The speech from now on will be mentioned as "On eloquence (1846)". All translations of Greek passages throughout this paper, unless otherwise stated, are by the author.

[2] As a matter of fact, in general, 'Speeches in Thucydides' *History* are among the most talked about topics in Thucydidean studies.' So does Kremmydas (2017, 93) rightly point out. See Hornblower 1991, 292, on the 'πάτριος νόμος', the 'ancestral custom' of celebrating the funeral of war-soldiers at public expense; Clairmont 1983.

[3] Another funeral oration is delivered by Pericles in 439 B.C., during the public burial of the fallen Athenians at the War of Samos (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 28.4). This is regarded as the first known funeral speech at Athens (Garland 1985, 90). As a whole, there are only five (or six, including Gorgias' fragments from a speech which was intended to be used in his rhetorical classes) ancient Greek funeral orations surviving, one of them being a mock funeral speech composed by Plato, titled *Menexenos*. See Nannini 2016, 8; Mavropoulos 2004, 40–41.

vative speaker, Pericles went beyond the limits of praising the dead and expounded the nature and importance of Athenian democracy, the connection between the citizen and his homeland, and therefore the meaning of Greek patriotism.[4]

In this paper I shall look for echoes of the Periclean funeral oration in the modern Greek funeral eulogies that Tertsetis composed mainly in honour of those killed while fighting in the Greek Revolution.[5] I hope to show that Pericles, as recorded by Thucydides, constituted a vital source of inspiration, embodying for Tertsetis the permanent virtues of democratic patriotism and Greekness.

Tertsetis was a multifaceted personality, one of the most interesting and important persons in modern Greek history. He was an attorney from Zante and also a poet; the childhood friend, "θερμὸς ὀπαδὸς καὶ οἰκεῖος"[6] (a warm supporter and close friend) of the poet Dionysios Solomos; a war-soldier of the Greek Revolution; a member of Parliament and its βιβλιοφύλακας[7] (librarian); a courageous judge, who became a modern Greek symbol or incarnation of justice; a fervent supporter of the demotic language; and the learned and inspiring history teacher, at a crucial time, of the Greek army cadets at the newly found military school in Nafplion, and indeed a teacher of his nation.[8]

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[4] Kakridis 1981, 174: 'If there is one text which gives the real meaning of democracy and patriotism, then this is the *Epitaphios*.'; on democracy in the *Funeral Oration*, see Kakridis 2000, 65. For Felix Jacoby (1944, 60), 'Thucydides made a political action of a religious ceremony or […] he has consciously and completely eliminated the religious component of the State burial. On Pericles as a leader in Thucydides' opinion, see Westlake 1968, 23: 'It was a basic belief of Thucydides that of all the leading figures in the Peloponnesian war, Pericles was by far the greatest; on Pericles as an innovative speaker, see Kennedy 2001, 38.

[5] The editions I have used are: Ὁ Γεώργιος Τερτσέτης καὶ τὰ εὑρισκόμενα ἔργα του by Ntinos Konomos (Athens 1984) and the three-volume edition Τερτσέτη, Ἅπαντα by Georgios Valetas (Athens 1966–1967).

[6] Bouchard 1970, 49.

[7] Konomos 1984, 27 n.1; 27: Ὁ Τερτσέτης ὑπῆρξε ὁ πατέρας τοῦ Ἀρχείου καὶ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Βουλῆς. Τὸ ἵδρυμα τοῦτο εἶχε ἐξαρθῆ μὲ τὴν δράση του σὲ πνευματικὴ ἐθνικὴ ἑστία; Plagiannis 1966, 367.

[8] For biographical information, see Xepapadakos 1971, 44–56; Bouchard 1970; Valetas 1966, "Introduction", 17–44; Vees 1966a; Vees 1966b; Sigouros 1954; Vlahos 1875.

Nearly eighty speeches of Tertsetis survive today, the latest and more complete edition of his oeuvre being that by Ntinos Konomos in 1984. Some speeches and lessons in the military school had originally been published in newspapers, some speeches had been individually published as leaflets and some were found as unpublished manuscripts in the orator's files.[9] Year after year in Athens, Tertsetis would deliver speeches in public, having printed announcements prior to the event he delivered at least sixteen speeches on the anniversaries of the Greek Revolution of 1821 (25th March), and a similar number on 20th May, celebrating King Otto's birthday; he would speak about the annual poetry competition held in Athens, where the academics who ran this competition would turn down his lengthy poems written in the demotic language; he would also deliver speeches to the members of the Greek Parliament. In general, in this very rich collection of speeches, he dealt with philosophical and historical subjects, with Greek language and literature, as well as with some important persons of his time. Of special historical interest is his Ἀπολογία, the speech which he made in his own defense when, as a judge, he had refused to sign the sentences passed in 1834 upon Theodoros Kolokotronis and Dimitrios Plapoutas, and was himself arraigned in the following year along with the president of the 1834 court, Anastassios Polyzoidis.[10] Equally powerful is his very last speech, of 25th March 1874, which he wrote a while before he fell sick and died, and so never had the opportunity to read to an audience.[11] This speech is dedicated to Polyzoidis. It constitutes a most valuable historical source, for Tertsetis records in great detail all that happened at the trial of the two generals and the nature of the autocratic violence which was used in over-ruling the independence of the court's two judges.

I have shown elsewhere how the history lessons of Tertsetis in the Military School often echo the historical writings of Thucydides and es-

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[9] Today manuscripts of Tertsetis—none of which contains a speech—are to be found in the: (a) Academy of Athens, Research Center for the History of Modern Hellenism, where the 'Archive of Georgios Tertsetis' contains three manuscripts, and (b) General State Archives of Greece – Central Service, where the 'Konstantinos Konomos Collection' (COL171.01 - K57στ) also comprises three manuscripts.

[10] See Xepapadakos 1971, 38, 39–44.

[11] See Xepapadakos 1971, 33.

pecially the funeral oration by Pericles.[12] Aiming to inspire the hearts of his young students with love for their homeland, and sharing with them his passion for ancient Greek history, he frequently refers the cadets to the ideas in the Periclean oration. As a learned scholar, Tertsetis had introduced the teaching of Thucydides into the military academy syllabus, and accordingly in his classes or in speeches on formal occasions such as the opening of the school year or beginning of semester exams, he made the most of the ancient historian's work. I have pointed out that he even compares his students themselves to the young Thucydides, who was once moved to tears by listening to Herodotus reciting his *Histories* in Athens. Both the cadets and Thucydides, according to Tertsetis, stand for the hopes of their homeland and embody the promise (expected to be realized by the cadets, as it had been by Thucydides) to become μεγάλοι πολίτες.[13]

Tertsetis refers or alludes to his favorite orator, Pericles, not only in those history classes, but also in his rhetorical work as a whole.

Before considering him as a meticulous reader of Thucydides and Plutarch and as an admirer of Pericles, it would be useful to know Tertsetis' view on the significance of the 430 B.C. funeral oration, as expressed in one of his 1846 lectures to members of the Greek Parliament on eloquence.

He read the whole text of Pericles' *Funeral Oration* to his audience εἰς ἁπλῆν φράσιν, in simple (that is, demotic) form of Greek language, translated by Ioannis Vilaras.[14] His initial motive was to prove that 'the

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[12] B. Spinoula, "*Ἐθνικὴ Ἐφημερίς*: αναζητώντας τον Θουκυδίδη στις δημοσιευμένες ομιλίες του Γεωργίου Τερτσέτη προς τους Ευέλπιδες του 1832". Speech at the Conference on "Readings of Thucydides", Hellenic Military Academy, Vari, Attica, 1st December 2023.

[13] Tertsetis 1832 (*National Newspaper* 60–61, pp. 311–314, §1): εἴθε αὐτὰ νὰ προαγγέλλωσι μέγαν πολίτην, καθὼς ποτὲ αἱ σοφαὶ Ἀθῆναι συνέλαβον ἐλπίδας, τὰς ὁποίας ὁ μετέπειτα χρόνος ἐπραγμάτωσεν, ἰδοῦσαι τὰ δάκρυα τοῦ δεκαπενταετοῦς Θουκυδίδου! Valetas puts this speech directly after Tertsetis' first history lesson (titled "Α΄ Ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς ἱστορίας" [the utility of History]) under the title "Ἱστορικὰ μαθήματα: Β΄ Παιδεία – Πατρίδα – Ἱστορία" (History lessons: Β΄ Education – Homeland – History", in Valetas, vol. III, 347–352; Konomos 1984, 242–245).

[14] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 277–292; 287–290: "Λόγος τοῦ Περικλέους" (Pericles' Speech); see p. 286 for mention on Vilaras.

discord between ancient Athens and Sparta is both the image and the key of the whole Greek history.'[15] He went on to link discord to φιλαρχία and φιλαυτία, the love for power and the love for oneself. His lecture has all the characteristics of a lesson, indeed, and he takes into consideration the audience's ignorance: they had been busy with deeds of war and had no time to study ancient Greek authors, he says; now, he adds, busy as they are with their law-making duties, they have no time to translate ancient texts in modern Greek.[16]

Before reading the text, Tertsetis wished to share ὀλίγας σκέψεις with his audience.[17] Θὰ ὠφεληθοῦμεν πολυτρόπως, 'we shall benefit in a lot of ways' from this speech, he confirmed, and he, sort of, enumerated the benefits:

'We shall know the spirit of the ancient Greeks.'
'We shall see the grace and the height of (rhetoric) art, e.g. in order to praise the war dead, Pericles praises their homeland, as if one, in order to depict a human, glorifies God, the creator of human beings.'
'We have certain information about the political spirit of Greeks: they regarded the individual as exclusively tied to the destiny of the homeland.'
'We see the dislike of Greeks for Greeks, which led to the destruction of freedom and to a general slavery.'[18]

His view explains why he regarded as important Pericles' ideals in the life of his contemporaries, at the time of the ambitious building of an independent Greece out of a suffering, demolished homeland, during and after the Greek Revolution.

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[15] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 283.
[16] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 283.
[17] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 284.
[18] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 286.

"Λόγος στὸ στρατόπεδο τοῦ Μύτικα (1828)" (Speech at the Mytikas military camp (1828)[19] – *A speech for the rank and file*

The speech at the Mytikas military camp was delivered a year after the battle in Athens, but it is still an *Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος*. As Georgios Valetas puts it, the speech is 'addressed at a military camp, an ἐπιτάφιος for the heroes.'[20] Moreover, it is a speech written not for a single man, but for all the fallen soldiers of a particular battle. Such a funeral eulogy was a tradition in ancient Athens after the Persian Wars, but during and after the Greek War of Independence the orator usually stood before one dead person. Tertsetis, with his evidenced admiration for Pericles, had at the military camp of Mytikas all the necessary conditions in order to present and develop some important ideas of the prominent *Funeral Oration*.

'Unimportant and unnecessary the praise is'

At the Western Greece General Military Camp at Mytikas in 1828, comrades and fellow fighters heard one of the first speeches of Tertsetis, the oldest in his corpus. The time-and-place framework of the speech is given by Tertsetis himself in his very evocative introduction, which was written at a later stage, when he rewrote the funeral eulogy in a more scholarly language and read it to a different audience.[21] That introduction expresses the strong emotion that had been felt both by Tertsetis himself and by his comrades in that camp in 1828:

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[19] In Konomos 1984, 218-223.

[20] Tertsetis, "Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἐτελοῦντο τὰ ἐνιαύσια τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις πεσόντων 1828" (Speech on the day when the memorial service took place for those who fell in Athens a year ago, in 1828) in Valetas, vol. II, 1967, see note on p. 57. From now on the speech will me mentioned as "Speech of 1828", as its header is in the edition by Valetas. The paragraphs of the speech have been numbered by Valetas.

[21] There is no year mentioned in the manuscript. See the note on the speech in Tertsetis, in Konomos 1984, 218 n.; Valetas 1967, vol. II, 57–58, gives the information that the speech was first published in the Journal *Φιλολογικὴ Πρωτοχρονιὰ* (1954, 371) by Konomos, owner of the manuscript.

(§ 1) Λόγον ἀτελῆ μέλλει νὰ σᾶς ἀναγνώσω καὶ παρακαλῶ νὰ μοῦ χαρίσετε τὴν φιλικὴν (sic) σας συγγνώμην. Ἤμουν κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1828 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Μύτικα. Ἦτον ἄνοιξις. Ἤκουα ἀπὸ διαφόρους, ἐνθυμοῦμαι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον Νάση Νίκα, ἤκουσα νὰ λέγει: ῾Πέρυσι σὰν τώρα τὰ ἀδέλφια μας ἐσκοτώθηκαν εἰς τὴν Ἀθήνα…᾿ Καὶ δάκρυο ἐθόλωνε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς του. Μ᾿ ἐπῆρε ἐπιθυμία νὰ συνθέσω λόγον πρὸς παρηγορίαν τῶν λυπημένων. Καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸς ἀπαράλλακτα ὁποὺ τότε ἐσύνθεσα καὶ εἶπα, καὶ σήμερον προσφέρω εἰς τὴν ἀδελφικήν σας ἀκρόασιν.[22]

(§ 1) An imperfect speech I am going to read to you, and I am asking you to grant me your friendly forgiveness. I was, in the year 1828, at the military camp of Mytikas. It was spring time. I heard various people, I remember, especially I heard the brave Nassis Nikas saying: *'This day last year our brothers were killed in Athens…'* And his eyes were blurred by tears. I was taken by the desire to compose a speech to console the sad ones. So, it is exactly this speech I then composed and delivered and which today I offer to your brotherly hearing.

The opening words of the 1828 speech focus not on the war dead, but on the audience, exactly as its introduction:

(§ 4) On today's date, which reminds us of those murdered in Athens, I have no intention of praising the deceased, but rather I aim to offer consolation and advice to the living.[23]

(§ 6) The praise for those [sc. the deceased] is unimportant and un-necessary, who now in the unsetting, in their happy life they gaze at the Saints' and the angels' face and they feel that their real praise is the place where they dwell. Consolation is necessary, though, for the living, who lie in the sadness of orphanhood …

Further down he gives a reason for his intention not to praise the war dead; Ἀδιάφορο ἢ καὶ περιττὸ τὸ ἐγκώμιο διὰ ἐκείνους: The dead do

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[22] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828", in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 57.
[23] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 218.

not need the orator's praise in Heaven. On the contrary, the surviving do need the orator's consolation.

Worshipping freedom then and now

Hence, in a speech designed mainly to be directed to the living, especially as the living in this case are fighters during the Greek Revolution, Tertsetis stresses the imperishable connection between his contemporary Greeks and their war dead on the one hand and their ancestors on the other. He refers to the glorious achievements in the Greek-Persian wars of 5th century B.C.:

(§ 8) τοὺς παλαιοὺς γεννήτοράς μας ὅταν ἐπολέμησαν τὴν βαρβαρικὴν νεότητα τῆς Ἀσίας, …[24]
(§ 8) our old progenitors when they fought against the barbarian youth of Asia, …

(§ 12) Ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἕως εἰς τὲς ἀκροθαλασσιὲς τοῦ Μαραθῶνος … Ἂν εἰς τὲς Θερμοπύλες ἤθελε σώζεται ὁ ἐπιτάφιος τῶν 300, …[25]
(§ 12) From the city of the Athenians until the seashores of Marathon … If at Thermopylae the epitaph of the 300 was saved …(§ 12) δὲν ἐμαράθηκε ἡ γῆς ὁπού πρασινίζει ἡ δάφνη τὸν νικητὴν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ δὲν ἐσίγησεν ἡ φωνή, ὁπού τοῦ ἐσύνθετε τὸν ἀγήρατον ἔπαινον.[26]
(§ 12) the land has not been withered where laurel turns the winner green at Olympia and the voice which composed the ageless praise for him has not been silenced.

(§ 14) Διατὶ δὲν ὁμοιάζομεν μὲ ἄλλους εἰ μὴ μὲ τοὺς παλαιοτάτους προγεννήτοράς μας καὶ ὅποιαν θάλασσα ἀρμένισε ἑλληνικὸ καράβι ἔγινε μιὰ Σαλαμίνα καὶ εἰς ὅσην στεριὰν ἐπολέμησε ἑλληνικὸ τουφέκι ἔγινε προσκυνητάρι ἐλευθερίας.[27]

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[24] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas, vol. II, 1967, 59.
[25] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas, vol. II, 1967, 61.
[26] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas, vol. II, 1967, 61.
[27] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 61. For a nice variation in the text, see Konomos 1984, 221: "whatever sea has been crossed by a Greek ship has become a Salamis and every land where a Greek gun has fought has become a Marathon".

(§ 14) For we are not like others, except only our ancient forefathers, and now whatever sea has been crossed by a Greek ship has become a Salamis and every land where a Greek gun has fought has become a place for worshipping freedom.

Of these bonds that tie modern Greeks with the classical Greek paragons I shall underline 'worshipping freedom' as encapsulating the historical unity. There are some striking expressions about freedom in the paragraphs preceding the 'worshipping freedom' point: firstly, the wreath image –στέφανος τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐλευθερίας (the 'wreath of Greek freedom' at § 9)− will soon develop to a comment on Pericles' view on memory and posthumous glory; secondly, the Greeks' claim to freedom, in the 1821 War of Independence, as a human natural right. This is a clear reference to one of the main aims of both the European and the Modern Greek Enlightenment.[28] It cannot remain unnoticed that Tertsetis is thinking of natural rights, which were a great pursuit of the movement of the Enlightenment, in terms of Periclean thought and diction (see underlined words):

(§ 10) Μὲ ἔργον ἐκήρυτταν τὸ φυσικὸν δικαίωμα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ἐδίδασκαν ὅτι ὄχι μὲ παράκλησες ἢ μὲ γυναικοκλάϋματα σώζεται ἡ ἐλευθερία, ἀλλὰ μὲ τὸ φιλοκίνδυνο τῆς ἀνδρείας. (§ 10) In action they asserted the natural right of humanity, which is freedom, and they taught that freedom is achieved not with requests or with the tears of women, but through the hazards of valour. Freedom is imaged by Tertsetis as the country for which they are fighting, so freedom and Greece are identical:

(§ 13) Ὦ Ἕλληνες! Ὦ μακάριοι ὁποὺ ἔχομεν τοιοῦτον ὄνομα! Διότι εἶναι ἀποδεδειγμένον, ὅτι ἡ πατρίδα τοῦ Ἕλληνος σὰν καὶ ἄλλοτε εἰς τοὺς παλαιοὺς καιροὺς εἶναι ἡ ἐλευθερία. Καὶ ἡ μεγαλοψυχία ἄοκνη συνοδεία του, διὰ νὰ βοηθιέται τέτοια πατρίδα εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους καὶ νὰ εὐτυχεῖ …[29]

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[28] 'Modern Greek Enlightenment', 'Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός', is a term coined by C. Th. Dimaras in order to describe the intellectual and philosophical movement from the second half of the 18th century until the Greek Revolution of 1821, as an out-turn of the European Enlightenment. See Dimaras 1977; Kitromilides 2013.

[29] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828", in Konomos 1984, 221.

§ 13 Oh, Greeks! How happy we are, having such a name! For it is proven, that <u>freedom</u> is the Greek's homeland, as formerly in ancient times. And <u>valour</u> is its tireless companion, so that such a homeland is aided when in danger and may accordingly flourish …

Tertsetis has established the bond between the generation of the Greek War of Independence and the ancient Greeks, and at the same time he has pointed out the triptych 'valour-freedom-happiness', well-known from Pericles' *Funeral Oration* in Thucydides 2.43.4: Τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον.[30]

The triptych, repeated in the aforementioned passages from paragraphs 10 and 13, gives the answer to the agonizing question expressed by Tertsetis in a later speech: Πότε θὰ εὐτυχήσωμεν εἰς Πατρίδα εὐτυχισμένη; Πότε θὰ χαροῦμεν ἀσυγνέφιαστην τὴν γλυκειὰν ἐλευθερίαν; (When are we going to be happy in a happy homeland? When are we going to enjoy sweet freedom with no cloud?)[31]

As the speech goes on, we come across the same words again. Thus, in § 18 the sorrowful comrades are urged to cherish valour (ἀνδρεία):

(§ 18) Ὦ συμπατριῶται, τιμᾶτε τὴν ἀνδρείαν, διότι δὲν εἶναι εὐμορφότερο στολίδι ἀπὸ αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν νεότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
(§ 18) Oh, compatriots, do honour <u>valour</u>, for there is no ornament more beautiful than this in human youth.

However, this invitation is not being made by Tertsetis himself, but by the dead fighters of the battle of Athens of the previous year. For as he comes to the most affecting part of his speech, Tertsetis dramatizes it. This is a device which he often does use in his speeches.[32] The

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[30] Jones & Powell 1942.

[31] See Tertsetis, "Λόγος 12.5.1868", in Konomos 1984, 624.

[32] On modern Greek rhetoric and a 17th–19th c. anthology of treatises on rhetoric, see Chatzoglou-Balta 2008, *passim;* p. 115: the "rules for arousing passions" from Ch. Pamboukis' treatise (ed. 1857); pp. 113–114: the chapter "Ways of arousing passions" from I. N. Stamatelos' treatise (ed. 1862); pp. 68–69: Alexandros Mavrokordatos' text "On voice and dramatization"; about the orator changing his voice and using his eyes, hand, arms and his whole body, in order to place emphasis on his words; p. 97: Neophytos Doukas' text "On Dramatizing" (Περὶ Ὑποκρίσεως), that is the orator using

scholar Konstantinos Tsatsos, in his book on modern Greek rhetoric has adroitly associated the arts of drama and rhetoric.[33] Tertsetis, understanding this association, blends in actual practice 'dramatic' techniques with rhetoric. He presents the dead war-soldiers as speaking directly to their mourning comrades. And wherever Tertsetis chooses this effective means of emotional vividness, it is not perfunctorily done. The deceased speak at length, in the Mytikas speech their words extending from § 18 until § 21. In fact, Tertsetis chooses not to relinquish the strong feeling which this technique evokes, and the direct speech of the dead fighters extends almost until the end of the oration, leaving out only the very last paragraph, which occupies just three lines. The speech ends, then, at this moment of the audience's most compelled attention, both intellectual and emotional.

Therefore it is the dead war-soldiers themselves who make the striking repetition of the three of the Periclean notions we have seen above –happiness, freedom, valour:

(§ 18) … Ἡμεῖς εἴδαμε ὅτι εὐτυχία τοῦ τόπου μας εἶναι ἡ ἐλευθερία. Καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία δὲν ἀποκτιέται πάρεξ μὲ τὴν μεγαλοψυχία.[34]
(§ 18) We saw that freedom is the happiness of our country. And freedom is not achieved except with courage.

I have pointed out above several passages in the speech at Mytikas, where the audience is referred to Thucydides 2.43.4. This particular

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the shape of his own body in addition to his voice. Cf. A. Glykofrydi-Leontsini 1989, 75–80.

[33] Tsatsos 1980, introd., p. ιε´ (15): 'the orator's intention is to persuade, not to write a perfect literary text. And he usually wants to persuade as many as possible. For that reason, he has to comply with their psychology and to form his style so that his audience is moved by it. This element, as well as the element of acting, brings rhetoric very close to the art of drama. […] The lyrical poet may be writing for himself; the dramatical poet writes for an audience, which he wants to move, exactly as the orator writes or speaks in order to move an audience, as well. That's why there are some common bonds between the dramatical poet and the orator, some common psychological dependence, which are due to the direct relation of drama and rhetoric with their listeners.'

[34] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828", in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 63 §18.

passage from § 18, though, is a literal transposition of the famous Periclean passage into modern Greek. Both the words and the syntax come directly from Thucydides 2.43.4. Tertsetis might have wished to make clear to his audience the meaning of the Periclean phrase, which has been so intense and memorable due to its frugality −three words only: τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ’ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον. He explains the associations among the three words and supplies the verbs which, unless Pericles had omitted them, would help impart easily these associations even to those in the audience who were not readers of Thucydides. Thus, happiness results from freedom, and freedom results from valour. Such a concise account of the fruits ensured from fighting for freedom is sure to be heard again from Tertsetis, as he often turns to Pericles for his audience's inspiration. As we shall see, the speech for Hypsilantis deals with this concise life lesson once again.

It is important to point out here that in addition to having linked 'freedom now' to 'freedom then', Tertsetis renders a Christian quality to the remarkable phrase 'a place for worshipping freedom' (προσκυνητάρι ἐλευθερίας) in § 14, putting together freedom and religious piety. For προσκυνῶ is not just 'to worship'; it is the movement of bending one's body to show reverence before a saint depicted in an icon, or before God during the Holy Liturgy in the Orthodox Church. A 'προσκυνητάρι' in the Greek Orthodox Church is an elaborate stand upon which an icon is placed. So Tertsetis is attesting the holiness of freedom existing in the modern Greek mind; hence the awe, belief and worship that freedom inspires, just as a saintly figure does. This Greek Orthodox attitude has formed, to a great extent, as we shall see below, the view of Tertsetis on Pericles' impressive statement that the whole of earth is the tomb for famous men.

Tertsetis' disagreement on Pericles' 'memory as a tomb'

Nor is Pericles only allusively present, in the Mytikas speech, through the passages that echo Thucydides. Tertsetis mentions Pericles by name in § 16, where he comments on his famous saying that the whole earth is the tomb of famous men (Thuc. 2.43.3). The moment Pericles' name is heard, the view that Tertsetis holds on immortality for the war dead has

already been expressed clearly. At the end of § 15 he exhorted his comrades ('Let us not lament them') and immediately afterwards he uttered a strong belief with absolute certainty ('because they have not died, but they live'):

> (§ 15) Μὴν τοὺς κλαίομεν, διατὶ δὲν ἀπέθαναν, ἀλλὰ ζοῦν, καὶ ἃς μὴ θαρρεῖ τινὰς πὼς πλαστός, ρητορικὸς εἶναι ὁ λόγος μας, ἐννοώντας διὰ ζωήν τους ὅτι οἱ τωρινοὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ μεταγενέστερα ἔθνη ἄκοπα θὰ τοὺς ἔχουν εἰς τὰ χείλη, ἂν αὐτὸ συνέβη ἢ ὄχι ἀδιάφορον.[35]
> (§ 15) Let us not lament them, because they have not died, but they live, and let not someone think that our word is counterfeit, rhetorical, meaning by 'their life' that people nowadays as well as future nations will have them in their lips continually; if this has happened or not, it is unimportant.

This exhortation is in the explicit direction of undermining Pericles' well-known statement, according to which ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν […] τάφος is the whole earth because everywhere there is ἄγραφος μνήμη; people remember the famous men and their deeds, and by being remembered posthumously they are granted immortality. So, apart from the small material tomb built for the famous men in their homeland, people's memory in all places will constitute another tomb for those being famous, as they exist, they 'lie' there, too.[36]

Apparently, Thucydides has recorded Pericles speaking of the renowned ὑστεροφημία, the precious reward of the heroic era, expressed by Pericles in a most concise and unparalleled way. Very apt is Deborah Steiner's comment 'κλέος is the sounding glory that can exist quite divorced from the visible monument, and which from epic poetry on enjoys precisely the audibility and mobility denied to the rooted stone'.[37] Having discussed about the Athenian soldiers, who received praise that

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[35] In Konomos 1984, 221.

[36] See Hornblower 1991, 312; Loreaux 1986, 41.

[37] Steiner 1999, 386. Speaking of what is denied to the rooted stone for the war dead, it sounds as if Steiner referred to Pericles' *Funeral Oration*; she discusses an epigram, though, −Simonides fr. 531, τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων− from which she claims that Pericles borrows extensively, especially in Thuc. 2.43.2.

does not grow old: ἀγήρων ἔπαινον, she concludes, 'so now the orator describes his eternally youthful ἔπαινος as the second, and more conspicuous, grave that the Athenians have won'.[38]

This very important ancient Greek idea of a social, I may say, kind of immortality, is clearly considered by Tertsetis as πλαστός, ῥητορικὸς λόγος. And then a new exhortation follows, aiming at utterly deconstructing Pericles' words well before introducing him in the speech by name. Tertsetis commented on Thucydides 2.43.3 in a sharp way, urging his audience not to regard somebody's glory from numerous nations as a 'valuable immortality' (Καὶ ἂς μὴ μᾶς φαίνεται πολύτιμη ἀθανασία νὰ δοξάζεται τινὰς ἀπὸ ἄπειρα ἔθνη). He argued that those numerous nations include some individuals, e.g. low characters, from whom the individual praise or glory we would regard as neither valuable nor appreciate. So, nor should we appreciate the collective praise.

The point made here is the unavoidable distance of Pericles from the Christian thought, which makes his famed statement (ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος) seem flawed:

(§ 16) Συγχωρημένο ἦτον εἰς τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, εἰς τὸν εὔγλωττον Περικλῆ νὰ λέγει ὅτι μνῆμα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ὅλη ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὅλα στέκουν γύρω εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ μνῆμα καὶ ζοῦν οἱ δοξασμένοι ἄνδρες ὅσο βαστᾷ ἡ πλάσις. Διὰ ἐμᾶς ἡ ἀθανασία μας εἶναι ἡ μακαρία μέλλουσα ζωή, … Ναί, μὰ τοὺς κόπους τους διὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἐλευθερία, ναί, μὰ τὲς κατοικίες τῶν δικαίων, ὀμνύω ὅτι ζοῦν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅπου εἶναι μᾶς βλέπουν καὶ καρποῦνται τὴν ἀθάνατην μακαριότητα καὶ ἀκούουν τὲς ἀγγελικὲς μελῳδίες νὰ τοὺς λέγουν: Χαρῆτε δίκαιοι εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πλάστου σας. Ὄχι, δὲν ἔχει ἡ ζῆσις του(ς) σύνορο στὸ τέλος τῆς πλάσεως. Καὶ ὅταν τὰ περίλαμπρα θεμέλια καὶ τείχη τοῦ κόσμου σωριασθοῦν, αὐτοὶ θὰ ἔχουν μέρος εἰς τὸν θρίαμβον τοῦ Σωτῆρος.[39]

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[38] Steiner 1999, 389; see also Nannini 2016, 12.

[39] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828", in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 62 §16. The phrase Συγχωρημένο ἦτον does not mean, I think, that God did forgive Pericles, but rather that we should forgive him. As to the phrase κατοικίες τῶν δικαίων, it refers to ἐν σκηναῖς δικαίων from *Psalm* 117, 15.1-2: φωνὴ ἀγαλλιάσεως καὶ σωτηρίας ἐν σκηναῖς δικαίων (ed. Rahlfs & Stuttgart 1935 [repr. 1971]).

(§ 16) It was forgiven to the admirable man of Athens, to eloquent Pericles, his saying that the whole earth is the tomb of famous men, that all nations stand round this tomb, and that those glorious men live as long as the Creation lasts. For us our immortality is the blissful future life, … Yes, by their labours for Greek freedom; yes, by the houses of the righteous, I swear that they live, that from where they are they see us, and that they reap the immortal bliss and hear the angelic melodies saying to them: 'Delight, you who are just, in the presence of your Creator.' No, their life has no border at the end of the Creation. Even when the brilliant foundations and walls of the world collapse, they are going to participate in the triumph of the Saviour.

In § 9, Tertsetis addresses Greece –'Oh, land of Christianity, oh land of the Greeks!' (Ὦ γῆ τῆς χριστιανοσύνης, ὦ γῆ τῶν Ἑλλήνων!)– and by reaching §16, both audience and readers are well aware that for them, Greek Christians, immortality is not thought of in terms of this world, of this γῆ. Πᾶσα γῆ is not the place where immortality is granted. Heavens is the place, in the company of God and His saints.

Pericles' ignorance of the immortality of human soul, which is the main idea in the Orthodox Christian Creed, will be called the 'imperfection' of the funeral oration of 430 B.C. by Tertsetis, in his aforementioned lecture on the eloquence of the members of Parliament in 1846: This imperfection is that wise Pericles … does not know, does not surmise, does not conjecture the immortality of the soul, this divine patriotism of the Christians' soul. In Pericles' speech, matter decorates matter, the flowers of earth decorate the statue of death. The great Athenian does not go beyond that. [40]

Tertsetis will then call on his audience not to blame the ancestors for their ignorance of immortality and will urge them to feel lucky deep in their hearts for being born in the era of light and truth, meaning the Christian era.[41]

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[40] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 291.
[41] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 291.

The wreath-metaphor or Greek flowers in God's garden

After addressing Greece as the land of Christianity, Tertsetis deals with the sacredness of the Greek armed struggle (Ἱερὰ ἐστάθηκαν τὰ ἄρματά σου) and proceeds to a brief and poignant account of Greek slavery and the sufferings of the people. A wild race came from a foreign land (Ἦλθεν ἀπὸ ξένη στεριὰ ἄγρια φυλή), wild vanquishers who left no other homeland to the children of Greece, but the one they can hope for, with the use of lead (i.e. ammunition) and swords. This especially strong statement is directly followed by a pictorial description of a wreath of Greek freedom decorated with never withering, eternal flower blossoms from the bright and green places of Paradise. The children of Greece fight holding their swords, they are killed and as a result they become flowers in Paradise, ornaments in the wreath of Greek freedom:

> (§ 9) Καὶ ὁ στέφανος τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐλευθερίας δὲν θὰ στολίζεται ἀπὸ ἄνθη ἀναστημένα ἀπὸ χέρι θνητό, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ἀμάραντα αἰώνια, φυτευμένα ἀπὸ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὰ φωτεινὰ μέρη τοῦ Παραδείσου.

> (§ 9) And the wreath of Greek freedom will not be decorated with blossoms grown by a mortal hand, but with unwithered, everlasting ones, planted by the Word (Logos) of God in the bright places of Paradise.[42]

In the elaborate wreath-metaphor of § 9 in the Mytikas speech, in two or three lines packed with vocabulary of the polarity between mortality-decay and immortality-eternal bloom, there comes a word, a verbal form in demotic language, asking to be taken in with two meanings and enhancing the metaphor:

> *blossoms* ἀναστημένα *from a mortal hand*
> *(blossoms) unwithered, eternal, planted by the Word of God*

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[42] The 'bright places of Paradise' are reminiscent of the passage from the *Euchologia* (39.2.66-70) of the Orthodox Church, which is almost identical with the Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος, read at the funeral service: ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ, ed. Goar, Venice 1730 (repr. Graz 1960).

Ἀναστημένα is used in its metaphorical, parenting meaning in modern Greek: ἀνασταίνω a child is 'to raise a child'. In the same paragraph, when Tertsetis mentions the sufferings of the Greek people on the land of Christianity under the Turkish occupation, he refers to the Ottoman practice of Devshirme by saying that καὶ τέκνα σου ἀναστήθηκαν εἰς τὴν ἄρνησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος (and children of yours were raised so as to refuse Christening).[43] Therefore the verb here being superficially used of the care given in growing a plant and bringing it into blossom, at the same time it serves the function of the wreath-metaphor: indeed, it is not about flowers we are talking about, but about young soldiers, who were brought up not by mortal parents, but by Λόγος, the son of God.

There is a modern Greek folk type of prayers, very likely to have been heard in Zante, which starts with the following end-rhyming verses:[44]

Ἀπὸ τὴ μάνα μου γεννημένος-η / ἀπ' τὸν Χριστὸ ἀναστημένος-η
[From my mother I was born / by Christ I was raised]

The flowers in the wreath of Greek freedom were, as in the above folk prayers, ἀπ' τὸν Χριστὸ ἀναστημένα. They were both raised and resurrected by Christ, in the sense of having an eternal life, as Tertsetis means it when in § 20 his deceased say '*the time you say that we died, we resurrected, and we have Heaven as our happy dwelling*'.

It is interesting and pleasing for an attentive audience to see that not only did Tertsetis choose his diction with special care, but he also made the most of his chosen words in all possible terms –of significance, of allusiveness, of poeticism, of Christian faith, of linguistic strength of genuine Modern Greek people's language. Most importantly, the lines

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[43] See Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 292: τὴν θρησκείαν, ἡ ὁποία μὲ αὐτὸ τὸ γάλα μᾶς ἐβύζασε καὶ μᾶς ἀνάστησε (the religion, which with this milk breast-fed and raised us); 335: (the spirit of Greece talking) τὸ βύζασμά μου σᾶς ποτίζει φαρμάκι, λέγουν, τὸ γάλα ποὺ ἀνάστησε Πλάτωνα καὶ Λεωνίδα (my breast-feeding feeds you poison, they say, the milk which raised Plato and Leonidas).

[44] This prayer my grandmother used to say and it was taken over by my mother. I do not know whether it is widely spread in Greece, but it may be of some importance that my grandmother's parents came from Zante, as Tertsetis did. The case might be that he was familiar with this folk prayer and with the verse ἀπ' τὸν Χριστὸ ἀναστημένος-η.

in the aforementioned passage carry the creativity of a writer and the philosophy of a believer.

The wreath-metaphor in § 9 contains imagery, diction and content which Tertsetis is going to use in another wreath image, in his 1846 lecture on eloquence and in a flower-metaphor in 1856. In the 1846 lecture, there comes directly after the comment, previously mentioned, on the Periclean 'imperfection', the following imagery:

> Δὲν μυρίσθηκαν ποτὲ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τὰ ἄνθη μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα ἡμεῖς στολίζομεν τοὺς ἀπεθαμένους μας. Τὰ στέφανα τὰ ὁποῖα καρπολογοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀειθαλεῖς κήπους τοῦ Παραδείσου.[45]

> (Ancient [sc. Greeks] never smelt the flowers with which we adorn our dead. (sc. They never smelt) the wreaths for which we harvest fruit from the ever-blooming gardens of Paradise).

The personal pronoun in the phrases 'we adorn our dead' and 'we harvest fruit' stands for the Greek Orthodox people who lead a life based on their cultural tradition and on faith. More than that, Tertsetis speaks of the Greek Orthodox experience, the real-life knowledge of Christianity. In Greece flowers are used to adorn the dead at the religious burial ceremony; people also use flowers in churches to adorn the dead Jesus Christ in his Epitaphios on Good Friday, expecting the Resurrection.[46] Our ancestors could not have smelt these flowers –Tertsetis is right.

The flower-metaphor of 1856 uses a double imperative of the verb 'to love' and between the two imperatives there is a worth-noting sentence: εἶσαι ἐσὺ ἕνα (sc. ἄνθος) (you are one [sc. flower]). We note an effective inversion of the common subject-verb order; the effect is enhanced by the metaphorical content of the sentence and also its structure, consisting of only three two-syllable words which repeat two vowel sounds /i-e/ (εἶσαι) and /e-i/ (ἐσὺ), followed by /e/ (ἕνα):

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[45] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 291.

[46] The *Epitaphios* is a Christian religious icon of Jesus Christ lying dead, elaborately embroidered on a cloth.

άγάπα τὰ ἄνθη, εἶσαι ἐσὺ ἕνα, πάρε παράδειγμα, ἀγάπα τὰ ἄνθη ποὺ
ὑπόσχονται καρπούς, καὶ τῶν ὁποίων ἡ χλωρὴ ῥίζα δὲν ἐμαράνθη
ποτέ, οὔτε εἰς τὲς βαρυχειμωνιὲς τῶν αἰώνων, οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν ποδοβολὴν
ἀσπλάγχνων ἐχθρῶν[47]

do love flowers, for you are one, for example, do love flowers which
promise fruit, and the fresh root of which was never withered, neither
in the harsh winters of the centuries, nor due to the violent steps of
merciless enemies.

In thinking of the young Greek fighters as flower blossoms, Tertsetis
may be influenced by Pericles and his less known funeral oration for
the Athenian soldiers who were killed during the Samian War. Pericles
thought of those Athenian youths as the season of spring, which was lost
from that particular year.[48] This was certainly a very moving thing to say
in a funeral oration, especially as in the funeral oration of 430 B.C., in
Thucydides, the young age of the deceased was not stressed, as Horn-
blower has pointed out.[49]

Not only did Tertsetis know the spring-simile expressed by Pericles
and recorded by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*, but he often uses it in his
speeches, as of the Greek nation being the spring in human race;[50] of
the youths of a nation being the spring in the year;[51] of the French youth
being the evergreen springtime of the European civilization.[52] Above all,
he quotes Plutarch in his 1846 lecture on eloquence:

Ὁ Περικλῆς εἰς ἄλλον του λόγον εἶχε εἰπεῖ ὄχι, ὡς φαίνεται, εἰς αὐτὸν
ποὺ θὰ ἀναγνώσω, εἶχε εἰπεῖ ὅτι, νὰ ὑστερήσεις μίαν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοὺς

[47] Tertsetis, "Προλεγόμενα εἰς τοὺς γάμους τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου" [Prologue to the wed-
ding of Alexander the Great] (1856), in Konomos 1984, 509.

[48] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1365a, 31-33: Περικλῆς τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λέγων, τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς
πόλεως ἀνηρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαιρεθείη (ed. Ross 1959).

[49] Hornblower 2006, 546.

[50] Tertsetis, "Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως (1846)" (Speech on the feast of
the Transfiguration [1846]), in Konomos 1984, 320.

[51] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 286.

[52] Tertsetis, "Στὸν Κάρολο Λενορμὰν (Πρόποση 1859)" (To Charles Lenormant [A toast
1859]), in Konomos 1984, 558.

νέους της εἶναι ὡς νὰ σηκώσεις, νὰ ἐξαλείψεις τὴν ἄνοιξιν ἀπὸ τὸ ἔτος καὶ νὰμείνει δριμὺς χειμώνας.[53]

Pericles, in another speech of his, said, not, as it seems, in the one which I am going to read, said that, to deprive a city of its youths is like taking away, eliminating spring from the year and leaving harsh winter behind.

The ancient Athenian youths were a lost spring. The contemporary youths are flowers comprising the wreath of Greek freedom; not lost though, but eternal; not mortal, but in Paradise.

"Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος εἰς Δημήτριον Ὑψηλάντην, 1832)"[54]
(Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis, 1832)
'One of the finest characters of our revolution'

On 13th August 1832, subscribers to the *Ἐθνικὴ Ἐφημερίς* would read a speech by Tertsetis, written for the great army officer and leader in the Greek War of Independence, Dimitrios Hypsilantis, who died in Nafplion on 5th August 1832. Such great respect was felt by Tertsetis for this man, that he introduces him with the words 'on the traces of the Heroes the glorious Greek walked'[55] and compares him to the victorious athletes in the ancient games at Olympia and Nemea. But the wreath which crowns Hypsilantis, we read, has more glorious blossoms than any wreath that ever crowned an Olympic athlete. He was, in summary,

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[53] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 286

[54] Tertsetis, "Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος εἰς Δημήτριον Ὑψηλάντην" (1832) (Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis), in in Konomos 1984, 246; also in Valetas 1967, vol. III, 343–344, with the following note: 'Under the title '"Ἕτερος λόγος ἐπιτάφιος εἰς Δ. Ὑψηλάντην συντεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Γ. Τερτσέτου (Another funeral eulogy for D. Hypsilantis composed by Mr G. Tertsetis) was published in the *National Newspaper* (Nafplion, 13 August 1832, p. 181 α-β, after the speech by M. Schinas. The funeral of Hypsilantis (August 1832) took place in Nafplion, where the speech was delivered (sc. by Schinas)

[55] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis", in Konomos 1984, 246.

a remarkable man, ἐκ τῶν ὡραιοτέρων χαρακτήρων τῆς ἐπαναστάσεώς μας (one of the finest characters of our revolution).[56]

ʽΝὰ τὴν ἀγαπᾶτε μὲ καρδίαν ʼ

At the time when Tertsetis composed this funeral eulogy, he was a history teacher at the Military School at Nafplion, doing his best to inspire in the young cadets a deep love for their homeland. Habitually he would refer them to Pericles' *Funeral Oration* and his exhortation to the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. II, 43.1): ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς.[57]

"Love her as lovers" is the exhortation of Pericles to the Athenians. While reading Pericles' *Funeral Oration* to his audience in 1846, when reaching the Periclean passage about the citizens-lovers, he voices: νὰ τὴν ἀγαπᾶτε μὲ καρδίαν.[58] Teaching his students about Thucydides and Pericles must surely have kept the (pre-existing, as the 1828 speech at Mytikas proves) intellectual relationship of Tertsetis with both men fully alive, and it is very likely that his work on Thucydides had given him the material and some inspiration for this funeral eulogy.

In the funeral oration for Hypsilantis, the glorious deceased appears to be such a lover of his homeland, as the ancient Athenians were:

Ἔρως ἀκατάσχετος νὰ ἰδῇ τὸ ἔθνος του ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἔνδοξον φαίνεται ὅτι κατέφλεξε τὰς φρένας καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ γενναίου αὐτοῦ Ἕλληνος.[59]

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[56] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis" (1823), in Konomos 1984, 246.

[57] See Hornblower 1991, 311, comm. ibid.; Hornblower 2006, 544, comm. ibid.; Gomme 1956, 136: "This idealistic passage […] someone had made the use popular; and who more likely than Pericles?" Aristophanes makes fun of the Periclean thought at *Knights* 1341-1342: Δῆμ᾽, ἐραστής εἰμι σὸς φιλῶ τέ σε ⁄ καὶ κήδομαί σου; *Birds* 1279: ὅσους τ᾽ἐραστὰς τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἔχεις (ed. Wilson 2007). See Hornblower 1991, 311 n. 21; Gomme 1956, 136: "Aristophanes mocks the use of ἐραστής in politics."

[58] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 289.

[59] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis" (1823), in Konomos 1984, 246.

An unrestrainable passion to see his nation free and glorious seems to have fired the mind and heart of this brave Greek.

The phrase Ἔρως ἀκατάσχετος is a very striking one, and must have been difficult for the audience to forget. Ancient Greek texts, as the search in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* produces, commonly speak of ἀκατάσχετα δάκρυα or ἀκατάσχετος ὁρμή, of tears or impetus that cannot be held back; in Modern Greek, we speak of ακατάσχετη αιμορραγία, an 'unstoppable haemorrhage'. But ἔρως ἀκατάσχετος is a rare collocationand it carries vividness suited to a speech by a poet such as Tertsetis indeed was. As Angelos Vlahos has expressed it, οἱ λόγοι του πάντες ἦσαν ποιήματα μᾶλλον ἐν πεζῷ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργα ῥητορικὰ (all of his speeches were more poems written in prose than rhetorical works).[60]

Not only is the Periclean idea of love for one's homeland in use here, as in his lessons, but also the phrase κατέφλεξε τὴν καρδίαν comes from his first lesson in the Military School:[61]

Ὦ πόσον ὡραία πατρίδα ἡ φύσις μᾶς ἐχάρισεν, ὦ βλαστοὶ καλῆς γῆς! Ἂν δὲν σᾶς ἐγνώριζα ἀρκετὰ φλεγομένους ἀπὸ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτα, καὶ ἐπεθύμουν νὰ σᾶς καταφλέξω ἔτι μᾶλλον …

Oh, how beautiful homeland nature has given us, oh shoots of a good land! If I did not know you as being quite on fire due to your eros to her, and I had the desire to set fire to you even more …

The captivating verb καταφλέγω expresses very effectively the Periclean thought of the citizen as a lover of the city.

[60] A citation from the memorial service speech for Georgios Markos Tertsetis one year after his death, in 1875. Vlahos (1966, 404) said that although we keep in our souls Tertsetis as the national orator, he was naturally a poet.

[61] The lesson, with no title, but with an introductory note, was published in the *National Newspaper* 15 (8 June 1832) 82–83. It was published under the title *Ἱστορικὰ μαθήματα: Α΄ Ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς ἱστορίας* (Historical lessons: Α΄ The utility of History) in Valetas, vol. III, 1967, 345–347; titled *Ἀποσπάσματα μαθημάτων στὴ Σχολὴ Εὐελπίδων* (1832) (Fragments of lessons at the Military School [1832]) in Konomos 1984, 235–238.

Once again, the Periclean triptych 'happiness-freedom-valour'

The influence of Pericles is obvious once again when we read about the valour of Hypsilantis and his love of freedom:

> Ἡ περίφημος αὕτη γενναιότης εἰς τὰ πεδία τῆς μάχης, καὶ τὸ ἀψευδὲς τῆς φιλελευθερίας του, εἶναι μνημεῖα περιφανῆ, τὰ ὁποῖα μαρτυροῦν ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἐθεώρει τὴν <u>εὐτυχίαν</u> τῆς πατρίδος του εἰς τὴν <u>ἀνεξαρτησίαν</u> της, ἡ δὲ <u>ἀνεξαρτησία</u> της ἐνόμιζεν ὅτι δὲν ἀπεκτᾶτο, εἰμὴ διὰ μέσου <u>ἐπικινδύνων ἀγώνων</u> καὶ διὰ τῆς <u>μεγαλοψυχίας</u> τοῦ πολίτου.
> Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐρωτῶ: ἀπὸ ποῖον τῶν παλαιῶν ἐνδόξων συμπολιτῶν του δύναται νὰ λογισθῇ ὑποδεέστερος; Καί: τίς τῶν Μαραθωνίων ἢ Σαλαμινίων δὲν ἤθελε τὸν παραδεχθῇ, καὶ δὲν ἤθελε τὸν ὁμολογήσει σύντροφον καὶ συναγωνιστήν του; Μετὰ παρέλευσιν πολλῶν αἰώνων θέλουν θεωρηθεῖ ὡς ἥρωες τῆς αὐτῆς ἐποχῆς ὁ Ὑψηλάντης καὶ ὁ Κίμων.[62]

This supreme valour in the battlefield, and the purity of his love for freedom, are famous monuments, which testify that this man saw the happiness of his homeland in her independence, and believed that her independence could only be acquired through hazardous encounters and through the magnanimity of her citizens.

> Hence, I ask: lower than which of his ancient glorious fellow-citizens can he be considered? And, which of the fighters at Marathon or Salamis would not wish to avow him as comrade and co-warrior? When many centuries have elapsed, Hypsilantis and Cimon will be regarded as heroes of the same era.

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[62] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis" (1823), in Konomos 1984, 246. For a similar thought, see Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1846), in Konomos 1984, 282: 'Respectable Chateaubriand in a text of his approximately in year 1827 writes that Themistocles and the other fighters at Salamis would accept Admiral Andreas Miaoulis as a genuine co-fighter of theirs, and he is right. But I risk to say, gentlemen, that Miaoulis knew so much of Themistocles as Themistocles did of Miaoulis. This ignorance of ancient history, though, did not prevent the man of Hydra to do in the Fight as much as Themistocles did in the wars of Greece against barbarians'.

The above passage recalls to the reader's mind the emblematic statement of Pericles, which I have quoted before (Thuc. 2.43.4): τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον κρίναντες μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους. It is not only the vocabulary used or its meaning, but also the structure of the passages that unite them. Very characteristic in the speech for Hypsilantis is the repetition of the word "ανεξαρτησία" (independence), corresponding to the repetition of the word "ἐλεύθερον" in Thucydides.

The table below contains the similarities in diction between the triptych 'happiness-freedom-valour' uttered by Pericles in his *Funeral Oration* recorded by Thucydides and as emitted by Tertsetis in both his Mytikas speech and his eulogy for Hypsilantis:

Pericles, *Funeral Oration* (Thuc. 2.43)	Tertsetis, "Speech at the Mytikas military camp" (1828)	Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis" (1832)"
Εὔδαιμον	*Εὐτυχία*	*Εὐτυχία*
Ἐλεύθερον	*Ἐλευθερία*	*Ἀνεξαρτησίαν*
Ἐλεύθερον	*Ἐλευθερία*	*Ἀνεξαρτησία*
Εὔψυχον	*Μεγαλοψυχία*	*Μεγαλοψυχία*
πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους		*ἐπικινδύνων ἀγώνων*

Having lived according to the Periclean triptych 'happiness-freedom-valour', he gets accepted by the 5th century B.C. Greek fighters as their contemporary co-warrior and together with Cimon, after centuries, he will enjoy heroic fame and glory. It is not odd that Hypsilantis is thought of as a hero of the classical times, for, as mentioned above, 'we are not like others, except only our ancient forefathers.'[63] What is certainly interesting is the choice of the ancient comrade of Hypsilantis. Cimon has been several times distinguished and praised by Tertsetis.[64] His choice is uinteresting, because he appears –in Plutarch, whom

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[63] Tertsetis, "Speech of 1828" in Valetas 1967, vol. II, 61 §14.

[64] Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1848), in Konomos 1984, 335, where the spirit of Greece calls him a genuine son of hers: Γνήσιος υἱός μου ἐμέ; Tertsetis, "Λόγος σὲ νέους

Tertsetis quotes− as the 'anti-Pericles' figure in terms of working for concord or discord, which is a topic of crucial importance for Tertsetis. Cimon, son of Miltiades,[65] a general and admiral himself, died in Cyprus triumphing over the Persian fleet. Tertsetis narrates elsewhere in great detail how Cimon's sister, Elpinice, insulting, and yet courageous, held Pericles responsible for the loss of a lot of valiant citizens (ἡμῖν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπώλεσας πολίτας) by destroying a σύμμαχον καὶ συγγενῆ πόλιν, Samos, a member of the Delian League, unlike her brother who had fought the Persians.[66] Tertsetis takes the side of Elpinice, stressing that her voice remains in history as 'a frightful protest against the first statesman' (διαμαρτύρησις τρομερὰ κατὰ τοῦ πρώτου πολιτικοῦ ἀνδρός), while history cares very little about the out of focus reply of Pericles.[67] Cimon has been established –by his sister, and also by Tertsetis, for the sake of his audience− as the example of a fighting leader, driven by a morally justified reason and not by discord.

'How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?'

About the ἐνταφιαζόμενος στρατηγός, the general about to be buried, there are more Periclean ideas for the audience to hear:

σπουδαστές" (1831) (Speech to young students [1831], in Konomos 1984, 229: ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς μεγαλοπρεπέστερο τέκνο); Tertsetis, "Δέκα παραδόσεις δημοσίου δικαίου" (1853) (Ten lectures on public law [1853]), in Konomos 1984, 474, where Cimon is together with Pericles, both holding the threads of Themistocles' plan.

[65] Cimon's renowned father, Miltiades, led the Athenian army to victory over the Persian invaders at the battle of Marathon at 490B.C.; Plutarch, *Cimon*; On Cimon, see Develin 1989, 72; David Stuttard has written an interesting book on Miltiades and Cimon and admits the difficulty he faced due to lack of information surviving from antiquity about the two men; He goes on to question the correctness of Cornelius Nepos' and Plutarch's *Lives* of Miltiades and Cimon respectively (Stuttard 2021, 8): 'At the same time, it is not just possible, but likely that at least some of the "facts" recorded in our literary sources are invention−a forensic scholarly approach to Nepos' *Life of Miltiades* or Plutarch's *Life of Cimon* can leave us wondering whether they contain much of any value whatsoever.'

[66] Plutarch, *Pericles* 28.6 (ed. Ziegler 1964).

[67] See the ingemination of Plutarch's narration of Elpinice's protest and the out of focus reply of Pericles in Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1846), in Konomos 1984, 284.

ἡ δὲ γῆ πᾶσα θέλει κατασταθεῖ τοῦ λοιποῦ θέατρον τῶν ἐπαίνων του, διότι ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ θανάτου τῶν μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἡ σφραγὶς τῆς ἀθανασίας των εἰς τὴν γῆν.[68]

the whole earth is going to constitute from now on a place in which to praise him, for the day of death of great men is the impress, upon this earth, of their immortality.

What we read is a paraphrase and at the same time a nice interpretation, or rather clarification, of the well-known ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος from Pericles' *Funeral Oration* (Thuc. 2.43.3). Like Pericles, Tertsetis regards the human memory as keeping alive the revered dead, and in this way memory offers immortality. Pericles' 'memory as a tomb' is here recast in the form 'memory as immortality'.

Pericles secures immortality in the 1846 lecture of Tertsetis, too. There, the power of speech is compared to a material praise (the old λόγος–ἔργον contrast, also occurring in Pericles' *Funeral Oration*)[69] and in his rhetorical question whether there are surviving μνημεῖα, fragments of ancient τάφοι of war dead, the negative answer was given emphatically:

Ἐγώ, κύριοι, δὲν βλέπω οὔτε τὴν σκόνη τῶν μαρμάρων. Εὐτυχισμένοι ὅμως οἱ θανατωμένοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅσοι ἀποζημιώνονται διὰ αἰώνας αἰώνων ἀπὸ τὴν εὐγλωττίαν τοῦ Περικλέους.[70]

I, gentlemen, do not see even the dust of marble. Blissful, though, those dead are, who are compensated in centuries of centuries from Pericles' eloquence.

Deborah Steiner seems to agree with Tertsetisas to what guarantees timelessness: 'To praise, not to bury'.[71] Of Pericles' great talent and of immortality ensured for the war dead, Tertsetis speaks in 1846 in an evocative and poetical way:

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[68] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis (1823)", in Konomos 1984, 246.
[69] See Nannini 2016, 9; Loreaux 1986, 42; 78, 233–234; Immerwahr 1960, 286–289.
[70] Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1846), in Konomos 1984, 287.
[71] From the title of Steiner's article (1999).

Προσέχετε, κύριοι, εἰς τὸν λόγον τοῦ ῥήτορος, καὶ θὰ ἰδῆτε ἕνα πρᾶγμα θαυμαστὸν εἰς τὰ χείλη τοῦ λαλοῦντος. Ὁ θάνατος παίρνει σχῆμα ζωῆς. Θὰ ἰδῆτε τοὺς φονευμένους ὄχι κοιταμένους εἰς τὴν κλίνην τοῦ θανάτου, ὄχι κόκκαλα, ἀλλὰ ζωσμένους τὴν πανοπλίαν τους νὰ πολεμοῦν, καὶ νὰ πολεμοῦν αἰώνια καὶ νὰ μὴν δύνανται νὰ ἀποθάνουν, χάριν τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος.[72]

Pay attention, gentlemen, to the speech of the orator, and you will see an impressive thing in the lips of the speaker. Death takes the shape of life. You will see the killed ones not lying in the deathbed, not as bones, but, wearing their armor, fighting, and fighting eternally and not being able to die, thanks to the orator's voice.

This is a magnificent expression of Pericles' unparalleled rhetorical skills.

But of course, in addition to being a lover of ancient Greek history and literature, Tertsetis was a Christian, and accordingly he would softly pass from the Periclean immortality, limited on earth, to the Christian immortality in heaven. Exactly as in the Mytikas speech he juxtaposed, 'our immortality is the blissful future life', while Pericles was 'forgiven' because he had no chance to gain knowledge of Christian teaching, so in the speech for Hypsilantis, Tertsetis speaks of the deceased man's soul: 'the invisible god, who filled the temple has left; this body is the remnant of the building, which contained god; but, where is the god who filled it? It is in its real adobe, in Heaven. In this world we are as if in the land of exile.'[73] The land of exile is in fact the strange land of the psalm writer; Tertsetis quotes Psalm 136.4 and makes a point of it. The feeling of exile is reinforced by the question of the verse Πῶς ᾄσωμεν τὴν ᾠδὴν Κυρίου ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλλοτρίας; (How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?)

Given that Hypsilantis is in his real homeland, in Heaven, after the aforementioned Christian comment by Tertsetis and the psalm verse, there comes the noteworthy epilogue of the speech: 'From your real homeland, from Heaven, oh Hypsilantis, where the earth's virtues are

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[72] Tertsetis, "On eloquence" (1846), in Konomos 1984, 287.
[73] Tertsetis, "Funeral Oration for Dimitrios Hypsilantis (1823)", in Konomos 1984, 246.

rewarded with eternal bliss, keep a watch on your nation and be merciful and beneficent.'

Even to a Christian this is a surprising invocation, as the phrases used commonly appeal to saints or to God in prayers. Hypsilantis is addressed as if he himself had saintly properties.

Although Tertsetis is not merely inspired by Pericles, but to some extent, as we have noticed, even transposes the ancient passages into modern Greek, in neither of the two funeral eulogies, 1828 and 1832, does he mention clearly his unquestionable source, the Funeral Oration.

"Ἐγκώμιο στὸν Ἄστιγκα[74] (1829)" (Eulogy for Hastings [1829]) or "Elogio del Capitan Astings Comandante del vapore greco (1829)"[75]

Although the speech at the military camp of Mytikas was made a year after the battle of Athens and not at the funeral of the fallen soldiers, yet it is certainly a funeral oration. There is another speech written by Tertsetis which was not delivered to an audience at a funeral or elsewhere, nor was it published at the time. It is dedicated to the prominent British philhellene Frank Abney Hastings and has the style of a funeral eulogy. Indeed, Tertsetis himself has noted on his manuscript, found in his files, in Italian, 'Elogio del Capitan Astings Comandante del vapore greco', 'elogio' meaning ἐγκώμιο or 'praise'. Tertsetis studied in Italy and therefore his knowledge of Italian explains why, spontaneously I think, writes down, more as a sort of note for himself than a proper title, the subject of the text in Italian. George Valetas, while giving it the plain title "Λόγος στὸν Ἄστιγκα" (Speech to Hastings), adds in a footnote that 'This speech was not printed nor delivered. The funeral oration for

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[74] Hastings signed in Greek as Χάστιγξ. The Greeks wrote his name as Ἄστυγξ and Χάστιγξ and Ἄστιγξ, with the last spelling as predominant; see (Fokas 1947, 3 n. 1). Professor Constantinos Rados' (1917: 123 n. 1) preference for the spelling Ἄστιγξ (without aspiration), against Ἄστιγξ is note-worthy: we write, he argues, Ἀννίβας and not Ἁννίβας, although the word is Hannibal with H.

[75] In Konomos 1984, 223–227; for the Italian title, see p. 227 n.

Hastings was made by Trikoupis at Poros (May 1829)'; he implies, then, that this speech by Tertsetis, written in that same month and year, is also an ἐπιτάφιος, like that by Spyridon Trikoupis.

Certainly, Tertsetis᾿ speech shows how strongly he felt about the death of Hastings. It is in part contemplative, in part an outburst prompted by the altruistic self-sacrifice of the young Englishman. The first two-thirds or so could be a funeral oration, but the remainder addresses his contemporary Greeks and expresses undisguisedly his indignation at those Greeks who would rather remain under Turkish occupation or who were criticizing the first Greek governor, Ioannis Capodistrias. Tertsetis was a bold and honest speaker and he dedicated the 1849 speech on the 25 March anniversary of the Greek Revolution to make his audience face the Greek 'national sins', one of which was 'the spirit of persecution against great men'. He included Capodistrias in these wronged men: hated by several when alive, wept for now that he is dead. In the same speech he refers to those who preferred the old period of the Turkish occupation and calls them cowardly: Εἰς τὲς ψυχὲς τῶν ἀνάνδρων ἡ λατρεία τοῦ περασμένου καιροῦ.[76]

I believe that Tertsetis was absolutely conscious of the fact that the speech was not going to be an oration at the funeral of Hastings. If he had intended to deliver such a speech, he would have developed it in a different way, altering the reproachful style of the second part.

As a matter of fact, he has his contemporary Greeks in mind from the very beginning: If I didn't understand that the praise of this man could be to your benefit, I would be silent, fearing that the brave one whom we are burying would not accept with pleasure the commendation of his death and of his life.[77]

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[76] Tertsetis, "Τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ Γένους (Λόγος Μαρτίου 1849) (The sins of the Nation [Speech in March 1849]), in Konomos 1984, 385-386; on 383. He mentions Capodistrias after Miltiades, Themistocles and Socrates, all great men who were persecuted by their fellow patriots, and notes bitterly that 'Willing or not, we validated the fourth sin of this category. We cannot but confess that another most unhappy man of Greek origin was a benefactor of Greece […] whom, when alive, several of us hated, and now that he is dead, we weep for'.

[77] Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings" (1829), in Konomos 1984, 223.

It is clear that the valiant foreigner who died for Greece ignites his anger against the few un-brave Greeks who preferred the Turkish occupation to the Greek Revolution.

Therefore, we might not expect to find echoes of Pericles' speech in the "Eulogy for Hastings (1829)". It is a text with a different point of view. The fact that Hastings was a fervent philhellene who was indifferent to all that divided him, as a citizen of a foreign country, from the Greeks and their land, prompts Tertsetis now to speak with emphasis of the Enlightenment ideals of human brotherhood, trust in common principles, and universal human rights, as against all society-made divisions between peoples:

> Δὲν εἶναι μονάχα πατρίδα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ στενὸς τόπος εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἐγεννηθήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ ὅλη ἡ γῆ τὴν ὁποίαν περιαγκαλιάζει ὁ εὔμορφος αἰθέρας[78]

> A man's homeland is not merely the narrow place where he was born, but the earth as a whole, which is embraced by the lovely air.

He goes on to say, 'there is one law, there is one race, and it has now come about that this land which we inhabit is a great city ('πολιτεία') of which all people are the citizens.'[79]

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the speech is not for a Greek, but for a philhellene, and not Greekness but brotherhood of peoples is emphasized, the Periclean thought is still present in the above citation. When this admirer of Pericles and of his *Funeral Oration* employs in a funeral eulogy, diction and syntax of a well-known Periclean passage, he directly refers the reader to Thucydides (Thuc. 2.43.3): ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη.

Tertsetis echoes Pericles and at the same time he uses the verb ἐγεννηθήκαμεν, 'we were born', which is the direct opposite of the Periclean 'to die' or 'to be buried':

[78] Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings" (1829), in Konomos 1984, 223.
[79] Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings" (1829), in Konomos 1984, 223.

The similarities are apparent and convincing:

Pericles, *Fun. Or.* (Thuc. 2.43.3)	ἀνδρῶν	πᾶσα γῆ	οὐ μόνον	ἀλλὰ
Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings (1829)"	τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	ὅλη ἡ γῆ	Δὲν εἶναι μονάχα	ἀλλὰ

In this way, the reader's thought is led to a twofold interpretation of the passage; the first reading is based on the verb 'we were born', while the second one repeats Pericles' words:

Our homeland is not only the narrow place where we were born, but…
Our tomb is not only the narrow place where we were buried, but...

This is a very artful composition which not only has two readings, but it also validates the apparent, the first level meaning, by connecting it with the famous Periclean text, at a second level.

The same forceful expression Δὲν εἶναι μονάχα … ὁ εὔμορφος αἰθέρας[80] will be heard again six years later, at the very beginning of the Ἀπολογία which, as already mentioned, Tertsetis pronounced in court when he was tried for refusing, as a judge, to sign the sentence upon Kolokotronis and Plapoutas:

> Δὲν εἶμαι ἀπὸ τὴν Σπάρτη, δὲν εἶμαι Ἀθηναῖος, πατρίδα μου ἔχω ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τοιουτοτρόπως ἐκφράζεται ὁ γενναῖος ὁ Πλούταρχος, εἶναι σχεδὸν δύο χιλιάδες ἔτη. … δυνάμεθα νὰ ἐκφρασθοῦμεν μὲ φρόνημα ἀκόμη πλέον ὑψηλὸν ἀπὸ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀνδρός, δυνάμεθα νὰ εἰποῦμεν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς δὲν εἴμεθα οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν Ἰταλία, οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν Γερμανία, οὔτε ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀγγλία, πατρίδα μας ἔχομεν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος· ὅση γῆ περιαγκαλιάζει ὁ εὔμορφος αἰθέρας εἶναι ἀγαπητή μας πατρίδα.[81]

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[80] Tertsetis, "Eulogy for Hastings" (1829), in Konomos 1984, 223.

[81] Tertsetis, "Ἀπολογία κλπ." (1835) (Defence etc. [1835]), in Konomos 1984, 250. Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 600F7–8: ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης βέλτιον, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδ' Ἕλλην ἀλλὰ κόσμιος εἶναι φήσας; 601A2–4: ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα, / καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς <ἐν> ἀγκάλαις (Eur. fr. 941, 1. 2) (ed. Sieveking 1929).

> I am not from Sparta, I am not an Athenian, I have the whole of Greece as my homeland: thus the brave Plutarch expressed himself, almost two thousand years ago. … we can express ourselves in an even higher spirit than that ancient man's; we can say that we are not from Greece, nor from Italy, nor from Germany, nor from England; we have the human race as our homeland; as much land as the lovely air embraces, that is our beloved homeland.

What we read in the "Eulogy for Hastings" in 1829, we see impressively developed in the "Defence" of 1835, where it forms a suitable prologue –emitting transcending of limits and freedom of spirit− in an important speech of especial historical value. As expected, no Periclean echo of the Athenian patriotism is heard here. Tertsetis, following Plutarch, artfully extends what would also be expressed in Diogenis Laertius' one-word answer: ἐρωτηθεὶς πόθεν εἴη, 'κοσμοπολίτης', ἔφη.[82]

"Λόγος εἰς τὴν θανὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Δ' Ἀνρεμὸν [Damrémont] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φονευμένων εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντίναν [Costantina] (1837)"[83]
Speech for the death of General Damrémont and the other murdered ones in Constantina (1837)

The funeral oration for General Damrémont and his soldiers, who perished during the second French siege of Constantine, a fortified city in Algeria, presents a notable divergence in style and content. Although the French forces emerged triumphant in this assault, their victory was marred by substantial casualties, including that of General Damrémont.

The concise eulogy for General Damrémont, spanning merely two standard printed pages, boasts an elaborate portrayal of the enduring legacy of ancient historical events from Greece and Rome. Tertsetis eloquently describes how the echoes of history, from the plains of Marathon or Zama to the woodlands frequented by Plato, have continually resonated with tales of valour:

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[82] Diog. Laertius, *Life of Diogenis*, 60.63 (ed. Dorandi 2013).
[83] In Konomos 1984, 272–273.

From the plains of Marathon or Zama[84] and from the timbered paths where dawn often saw sleepless Plato and saw him calling on the goddesses of justice and beauty for illumination, the resounding of the centuries never became silent, resonating glorious deeds.[85]

In this particular speech, Tertsetis eschews the emulation of Thucydides' portrayal of Pericles, instead drawing inspiration from Plutarch. He commends the virtues of the deceased General by drawing a parallel with Themistocles of Athens, highlighting the exemplary qualities of the fallen leader. In his discourse, Tertsetis effectively paraphrases, condensing into a cogent and succinct statement, Themistocles' astute rejoinder to an individual from the island of Serifos who sought to belittle the Athenian General: 'I would never obtain such honour if I came from Serifos, but you would not be glorified either if you were Athenian.'[86]

"Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος στὸν Γενναῖο Κολοκοτρώνη (1868)"[87]
Funeral Oration for Gennaios Kolokotronis (1868)

Tertsetis was a child, according to Nikos Vees, when he became friends with the two elder sons of Theodoros Kolokotronis, Panos and the younger one, Ioannis, who later answered to the sobriquet 'Gennaios', meaning 'valiant'. Georgios and Panos were schoolmates. Vees holds

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[84] Part of the Second Punic War, the Battle of Zama (North Africa) took place in 202 B.C. when Scipio Africanus led the Roman army against Hannibal, who commanded the Carthaginian army. The Romans were victorious.

[85] Tertsetis, "Speech for the death of General Damrémont and the other murdered ones in Constantina" (1837), in Konomos 1984, 272.

[86] It comes from Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 18.5 (ed. Ziegler 1969): Τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὡς οὐ δι' αὑτὸν ἔσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, 'ἀληθῆ λέγεις' εἶπεν· 'ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Σερίφιος ὢν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος'.

[87] In Konomos 1984, 627. Tertsetis also wrote a speech for Theodoros Kolokotronis' youngest son, Constantinos or Kollinos (1810-31.12.1848). The speech was delivered two months after Kollinos' death. The speech sounds informal, as if delivered in a group of friends, to whom Tertsetis spoke about the virtues of his friend, as well as his weaknesses as a politian, which the orator attributed to the state. Moreover, the speech is important as containing Kollinos' memories of his father, thus revealing the great General's personality. See Tertsetis, "Κωνσταντίνος-Κολλίνος Θεοδώρου Κολοκοτρώνης (Λόγος 27-2-1849) (Constantinos-Kollinos Theodoros Kolokotronis [Speech 27-2-1849]), in Konomos 1984, 373–380.

the view that his interaction with the sons of the heroic generation of the Kolokotronis family had a big influence on young Tertsetis.[88]

The briefest funeral oration that Tertsetis composed draws a parallel between Gennaios Kolokotronis and the ancient Persian leader Cyrus, referencing a section from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (8.7.7-8). This comparison underscores their significant contributions to their respective nations. In this speech, there are no discernible influences from Thucydides or Pericles.

Despite the absence of direct Periclean references in the last two speeches, they exhibit the perspective held by Tertsetis on antiquity, on national, and even on universal human memory.

Conclusion or *'the choice must be renewed'*[89]

The look into the funeral eulogies that Tertsetis wrote in 19th century Greece, during as well as after the Greek Revolution, has produced unquestionable evidence, I believe, of the Thucydidean influence, particularly of the Periclean *Funeral Oration* of 430 B.C., in most of the speeches.

His connection with Pericles might have stemmed from his role as an instructor of Greek History at the Military Academy, where he taught Thucydides, particularly his δημηγορίαι,[90] the public speeches. This teaching experience maintained and enriched his engagement with both Thucydides and Pericles. His contemporaneous teaching and speech-writing suggest that freshly taught passages or ideas from Pericles influenced his funeral orations. However, his oration at the Mytikas camp indicates his deep-rooted admiration for ancient Greek rhet-

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[88] Vees 1966, "Ἀπὸ τὴ ζωὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα Γ. Τερτσέτη" (From the life and works of G. Tertsetis), in Konomos 1984, 440.

[89] Phrase from Loreaux 1986, 103.

[90] Tertsetis, "Τὶ τὸ ὡραῖον τῆς τέχνης" (What is the beauty of art) (1858), in Konomos 1984, 523, where Tertsetis refers to his teaching history in the military school in 1832: ἀλλ᾽ ἀφοῦ διηγούμουν τὰ κυριώτερα τῶν συμβάντων, μετέφραζα εἰς τοὺς νέους δημηγορίας εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸν Ἡρόδοτο, εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸν Θουκυδίδη. Εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους ξανοίγομε καλλίτερα τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀρχαιότητος (but having narrated the most important of the events, I would translate to the young ones public speeches either from Herodotus or from Thucydides. In those speeches we see better the spirit of antiquity).

oric, with Pericles as his preferred orator, a predilection likely formed during his university years in Italy (1816–1820) or through subsequent readings and continuous study of ancient Greek texts, after his return to Zante or during his studies in France.[91] As a matter of fact, his interest in Pericles never faded.

All that he tried to achieve as a teacher, namely to inspire in his students' souls passionate love for Greece and to make them feel as relatives, as sons of their ancestors, who share the same ideals and the same blood with them, all that, with no exception, Tertsetis tried to achieve as a 'national orator', as Angelos Vlahos has called him.[92]

Not only ancient Greece, though, but a fusion of antiquity and Christianity we saw in his speeches. Tertsetis admires Pericles and yet his Christian faith makes him point out a weakness in the Periclean *Funeral Oration*, as we have discussed above. Some more has to be said on this duality, I feel.

We saw Tertsetis insisting on the Christian view on immortality, not just because he is Christian, I think. It is not only a matter of a deep Christian faith; he is being faithful to his belief in the continuity of Greek history and the helleno-christian identity of the Greek nation and regards this double legacy as essential for the building of modern Greece.[93]

Two things are worth-mentioning here: first, the compound term ἑλληνοχριστιανισμός, the spirit of which recurs the whole of Tertsetis'

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[91] Konomos (1984, 10) gives the information that Tertsetis was lucky enough to attend Professor Giuseppe Barbieri's classes during his studies at the University of Padova (1816-1820). Barbieri taught law, ancient Greek and latin literature and rhetoric. Konomos adds that Tertsetis acquired from Barbieri his adamant adoration for law, as well as his classical education. Vees ("Ἀπὸ τὴ ζωὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα", 1966, 440) notes the interest of the University of Padova in ancient Greek poetry at the time. In France, in Sorbonne, he had Professor of constitutional law, Pellegrino Rossi, the Italian economist, politician and jurist, as his teacher. See Plagiannis 1966, 368.

[92] Vlahos 1875, 404.

[93] See Tertsetis, "Speech in an Orthodox church of London" (1842): 'what is, what should be, the law of the Greek land. My friends, my copatriots, for many months, for many years I have been occupied with this research and I finally saw that our destination, our law is to be Christians.' (In Konomos 1984, 275–276)

work, was introduced by Spyridon Zambelios (1815–1881);[94] second, Tertsetis was a teacher and later the national orator in a time when discontinuity in the Greek history had been proposed by the German Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790–1861), who claimed (in 1832) that modern Greeks were not descendants of ancient Greeks, but of Slavs and Albanians.[95] Opposite Fallmerayer was both the philhellenic historiography which had been produced during the Greek Revolution and the national historiography, written afterwards.[96] Zambelios and Constantine Paparrigopoulos (1815–1891), published the first Greek refutations of Fallmerayer's theory.[97]

Apparently, Tertsetis' views on the double legacy, ancient Greek and Christian, certainly aligns with his compatriots historians' view. Indeed, apart from talking about the ancient Greeks often, he also refers to persons who marked the Greek nation and its history in later times: St Jonh the Theologian, Constantine the Great, Loukas Notaras, and the last Emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos, as well as the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V of Constantinople. The last speech he wrote, for the anniversary of the Greek Revolution, a speech he never delivered due to his severe illness that led to his death, contains a hymn to the last Byzantine emperor:'Glory to the last Emperor of the Empire, whom they

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[94] See Economidis 1989, 15; Kim (2023, 16) on 'Helleno-Christian' culture as a synthesis of classical and byzantine; cf. Koumbourlis (2005, 31): 'hellénochrétienne'.

[95] Fallmerayer was one of the few exceptions, according to Koubourlis (2012, 40), while, on the other hand, Kim (2023, 1–2) writes of 'prevalent European intellectual perspectives that proffered a narrative of disruption and deterioration of the ancient Hellenism'. Cf. Veloudis, *passim*.

[96] Koubourlis (2012, 133–201) on the French historians of the period 1821–1825: Bory de Saint-Vincent, Claude D. Raffenel and A.-Fr. Villemain; pp. 319–367, on the important German scholar of later years, J. W. Zinkeisen, whose *History of Greece* (vol. 1, 1832) had a great influence on Zampelios and Paparrigopoulos.

[97] Zambelios' monumental works are the *Folk Songs of Greece published with a historical study on Medieval Hellenism* (1852) and his *Byzantine Studies on sources of the Neohellenic Nationality from 8th until 10th centenary A.D.* (1857). Paparrigopoulos' major work is his *History of the Hellenic nation* (Vol. 1. 1860), while he had initially replied to Fallmerayer in his study *On the movement of some Slavic people into Peloponnese (1843)*, (*Περὶ τῆς ἐποικήσεως σλαβικῶν τινῶν φυλῶν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον*); see Koubourlis 2005, 272–309; Economidis 1989, 9–13.

found with his double-bladed sword covered in blood, in a heap of killed enemies, and they recognized him from the golden eagles on his dress.'[98]

The role of Providence in Greek history is also an idea that Tertsetis shares with Paparrigopoulos; when in 1846 Tertsetis refers to St Jonh the Theologian and the Greek language as the language for spreading Christianity: "how many times he must have thought of the brave deeds … of the nation he was enlightening, and that divine providence had prepared the glorious Greeks to become messengers … of the divine Gospel!"[99]

Finally, it is important to point out that Tertsetis may not be one of the Greek historians known for witing in reply to Fallmerayer, but in fact he did write in French in reply to Fallmerayer's anti-hellenic theories: In 1856, Tertsetis wrote "About the speech of Mr the Duke of Broglie" and in 1857 he published in a French journal in Athens the article "The Times and the Ionians," where he fervently confronted the attack by the *Times* newspaper, the 'sortie contre des Ioniens' that people on the island of Corfu are not Greek, but 'sont un mélange d'Albanais et de Venitiéns'; as supported by 'le trop célèbre Fallmerayer'. Tertsetis calls these anti-hellenic views 'puérile' and goes on to deconstruct them.[100]

Therefore, his robust views on his nations' identity and historical continuity are to be seen within the frame of the important events of his time: the post-Revolution era and the demand to build a strong fatherland, and the national defense against anti-hellenic, unhistorical voices.

Dedicated to his nation, a lover of ancient Greece, of Christianity, and a lover of the Greek War of Independence, he delivered eulogies for those who had made their choice in life: The anonymous fighters at the battle of Athens in 1827; the Revolution leader Hypsilantis; Ioannis Kolokotronis, who was worthily named Gennaios, meaning 'valiant'; Captain Hastings and General Damrémont; they all had the values of the nation.

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[98] Tertsetis, "Speech on 25 March 1874", In Konomos, pp. 678–688; on p. 686.

[99] Tertsetis, "Speech on the feast of Transfiguration (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 320; Kim (2023, 7): "Greek was the chosen language, so to speak".

[100] The French texts are in Konomos 1984, 863–868 and 869–872 respectively. Citations from p. 869.

Nicole Loreaux has expressed it very well:

> The choice must be renewed before any battle. … for the historian as for the orators, all morality is based on these conventional criteria that are the values of the city. … Thus, from history to the epitaphioi and from great men to combatants in the ranks, the fine death is a model of a civic choice that is both free and determined. The funeral oration ignores the exemplary characters that the historian was happy to isolate in the solitude of their decision; but to all the anonymous dead it attributes the same choice and the same end, so that their example may inspire emulation among the survivors;[101]

It has been apparent that in the 19th century the funeral eulogies for war dead were mostly composed for individuals. Yet, no matter if the war dead whom Tertsetis praises are lustrous individuals or anonymous fighters, their deeds or they themselves (as in the Mytikas speech) do speak to the surviving. Their decision to live or live and die as they did, moves and persuades the audience. Tertsetis' passion as an orator and the literary power of his λόγος move and persuade the audience of Greek citizens and soldiers. Obviously, the nation or 'the city that honours its dead with an oration rediscovers itself in the oration'[102], as Nicole Loreaux writes, and we can no doubt say about Tertsetis what he has said about Pericles: Ἐγκωμιάζοντας ὁ ρήτορας τοὺς ἀποθαμένους, ἐνθυμεῖται πολὺ τοὺς ζωντανούς.[103]

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[101] Loreaux 1986, 103–104.

[102] Loreaux 1986, 2.

[103] Tertsetis, "On eloquence (1846)", in Konomos 1984, 287. He goes on to say: καὶ ἐκθειάζει τὴν δημοκρατικὴν τάξιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τὸν λαόν, διὰ νὰ τὸν ἔχει βοηθὸν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

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The evolution of Byzantine historical Studies in Greece[*]

Terezakis George

The development of Byzantine historical studies throughout the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was influenced by their relations with the field of classical sciences. This fact largely defined the main lines of the dominant research orientations.[1] What emerges from the historiographical production of the second half of the 19th century is that, with few exceptions, historians of Byzantium focused on issues related to politics, especially factual history, while showing limited interest in the evolution of social, economic, and cultural history. During the interwar period, influenced by Marxism and the labor movement, new research efforts were directed towards investigating previously overlooked economic and social structures, as well as social groups. In this context, emphasis was placed on examining the productive relations that governed them. It is crucial to stress that the goal of this study is to demonstrate the existing research within the context of the renewal of historical inquiry and the application of new methodological tools by the historians of Byzantium in Greece. This is why emphasis will be given to researchers who, influenced by international

[1] For this see Haldon 1984: 95–132; Jeffreys, Haldon, Cormack 2008: 3–20; Kazhdan 1979: 506–553; idem 1996: 133–163; idem 1994: 66–88; idem 1982: 1–19; Laiou 1995: 43–64; Ljubarskij 1993: 131–138; Moravcsik 1966: 366–377; Ostrogorsky 1940: 227–235; Patlagean 1975: 1371–1396; Ševčenko 1952: 448–459; Sorlin 1967: 489–568; eadem 1970: 487–520; eadem 1979: 525–580; Talbot 2006: 25–43; Uspenskij 1925: 1–54; Valdenberg 1927/1928: 483–504.

historiographical developments, introduced new methodological tools in Greece. In this sense, the main focus of this study is to demonstrate the application of these new methodological tools rather than analysing the work of the scholars presented. This is why the study of the evolution of Byzantine historical studies in Greece would be better served not by attempting to identify specific historiographical issues, such as the matter of feudalism, the question of identity, or the integration of Byzantium into the national narrative of European history, but rather by highlighting the introduction of new methodological tools under the influence of international historiographical developments. Furthermore, certain Greek scholars who lived and worked abroad, such as Eleni Antoniadis Bibikou, Nikolaos Oikonomides, and Aggeliki Laiou, although not considered integral to the development of Byzantine historical studies in Greece, have nonetheless exerted varying degrees of influence on their Greek colleagues. In this context, special attention is given to the case of Nikos Svoronos, who later in his career chose to repatriate and contributed significantly to the development of social, economic, and cultural history of Byzantium in Greece.

The Early Phase: The Emergence of Byzantine Historical studies as a professional discipline

Throughout the 19th century Byzantine studies functioned as a means of promoting a Greek national identity by placing Byzantium between the ancient and the modern period.[2] Byzantium was associated with national claims, and within this context, Greek historians emphasized the significance of political and religious events, aligning with the prevailing trends in European historiography of the period. In this respect, they were hesitant to delve into its economic and social aspects.[3] Konstantinos Paparregopoulos (1815–1891) was the one who actively took on the task of presenting and shaping Byzantium as the connecting link be-

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[2] More on this see Ricks 1998: vii–x.
[3] For this see Mango 1965: 29–43.

tween antiquity and modern times.[4] The *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* [= *History of the Greek Nation*] published in the mid-19th century served the ideological needs of the newly formed Greek state in a dual capacity. It played a crucial role in the formation of national consciousness and, simultaneously, acted as a supporter of the ideology of the "Great Idea" (Megali Idea), contributing to the expansion of borders.[5] This fact holds significant importance, as the "Great Idea" is a nationalist and irredentist concept aimed at reviving the Byzantine Empire through the establishment of a Greek state. This envisioned state would encompass not only the substantial Greek populations still under Ottoman rule following the Greek War of Independence (1821–1828) but also regions with significant Greek communities, including parts of mainland Greece and the Aegean Islands that remained under Ottoman control.[6] Additionally, it's crucial not to disregard the impact of German historicism, which significantly shaped historical studies in Europe from the early 19th century onwards. The school of historicism emphasized political and religious events, particularly diplomatic and military affairs, and advocated for reconstructing the past through the thorough examination of available primary sources.[77] The impact of German historiography on Paparregopoulos is underscored by the fact that, lacking a university degree, the University of Munich conferred upon him an honorary doctorate. This recognition came after he submitted a memorandum to the Department

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[4] He is the founder of the concept of historical continuity in Greece from antiquity to the present. Paparregopoulos established the tripartite division of Greek history into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern periods, challenging prevailing views at the time that considered the Byzantine Empire as a period of decadence and degeneration. For this see Dimaras 1986: 138; also see Karavas 2004: 149–169.

[5] Paparregopoulos 1846: 17–18; idem 1843; idem 1886.

[6] The official support received by Paparregopoulos is evident in the State's recommendation to the Municipalities to acquire copies of his work. The Parliament, through a resolution, provided financial support for the translation of his work into French and the publication of the epilogue of the *History of the Greek Nation* in 1878, under the French title *Histoire de la civilisation hellénique*. For this see Dimaras, 1986: 227–230; Skopetea 1988: 163–170.

[7] Iggers 1997: 26–35; Fuchs 2006: 147–162; also see Jeffreys, Haldon, Cormack 2008: 6; Haldon 1984: 123–127.

of Philosophy at the University of Munich, under the guidance of Professor Konstantinos Schinas.[8]

In the early 20th century, the approach of Paparregopoulos was continued by his descendants. Spyridon Lampros (1851–1919), an advocate of the French positivism school in Greece, voiced his concerns regarding the study of Byzantium and emphasized the necessity to gather and publish primary sources.[9] He drew inspiration from Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos,[10] even translating their methodology book *Introduction aux études historiques* into Greek.[11] Moreover, his influences extended to the rich tradition of German historiography, starting with Friedrich Carl von Savigny, continuing through Leopold von Ranke, and reaching its pinnacle with his mentors from the "Prussian school", including Johann Gustav Droysen and Theodor Mommsen.[12] He grounded his studies in a diverse range of sources, seamlessly integrating historical research with the pursuit of national interests. As correctly noted by Effi Gazi, Lampros "endeavoured to reconcile two in-

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[8] For this see Dimaras 1986: 138.

[9] Lampros 1892: 185–201. In general, proponents of positivism, drawing inspiration from sociology as a model, focus on studying population movements, forms of housing, and dietary habits – essentially, all human activities across various dimensions. They often overlook individual events and renowned figures, emphasizing a broader perspective that addresses the masses and encompasses the entirety of human activities. Therefore, historians, after initially restoring the authenticity of the sources, must then envision the intended message of the historical subject within those sources. For this see Fuchs 2006: 147–162; Haldon 1984: 100; Iggers 1997: 99–100, 120.

[10] In 1898, Langlois and Seignobos wrote *Introduction aux études historiques*, considered one of the first comprehensive manuals discussing the use of scientific techniques in historical research. Their method is grounded in the principle that all history originates from facts retrieved from firsthand documents. Historians then analyze these facts from various perspectives, allowing for an unbiased approach to history. For this see Fawtier 1930: 85–91; Prost 1994: 100–118; Assis 2015: 105–125; Fuchs 2006: 153.

[11] Langlois, Seignobos 1902.

[12] Lampros studied at the Philosophical School of Athens from 1867 to 1871 and pursued postgraduate studies at the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig from 1872 to 1875. He earned his doctorate with a thesis on the settlers of the Greek colonies. During a period when German-speaking universities were dominated by the historical "Prussian" school, Lampros systematically attended the courses of its prominent representatives, including Theodor Mommsen, Gustav Droysen, Heinrich von Treitschke, Wilhelm Wattenbach, and Ernst Curtius. For Lampros see Gazi 2000; Charitakis 1935: 3–14; Mpalanos 1928: 1–32; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1994: 167–168.

herently incompatible agendas: the advancement of History as a science, prioritizing sources, evidence, and archives for factual restoration, while concurrently embracing the dramatized, transcendent, and passionate essence of a grand national narrative".[13] He considered Byzantium as the organic link between Ancient and Modern Greek history, emphasizing that the prevailing national claims should shape the content of Byzantine studies. To this end, he served as the editor of the journal *Neos Hellinomnemon* (1904–1927), where he published numerous sources on Medieval and Modern Greek history.[14] He explicitly affirmed that "there is no greater connection than that between the historian's duty and the scene of battle. In both instances, a common flag is present – the flag of the country".[15]

Until the 1920s, the approach to Byzantium aimed at constructing a national identity and was shaped by the ideological needs of the time. This was compounded by heightened political rivalries following the outbreak of World War I, during which Greece found itself "divided" between the Entente (United Kingdom, France, Russia) and the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, which later changed sides, and the Ottoman Empire).[16] What proves more intriguing is the viewpoint from which professional Byzantine historians of the period approached the study of Byzantium. Influenced by both French and German historiography, they scrutinized Byzantium primarily through

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[13] Gazi 2004: 212.

[14] Gazi 2000: 130.

[15] Lampros 1905: 28. Μεγάλα κενά ανάμεσα στις υποσημειώσεις

[16] The "National Schism" was a series of disagreements between King Constantine I and Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos regarding Greece's foreign policy from 1910 to 1922, with the pivotal issue being whether Greece should enter World War I. Venizelos supported the Allies and advocated for Greece to join the war on their side, while the pro-German King preferred Greece to remain neutral, aligning with the plans of the Central Powers. Illustrative of the tense climate is the case of Lampros, who assumed the positions of prime minister and minister of education on September 27, 1916, aligning closely with the royal faction. Upon Venizelos' return, Lampros was placed under house arrest, subsequently put on trial, dismissed from the university, had his property confiscated, and was exiled first to Hydra and then to Skopelos. More on this see Gazi 2004: 195–196; Mavrogordatos 2013: 39–53; Mourelos 1980–1982: 150–188.

language, and consequently, through philology.[17] Figures such as Konstantinos Amantos (1874–1960),[18] along with Phaidon Koukoules (1881–1956)[19]

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[17] The work of Karl Krumbacher is of great importance. In the preface of his book "Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur" (1891), he presented his vision concerning the study of Byzantine literature. According to Panagiotis Agapitos, "he aimed at asserting the independence of Byzantine literature as an object of research. At the same time, by insisting on historical continuity, he underlined the importance of Byzantine literature for a profounder study both of Hellenic Antiquity and of the contemporary Greek world" (Agapitos 2015: 12). More on this see Agapitos 2015: 1–52; Berger 2011: 13–26; Jeffreys, Haldon, Cormack 2008: 5; Schreiner 2011: 39–62; Tinnefeld 2011: 27–38; Vogt 2011: 63–84. Also see Moravcsik 1966: 366–377.

[18] Amantos initially studied at the University of Athens, and in 1899, he moved to the University of Munich, where he studied under Krumbacher. He received his doctorate in 1903 with a treatise on the suffixes of modern Greek toponyms. Amantos conducted numerous studies on Greece's neighbours. By 1923, he had already published one of his best-known historiographical texts, focusing on the Balkan peoples (Greece's Northern neighbors: Bulgarians, Albanians, South-Slavs). Analyzing relations with neighbouring peoples necessitated a deep understanding of their historical evolution and enduring connections with the Greeks. His doctoral thesis focused on a linguistic topic, and during his tenure at the *Historical Dictionary of the Greek Language,* he seized the opportunity to prepare a series of smaller linguistic studies, which he continued to engage with throughout his scientific life. Amantos' involvement with language, beyond professional reasons, stemmed from his belief that it was a privileged field for highlighting the continuity of the Greek nation. For this see Vogiatzoglou 1940: i–iv; Tomadakis 1940: vii–xvi; Kolia-Dermitzaki 2020: 29–62; Vlisidou 2020: 63–78; Karamanolakis 2020: 79–92; Lampakis 2020: 193–204; Charalampakis 2020: 205–218; Giakovaki 2020: 221–252.

[19] Koukoules studied at the Philosophical School of Athens, completing his thesis in 1907. With a university scholarship, he continued his studies in Munich, focusing on Byzantine history and philology under scholars such as Krumbacher, Heisenberg, and Crusius. From 1911, he dedicated his efforts to the *Historical Dictionary of the Academy*, eventually becoming its director from 1926 to 1931. Koukoules insisted on exploring the private lives of the Byzantines, a stance justified by his student Nikos Tomadakis based on dominant national goals. Specifically, Koukoules argued that the public life of the Byzantines was connected to the institutions of the Roman Empire, while their private life was intertwined with the ancient Greek world (Tomadakis 1953: vii–xix). In this context, Koukoules thoroughly studied the private life of the Byzantines to strengthen the concept of historical continuity of Greece from antiquity to the present. For this see Zoras 1955/1956: 630–632; Karamanolakis 2006: 319.

and Ioannis K. Vogiatzidis (1877–1961),[20] were mainly involved in the compilation of the *Historical Dictionary of the Academy*. Initiated in 1914 by Georgios Hatzidakis, this dictionary aimed "to gather the complete linguistic wealth of the Greek language, serving as unequivocal evidence of the nation's unity", as he asserted.[21] According to Diana Mishkova "the interest in Byzantium and its legacy emerged simultaneously with the interest in the medieval precursors of the Balkan nation-states – an interest itself bolstered by the projects of national awakening and modern state-building. Consequently, Byzantine history – and Byzantine studies generally – long remained subsidiary to or subsumed under the medieval national histories".[22] Byzantium was no longer projected solely as the link between antiquity and modern times but as the direct ancestor of modern Greeks as well.[23] This significantly propelled the advancement of Byzantine studies in Greece, particularly during the 1910s and 1920s. New chairs for Byzantinology were established at the Universities of Athens and Thessalonike, alongside the creation of new journals and museums. Specifically, in 1924, the inaugural chair for Byzantine History was established at the University of Athens and was held by Amantos. In 1926, a chair for Byzantine History was established at the University of Thessalonike, initially occupied by Koukoules and later by Vogiatzidis.[24] We should also note the establishment of the *Byzantiologike Hetaireia* (Society), the *Society of Byzantine Studies*, and the international journal *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* (*BNJ*) under the supervision of Nikos Bees.[25] Moreover, as stated in the introduction of the Minutes of the first Assembly, the Committee had a

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[20] Vogiatzidis studied at the Philosophical School of Athens and completed his postgraduate studies in Ancient and Byzantine history in Munich. Upon returning to Athens, he worked as an editor of the "Historical Dictionary of the Greek Language" (1914–1925) and published material edited by Lampros, including the late professor's *Palaiologeia and Peloponnesiaka*. For this see Karamanolakis 2006: 317; Oikonomidis 1961: 254–261.

[21] Vagiakakos 1977: 46.

[22] Mishkova 2014: 119.

[23] For this see Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1994: 153–176.

[24] For this see Kiousopoulou 1993: 271; Tomadakis 1953: xiii; Christofilopoulou 1994: 983–991; Oikonomidis 1961: 254–261; Savvides 2007: 336–337.

[25] Sotiriou 1920. See commentary on Sotiriou's positions in Gratziou 1987: 69–71.

twofold purpose: "the preservation and rescue of Byzantine monuments on one hand, and, on the other hand, the dissemination of knowledge to the public through lectures and publications on Byzantine history and culture in general".[26]

New directions in Historiography at the beginning of the 20th century

Gradually, new paradigms in historical research gained influence. Sociological approaches by Marxist scholars started to emerge at the beginning of the 20th century.[27] In 1907, Georgios Skleros published *To Κοινωνικό μας ζήτημα* (= *Our Social Issue*), and in 1924, Yianis Kordatos' book *Η κοινωνική σημασία της Ελληνικής Επανάστασης* (= *The Social Significance of the Greek Revolution*) addressed social dimensions of the Greek Revolution that had been previously overlooked in research. *To Κοινωνικό μας ζήτημα* encompasses the 1821 Revolution, contextualizing it within historical precursors like the Byzan- tine era and Turkish rule, which are essential for a thorough analysis of the events in 1821. More precisely, Byzantium, the Ottoman Empire, and the Revolutionary period together constitute a set of "Greek examples". Georgios Skleros utilizes these instances to showcase his interpretive skills in comprehending the materialistic conception of history. Concurrently, they provide evidence of the interconnectedness of events in

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[26] Kalogeropoulos, Koukoules 1924: 363.

[27] It should be noted that Byzantine studies in Russia were already oriented towards the Byzantine agricultural economy before the October Revolution. This orientation facilitated a relatively smooth transition from the ideology of the pre-revolutionary period to the Marxist ideology embraced by Soviet researchers. As early as 1925, Feodor Uspensky pointed out that the Russian school of historians of Byzantium (Pavel Vladimirovich Bezobrazov, Petr Jakovenko, Alexander Kirpičnicov, Boris Pančenko, Nikolay Afanasevich Skabalanovic, Vasily Vassilievskij) attached great importance to the study of the agricultural economy of Byzantium. This aspect made their work a foundational background for later historians of Byzantium. For this see Uspenskij 1925: 1–54. Also see Haldon 1984: 105–108; Ostrogorsky 1940: 227–235; Patlagean 1975: 1371–1396; Valdenberg 1927/1928: 483–504.

Greek history with the broader trajectory of the European world.[28] In the same context, influenced by the element of historical materialism, Kordatos challenged the concept of national continuity. In *Η κοινωνική σημασία της Ελληνικής Επανάστασης,* he briefly delves into the changes brought to Byzantine society by the Ottoman conquest and explores the continuity between these two social formations.[29] The objective is to demonstrate that Ottoman society should not be viewed as a mere decline following a glorious past, as was the case with Byzantium. Despite recognizing that Byzantine feudalism was a milder version compared to its Western counterpart, Kordatos contested the conventional narrative surrounding Byzantium.[30] The book sparked strong reactions, most notably from Neoklis Kazazis, Professor of the "Encyclopedia of Law" at the Law School of the University of Athens. Kazazis wrote two articles in the newspaper *Empros* on July 6 and 7, 1924, discussing the perceived development of "Bolshevism" in Greece. He explicitly condemns the views presented by Kordatos, arguing that Kordatos interprets the Greek Revolution not as a result of the will of "the Greek people who want to rebel against the pashas" but rather as a result of: a) the so-called bourgeois class, which, enriched from trade, shipping, and even the exploitation of Turks, seeks "its own

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[28] Georgios Konstantinides Skliros (1878–1919) was an early Greek socialist who published Το Κοινωνικό μας ζήτημα based on the class structure of society. Skliros was born into a middle-class family in Trebizond in Ottoman Pontus. In his younger years, he traveled to Odessa in Russia to work as a merchant. Later, he moved to Moscow, where he engaged in medical studies at the University of Moscow in 1904. The following year, he became involved in the revolutionary movement under the influence of Georgi Plekhanov. For this see Kitromilides 2014: 510–511; Mishkova 2014: 230–231; Mpoumpous 1996: 1–44.

[29] Kordatos 1957: 20. Kordatos (1891–1961) authored over twenty historical works covering Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern Greek history. Some of his most notable books include *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας από το 1453 ως το 1961* (= *A History of Greek Literature from 1453–1961*), *Τα Τελευταία Χρόνια της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας* (= *The Last Days of the Byzantine Empire*), *Ιστορία της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Φιλοσοφίας* (= *A History of Ancient Greek Philosophy*), *Η Κομμούνα της Θεσσαλονίκης, 1342–1349* (= *The Commune of Thessalonike, 1342–1349*). He is considered the father of Greek Marxist historiography. For more details see Karadimas 2006: 152–153; Spanakou 1991; Mpoumpous 1996: 45–117.

[30] Kordatos 1924: 16, 35–36.

emancipation and independence", b) the Orthodox Church, and c) a few intellectuals.[31] These approaches left a notable impact on Byzantine studies, particularly on research concentrated on the socio-economic history of Byzantium. Notably, during the interwar period, Andreas Andreades, an economist and professor of Public Economics at the Law School of Athens, emerged as a prominent figure.[32] The main volume of his work concerns the history of the Greek Public Finances. While the primary focus of his work revolves around the history of Greek Public Finances, his most significant contribution lies in the realm of Byzantine economy. Keynes, in his obituary, pointed out that "Andreadès' monographs on the obscure but fascinating field of Byzantine public finance, for which abundant material, largely unexplored, exists, were probably his most original and path-breaking contributions to knowledge".[33] Laiou acknowledged his contribution, stating that "any mention, however schematic, of the economists who studied the Byzantine economy cannot but give pride of place to Andreas Andreades, the first professor of public finance at the University of Athens".[34] He examined the Byzantine budget, delved into the realms of money and the purchasing power of precious metals, and actively participated in the extensive discourse on the merits and drawbacks of a free economy. In his book *Περί των Οικονομικών του Βυζαντίου* (= *On the Finances of Byzantium*), he examined the evolution of the Byzantine economy.[35] His research focused on shifts in production and other factors such as urban

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[31] Mpoumpous 1996: 120–121.

[32] Andreades (1876–1935) studied law and economics at the University of Paris, completing his economic studies in London (Bigg, "Andreades, Andreas", 94). It's noteworthy that Byzantine historical studies in France, particularly led by historians of Law like Louis Bréhier, addressed the issue of Byzantine agricultural society and economy from the beginning of the 1920s. Andreades was also influenced by the sociologist and economist Fr. Simiand, who, in 1903, criticized the "three idols of historians": "the political idol" – meaning the preoccupation with political history, "the idol of individuality" – referring to the habit of conceiving history as the history of individuals, and the "chronological idol" – referring to studies on the origins of the events under examination. For this see Dosse 2015: 27.

[33] Kaynes 1935: 597–598.

[34] Laiou 2002: 7.

[35] Andreades 1908.

demographic developments and their implications on the composition of society.[36] In this context, he discusses a universally acknowledged challenge — the fundamental weakness attributed to the fragmentary nature of Byzantine sources.[37] During the 1920s, Andreades shifted his attention to the urban economy.[38] He didn't hesitate to express sharp criticism toward Georg Ostrogorsky and Franz Dölger, as he believed they were overly focused on the rural economy, neglecting the intricacies of urban economic activities in his perspective.[39]

The shift towards international historiographical developments became even more apparent at the First International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Bucharest when Sokratis Kougeas (1877–1966) emphasized the need for Greek historians of Byzantium to align with the dominant European historiographical trends.[40] This holds great importance, considering that Kougeas was a student of Lampros and later held the chair of Ancient History at the Athens School of Philosophy. In the same announcement, Kougeas established as a research prerequisite in Greece "the systematic publication of texts, documents, and inscriptions, along with the compilation of catalogues and dictionaries".[41] In this context, he cofounded the *Ellinika* journal with Amantos, who held the first chair for Byzantine History at the Department of Philosophy in the University of Athens since 1924. According to Vaggelis Karamanolakis, Amantos was the rapporteur of the "ethnographic" approach in Greece, and he believes "that the study of different nationalities in the Balkan Peninsula created a new framework for the overall understanding of Greek history. This framework reflected a re-examination of Paparregopoulos' scheme, which was now defined in terms of international relations and perils".[42] This is a period of intense reshuffles, and in this context, Amantos aligns with the prevailing national issues, especially considering the Bulgarian

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[36] Andreades 1918.

[37] Andréadès 1928: 287.

[38] Andréadès, 1924: 75–115; idem 1928b.

[39] Andréadès 1928: 287–323.

[40] Megas 1924: 311.

[41] Megas 1924: 311.

[42] Karamanolakis 2006: 332. Also see see Vogiatzoglou 1940: i–iv; Charalampakis 2020: 205–218.

claims in the area of Macedonia. It is no coincidence that Konstantinos Dimaras, in his eulogy to Amantos, argued that there was no other Greek "who served the national issues more scientifically".[43] His attitude towards the Greek Communist Party reflects the ideological processes of the time and is part of his attempt to counter those who opposed the approach of "national history". Amantos often deviated from his university courses to condemn the positions of the Greek Communist Party on the issue of Macedonia.[44] Despite his harsh criticism, he opposed the application of the "Idionym" anticommunist bill submitted to the parliament on behalf of the Liberal Party a few months after the 1928 elections.[45]

In the same context, the influence of Denis A. Zakythinos (1905–1993) on the development of Byzantine studies was crucial, as he contributed to familiarizing Greek scholars with the dominant trends in French historiography at the time. In the early 1930s, his doctoral dissertation focused on the Palaeologan period, delving into the social, economic, and partly demographic history of the Despotate of Morea.[46] His apprenticeship with the linguist H. Pernot (1870–1946) helped him adopt theories and methods from the social sciences.[47] In

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[43] Karamanolakis 2006 333; Dimaras 1961: 7.

[44] See Karamanolakis 2006: 333; Christofilopoulou 1994: 984; Notaris 1961: 12–13.

[45] Karamanolakis 2011: 875–876.

[46] Zakythinos 1932; idem 1953. After graduating from the University of Athens in 1927, he went to the Sorbonne. His first major work was a detailed study of the late Byzantine Despotate of the Morea, published in French [*Le despot grec de Morée (1262–1460)*] in two volumes, one in 1932 and the other, delayed by World War II, in 1953. From 1939 to 1970 he taught Byzantine and Modern Greek History at the University of Athens, and in 1937–1946 he directed the Greek State Archives. For this see Aggelidi 1993: 338–340; Maltezou 1991/1992: 665–666; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1994: 172–176.

[47] Pernot became professor of Modern Greek at the Sorbonne in Paris (University of Paris) and director of the "Archives de la parole et de l' Institut de phonétique" (later known as the Musée de la Parole et du Geste) at the Sorbonne. The core of the Modern library of the Neohellenic Institute at Sorbonne consists of his personal library and that of Emile Legrand, his mentor and coworker, which he purchased after the latter's death. His main concern was the relationship between knowledge and reality, viewing language as a vehicle for the transmission of meaningful knowledge. For this see Mirambel 1946–1948: 335–348; Karcayanni-Karabelia 2003: 10; Sofou 2021: 251–259.

his approach, social and political structures aren't denied; rather, they are studied through their linguistic articulation.[48] In the mid-1940s, he published the book *Οι Σλάβοι εν Ελλάδι* (= *The Slavs in Greece*), aiming to study toponyms as a means of approaching human geography.[49] This "linguistic turn" has been part of an effort to emphasize the role of cultural factors, among which language occupies a key place. At the same time, Zakythinos surpassed the scheme proposed by Paparregopoulos by projecting the unity of Byzantine and Modern Greek culture. He underlined the close relationship between Byzantine scholars and the Italian Renaissance, regarding the interconnection of social reality with the spiritual-cultural history of Byzantium as a research prerequisite. In studying the case of Georgios Gemistos Plethon, Zakythinos asserts that Plethon essentially introduces a new political proposition, drawing on the ideals of ancient Greece and contributing to the revival of Greek national consciousness. Plethon's proposal involves projecting the continuity of ancient Hellenism into modern political reality. Essentially, Zakythinos considers Plethon as the pioneer and advocate of a novel political ideology aligned with the concept of national continuity. In the second volume of the *Despotate of Morea*, Zakythinos explores the intellectual life of Mystras and characterizes Plethon as "the last of the Byzantines and the first of the modern Greeks", thus clearly establishing the duality of Byzantium-Modern Hellenism.[50] According to Vasilis Panagiotopoulos, this was a reaction to the methodological approaches of the entire previous period, which had promoted national claims.[51]

Until the 1940s, the subject of Byzantine History had been consolidated within the context of Modern Greek studies. The influence of the school of Historicism, in combination with the political and social expediencies of the first decades of the 20th century, had imposed the use of philological methods as the basic methodology for historical studies in general.[52] Simultaneously, under the influence of Marxism and the labor

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[48] Aggelidi 1993: 338.
[49] Zakythinos 1945.
[50] Zakythinos 1953: 350.
[51] Panagiotopoulos 1989: 45. Also see Haldon 1984: 127–129.
[52] For this see Haldon 1984: 124–126.

movement, sociological and economic approaches emerged, with a special focus on the economic and social structures that had hitherto been ignored by research. Political and social developments in the 1940s, particularly after the Nazi occupation and the outbreak of the civil war, resulted in a split between the two dominant approaches. This division was later intensified by the Cold War confrontation. On one hand, the official academic community stood out as it attempted to address the prevailing ideological needs, thereby adopting the framework of national continuity. On the other hand, the representatives of the Marxist approach pursued a different path influenced by the element of historical materialism. It is interesting to examine the geographical distribution of the two dominant approaches. Representatives of academic historiography are primarily based in the universities of Athens and Thessalonike. In contrast, those who embraced the Marxist approach forged connections with Eastern European countries and France. This is especially notable as it includes exiles and self-exiles of the Greek Civil War, among them Nikos Svoronos.

The case of Nikos Svoronos (1911–1989)

At the end of December 1945, Svoronos boarded the transport ship "Mataroa" as a scholar of the French government.[53] His evolution as a historian is closely tied to his place of origin, Lefkada. The idea of the historical and linguistic unity of the Greek nation has been a recurring theme in Greek scholarship, with several figures in Greek intellectual history contributing to the development of this concept. Notable among them is Spyridon Zampelios (1815–1881) from Lefkada, who emphasized the continuity of the Greek language from ancient to modern

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[53] In late December 1945, the Mataroa brought from Greece to Taranto in southern Italy a number of Greek artists and intellectuals Greek aiming to reach Paris. This trip was organized by the Director of the French Institute of Athens Octave Merlier. For this see Andrikopoulou 2007; Kranaki 2007.

times.[54] Svoronos was also influenced by the sociological approaches of Kordatos, Serafeim Maximos (1899–1962),[55] Demosthenis Danielidis (1889–1972),[56] and Skleros. In one of his last interviews, he emphasized that his work is a continuation of the Marxist approach of Skleros and Kordatos.[57] His approach was shaped by his Ionian origin, as he encountered a strictly class-hierarchical society in Lefkada with clear social evolution between the West and Greece, emphasizing the impact of barriers between social classes.[58] Two years after his graduation, he was appointed to the Medieval Archive of the Academy of Athens,

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[54] He was among the first to advocate for the historical unity of ancient, medieval, and modern Greeks. Alongside Paparregopoulos, he stands out as one of the protagonists of Greek historiography in the 19th century who contested the theory of racial discontinuity of the modern Greeks, initially proposed in 1830 by the Austrian historian Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer. Influenced by the Medievalist Andreas Moustoxydis (1785-1860) and equipped with extensive language knowledge, he conducted studies on medieval and linguistic manuscripts in the major libraries of Europe and Turkey. His goal was to trace the roots of modern Greeks in the Middle Ages, particularly in Byzantium, with the aim of restoring the historical unity of Greek history. He underscored the significance of the Greek language in preserving the historical continuity of the Greeks. For this see Koumpourlis 2011: 888–908; Oikonomidis 1989: 9–10; Svoronos 1992: 11–20; Zakythinos 1974: 303–328.

[55] Maximos reached the zenith of his significant contribution to the analysis of Greek social formation in 1930 with the publication of perhaps his most important work, *Κοινοβούλιο ή Δικτατορία* (= *Parliament or Dictatorship*). This book delves into a pivotal period in Greek history, spanning from the Goudi revolution (1909) to 1928, with a particular focus on the era of "National Schism" and the aftermath of the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1922. Maximos places the political crisis of the interwar period at the center of his analysis. His work remains one of the rare approaches that perceives and analyzes Greek political history as the history of class struggle. For this see Axelos 1989: 13–25; Karpozilos 2022: 31–49; Milios 1996: 81–99.

[56] His book *Νεοελληνική κοινωνία και οικονομία* (= *Modern Greek Society and Economy*) (1934) stands as a classic in Greek sociology. In this work, the author meticulously analyzes the institution of communities as they developed under Turkish rule. Danielides also highlighted the main differences in Ottoman structures on the latter. These structures shaped numerous aspects of modern Greek society, imparting it with an oriental character and presenting obstacles to the functioning of a modern state. For this see Stathis 2014: 29–58; Theotokas 2019: ix–xxiv.

[57] «…Evythisa tin skepsi mou mesa stin pasan ora» 1995: 113. The interview was published in the triple issue of *Synchrona Themata* in 1988, under the general title "Contemporary trends in the historiography of modern Hellenism".

[58] Asdrachas 2003b; idem 2003: 29–33; Kontomichis 2003; idem 1992: 21–29; Sklavenitis 2001:163–173.

where his research interests primarily focused on the collection and publication of primary sources.[59] In 1935 and 1936, he served as an author for the *Mega Dictionary of the Greek language*, published by Dimitrios Dimitrakos.[60] This experience significantly influenced his research interests, and the majority of his publications until the eve of World War II were mainly related to the publication of medieval sources and book reviews.[61] Subsequently, during the Nazi occupation, his active participation in the resistance and the left movement played a decisive role in shaping his approach as a historian. Kostas Tsiknakis highlights that Svoronos' first exposure to Marxist ideas occurred during his university years through his involvement in the student movement "Left Party".[62] He also joined the Communist Party of Greece.[63] This, combined with his work at the Medieval Archive of the Academy of Athens, marked the beginning of his systematic engagement with social and economic issues. His study, yet unpublished, titled *Περί των εν Ελλάδι νομισμάτων κατά την Τουρκοκρατίαν* (= *On Coins in Greece during the Turkish Occupation*), served as his doctoral dissertation at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Thessalonike. Rather than focusing on a specific area of Greece or a particular period of Ottoman rule, he chose to treat currency as an economic category and examine its operations. This study explores not only the theoretical grounds for its title in one long section but also provides an extraordinary wealth of historical evidence spanning the medieval period in Greece through the beginning of the 19th century.[64] Svoronos's decision to submit his dissertation to the University of Thessalonike was prompted by the suspicion he faced in Athens.[65] This suspicion was heightened by the forced retirement of Amantos in

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[59] For this see Tsiknakis 1992: 40–42.

[60] The idea of the dictionary had been conceived by Dimitrakos since the early 1930s. The editor's main goal, according to his own words, was to document the "unified and indivisible whole of the Greek language". For this see Babiniotis 1992: 69–80; Bernal 2007: 170–190; Mackridge 2009: 299–300.

[61] Karamanolakis 2011: 881–882.

[62] Tsiknakis 1992: 39.

[63] ''Σ' έναν τόπο σωτηρίας και εξορίας'' 1988: 10.

[64] See Chatzijosif 1989: 26; Tsiknakis 1992: 43.

[65] Liata 1996: xi.

1939, primarily due to his ideological stance in favor of the prevalence of Demotic Greek, the standard spoken language of Greece in modern times.[66] Consequently, the defence of his dissertation was indefinitely postponed. Following the outbreak of the events in De- cember 1944, Svoronos actively participated in the battles of Kaisariani, Byron, and Ardittos.[67] After the signing of the Varkiza agreement, he sought refuge in Teichio of mountainous Fokida, making his escape abroad inevitable.[68] Svoronos himself, in an interview given to Tasos Goudelis shortly

[66] The Greek language question (το γλωσσικό ζήτημα) was a dispute about whether the vernacular of the Greek people (Demotic Greek) or a cultivated literary language based on Ancient Greek (Katharevousa) should be the official language. It was a highly controversial topic in the 19th and 20th centuries, ultimately resolved in 1976 when Demotic was made the official language. For this see Bernal 2007: 170–190; Bien 2005: 217–234; Browning 1982: 49–68; Delveroudi 1996: 221–239; Frangoudaki 1992: 365–381; idem 2002: 101–107; Jeffreys, Haldon, Cormack 2008: 7; Holton 2002: 169–179; Kazazis 1993: 7–26; Mirambel 1964: 405–436; Petrounias 1978: 193–220; Toufexis 2008: 203–217. 1964: 405–436; Petrounias 1978: 193–220; Toufexis 2008: 203–217.

[67] The "December events" refer to a series of clashes in Athens from 3 December 1944 to 11 January 1945. The conflict involved the communist EAM (National Liberation Front), its military wing ELAS (Greek People's Liberation Army), the KKE (Communist Party of Greece), and the OPLA (Organization for the Protection of the People's Struggle) on one side, and the Greek Government and the British army on the other. Some historians consider the events as the second phase of the Greek Civil War, often referred to as the "second round" in post-war terms. The "first round" involved clashes mostly between EAM and EDES (National Republican Greek League) in 1943, setting the stage for subsequent developments. This period led to the third phase, commonly known as the "third round", concluding in 1949 with the military defeat of the KKE. For this see Antoniou, Marantzidis 2004: 223–231; Charalambidis 2014; Kostopoulos 2016; Margaritis 1984: 174–193; Mazower 1995: 499–506; Sakkas 2010: 73–90.

[68] The Treaty of Varkiza was signed near Athens on February 12, 1945, between the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) for EAM-ELAS, following the latter's defeat during the Dekemvriana clashes. One aspect of the accord (Article IX) called for a plebiscite within the year to address issues with the Greek Constitution. This plebiscite would lead to elections and the establishment of a constituent assembly for drafting a new organic law. Both signatories agreed that Allies would send overseers to verify the validity of the elections. Moreover, all civil and political liberties were guaranteed, along with the Greek government's commitment to establishing a non-political national army. However, the promises enshrined in the Treaty of Varkiza were not upheld. The main issue was that the treaty granted amnesty only for political reasons. After the signing of the

before his death, pointed out that "I was no longer in the mood to go to the mountains or engage with political organizations because I was convinced that I would not contribute anything substantial. I made a kind of choice. I was certain that my scientific work in France would benefit the entire movement more than my presence in Greece".[69]

Svoronos in Paris experienced an unprecedented freedom. Although he did not reject the scheme proposed by Paparregopoulos regarding the connection of modern Hellenism with the late Byzantine period, he, nevertheless, shifted his interests from the nation to society, highlighting, thus, the economic and social dynamics.[70] He recognized that "the Byzantine Empire does not yet occupy, in the economic and social history of the Middle Ages, the place due to its importance".[71] As he confessed, his decision to delve into the Byzantine period strengthened after completing his dissertation on Thessalonike in the 18th century, when he realized that the means of production demonstrate a continuum from the Byzantine period to the 18th century.[72] In 1948, Svoronos participated at the 6th International Byzantine Congress in Paris with his announcement about the oath of allegiance to the Byzantine emperor and its institutional extensions. The Greek historian formulated one of the most robust perspectives on the organization and development of society, contending that the mode of production in the Byzantine economy is analogous, though not identical, to the feudal mode of production.[73] He explicitly points out that "the internal evolution of Byzan- tine society eventually created social relations analogous to those of the West".[74] Since then he systematically studied the byzantine rural society and raised questions

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treaty, there was widespread persecution of communists and former EAM members and supporters. This period, immediately prior to the outbreak of the Greek Civil War, became known as the "White Terror" (1945–46). For this see Chatzijosif 2007: 363–390; Iatrides, Rizopoulos 2000: 87–103; Kostis 2014: 697–720; Sakkas 2016: 291–308; Samatas 1986: 5–75; Sfikas 2001: 5–30; Vidakis, Karkazis 2011: 149–163.

[69] "Σ' έναν τόπο σωτηρίας και εξορίας" 1988: 10.

[70] Liakos 2001: 77.

[71] Svoronos 1956: 325.

[72] "… Εβύθισα την σκέψη μου μέσα στην πάσαν ώρα" 1995: 118.

[73] Svoronos 1951: 106–142.

[74] Svoronos 1951: 136.

that until then had been ignored by research.[75] Due to the nature of the available Byzantine sources, which are not suitable for the construction of long statistical series, Svoronos moved away from the method of Ernest Labrousse regarding statistical data processing and the great recurrent cycles that determine economic activity over decades and centuries. Starting from the tax system he dealt with the examination of the economic and social structures, to conclude that there is no evidence that the Byzantine economy was moving towards feudalism in the late 11th century, separating, thus, his position from the official line of the Marxist historians of the time.[76] This became even more apparent after the publication of his book *Histoire de la Grèce Moderne* in the series "Que sais-je?" of the publishing house "Presses Universitaires de France" in the first quarter of 1953. The book covers the period from the 11th century until the end of the civil war in 1949.[77] Svoronos' alienation from the Greek Communist Party had already started after the signing of the Varkiza Agreement, primarily stemming from his disagreement with Nikos Zachariadis regarding the continuation or discontinuation of Hellenism[78] Svoronos points out: "why did I feel the need to intervene while descending the mountain, advocating for the idea of continuity?... simply put, Zachariadis' positions lacked scientific foundation…. When he asked why I insisted on this, my response was clear: "Because I believe that communist parties wield only one weapon – the truth, and

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[75] Svoronos 1956: 325–335; idem 1959: 1–166; idem 1966: 1–17; idem 1968: 375–395; idem 1976: 49–67; idem 1981: 487–500.

[76] Soviet historians of Byzantium assert that feudal relations of production prevailed throughout the longest span of Byzantine history, from the 9th to the 15th century. Adhering to the Marxist framework, Byzantine feudalism is considered a necessary and well-defined stage in the evolution of productive forces. The so- called pre-feudal period (7th–9th century) witnessed the strengthening role of the Byzantine agricultural economy, ultimately giving rise to a new social formation – the feudal system. For this see Gorjanov 1950: 19–50; Kazhdan 1959: 92–113; idem 1979: 506–553; Lipchits 1974: 19–30; Oudaltsova 1974: 31–50; Sjuzumov 1969: 32–44. More on this see Laiou 1995: 43–64; Patlagean 1975: 1371–1396; Ševčenko 1952: 448–459; Sorlin 1967: 489–491, 494–518; eadem 1970: 491–493; eadem 1979: 529–534.

[77] Svoronos 1953.

[78] Other Marxist historians, such as Kordatos, have challenged the concept of national continuity.

nothing more, the historical truth".[79] The tension was evident in Theodosis Pieridis' 1951 report addressing the Communist Party of Greece, discussing the left-wing students of Paris; he testifies that "influenced by his bourgeois theories regarding the so-called objectivity of historical science, Svoronos performs more like an amateur than a professional historian".[80] In this context, the Greek Communist Party launched a campaign against the publication of his book *Histoire de la Grèce Moderne* in Greece. The reaction of the Greek state was also negative, since in the chapter on the period of the civil war, Svoronos includes the presence of EAM in the broader historical course of Hellenism, considering that it contributed positively to social justice. He reiterated this position in his article "Σκέψεις για μια εισαγωγή στη Νεοελληνική Ιστορία" (= Thoughts on an introduction to Modern Greek History) published in the Επιθεώρηση Τέχνης in March 1955.[81] This position provoked strong reactions and led to the deprivation of his Greek citizenship by the royal decree of June 29th, 1955.[82] According to Nicolas Manitakis "after the publication of his book in France, Svoronos also became a target for the Greek right-wing press. An anonymous article entitled "The work of a traitor", published in the Athens daily *Καθημερινή* on July 7, 1953, described his *Histoire* as a libel on Greece and its political regime, questioned whether the authorities were aware of the book's anti-national content, and suggested that, as an enemy and traitor of his State, Svoronos should be stripped of his citizenship – a fate reserved after 1948 for dozens and after 1952 for hundreds of communists".[83]

In these circumstances, Svoronos expressed his concerns about the course of research due to the limited number of studies on social and economic Byzantine history. This concern appears to be confirmed by Vitalien Laurent's article published in the *Revue des Études Byzantines*, which discusses the evolution of Byzantine studies in Greece throughout the 1940s, underlying the use of philological methods as the basic

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[79] "… Εβύθισα την σκέψη μου μέσα στην πάσαν ώρα" 1995: 115.
[80] Iliou, Matthaiou, Polemi 2004: 110; Kiousopoulou 2011: 839.
[81] Svoronos 1955: 211.
[82] For this see Kostopoulos 2003: 57; Iliou 2004: 142.
[83] Manitakis 2004: 111–112.

methodology for Byzantine historical studies.[84] Laurent proposed two factors that delimited the period under discussion: the Nazi occupation and the civil war that followed. He pointed out that after the outbreak of the civil war Byzantine studies in general in Greece developed in close relation to the communist threat.[85] Thus, he believes that the shift in research towards the Middle Ages may be related to the insecurity prevailing in Greece in the 1940s. Yet, at the same time, he considers that the Western aid during the Middle Ages was more selfless than that of the 20th century.

The anti-communist climate after the civil war

The thorough examination of the Byzantine historical production in Greece reflects the main research orientations in the 1940s, highlighting the continued use of methodological tools from the previous period.[86] The dominant historiographical trends must be understood in the context of the political developments of the mid-20th century and the prevailing anti- communist climate after the civil war.[87] According to Dimitris Sotiropoulos "this era …. is synonymous with the triptych homeland-religion-family, and others parameters such as chauvinism, social conformism and one-dimensional anti-communist rhetoric";[88] in this sense we can point to the tension in the correspondence between Svoronos and his professor Amantos due to Svoronos' adoption of

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[84] Laurent 1949: 91–128.

[85] Laurent 1949: 91.

[86] Laurent 1949: 92, 97.

[87] The intense ideological rivalry is also evident in the views expressed by Ostrogorsky on the eve of the Second World War. He notably points out that, "at present, very little remains. The Soviet government has radically dismantled Byzantine studies. Russian Byzantine studies now persist only to the extent that Russian experts in this field continue to work abroad". For this see Ostrogorsky 1940: 235.

[88] Sotiropoulos 2011: 949–950.

Marxism.[89] The ideological confrontation and conservative tendencies within the academic community became evident in the early 1940s during the well-known "trial of accents" against Ioannis Th. Kakridis. In his book *Ελληνική κλασσική παιδεία* (= *Hellenic Classical Culture*) he proposed the adoption of the monotonic system in the Greek language. According to Aggela Kastrinaki, "his colleagues accused him of being an anti-national element. They argued that he not only introduces subversive concepts into the language but also aims to degrade classical education and disconnect it from the high example set by the ancient ancestors".[90] The minutes of the meetings that dealt with this case are recorded in the volume of *Nea Estia* under the title *Η δίκη των τόνων* (= *Trial of accents*), published in 1943. Among other things, Kakridis was accused of imposing "the system of the Greek hair-communists ("μαλλιαροκομμουνιστές") of Soviet Russia".[91] Zakythinos, although he opposed Kakridis' approach, argued that he could not treat the simplification of the Greek language as an anti-national action.[92] On the other hand, extreme views were expressed, such as that of Koukoules, who, as the dean of the department of philosophy, sought to undermine Kakridis' approach, claiming that classical education flourished under the Nazi regime.[93] Furthermore, in the subsequent period, the majority of Western historians of Byzantium functioned as a defence mechanism against the approach of historical materialism, and the question of "Byzantine feudalism" became the focal point of Cold War controversies.[94] In

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[89] In a reply letter dated August 6th, 1948, Svoronos points out that "as a true "internationalist", as you mentioned to me, I learned long ago that the condition of internationalism is the love of the homeland and this principle – you know that well – has long governed my actions… on the front and not from behind, from the first moment to the end, and later on, in the resistance. In this sense the focus of my studies is Modern Hellenism and its history, along with everything that revolves around it". For more details see Karamanolakis 2011: 886.

[90] Kastrinaki 2015: 29.

[91] *Η δίκη των τόνων*, 1943: 12; Also see Kastrinaki 2015: 28–29.

[92] *Η δίκη των τόνων*, 1943: 84.

[93] *Η δίκη των τόνων*, 1943: 41.

[94] From the 1950s to the early 1990s, French historians of Byzantium, led by Paul Lemerle, formed the ideological bulwark in the camp of Marxist historians of Byzantium. An example of this is the confrontation between Lemerle and Ostrogorsky regar-

1948, in his article "Processus de Féodalisation", Zakythinos categorically denied the existence of feudalism in Byzantium. Nevertheless, he concludes that in the late Byzantine period it is possible to detect "pseudo-feudal" or "para-feudal" structures.[95]

During the same period, another element that played a key role in shaping the dominant approaches is the study of the effect of elements from the earlier Byzantine period on the construction and shaping of the Ottoman state's physiognomy.[96] This fact contributed to the broadening of methodological tools used by historians of Byzantium, since they realized that combining sources both from Byzantine and Ottoman periods facilitates a more integrated approach in the sense that the sources under discussion are compared in a long term perspective. Since Byzantine-era sources are insufficient, the best way to avoid vague generalizations is to commit to long-term study and use the available

ding the existence of feudalism in Byzantium. Lemerle, to such an extent, completely ignored Soviet historiography in 1958 in his study *Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance: les sources et les problems*, reflecting the intense Cold War climate of the time. However, it's worth noting that the 1979 English reprint entitled *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century: The Sources and Problems* gave due credit to the Russian and Soviet tradition of economic history, although emphasizing their dogmatic approach. For this see Lemerle 1979; idem 1958; idem 1945; also see Kazhdan 1959: 92–113; Laiou 1995: 55; Ljubarskij 1993: 134; Ostrogorsky 1940: 227–235; Patlagean 1975: 1375; Ševčenko 1952: 448–459; Sorlin 1967: 489–568; eadem 1970: 487–520; eadem 1979: 525–580.

[95] Zakythinos 1948: 499–514.

[96] At the onset of the 20th century, a discussion emerged regarding the factors that shaped the physiognomy of the Ottoman Empire. Three main theories were proposed, by Herbert Adam Gibbons (1880–1934), Mehmet Fuat Köprülü (1890–1966), and Paul Wittek (1894–1978). The first theory posits that the Ottomans were the result of a blend of Islamized Greeks and Slavs with Turkish groups, emphasizing the significant influence of both Christianity and Islam in shaping the early Ottoman state. Köprülü argued that the Ottoman state originated from diverse Turkic tribes, influenced by the Seljuks and Ilkhanids. In contrast to Gibbons' perspective, he rejected the idea that the Ottomans had their roots in a mixture of Byzantines, Slavs, and Turks. Wittek' s gazi theory envisaged holy war and its requirements as the principal raison d' être behind the early Ottoman formation. These were groups of Muslim warriors who shared a common goal: waging war against Christians. See Gibbons 1916; Köprülü 1922; Wittek 1938. Also see Arnakis-Georgiadis 1947; Bryer 1986; Inalcik 1973; idem 1958: 237–242; Kafadar 1995; Lowry 2003; Vryonis 1971; idem 1969/1970: 251–308.

mid-15th century data to draw conclusions about the past. In this sense, Georgios Arnakis Georgiadis (1912–1976) is one of the pioneers who, due to the physiognomy and fragmentation of the available Byzantine sources, pointed out the need to study the early Ottoman sources, which, due to their temporal proximity to the Ottoman conquest, can also be used to illuminate earlier historical conditions.[97] In his study *Οι πρώτοι Οθωμανοί. Συμβολή εις το πρόβλημα της πτώσεως του Ελληνισμού της Μικράς Ασίας (1282–1337)* [= *The first Ottomans. Contribution to the problem of the fall of Hellenism in Asia Minor (1282–1337)*], published in 1947, he aims to emphasize the role of non-Muslim elements in the formation of the Ottoman state.[98]

Arnakis Georgiadis' approach inaugurated a period of systematic use of early Ottoman sources in Greece accompanied by a significant expansion of the available methodological tools, given, based, however, on the limitations set by the basic principles of the official academ-

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[97] Between 1924 and 1929, he studied at the Robertio Academy of Istanbul, and then from 1929 to 1933 at the homonymous college (Robert College). Subsequently, from 1933 to 1939, he pursued studies at the Department of Philosophy of the University of Athens, and from 1941 to 1943 at the Department of Theology of the University of Athens. His background and familiarity with the Turkish language facilitated the use of Ottoman sources and played a crucial role in his engagement with the early Ottoman period. For this see Chasiotis 1977/1978: 521–525; Tomadakis 1975/1976: 450–453. He himself acknowledges the contribution of his professor Amantos to his approach and he points out that "I am deeply indebted to my former teacher at the University of Athens, Professor Constantine Amantos, for his wise guidance and friendly encouragement". For this see Arnakis-Georgiadis 1952: 235.

[98] Arnakis-Georgiadis 1947: 103. Over the last thirty years, the growing corpus of late Byzantine and early Ottoman sources has yielded numerous studies focusing on the transitional period of Ottoman expansion in the Balkans. While not providing a detailed historiographical overview, one cannot overlook the importance of conferences such as those at Dumbarton Oaks in 1982 and, three years later, in Birmingham at the Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. Anthony Bryer and Michael Ursinus, among others, emphasized that "Byzantinists and Ottomanists found they were talking the same language", as they shared common social, economic, intellectual, and material concerns (Bryer, Ursinus 1991: 3–4). From the 1980s to the present day, a large number of researchers have dealt with this period of transition, aiming to contribute to the study of Balkan socio-economic and demographic history. For this see Bryer 1986; Haldon 1991: 18–108; Inalcik 1973; Kiel 2009: 138–191; Necipoğlu 2009; Talbot 2006: 41.

ic historiography and the Cold War conditions of the time. Apostolos Vakalopoulos (1909–2000) underscores the importance of expanding the available sources and systematically utilizing early Ottoman sources.[99] He explicitly emphasizes "the urgent necessity of making efforts, namely employing a wide range of sources and methodological tools, to collect and scrutinize historical evidence and to reevaluate old theories".[100] Although he did not adopt Marxism as a tool for analysing social developments, he recognizes that the Byzantine society was moving towards feudalism in the late byzantine period, arguing that the mode of production in the Byzantine economy is analogous but not the same to the feudal mode of production.[101] In the first volume of the Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού, Vakalopoulos aligns with the scheme proposed by Paparregopoulos, positioning the genesis of Greek national consciousness in 1204. In the introduction of the second edition in 1974, he defines "Hellenism" "as encompassing the Greek nation in its entirety, including its political, economic, and cultural dimensions";[102] seven more volumes followed, covering the period up to 1831, a fact which contributed to the systematization of the study of the Ottoman period. He included in his study the demographic developments and focused on the investigation of the urban network during the Ottoman period.[103] The case of Vakalopoulos is indicative of the new methodological approaches adopted during

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[99] He graduated from the newly established Philological Faculty of the Aristotle University of Thessalonike and initially worked as a high school teacher in the 1930s. In 1939, Vakalopoulos completed his doctorate at the University of Thessalonike and began tenure as a lecturer at the university's Philological Faculty in 1943, eventually becoming a professor in 1951. Vakalopoulos continued in the same position until his retirement in 1974. He was a founding member of the "Society for Macedonian Studies" in 1939 and a fixed presence on its board of governors. He also served as the chairman of the "Institute for Balkan Studies". Among numerous publications, his most well-known work is the eight-volume *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού, 1204–1831* (= *History of Modern Hellenism, 1204–1831*) series. For this see Karamanolakis 2008: 86; Madgearu 2008: 160; Savvides 2001: 175–179.

[100] Vakalopoulos 1974: 4.

[101] Vakalopoulos 1974: 102–106. It is of great importance that these views were formulated during the period of dictatorship in Greece, given the fact that in previous years similar approaches would have been excluded due to censorship.

[102] Vakalopoulos 1974.

[103] Vakalopoulos 1963: 265–276.

this period. He shifted his research interest to the Palaeologan period, incorporating Byzantium into the broader context of the Western Middle Ages. Simultaneously, he emphasized the role of Ottoman penetration, thereby underscoring the significance of early Ottoman sources.

The enrichment of methodological tools by the historians of Byzantium was also accentuated through another avenue—specifically, the study of the modern Greek Enlightenment as defined by Konstantinos Dimaras and his colleagues in the 1960s. During the period un- der consideration, his "school" thrived, manifested in the establishment of the Hellenic Enlightenment Study Group (OMED), the publication of the journal *Ερανιστής,* and the founding of the National Research Foundation, notably the Center for Modern Greek Research.[104] The study of this period was carried out through the examination of the available sources of the medieval and modern period. Starting from the late 1950s, Dimaras played a crucial role in the formation of the "Royal Research Foundation" (now known as the "National Research Foundation"). In 1960, he founded the "Center for Modern Greek Research" within this foundation. Christos Hadjiosif notes that the Rockefeller Foundation funded the Royal Foundation as part of a broader European policy aimed at promoting and supporting a "non-communist left", similar to its support for the sixth section of the École Pratique in Paris.[105] However, the Enlightenment school included researchers who initially diverged from Dimaras' approach. For instance, Leandros Vranousis (1921–1993), as noted by Spyros Asdrachas, "advocates for the concept of "après Byzance", illustrating the social conditions of cultural osmosis that this concept implies".[106] Vranousis' particular interest in

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[104] For more details see Sklavenitis 2016: 188–204; Liakos 1994: 125–214. According to Antonis Liakos, "the Enlightenment, conceived as an interpretive tool first formulated in 1945, opposed both ideological trends of the Civil War. It rejected the ethnocentric and romantic conception of "Palingenesis" supported by the Right- wing on one hand and the scheme of the incomplete revolution and the subsequent defeat of "bourgeois" forces supported by the Left-wing on the other" (Liakos 2001: 75).

[105] Chatzijosif 1989: 28.

[106] Asdrachas 1997: 12. He attended the Zosimaia School and later pursued studies at the Philosophy School of the University of Athens. However, during the German occupation, he temporarily suspended his university studies and returned to Epirus. In 1942, he became a member of E.A.M. in Ioannina. See Sfyroeras 1996: 15–28.

the Byzantine period is primarily centred on the study of manuscripts and codices from the medieval and late medieval periods, a focus evident in his dissertation under the title *Χρονικά της Μεσαιωνικής και Τουρκοκρατούμενης Ηπείρου* (= *Chronicles of the Medieval and Turkish-Occupied Epirus*), published in 1962;[107] the dominant element of his approach is the reinterpretation of Modern Greek society through the byzantine past under the influence of Marxism. In this regard, his approach involved incorporating sources from both the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, aiming to provide additional insights into the transition from late Byzantine to early Ottoman society. He demonstrates that various changes in the political, demographic, cultural, and economic spheres significantly impacted social, political, economic, and cultural life and relations. However, these changes did not equally profoundly affect the social stratification system; specifically, Vranousis focused on the *Chronicles of Epirus (Χρονικά Ηπείρου)*, which offers detailed information about Ioannina coming under Ottoman rule. Drawing from various manuscripts, the chronicle encompasses the history of Epirus from the creation of the world to the end of the eighteenth century.[108]

During the same period, we should not overlook the intense ideological controversy arising from the Cold War confrontation. The approach of the official academic community, as reflected in the publications of the journal *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* until the end of the 1960s, provides insight into the prevailing trends in Byzantine historiography. These trends are characterized by a predominant focus on the study of primary sources. Simultaneously, there is a noticeable scarcity of studies addressing socio-economic issues.[109] The "proper" scientific approach, as pointed out by Nikos Tomadakis in 1953 upon the death of Koukoules, is closely linked to the "proper" political stance and the "acceptable" social perceptions. Tomadakis characteristically claims that "Koukoules, being a devout and faithful Christian, aligns his views with

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[107] Vranousis 1962.

[108] For this see Vranousis 1962; idem 1963: 570–571; idem 1969: 771, 775–776; idem 1964: 312–313; idem 1966: 342–348; idem 1957: 72–129; idem 1962b: 52–115; idem 1967: 1–80.

[109] Anagnostakis 2003: 11.

his faith in Byzantium".[110] The intense ideological controversy manifested in the revocation of Svoronos' Greek citizenship two years later. According to Giannis Giannopoulos, this action resulted from the initiative of Tomadakis and Apostolos Daskalakis, holding chairs in Byzantine literature and Medieval and Modern history, respectively, in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Athens.[111] Evi Gotzaridis points out that "the irony is that Svoronos managed to infuriate also KKE (Communist Party of Greece) because "he put in the same basket England and Russia in 1821". Unruffled he replied: "if some (Greek) communists consider they are the descendants of Romanov, I for one am not" …. when KKE split in August 1968 over the Soviet suppression of the Prague Spring, Svoronos joined the 'eurocommunist' offshoot, the Communist Party of the Interior; that is those who condemned the decision, wanted to free themselves from the stifling control of the Soviet Party, and embraced the idea of socialism with a human face".[112] Within this climate, the predominant historiographical production still adheres to the use of philological methods without significant deviations. The majority of Greek historians of Byzantium did not transcend the boundaries of traditional historiography and did not embrace the new models of historical analysis. This is closely associated with the social conditions of the period. Throughout the postwar era, Greek society was dominated by a numerically bloated middle class, which was affluent and held influence over the lower middle strata.[113]

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[110] Tomadakis 1953: xi.
[111] Giannoulopoulos 2014: 161.
[112] Gotzaridis, "What is behind the concept", 92.
[113] According to Nikos Poulantzas, the "middle class" reproduces the ideological subset of the "traditional petty bourgeoisie". This involves the social swing, the ideological refusal to identify with the working class and its ideology, as well as the illusion of the possibility for social ascent (Poulantzas 1975: 100). Also see *Rizospastis*, 28-3-1945; Boeschoten 2002: 122–141; Burks 1984: 45–58; Gerolymatos 1984: 69–78; Kalyvas2000: 142–183; Lewkowicz 2000: 247–272; Mazower 1995: 499–506; Sotiropoulos 2011: 950–951.

The transition to the 1970s and 1980s

Until the mid-1970s, the dominant model of historical analysis was anti-Marxist.[114] The preoccupation with Byzantium was ideologically charged and inextricably linked to current political trends and the prevailing ideological directions of Greek society. This fact played a catalytic role in shaping the negative attitude of Greek historians of Byzantium toward international historiographical trends.[115] The paradox lies in the fact that since the late 1960s, the dictatorship contributed to the development of historical studies, compelling numerous historians to leave Greece.[116] One such example is that of Nikolaos Oikonomides (1934–2000).[117] In fact, he participated in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*

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[114] Indicative of the Cold War controversies of the time is Kazhdan's dispute with Lemerle and Michel Kaplan, during which he accused them of portraying the agricultural history of Byzantium as primarily attributed to French historians, thereby silencing the contribution of Soviet researchers. For this see Kazhdan 1979: 506–553; idem 1979b: 491–503; idem 1994: 66–88; Talbot 2006: 32.

[115] For this see journal *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών,* v. 37 (1969–1970), 528–555, v. 38 (1971), 476–499, v. 41 (1974), 528–556, v. 42 (1975–1976), 487–506, v. 43 (1977–1978), 467–498, v. 44 (1979–1980), 463–502.

[116] With the persecutions of unfriendly professors, the military regime aimed to present the body of university teachers as an independent source of its political legitimacy, showing professors as supporters due to their prestige. Under the 5th, 9th, and 10th Constitutional Acts of 1967, the dictatorship initiated a round of purges in higher education, resulting in the dismissal of professors. The dictatorial government proceeded with the layoffs, completely disregarding their scientific competence. For this see Mpouzakis 2006: 36, 38; Papadakis 2004: 349; Papapanos 1970: 377–378; Vrychea, Gavroglou 1982: 252; Zafeiris 2011: 137.

[117] He studied at the Department of History and Archaeology of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Athens. In 1958, he spent three years in Paris, where he pursued post-graduate studies, focusing on seminars about Byzantine history, paleography, and papyrology. Specializing in sigillography during this period, he completed his Ph.D. on the "Escorial Tacticon" in Paris. Upon his return to Athens in 1961, Oikonomides was hired by Zakythinos, one of his professors at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens, to work at the newly established Byzantine Research Center of the Royal Research Foundation. He primarily focused on the archives of the monasteries of Mount Athos. During the dictatorship, Oikonomides participated in the "Democratic Defense", which had been formed a few months after the imposition of the dictatorial regime by personalities from the broader academic field and intellectual circles. After the disbandment of this organization in 1969, he fled abroad, first to Paris and then to Canada. In 1989, Oikonomides was elected professor of Byzantine History at the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Athens.

(= *History of the Greek Nation*), which began to be published during the dictatorship**.**[118] With his approach, he examines tax, economic, and social structures to understand the mechanisms and models of power, setting new interpretive schemes for the development of the Byzantine administrative system. Among other issues, Oikonomides attempted to solve the problem of determining "to what degree the middle Byzantine economy was monetized?" by analyzing and commenting on examples of monetary exchange, such as payments, wages, gifts or acts of charity, loans, etc.[119] In this context, Svoronos also participated by conducting four separate studies about the Byzantine economy, society, and partly demography. Focusing on the 4th century, his research emphasized changes in production and other factors, including indicators of monetary flow, urban demographic developments, and their implications on the composition of society. Due to the nature of Byzantine sources, he did not seek to establish numerical indexes but aimed to demonstrate general patterns regarding household and family composition. His approach promotes the examination of population distribution, specifically the spatial patterns of people's physical presence and habitation within various places of a wider region. In other words, he attempted to analyze the characteristics of the Byzantine social system in relation to "feudalism".[120] It is noteworthy that Tilemachos Louggis also participated in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*. He explored the reasons why early Byzantine society had an

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Among the administrative positions that he assumed were those of the director of the Byzantine Studies Center at the National Hellenic Research Foundation and the president of the Executive Committee of the Foundation for Hellenic Culture. He also served as a member of the board of directors of the Christian Archaeological Society and the National Bank Educational Foundation. For this see Lefort 2001: 251–254; McCormick 2004: ix–xiii; Nesbitt, McGeer 2000: ix–xii; Saradi 2001: 908–911; Vokotopoulos 2003: 7–10.

[118] Its main purpose was to demonstrate the continuity of the Greek nation since prehistoric times. However, the publishing committee, largely controlled by the official academic community, allowed researchers with different theoretical orientations to participate, as reflected in the volumes covering Byzantium and beyond. For this see Chatzijosif 1989: 30; Liakos 1994: 198–199; Aroni-Tsichli 2008: 378.

[119] Oikonomides 1979: 98–151; idem 1979b: 8–12; idem 1979c: 36–41; idem 1979d: 154–179. According to Panagiotis Vokotopoulos, his methodology is clearly influenced by his apprenticeship in Paris alongside Paul Lemerle, Alphonse Dain, Roger Rémondon and Vitalien Laurent (Vokotopoulos 2003: 7).

[120] Svoronos 1978; idem 1979; idem 1979b; idem 1979c.

agricultural orientation, resulting, as a consequence, from an ancient urban to a closed rural economy.[121] Following the principles of Marxist dialectics, he demonstrates that the delayed culmination of Byzantine feudalism prevented the timely formation of the feudal ruling class. Consequently, any corrective efforts proved ineffective in the medium term, leading to the succumbing of the society to regressive ideologies.[122] During this period, new Marxist approaches began to emerge. In 1974, Nikos G. Ziagkos' *Φεουδαρχική Ήπειρος και Δεσποτάτο της Ελλάδος* (= *Feudal Epirus and the Despotate of Greece*) was published, and Kordatos' book *Ακμή και Παρακμή του Βυζαντίου* (= *Prime and Decline of Byzantium*) was republished. The issue of feudalism also preoccupied Eleni Antoniadis Bibikou (1923–2017),[123] who included Byzantium in the wider scheme of medieval feudalism.[124] She emphasizes that Byzantine society was strictly class-hierarchical. In her research on deserted

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[121] Born in 1945, he graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens in 1967 and earned a doctorate in Medieval History from the University of Sorbonne (Paris I) in 1972. Since 1975, he has been employed at the National Research Foundation. He adopts the Marxist historical analysis, emphasizing that "the attempt to justify successive events culminates in the dialectic of Hegel's History. Marx was the only one who could undertake the task of extracting from Hegelian logic the core containing Hegel's real discoveries, along with the dialectical method, stripped of its idealistic covering. The Marxist dialectic established a thoroughly solid and comprehensible way of interpreting the evolution of human society". For this see Louggis 2007.

[122] Louggis 1978.

[123] During the Dictatorship of Metaxas in 1940, she became a member of the KKE youth group, OKNE. Throughout the German Occupation, she was part of "EAM Neon" and EPON. She pursued her studies at the University of Athens under Zakythinos. In May 1947, she went to France for further studies at the École pratique des hautes études. While in Paris, she continued her political activities. She studied with Lemerle and Fernand Braudel. Later, she worked as a researcher at the National Center for Scientific Research of France (CENRS). During the Regime of the Colonels, she organized resistance activities in France. Additionally, she served as the general secretary of the Hellenic-French Movement for a Free Greece. For this see Burgel 2021; Grivaud, Petmezas 2007;

[124] Antoniadou – Bibicou 1981: 31–41. In 1974, she edited the collective volume *Le féodalisme en Byzance: Problème du mode de production de l'empire byzantine*", part of the series "Recherches internationales sous la lumière du Marxisme". Soviet historians, including Elena E. Lipsić, Mikhail I. Sjuzjumov, and Zinaida V. Udalcova, participated, thereby making their views widely known to the West. For this also see Kazhdan 1979: 506–553; idem 1996: 133–163; idem 1982: 1–19; Laiou 1995: 47–49.

villages in the geographical area of today's Greece, spanning from the 11th to the middle of the 19th century, she delves into geographical, legal, economic, and social aspects.[125] She also suggests the implementation of the Asiatic mode of production for Byzantium, pointing out that "the ongoing discussion among Marxists on the Asiatic mode of production, which should not be confused with a "theoretical quibble", indicates recent efforts to rise above sterile dogmatism".[126]

However, the new methodological approaches were not universally accepted by the academic community. This became even more apparent in 1977 with the publication of Aggeliki Laiou's book "Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study". The book examines the structure and evolution of the rural society during the late Byzantine period. In Greece, the book provoked strong reactions, most notably from the professor of Byzantine history at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Ioannina Georgios Theocharidis. He argued that "the author, Aggeliki Laiou, attempted to make an omelet without eggs in order to reinforce her preconceived notions about the existence of feudalism in Macedonia and the Byzantine state in general".[127] This reaction stems from Laiou's adoption of the concept of "Byzantine feudalism" during the Cold War period. It highlights that ideological boundaries remained dominant in Greece even in the late 1970s. Furthermore, in his study of the Macedonian area published three years later, Theocharidis himself emphasizes the analysis of political history, addressing only superficial aspects of social and economic history.[128] On the other hand, it appears that other members of the official academic community are influenced by international historiographical developments, as exemplified by the case of Ioannis Karayiannopoulos (1922–2000).[129] As early as the 1950s, under the guidance of Fr. Dölg-

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[125] Antoniadou – Bibicou 1979: 191–259.

[126] Antoniadou – Bibicou 1977: 347.

[127] Theocharidis 1979: 433.

[128] Theocharidis 1980.

[129] He undertook post-graduate studies in Munich on a scholarship from the State Scholarships Foundation in 1952. In 1955, he earned his doctorate from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Munich with his thesis *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates*. In 1963, he became professor at the Byzantine History chair in

er, he had been engaged with issues related to the social and economic history of Byzantium.[130] Even during the dictatorship, he contributed to the development of economic history. Among other topics, he explored the issue of feudalism in Byzantium.[131] Although he does not accept the prevalence of the feudal mode of production in Byzantium, he is familiar with the historiographical work of his Soviet colleagues, such as A. Kazhdan, E.E. Lipšić, M.I. Sjuzjumov and Z.V. Udalcova. Later on, he acknowledged the contribution of Russian and Soviet historians to the understanding of Byzantium on this specific issue. He pointed out that Soviet historians of Byzantium related Byzantium to the social and economic structures of Western Europe, placing it in the wider context of the Western Middle Ages.[132] In the context of the renewal of research and the application of new methodological tools, Karayiannopulos, upon the publication of the book by R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, "Mahommed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe", acknowledges the enrichment of archival material in Byzantine historical studies. This enrichment stems from the inclusion of archival documents from the Arab world and the incorporation of the latest archaeological findings. Karayiannopulos considers these additions beneficial, as they have the potential to illuminate economic and social structures that had hitherto been ignored by research. According to Karayiannopulos, this development lays the foundation for a new approach closely tied to the fields of anthropology, geography, and archaeology.[133] In this context, he exam-

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the Faculty of Philosophy at the Aristotle University of Thessalonike. From 1962 to 1968, he served as the editor of the *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* magazine, originally founded by Bees. In 1966, alongside Emmanuel Kriaras and Stylianos Pelekanidis, he established the "Center for Byzantine Research" at the Aristotle University. During 1967–1968, he was the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the Aristotle University. In 1977, he played a key role in the establishment of the "Hellenic Historical Society" based in Thessalonike, collaborating with other historians, archaeologists, and philologists, and took charge of the society's publication, *Vyzantiaka*. For this see Grigoriou – Ioannidou 2000: 11–18; Stavridou Zafraka 2000: 7–15.

[130] Karayannopulos 1958.
[131] Karayannopulos 1968:152–160.
[132] Karayannopulos 1996: 71–89; idem 1994: 471–476.
[133] Karayannopulos 1997: 207–228.

ined the economic theory of André Piganiol in relation to the theories of Ernst Stein and Ostrogorsky on the Byzantine tax system of *iugatio-capitatio*.[134] Karayiannopulos suggests that Stein and Ostrogorsky were influenced by developments in the field of economic anthropology and sociology, particularly by Piganiol. He actively engages in the debate on the evolution of byzantine tax system and institutions, including Byzantium within the framework of the Western Middle Ages.

In the 1980s, new topics were introduced, such as the study of ideologies and the institution of family. In this sense, Greek historians have opened up many neglected topics to intensive scholarly exploration. For example, on the subject of feminism, they applied an interdisciplinary approach to issues of equality and equity based on gender, gender expression, gender identity, sex, and sexuality as understood through social theories.[135] It is no coincidence that during this period Byzantine historical research in Western Europe and USA turned its attention to the role and status of women in Byzantine society and culture. According to Alice-Mary Talbot "the production of articles and books on these topics became so substantial that it led to the creation of an online bibliography, now housed on the Dumbarton Oaks Web site, called the Bibliography on Women in Byzantium".[136] In addition, the establishment of universities in peripheral regions offered an alternative to proponents of the new trends.[137] In this context, studies during the following period incorporat-

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[134] Karayannopulos 1960: 19–46. Inspired by the work and methodology of Fustel de Coulanges, André Piganiol was strongly influenced by sociology and actively contributed to journals such as *L'Année sociologique* and *Les Annales*. In his doctoral thesis *Essai sur les origines de Rome* he employed the comparative method, integrating anthropology, ethnography, archaeology, mythology, topography, and legal history. Piganiol conducted a comparative analysis of Greek, Hebrew, Thracian, Phrygian, and Roman civilizations, aiming to address the formation of cities through the amalgamation of diverse elements. For this see Chevalier 1970: 284–286; Duval 1969: 169; Setton 1948: 329–333.

[135] Karambelias 1988; Kavounidou 1984: 95–102; Kiousopoulou 1989: 265–276; idem 1990; Nikolaou 1993; Papadatos 1984; Pitsakis 1983: 11–21; Troianos 1993: 11–21; idem 1984: 45–48.

[136] Talbot 2006: 33.

[137] The description provided by Vasilis Kremmydas about Svoronos' involvement in the development of the University of Crete is indicative: "We formulated plans for the Institute for Mediterranean Studies and the postgraduate study programs of the

ed new conceptual, analytical, and interpretive tools. This facilitated an enhanced approach to the social sciences by Greek historians in general, with a particular focus on social anthropology and sociology.[138] The shift of interest towards the new historiographical trends is evident in the Greek publication of Laiou-Thomadaki's book in 1987 by the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation. According to Tonia Kiousopoulou "given that Greek literature lacks recent monographs on the social and economic history of Byzantium, the publication of this study in Greek represents a significant contribution to the advancement of Byzantine and historical studies in general in Greece".[139]

Conclusions

The dominant historiographical trends that delimited the period under discussion are the products of the political developments of the 20th century and the anti-communist climate that prevailed after the civil war. In this sense, the majority of the official academic community tried to respond to the dominant ideological needs and adopted the scheme of national continuity. On the other hand, those who followed the Marxist perspective engaged with social and economic issues. The intense ideological controversy is reflected in the deprivation of Svoronos' Greek citizenship in 1955. The paradox is that since the late 1960s the dictatorship contributed to the development of historical studies, forcing many historians to leave Greece. The Byzantine research of the following period incorporated new conceptual, analytical, and interpretive

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History Department at the University of Crete. During our discussions, we delved into theoretical problems but never arrived at any plausible conclusions… both of us served on the university's governing committee, where we had a substantial amount of work to tackle" (Kremmydas 2011: 973).

[138] The orientations of the journals *Mnemon*, *Synchrona Themata* and *Ta Istorika* indicate a historiographical trend towards the economic and social field, aligning with the broader methodological and ideological spectrum of "new history". This trend encompasses quantitative sociological and economic approaches, as well as the structuralism of the Annales school and Marxist class analysis. For this see Anagnostakis 2003: 9; Aroni-Tsichli 2008: 382–383; Haldon 1984: 109–119; Jeffreys, Haldon, Cormack 2008: 9–10; Loukos 1992: 302.

[139] Kiousopoulou 1989b: 299.

tools, a fact facilitated by the approach to the social sciences. The ideological transformations that marked the period after the beginning of the 1990s have significantly impacted historiographical approaches up to that time. They reinforced a tendency toward a structural and cultural approach to the past, simultaneously highlighting the political aspect. New topics, such as the issues of culture and identities, entered historiographical production under the influence of international historiographical developments.[140] The subjects of historical inquiry were no longer determined solely by their position in the social hierarchy and market mechanisms, but also by other parameters emerging from the areas of feminist theory and cultural criticism from the 1980s onwards. The new approaches underline the role of cultural elements in their social contexts and how they change over time. Thus, in historical terms, the plethora of studies on issues such as gender, age, time, and the institution of family demonstrates the transition from the study of social relations to the examination of collective identities and representations.[141] The new trends under the term "postmodernism" re-established the position of Byzantium between antiquity and modern times.

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[140] For this see Haldon 1984: 129–132; Jeffreys, Haldon, Cormack 2008: 14–16; Kazhdan 1994b: 123; Talbot 2006: 33.

[141] Antonopoulos 1986: 271–286; Karambelias 1988; Kavounidou 1984: 95–102; Kiousopoulou 1989: 265–276; eadem 1990; Nikolaou 1993; Papadatos 1984; Papadopoulou 2008: 131–198; Pitsakis 1983: 11–21; Tourtoglou 1985: 362–382; Troianos 1983: 11–21; idem 1984: 45–48.

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The 'conquest' of Greece's Mount Olympus by Anglophone travellers since 1900

David Wills

T he year 1913 can be regarded as a turning-point in the long cultural history of mainland Greece's Mount Olympus. A party comprised of two Swiss climbers and a local 'goat hunter'[1] reached the summit of what proved to be the highest of the mountain's several peaks. This achievement has since been recounted in scholarly journals, noted in successive generations of guidebooks, and commemorated upon its centenary through a set of postage stamps.

Although mountainous terrain may appear forbidding and inhospitable, it is important in practical terms as home to approximately a quarter of the world's population.[2] But, as Hollis and König have recently observed, such regions are also 'places of mythological memory' which in the modern era have often attained 'a prominent and very public role in representations of national identity'.[3] Mount Olympus itself has featured in an ideological struggle over whether Greece is to be identified primarily as the backward-focused originator of Western civilization or is accepted as a modern European nation.

In this study I examine the main trends, as well as outliers, in modern representations of Greece's highest mountain. I focus on factual encounters, which range from genuine attempts at summiting Olympus'

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[1] Styllas 2012, 4.

[2] Price 2015, 5.

[3] Hollis & König 2023b, 9 and 11-12.

peaks to distant viewings of a cloud-shrouded cone.[4] In genre, these accounts include conventional texts such as alpine journals, travel literature, guidebooks and war memoirs, as well as YouTube vlogs and a rather eccentric re-imagining in which Olympus is personified. Central to my analysis is 1913, the year in which the home of the ancient gods was apparently conquered by the rationalism of modern science. But I will show that, despite the subsequent comprehensive mapping of a location which is now firmly on the tourist trail, what Hollis and König have called 'the tension between expectation and reality, between imagination and experience'[5] means that certain narratives and descriptions about Mount Olympus have endured.

Mountains are today important as 'primary destinations for hundreds of millions of tourists each year'.[6] Especially in the West, 'More and more people are discovering a desire for them, and a powerful solace in them.'[7] This has inevitably led to academic interest, so that 'Mountain studies has emerged as a vibrant and diverse cross-disciplinary field over the past few decades'.[8] Several recent scholarly articles and well-received books have considered reactions to Mount Olympus in antiquity, and have also examined the reception of ancient literature within later travel accounts published up to and including the 1800s.[9] In contrast, the present study takes as its focus Anglophone encounters with Olympus dating from the early twentieth century until as recently as 2023. In doing so, I hope to raise further awareness of Olympus' past and present representation at a time when 'Mountains, and mountain people, are now firmly part of the global agenda'.[10]

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[4] The 'Olympus Alpine Biblioteca' offers scans of historic publications in addition to an extensive bibliography: https://olympus.noblogs.org/home-en/, accessed 23rd May 2023. For facilitating access to published travel accounts of the nineteenth century, I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of the staff at the Hellenic and Roman Library in London.

[5] Hollis & König 2023b, 12.

[6] Price 2015, 12.

[7] Macfarlane 2008, 274.

[8] König 2022, xx.

[9] For example: König 2018; König, 2022; Hollis & König, 2023a; della Dora, 2008.

[10] Price 2015, 7.

The 1913 expedition and its nineteenth century antecedents

The significance of the first modern summiting of the highest peak, named Mytikas, was trumpeted by one of its Swiss 'conquerors' with the use of an imperialist comparison: 'Olympus was at the opening of the twentieth century as unknown as the greater part of Central Africa'.[11] In this account by an adventurer of Western European origin, Greece's relative backwardness was suggested through the lack of knowledge and endeavour apparently shown by the local people who had been employed to support the expedition. Although one Greek, the expert guide Christos Kakkalos, was acknowledged as essential, he was nevertheless downgraded to a 'hunter' who had 'accompanied' the more accomplished climbers. As he grilled several locals, including his muleteer, about their names for Mount Olympus' peaks, expedition co-leader Daniel Baud-Bovy must have been delighted to receive inconsistent answers, since this subsequently enabled him to offer his own suggestions to what he regarded as the relevant officiating body, the Alpine Club in London.[12] In another sense though, members of Baud-Bovy's party were actively thwarted in their efforts to progress knowledge, because 'the terror of our porters' meant that 'the box containing our instruments had gone astray'.[13] Despite his attempts to establish his credentials as a man of science, Baud-Bovy did allow himself to be awed at the top by 'the truly divine beauty of the view which met our eyes'.[14] This enabled him to assume a further, this time non-scientific, scholarly role – that of a classical connoisseur: 'Once more we admired the force and truth of expression of the ancient poets when they spoke of "the long Olympus." "the many-headed Olympus," "the snowy Olympus," "Olympus of the numberless folds."'[15] Although the 1913 expedition is often acclaimed as unprecedented – being the first to reach the summit – I will argue here that several of the themes from Baud-Bovy's account were holdovers from previous Anglophone narratives about the mountain: an inability

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[11] Baud-Bovy 1921, 207.
[12] Baud-Bovy 1921, 205.
[13] Baud-Bovy 1921, 209 and 210.
[14] Baud-Bovy 1921, 209.
[15] Baud-Bovy 1921, 209.

to truly know the mysteries of Olympus despite the scrutiny of Western science, the incompetence and ignorance of locals, and an emphasis on the link to antiquity which was offered by witnessing the location first-hand.

As Jason König has shown, for nineteenth century travellers to Greece a visit to Olympus had involved 'less emphasis on the awe-inspiring scale of mountain scenery' and was instead valued for 'where the classical past is visible and present to an unusual degree'.[16] For example, F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, visiting in 1806, dismissed the surrounding natural landscape in comparison with the (Western European) Alps as 'third class'.[17] As he made his own ascent several decades later, Henry Fanshawe Tozer, who has recently been described as 'very unusual in even attempting the journey' because northern Greece was beyond the itinerary of Pausanias' ancient guidebook which many travellers chose to follow, did celebrate Olympus' physicality: 'Nothing could well surpass the magnificence of the enormous basin below us, filled as it was with masses of white cloud, swirling and seething as in a huge cauldron.'[18] But it is clear that his admiration of the spectacle was improved by its ancient associations, both historical (spying on the pass where Xerxes entered Greece) as well as mythological: 'The heights on which we were standing were no unworthy position for the seat of the Gods.'[19] In editing a compilation of travel writing about Greece, Martin Garrett has argued of Olympus that 'travellers have always expected to find something divine here', and this supposed vestigial power provided Tozer with an explanation for his failure to conquer the mountain: by sending a snowstorm, 'the matter was settled for us by Jove himself'.[20]

This appreciation of the landscape was regarded as the preserve of the modern, Western, observer. The locals, according to Pouqueville, were unable even to name the mountain correctly, instead using 'its antique

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[16] König 2023, 147 and 148.

[17] Pouqueville 1820, 111.

[18] König 2018; Tozer 1869, 18.

[19] Tozer 1869, 20 and 21. König 2018 specifies that Tozer's visit was in the 1870s, which cannot be correct given the earlier date of the published account. Elsewhere, König amends this to 1850s and 60s: König 2023, 150.

[20] Garrett 1994, 117; Tozer 1869, 26.

name corrupted into Olymbos or Elymbos'.[21] The long-held convention, articulated in the 1930s by the avowedly pioneering Margaret Fergusson, that 'it did not occur to [Ancient] Greeks to climb mountains', has recently been shown by Dawn Hollis to be a nineteenth century myth designed as 'one more way for modern mountaineers to be first'.[22] It therefore suited Tozer to find the Greeks of his own time ill-prepared to take on the mountain, with the locals he hired lacking (Western European) modernity in both their attitudes and equipment. The guards protecting him from bandits, for example, 'were indifferent mountaineers, and delayed us much by frequently wanting to stop, complaining of their packs – which, as they only contained some provisions and a few wraps in case of a night bivouac, weighed about a quarter of what a Swiss guide would carry with pleasure.'[23] In addition, the men acting as porters possessed merely 'the moccasins of untanned hide which Greek mountaineers usually wear, [and] preferred clambering along the loose debris under the rocks on the southern side, while we ourselves, being shod with strong boots intended for Alpine climbing, found the crest of the ridge more agreeable.'[24]

Although Tozer was warned by resident monks about the presence of wolves, for many travellers it was hostile humans which caused Olympus to remain frustratingly impenetrable.[25] With the north of Greece still under Ottoman occupation, J.P. Mahaffy found that 'As soon as you reach the slopes of Mount Olympus, on the other side the danger from brigands becomes very serious indeed.'[26] In a sensationalist French novella first published in 1856, Edmond About's protagonist had been held 'for fifteen days in the hands of the terrible Hadji-Stavros, nicknamed The King of the Mountains', an unrepentant rogue who was able to carry out torture and murder with impunity due to his influence with both police and politicians.[27] The lawless reputation of Greece's mountainous

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[21] Pouqueville 1820, 77.
[22] Fergusson 1938, 129; Hollis 2017.
[23] Tozer 1869, 15.
[24] Tozer 1869, 18.
[25] Tozer 1869, 12
[26] Mahaffy 1890, 213.
[27] About [1856], chapter 1.

regions provided a pretext for Mahaffy's lack of engagement with the contemporary reality of Olympus: 'These are the reasons why I (like other people who value their lives and liberty) was obliged to sail up the coast to Salonica, and so lose the splendid scenery of Mount Olympus, which would tempt any lover of the beauties of nature.'[28] Several decades before, viewing Olympus merely from a distance had been turned into a positive choice by Henry Holland – a way of preserving the mountain's mystery. Concealed as it was by cloud, 'There was something peculiar in the manner of seeing this spot, which accorded well with mythology that made it the residence of the gods; and looking to such association with ancient times, the distinct outline of Olympus under a summer sky might have been less imposing than this broken and partial display of its form, which seemed almost to separate it from the world below.'[29]

Reflecting upon 1913

During the first half of the twentieth century, Anglophone arrivals at Olympus appropriately celebrated the 1913 mountaineers as 'conquerors' of a lodestone from antiquity: 'one of the symbolic episodes in the history of the world – the first ascent of the mountain of the immortals'.[30] At the same time, however, these next waves of adventurers sought to distinguish and justify their own (belated) investigations.

As a result of the Balkan Wars, Greece's 1912 expansion into Thessaloniki and Macedonia meant that Olympus no longer abutted Ottoman territory and so could be said to have been fully 'restored to Greek sovereignty'.[31] The importation of mountaineering, a pursuit of the European leisured class, could be seen as symbolic of Northern Greece's admission to the (Western) modern world. Fear of the Ottoman-period crime receded, with Francis Farquhar and Aristides Phoutrides informed firmly by patriotic local monks as early as 1914 that there were 'no bandits or robbers now that the Greek government was in control'.[32] Less

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[28] Mahaffy 1890, 214.
[29] Holland 1815, 302.
[30] Halliburton 1927, 36–7.
[31] Farquhar & Phoutrides, 1929, vi.
[32] Farquhar & Phoutrides 1929, 9.

reassuringly, W.T. Elmslie's muleteer of 1926 believed that the bandit problem had only been solved when 'several had been killed the previous year'.[33] But just as the Greek state in recent history had often been subject to Western tutelage, and its borders at times determined by decisions of the Great Powers, so Olympus was regarded as having been revealed to the modern world only through the efforts of non-Greek experts. Amongst the locals, rather implausibly, 'No one had heard of anyone climbing the mountain, and no one had any idea of how to approach it'.[34] Elmslie, the first British citizen to successfully take on Mytikas, rejected advice to employ Christos Kakkalos, electing instead to demonstrate his foreign expedition's superiority: 'we preferred to make the attempt alone'.[35]

In the 1920s Farquhar excitedly predicted 'a new series of explorations and ascents'.[36] In recording her late-1930s entry to this catalogue, Margaret Fergusson took the opportunity to promote the capacity of her gender through how straightforward she found her arrival at the so-called Throne of Zeus: merely 'one bit of real climbing'.[37] In contrast, American journalist Richard Halliburton had a narrative imperative for emphasising the difficulties of his climb, which had included 'clinging fearfully to the little crevices that allowed one to ascend only an inch at a time'.[38] Halliburton confessed that his ambition was to 'seat myself upon the very Throne of God', and he consequently found himself confronted by the wrath of a rejuvenated Zeus who appeared as an eagle 'returning to investigate his invaded habitation'.[39] Veronica della Dora has argued that 'climbing mythical mountain peaks meant conquering a common ancestral past', and Halliburton duly triumphed through a

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[33] Elmslie 1927, 95.

[34] Farquhar & Phoutrides 1929, 4

[35] Elmslie 1927, 88.

[36] Farquhar & Phoutrides 1929, 36. In 1929 Farquhar republished his 1915 account of climbing Olympus, which had been jointly written with Phoutrides, with the addition of a new preface and historical notes of his own.

[37] Fergusson 1938, 134.

[38] Halliburton 1927, 26.

[39] Halliburton 1927, 25 and 43.

placatory sacrifice for the king of the gods which he improvised from his remaining food and drink in the teeth of a vengeful storm.[40]

Halliburton's achievement afforded him an unparalleled opportunity to reflect on mythology – taking a particular interest in espying the former dwellings of centaurs and Orpheus – as well as on the sites associated with the invasion of Xerxes which the earlier Tozer had noted: 'from the foot of this throne of god all classic Greece rolled away'.[41] Conforming to a trend within twentieth century travel writing which I have previously analysed, Halliburton also pointed to the contemporary Greek people as providing a link to the past: the mountain shepherds 'might have stepped straight out of mythological literature', so that 'we moved back two thousand years and lived again in classic pastoral Greece'.[42] For Farquhar and Phoutrides, there had been intense revelations about the mythology of the mountain itself, since they claimed to have witnessed 'the banquets of the gods and attended their councils'.[43] Such examples would seem to be a continuation of della Dora's finding for the nineteenth century that travellers to the mountains of Greece 'enacted' the Classical past, 'they brought it into the present'.[44] Douglas Freshfield valued his experience more prosaically, providing scholarly confirmation for Homer's descriptions of Olympus as 'radiant' and 'many-crested'.[45] For those admirers who eschewed personal alpine scrambling, even a distant view of Olympus was deemed sufficient for enlightenment. William Macneile Dixon, for example, interpreted the visible weather as a connection between past and present: 'Far, very far off, there gleamed a misty cone, a tiny cloud suspended in air, the spear tip of the giant Olympus. Zeus of his kindness had vouchsafed us a glimpse of his home, the dwelling place of the happy gods. So was crowned a day of wonders in the heart of ancient Greece.'[46]

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[40] della Dora 2008, 226; Halliburton 1927, 40.
[41] Halliburton 1927, 42.
[42] Wills 2007, 82-91; Halliburton 1927, 30.
[43] Farquhar & Phoutrides 1929, 24.
[44] della Dora 2008, 223.
[45] Freshfield 1916, 295.
[46] Macneile Dixon 1929, 106.

In the opinion of James Ramsey Ullman, it was only 'their ancient fame in history and myth' that made climbing the 'brown, crumpled hills' of Greece's mountainous areas worthwhile.[47] Nevertheless, many other post-1913 explorers justified their endeavours as leading to rational, scientific outcomes, including settling such geographical questions as the heights and names of the various peaks in the Olympus range.[48] Farquhar and Phoutrides' 1915 publication was considered an advance because the earlier triumph of 1913 was 'not widely reported' in English, and the photographs which accompanied their account were celebrated as offering 'the first views of Mount Olympus to be widely distributed'.[49] As result of work such as this, Farquhar declared that by the 1920s 'the years of obscurity were now past for Olympus'.[50] However, the narrative of Olympus as mysterious and unknowable would endure into future decades. When British army officer John Hunt led Allied warfare training in a Greece newly freed from Axis occupation, it was alleged that 'the mountain was still virtually unknown'.[51] However, the second half of the twentieth century saw visitor numbers to Greece soar. Formerly regarded as an off-the-beaten-track haunt for bandit-dodging independent adventurers, romantics, scientists and classicists, Olympus was now part of a Greece that was increasingly commodified as a package-tour destination. The final section of this article will show the extent to which, under pressure of intense scrutiny and numbers, Mount Olympus has continued through to the early twenty first century as a mysterious locale, ripe for unique classical experiences, within guidebooks and travel narratives.

From the Second World War to the 2020s

Although 'Olympus' appears regularly within the indexes of travel books focusing on Greece, this almost invariably refers to the mythological abode of the gods rather than its current rocky manifestation. Only

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[47] Ullman 1942, 83.
[48] As was attempted, for example, by Freshfield 1916.
[49] Farquhar & Phoutrides 1929, vi and vii.
[50] Farquhar & Phoutrides 1929, 38.
[51] Harding 2001, 92.

eight, for example, of the almost one hundred travel narratives I have elsewhere listed as being published between 1940 and 1974[52] mention encounters with the contemporaneous mountain. In addition, for most of the few authors who did visit during the middle of the twentieth century, recounting merely a distant or partial vision of Olympus was regarded as advantageous in preserving the ancient mystique of the site: 'As a mountain it is not particularly impressive but when characterised by the curious interplay of sunshine and mist it has an unearthly detached quality.'[53] Robert Bell was even more direct in his interpretation of the apparently omnipresent veil of cloud: 'The Gods must have been displeased with us'.[54] The famous wit Osbert Lancaster included a brief reference to the 'romantic effect' of Olympus simply to serve as a contrast with the disappointing modernity of nearby Thessaloniki, a city which he likened to the Blitz-affected British seaside resort of Southsea.[55]

As a serviceman seeking refuge from Axis patrols, Chris Jecchinis was relatively unusual amongst British visitors of the mid-twentieth century in experiencing the 'quiet and mysterious' mountain slopes regularly and intimately, at one point finding himself falling into a slumber which left him 'quitting the nickelled and jack-booted present for that sylvan past', so that 'my flesh was diffusing and my very being was going up to Olympus and the throne of the All-powerful'.[56] This sensation of what mountain advocate Robert Macfarlane has called 'moving upwards in space, but also backwards through time',[57] which I have already noted as prevalent in earlier accounts of Olympus, continued across the 1950s and 60s. The potential of the region as a portal to the past was clear to Herbert Kubly since, even from fields nearby, 'I felt the presence of ancient gods'.[58] Barbara Whelpton's experience was even

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[52] The number of these titles reaches 92 in Wills 2007, 122–129.
[53] Krippner 1957, 38.
[54] Bell 1961, 195.
[55] Lancaster 1947, 178.
[56] Jecchinis 1988, 134–135.
[57] Macfarlane 2008, 36.
[58] Kubly 1970, 10.

more intense: 'In the eerie light, the mountain was peopled with shadowy figures'.[59]

As in earlier literature, it was often implied that another link to the ancient past might be found in the allegedly pre-modern attitudes and way of life of the modern inhabitants. Pausing for breath amongst the foothills, Patrick Anderson heard the 'chill sound of a boy's pipe' and 'sheepskins being churned to cleanliness in a basin below'.[60] Returning to his car, Anderson warned that on nearby roads travellers might still encounter men pulling chained bears which they forced to 'dance', the archaic cruelty graphically recorded elsewhere by the Greek poet Anghelos Sikelianos.[61] As late as 1974, the relevant volume in Fodor's famous guidebook series contained the exaggerated claim that 'the whole countryside rising slowly towards the Olympus is a living museum of folklore', with specific admiration directed towards funeral traditions which 'would fit well into an ancient tragedy'.[62]

Like their ancestors during the Greek War of Independence, who had boasted in song that 'For every peak there is a flag, for every branch a klepht'[63], local resistors to hated foreign oppression during the mid-twentieth century found their way to Olympus. A 1942 song repurposed the 'thunder on Mount Olympus' as less the indicator of ancient power and more the sound of the 'fight for liberty, the most coveted prize'.[64] Chris Jecchinis, whose British-Greek unit attacking Nazi trains was based in the region, set Olympus symbolically apart because its fame and antiquity gave it 'no part in the thousand-year Reich'.[65] Later in the same decade, during and following the Greek Civil War, it was inevitable that this relatively inaccessible location would revert to its nineteenth century role as a practical place of refuge for those who wished to evade the authorities. At the beginning of the 1950s, shepherds informed

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[59] Whelpton 1954, 20.
[60] Anderson 1964, 237.
[61] Anderson 1964, 237; the poem entitled *The Sacred Way* is translated in Sherrard 1987, 50–53.
[62] Sheldon 1974, 259.
[63] Sfikas 1999, 46.
[64] Sfikas 1999, 40.
[65] Jecchinis 1988, 136.

Kevin Andrews that venturing to the mountain's pastures had until now been too perilous: 'A party of Athenians came to climb the Mytikas for the first time since the war, but they got no further than where we're sitting. Three andartes took all their money, their watches, and most of their clothes.'[66] Travelling in the same year as Andrews, John Pollard was similarly warned by one government official that lawless elements 'still roamed the mountain heights'.[67] However, by the time his account was published in the middle of the 1950s, Pollard was confident that this reputation would prove no setback to visitors emulating the Western European modes of mountain exploration: 'Nowadays guided parties are encouraged to make the ascent after the best Alpine traditions.'[68]

With Pollard's prediction of popularity coming true, by the 1970s and 80s it became very challenging for travellers to continue peddling a narrative of the isolated and mysterious Olympus, as the celebrated author Eric Newby discovered. Newby felt himself fortunate to claim the 'last two bunks' at the nearest youth hostel, which was otherwise full of 'hill walkers with a distinctly aggressive approach to their chosen pastime'.[69] However, even though he was participating in what was by then a mass tourism pursuit, Newby sought to distinguish the ambition of his fellow mountain climbers – 'all French or German' – from the limited imagination possessed by even well-travelled Greeks: 'we had a number of interesting conversations in the cafés with well-dressed gentlemen who had spent most of their lives in such far-off places as Pittsburgh, Darwin and West Hartlepool but had never climbed Mount Olympus or even thought of doing so.'[70] In referring to 1913, the suggestion that it was foreign mountaineers who had got there first was another device used by a number of writers, including John Hillaby, to disparage native Greek attitudes and achievements: 'a local guide, Christos Kakkalos had helped two Swiss climbers, Baud-Bovy and Boissonas to climb to the summit'.[71] When Hillaby failed in his own attempt, as a

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[66] Andrews 1959, 233.
[67] Pollard 1955, 20.
[68] Pollard 1955, 44.
[69] Newby 1984, 174.
[70] Newby 1984, 176 and 173.
[71] Hillaby 1991, 328.

British explorer, to emulate their achievement, he resorted to the well-worn trope of blaming the hail and thunder on a still-present Zeus.[72] Travelling like Newby and Hillaby in the 1980s, the Western-educated but Greek-speaking Tim Salmon proved to be more understanding that mountain travel could be viewed locally as important for survival but inexplicable as a leisure pursuit. Focused as he was on studying groups of Vlachs who seasonally herded their sheep through the Olympus foothills, Salmon found himself accosted and condemned by an old man at a provincial bus station: 'You must have got some brain missing' because only 'madness goes to the mountains'.[73]

Despite such examples of incomprehension, visiting upland regions had, by the turn of the century, become a widespread choice of escape from urban life amongst people of many countries: 'An estimated 10 million Americans go mountaineering annually, and 50 million go hiking'.[74] With aficionados such as Robert Macfarlane promoting mountains as offering a 'spiritual vantage-point as well as a physical one', it is understandable that Jill Dudley's 2008 travel account should prominently feature the theme of experiencing the sacred at Olympus: 'the presence of the gods was almost tangible'.[75] Ascribing, like so many before her in Greece, ancient attributes to modern inhabitants, Dudley acclaimed a young man who helped her across a fast-flowing river as 'Dionysos, god, or Dionysios, saint'.[76] In her travel feature for the *New York Times* of the late 1990s however, journalist Caroline Alexander took a considerably more prosaic approach: 'I now discovered nothing at all preternatural or even mysterious about the mountain before me', which 'looked comfortingly welcoming and accessible.'[77] So much so, she discovered that at the 'Refuge A' accommodation for trekkers 'a supply of thick, soft blankets was in each room, and each bed had a pillow'.[78] There certainly, however, remains a strand within Anglophone

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[72] Hillaby 1991, 332.
[73] Salmon 1995, 1.
[74] Macfarlane 2008, 17.
[75] Macfarlane 2008, 158; Dudley 2008, 78.
[76] Dudley 2008, 81.
[77] Alexander 1998.
[78] Alexander 1998.

factual writing of keeping a distance from Olympus, an approach which may be physically undemanding but is sometimes regarded as intellectually advantageous. In writing a history of Olympus for young people, Claire O'Neal must have found it satisfying to note that 'fog coats the mountain like a mystery'.[79] During his recent visit, travel writer Peter Barber similarly observed that 'the peaks of Mount Olympus are hidden by a blanket of cloud', and he came to the realisation that 'I would rather not see the top of the mountain. It's much better to imagine Zeus and the other gods sitting on thrones in their own temple above the clouds.'[80]

A YouTube documentary of 2012 which follows Kilian Jornet's record-breaking ascent and descent of Mount Olympus includes a scene in which a Greek muleteer stands rooted with astonishment as the Spanish athlete speeds past.[81] In the aftermath of his triumph, Jornet is shown coaching local runners in the most advanced techniques for tackling the stony uphill paths.[82] This ongoing narrative of visitors from the West assuming leadership over the Greeks in appreciating and conquering the ancient landscape has recently reached a surreal apogee with the imagined relocation of Mount Olympus to the USA. In her 2020 fable for children, DeAnna Kauzlaric Kieffer presents a Continent-hopping Olympus as having failed to find an appropriate refuge from exploitative humans in locations as far apart as the Sahara and the Himalayas. The personified mountain eventually discovers 'fine real estate in a friendly neighborhood' – Washington State – where 'the humans are almost civilized'.[83] For Kieffer, the New World thus represents the most fitting resting-place for the highest culture of the Old.

Despite such examples of foreign appropriation, greater credit is now being given to the Greek role in opening up Olympus to human exploration. This is similar to the reputational trajectory of Tenzing Norgay at Mount Everest: although in recent decades often given equal billing with the New Zealander Sir Edmund Hillary, Tenzing was ini-

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[79] O'Neal 2014, 4.
[80] Barber 2023, 119.
[81] Jornet 2012a; O'Neal 2014, 33 duly notes Kilian Jornet's feat as the fastest climbing time.
[82] Jornet 2012b.
[83] Kieffer 2020, 23 and 25.

tially dismissed by some in 1953 as 'an aide with little mountaineering skill'.[84] Expressing a nationalist pride like that of the Nepalese, many of whom insisted that it was actually Tenzing who had stepped onto the summit of Everest first, Greeks of the Olympus region believed, they informed Kevin Andrews in the 1950s, that Christos Kakkalos 'must have been up and down a hundred times before the foreigners came and made what they called the first ascent'.[85] As late as 2001, when J.G.R. Harding reflected on the events of 1913 for *The Alpine Journal*, the conventional approach taken by European mountaineers towards local experts was retained: the summiting of Olympus was 'by the Swiss climbers Baud-Bovey and Boissonnas *with their Greek guide Kakalos*'.[86] Generally however, authors of the twenty first century, such Claire O'Neal, have been even-handed in assigning credit: 'Kakalos and Swiss photographers Daniel Baud-Bovy and Frederic Boissonas became the first people in recorded history to reach Olympus's highest peak, Mytikas'.[87] Mike Styllas, writing at virtually the same time, was even more emphatic in reversing the traditional prioritization: 'Christos Kakkalos, *together with* Swiss photographer Frederic Boissonnas and also Swiss Daniel Baud Bovy reached the highest point of Greece'.[88]

Conclusion

Despite its huge significance within Classical mythology, Greece's Mount Olympus was at the beginning of the twentieth century, due to its absence from the much-followed ancient guidebook of Pausanias and its geographical location on the margins of the modern Greek state, relatively uncharted territory for Western travellers. The first successful ascent of Olympus' highest peak in 1913 opened the way for the comprehensive exploration, demystification and, indeed, exploitation of the mountain by generations of visitors. Subsequent written accounts have

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[84] Twigger 2016, 346.
[85] Twigger 2016, 346; Andrews 1959, 230.
[86] Harding 2001, 92, emphasis added.
[87] O'Neal 2014, 6.
[88] Styllas 2012, 4, emphasis added.

ranged from the fantastical to the highly technical, the latter including a geological article by Clive Michael Barton which reaches the conclusion that 'as Olympos records continuous carbonate deposition from the Triassic to the Eocene, with no marked Cretaceous discordance, there is no possibility of transport across the platform in pre-Tertiary times.'[89]

Although now a thoroughly mapped and analysed location, Olympus has recently offered new ways of viewing the natural world for photographer Agorastos Papatsanis. In successive years a 'Wildlife Photographer of the Year' category winner, Papatsanis has explained that the mountain enables him to get lost in 'the interplay between fungi and fairy tales'.[90] The increasing interest in mental as well as physical health has led writers such as Silvia Vasquez-Lavado to advocate travel in such landscapes as 'healing trauma through nature'.[91] At the same time though, there is greater understanding that exploring Mount Everest, for example, 'should inspire humility rather than bravado' because 'to the sherpas it was a sacred place'.[92] In a 2024 article aimed at tourists, Georgia Drakaki has insisted that Olympus be approached with 'discipline and reverence'.[93] Although such reflections on natural landscapes and their importance – intrinsically, symbolically and imaginatively – are part of wider contemporary movements, a sacred aura for Mount Olympus has long been recognised. In contrast to Everest, this interpretation of Olympus was regarded as largely the preserve of Classically-educated foreigners rather than local farmers and shepherds. According to generations of Anglophone writers, the uses of the mountain were for the people of Greece overwhelmingly practical: the high passes as routes connecting the north and south of the country, the pastures for seasonal flocks, the streams for laundry, and the inaccessible caves for hideouts from the Law. It was thought that only those from a Western European background could be Olympus connoisseurs, possessing the sensibilities necessary to understand how the present landscape might reflect ancient

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[89] Barton 1975, 395.
[90] *Wildlife Photographer of the Year* 2022, 27.
[91] Vasquez-Lavado 2022, 105.
[92] Vasquez-Lavado 2022, 190.
[93] Drakaki 2024, 116.

stories and traditions, and able to comprehend the attraction of mountain conquest as a leisure pursuit achievable through use of the latest equipment and expertise.

The perceived virtues of a visit to Mount Olympus have to some extent developed – from colonial conquest and transportation to a mythical past, to more recent ideas about self-discovery and reconnection with nature. But as I have shown, certain narrative tropes about Olympus – for example, as unknown and unknowable – have persisted for much of the last 120 years. As late as 2001, Harding recommended Olympus to other adventurers – and justified his own reporting of it – on the basis that 'the mountains of Greece remain a blank on the map for most British climbers'.[94]

The issuance in 2013 of Mount Olympus postage stamps to commemorate the centenary of the first summiting also serves as a milestone in the evolving *ownership* of that achievement. The accompanying text proudly listed the Greek climber first: 'In August 1913, Christos Kakalos from Litochoro and the Swiss climbers Frédéric Boissonnas and Daniel Baud-Bovy succeeded in ascending to the Olympus's virgin peak, Mytikas'. Narratives of Olympus will continue to reflect wider debates about such issues as mountain exploration and tourism, environmentalism, and nationalism. Nevertheless, due to the dominating theme of this locale within ancient mythology as sacred and powerful, the representation of Mount Olympus as inscrutable is likely to persist.

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[94] Harding 2001, 89.

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Constructing Saints in Greek and Latin Hagiography. Heroes and Heroines in Late Antique and Medieval Narrative, edited by Keon de Temmerman, Julie Van Pelt & Klazina Straat. Turnhout: Brepols, 2023. 182 pp. ISBN: 978-2-503-60282-0

L'histoire comme elle se présentait dans l'hagiographie byzantine et médiévale / Byzantine and Medieval History as Represented in Hagiography, edited by Anna Lampadaridi, Vincent Déroche & Christian Høgel. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 21). Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2022. 246 pp. ISSN 0293-1244 ISBN 978-91-513-1375-7

The academic study of hagiography has long seemed a contradiction in terms. These volumes, stemming from recently funded projects that have favoured European-wide networks of collaboration, show the profitable results of what is at first view an unlikely engagement. Both volumes, though slightly different in approach and results, engage with this question of appropriateness as they tackle the fundamental issue of the relation between history and hagiography. The historical positivism that dominated earlier generations of scholars, including some Bollandists, has given way to more nuanced and considered perspectives. Signalled by the word "narrative" in *Constructing Saints* and researched in its modes of embeddedness in those narratives in *L'histoire,* postmodern history is no longer an agglomeration of objective facts, but a polyhedric reality that relates simultaneously to all human dimensions: the political, the anthropological, the social, the temporal and spatial. What emerges from taking all these dimensions into account is the perhaps surprising realization of their vital co-presence in individual and collective lives of saints from ancient times. Nor does the verdict of their assessment need to be univocal, as the geographical and temporal spread, and the nature of the collections and their manuscript transmission allow for the co-existence of different interpretations, as the authors or compilers pursued different aims at different times and places. In the restricted space of this review, I will highlight some of the threads that I found most fruitful

in selected articles and attempt to establish a conversation on certain themes across the volumes. Since all the contributors are recognized scholars in the field, the quality is uniformly high and no special critical remarks need to be made.[1]

Does the study of hagiography in terms of narrativity help to disentangle it from the exigencies of historicity that have so far strangled more profound analyses of the text themselves? In his introduction to *Constructing Saints,* Koen de Temmerman seems to come half-way towards a positive answer. Wishing to save both aspects, he formulates the following definition: "... hagiographers do not construct their heroes purely from their imagination (as authors of fiction do) but reconstruct them from legendary or historical material." (p. 21) But is this distinction between authors of fiction and hagiographers justifiable? The subtleties of the hagiographical discourse, single or collective, emerging from these volumes show that these 'writers' were highly skilled entertainers responding to individual audiences, local needs and specific requirements in the packaging and repackaging of the same successful plots, with the same (or slightly different) heroes (and, especially, heroines). As the study of intertextuality and intermediality has shown, any creative achievement depends in turn on a tradition that has churned reality in a transformative way, to make the new production into a significant piece of communication with the world. Any number of examples discussed in the volumes bear out this observation, but the concept is perhaps best conveyed by Virginia Burrus's unfailingly masterful study of Constantina (*Constructing Saints*, pp. 157–172). A set of texts is necessary to show how "complexly interrelated, mutually confirming, and contesting literary depictions are produced through a process of textual fragmentation and recombination, constriction and expansion", so that this "fluid field of hagiographic textuality … yields no single, stable authoritative Life – hence no single, stable, authoritative Constantina." (p. 158, in reverse order) A parallel case to these transformations is the

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[1] A few typos occur in both volumes. Note that *L'histoire*, p. 101, ascribes to Belting the 2021 book by Roland Betancourt, *Performing the Gospels in Byzantium*; at *L'histoire*, p. 207, 'Basile II' should be 'Basile I'. Both volumes have an index, *L'histoire* also includes an index of manuscripts.

curious anecdote of the temptation of Saint Philosophos by a prostitute, the subject of Stratis Papaioannou's study in *L'histoire*. Papaioannou, however, is reluctant to let go of the principle of searching for some hypothetical *Urtext*. The result is a missed opportunity at penetrating the workings of an odd tale, that would do much to dislodge false impressions of saints as paradigms of sanctity when seen with critical eyes (as Mary-France Auzépy remarks in *L'histoire*, p. 66–67, even positivists are extremely reluctant to carry their skeptical principles through to their logical consequences when dealing with hagiographies). Papaioannou is sensitive to the liturgical contextualization of the text's performance, but appears to perceive it more as a constraint than an opportunity for extended dialogue.

Saint Constantina also offers the occasion to open another thread that I perceive as central in the understanding of the hagiographical phenomenon and its discourses, namely, that of orality. As Burrus highlights, "the Life depicts Constantina as not merely erudite but heroically triumphant precisely by virtue of her facility with language. … in her very eloquence, Constantina invites erotic submission rather than moral imitation … Constantina may be heroic precisely to the extent that she is *in*imitable, set apart from the normal run of humanity." (p. 168) The rediscovery of vocality – and attendant aurality – of virgin martyrs is pursued in the study by Ann Alwis (*Constructing Saints*, pp. 79–104) of a thirteenth-century metaphrasis of the Life of St Tatiana and St Ia. Alwis shows that these women were ultimately valued for their rhetorical skills and convincing eloquence, that impacted infidels and emperors alike. The women's voices emerge against a perceived background of objectification, subordination, and sexual exploitation of women, showing that where women can be heard and find a place as teachers and preachers, that threat is correspondingly diminished.

A comparable trajectory may be extracted from Daria Resh's excellent study of the versions of the legend of Saint Barbara (*L'histoire*, pp. 133–148). While the plot revolves around Barbara's affirmation of control over her own sexual destiny, both against *patria potestas* and societal conventions, Resh engages with the versions to find out how each presents the story by highlighting its oral performativity for an audience

to different degrees. Framed by theoretical underpinnings in the work of medieval literary critic Antony Spearing, Resh retraces narrative modalities that in turn hide or foreground the oral performativity of the story. From a narrator-less text that she sees imbricated in "deliberate *writtenness*" (p. 136) through denial of a specific perspective, she turns to the highly individualized portrait of Barbara by (attributed to?) John Damascene where the theatrical mise-en-scène of the story is portended (in ambiguous and intriguing counterfactuality) during the liturgical performance of the verses of his laudatory composition. Finally, she comes to later medieval versions that take the narrative back in to the hands of an omniscient speaker, who steers the course of the recitation more decidedly and adds comments to the proceedings. Very cleverly, the visual and oral exclamations of the narrator (Look!, Hear!) are compared with marginal glosses in manuscripts, placing the two worlds – written and spoken – in a most urgently needed conversation.

Resh's emphasis on performance, which we somewhat misleadingly refer to as 'liturgy' (given current experiences and expectations), is well matched by the entertaining and reflective article by Piet Gerbrandy (*Constructing Saints*, pp. 105–122), where the nuts and bolts of the bardic tale of the Life of St Gallus are playfully exposed in the overtly self-effacing game of the author, Notker Balbulus, and fellow monks. Rather than dismiss the dialogic frame and the humility claims of the author as topoi, Gerbrandy delves into the dynamics of a text that publicly exposes its process of creation effectively as a reflection on its own fictionality and performativity. While Notker's activity is at once that of bardic singer and of verse writer, a more poignant polemic between these forms of communication, with respect to God's divine revelation, emerges from the Life of Gregorios Thaumatourgos by Gregory of Nyssa, as presented by Dimitris Kyrtatas (*L'histoire*, pp. 15–30). Again abandoning the well-trodden path of historical veridicity concerning the documentary inscription related to the saint's creedal formulation, Kyrtatas lands in the middle of a similar debate between written documents and the trustworthiness of the voice of God (see esp. p. 23).

A special place in my personal interests is occupied by the Life of Saint Pancratios of Taormina (*BHG* 1410), whose passages about ima-

ges are competently and thoroughly researched by Anna Lampadaridi (*L'histoire*, pp. 75–102), at once author of this substantial article and of the nuanced and helpful introduction to the volume. The dating of this Life to the period before iconoclasm is based on internal (but tenuous) evidence and preserves the place of the Life of St Stephen the Younger as the only contemporary hagiography from the period of the controversy (see Auzépy in *L'histoire*, pp. 63–74). Intertexting with an early Christian apocryphon, the Acts of John, a text definitively condemned only at the iconodule council of Nicaea II in 787 CE, the Life contains a pro-image message couched in the narrative of the Christianization of Sicily by two apostles, Pancratios and Marcianos, entrusted by Saint Peter with images of both Christ and of himself. Lampadaridi considers the Greek background to this didactic use of images for evangelisation, which finds a direct and perhaps more famous counterpart in Gregory the Great's famous dictum of art as the book of the illiterate. The Life provides a wealth of details about image-making, including the mention of a named artist, Joseph, and a description of folded parchments (*membranas*) where sketches of wall paintings ordered by Peter as church decoration were copied by the bishop for divulgation thus 'authorizing' the subject-matters for further representation, rather than the other way around as might have been expected (see p. 82). The emphasis on an ordered arrangement of scenes from the Life of Christ undercuts their derivation from text, where a sequential narrative naturally underpins the story. The possibility that 'liturgical' scenes were depicted in no particular order to begin with, as independent tableaux, is therefore mooted (as in scenes on early Christian sarcophagi, sometimes even 'mixing' what we distinguish as Old and New Testament subjects). I also wonder whether the paratactic juxtaposition of image and cross (e.g. in the list at p. 92) should be read as pointing to an iconic cross that displayed the body of Christ on it, given the importance that using this representation received at Nicaea II. Lampadaridi's adherence to the text and its vocabulary is a precious reminder that hagiographies cannot be studied merely by reference to plot. They are crafted as literary works where each word acquires a specific valence in the often highly controversial panorama that surrounds the reading and performative staging of saints'

lives. It is this profound connection between texts, images, and didactic performances that Lampadaridi so well focuses on. As she sharply summarizes it, "L'expérience visuelle participe à la transmission du message chrétien. Elle est étroitement liée à la liturgie, à la dramaturgie du rite byzantin qui se déploi dans l'église toute entière comme une scène.» (p. 83 and n. 30)

This summer my family took a trip to Trondheim (medieval Nidaros), Norway, where the feast of Saint Olaf is regularly celebrated on 29th July. Within a festival of art, crafts, music, and liturgy, we attended a musical recreation of the travels of the reliquary of St Lucy across Europe, where an actor-narrator's witty and entertaining words alternated with music and song to recreate a story. Days later we visited nearby Stickelstad, the battlefield where Olaf Haraldsson was killed, and where his memory lives on in a yearly outdoor re-enactment of the event, on a purpose-built stage in a wooden amphitheatre. A cycle of paintings from the 1930s helps the local guide explain the events of the king's career, his death, and his miracles. Unlike the Synaxarion's summaries about Byzantine kings, no aspects of Olaf's career are omitted, including his early years as a marauding Viking. Reading Steffen Hope's revisiting of the Olaf saga (*L'histoire*, pp. 31–60) and its connection to the Byzantine Varangian guard acquired a special resonance: the saintly king is clearly still regarded as a national hero. Hope succeeds in the difficult task of retracing the diffusion of a specific legend about the battle of Berrhoia, where the saint came to the Emperor's help and attained victory for him over the Pechenegs, as celebrated from scaldic poems to liturgical anthems. His conclusions are similar to Burrus's in acknowledging the fluidity of legends and their dependence not only on historical circumstances, but more specifically on political aims.

Politics and anthropology are aspects that the study of synaxarial collections as a whole also foregrounds for Sophie Métivier (*L'histoire*, pp. 199–218) and Paolo Odorico (pp. 219–240), both of whom grapple with the question of selection and inclusion in the year-long Constantinopolitan assemblage of saints´ lives, the Synaxarium Sirmondianum published by Hippolyte Delehaye. Specifically, Odorico questions Dagron's understanding of the sanctity of Byzantine Emperors, trying to

discern other criteria for admittance to what he considers an official, approved pantheon. Like Charis Messis in his pointed study of 'Emperor Maximian' across synaxarial notices (*L'histoire*, pp. 105–132), Odorico considers these texts as tracing a version of the history of Byzantium, whose roots in the Roman Empire remain visible in settings and names, helpfully detailed in Métivier's contribution. But many more collections await publication. Besides the necessary work of editing and translating, it is precious to benefit from these kinds of theoretical reflections that expand the framework in which to understand new materials. There is much need for both kinds of studies, so that it is my hope that the current flourish of hagiography-related projects will continue and never run dry. I recommend these two volumes to any medievalist wishing to get up to speed with the current trends in this field of study.

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Alexios G.C. Savvides, *Υστεροβυζαντινή και πρώιμη οθωμανική Θεσσαλία*. Athens: Herodotos 2022. 312 pp. + 5 maps – ISBN 978-960-485-478-3

The present monograph by Alexios G.C. Savvides, based on a significant number of Byzantine sources, is a comprehensive review of the history of Thessaly during the late Byzantine and early Ottoman periods, filling an important gap in the relevant literature. It is true that the Thessalian region has been the subject of earlier studies by the author, which are now collected in this useful volume.

It begins with a foreword note (pp. XIII-XV) by Vasiliki Nerantzi-Varmazi, Professor Emerita at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, followed by an extended introduction by the author (pp. 3-14).

In Chapter I (pp. 17-72) the author deals mainly with the question of the naming of the rulers of Epirus and Thessaly after 1259, and the use of the names Angelos and Doukas, with an extensive bibliography; this is a subject which he also deals with in the Introduction of the book (pp. 11-12). In Chapter II (pp. 73-89), Prof. Savvides deals with late Byzantine prosopography, historical geography, and topography, based on the results of recent research. The chapter includes a table of both the most important aristocratic and less prominent families of central Hellas during the period between the 11th and 15th centuries. The following Chapter III (pp. 91-126) examines the historical development of the "Thessalian state" from the autonomy of John I Angelos Doukas Komnenos (1267/68) to the beginning of the 14th century. The focus here is on the view that the members of the family bore the name Angelos, not Doukas. This issue is also discussed by the author in the introduction of the book (pp. 11-12).

Chapter IV (pp. 127-200) discusses the raids by the Catalans, Albanians and Serbs, as well as to the period of Palaeologan rule and the flourishing of monasticism in Meteora. However, in our opinion, the discussion regarding the establishment of the Varlaam monastery in around 1350 (p. 194) would perhaps needs to be re-evaluated, since in contemporary sources such as the *Vita* of Hosios Athanasios, the mention is made to an ascetic named Varlaam, rather than to the foundation

of the Varlaam monastery. In the book the reader also finds references to privileges granted by emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos to the monastery of St Stephen (p. 194 n. 99), as well as to foundation of the Varlaam monastery by Hosios Athanasios Meteorites (p. 194 n. 99) and activities of Makarios of Ancyra in the Skete of Stagoi (p. 198). These references definitely need to be further elaborated and documented in more detail. For instance, the origin of Makarios from the edges of Thessaly (*ἐκ τῶν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐσχάτων*) does not necessarily correlate with present-day Thessaly, but with Macedonia, which was known by that name during the Byzantine era. A Thessalian origin (*ἐκ Θετταλίας*) is also attributed to the later Patriarch Gennadios II Scholarios which is quite doubtful (pp. 239-240). Finally, further clarification and discussion would have been useful regarding the re-establishment of the Great Meteoron in 1388 by John-Joasaph Uroš Palaiologos (pp. 199, 105).

Chapter V (pp. 201-222) deals with the Ottoman invasion and conquest. The author is mainly concerned with the chronology and conditions of the Ottoman conquest of Thessaly. After the publication of A.G.C. Savvides' book, Prof. F. Kotzageorgis quite recently brought to light a document (*biti*) of July 1394 from the Ottoman archives of the Great Meteoron monastery, which confirms the old rights of the Meteora monks and now needs to be accounted for as an important contribution to the topic.[1] In Chapter VI (pp. 223-240), Prof. Savvides pays particular attention to the activities of Turakhan Begh and his sons, as well as the nature of the transition from late Byzantine to Ottoman occupied Thessaly. The volume is completed by an extensive, though not exhaustive, bibliography (pp. 244-269), an English summary (pp. 273-282) and a detailed index of names, places, terms, concepts, and titles/offices (pp. 285-313). Finally, the five maps at the end are very useful and allow the readers to accurately orient themselves.

The book departs from the practice of linear historical narrative. Instead, the author focuses on individual themes, such as terms, places,

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[1] F.P. Kotzageorgis, *Επανεκτιμώντας την πρώιμη οθωμανική παλαιογραφία και διπλωματική. Εννέα έγγραφα από το αρχείο της Ιεράς Μονής Μεγάλου Μετεώρου (1394-1434)* [Επιστημονικά Δημοσιεύματα 2], Holy and Imperial Monastery of the Holy and Great Meteoron 2022, p. 35 sq.

persons, titles, and issues related to population migration (Albanians, Serbs and Turks), as well as the role of influential Byzantine aristocratic households, such as those of the Melissenos, Gabrielopoulos and Philanthropenos. It also addresses the issue of social tensions in the region. In each chapter, the author includes excerpts from recent historiographical literature. The afore-mentioned approach, along with extensive historiographical overviews is often helpful, but can sometimes divert the reader's focus and interrupt the flow of the text.

The book provides a comprehensive bibliographical review of Late Byzantine Thessaly thus putting in second place the historical synthesis and treatment of individual issues. Furthermore, while the discussion is intriguing, the author's personal viewpoint is not always apparent. Several suggestions by other scholars are frequently cited, with the author occasionally expressing either agreement or concern. However, he often refrains from stating his own position.

In our view, certain issues are still in need of further elaboration or clarification to enhance the broader debate on Late Byzantine Thessaly. In particular:

i)   The author discusses feudal (or quasi-feudal) phenomena and cases of serfdom in Thessaly during the period. These terms may be controversial, and the reader could benefit from a more extensive discussion of the topic, based on 13th and 14th century written sources for the region. The author shares his views on the subject in a recently published book of his.[2]

ii) On page 78, note 30: Goulenos is a place name of Slavic origin,[3] not a personal name, and it occurs on the plains west of Trikala.

iii) The author, when referring to the Albanians of Phanari in Western Thessaly (pp. 134-137), does not appear to make use of the most recent edition of the *horkomotikon* of Gabrielopoulos by D.Z. Sofianos. As highlighted in this edition, Gabrielopoulos

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[2] A.G.C. Savvides, *Βυζαντινή Φεουδαρχία. Μια βιβλιογραφική επισκόπηση για το ζήτημα και για τον θεσμό της Πρόνοιας*, Athens 2023.

[3] A. Delikari, Σλαβικές επιδράσεις στην περιοχή Τρικάλων. Η περίπτωση των τοπωνυμίων, *Trikalina* 42 (2022), 14-15.

promises to give no more grands of land (*pronoiai*) to the Albanians settled there (*οὐ μὴ προνοιάσω ἀλβανίτας*), which differs significantly from the earlier edition used by the author, which states that he will not allow others to settle in the area (*οὐ μὴ προσοικίσω*).[4] The book's bibliographical appendix (p. 267) does include the more recent edition by Sofianos, but it does not seem to have been taken into account in this specific case.

iv) On page 158, Δαμάσι should be written instead of Δάμαση.

To summarize, the present book, which is the fruit of the author's long and meticulous study of Byzantine Thessaly and his considerable knowledge of the subject, is a valuable handbook for all those interested in the history of this specific region. Written in an accessible and simple style, the text maintains a balance between a thorough presentation of the existing literature up to 2022, along with a restrained analysis based on historiographical approaches. The issues addressed by the author are extensive and any minor omissions and/or oversights do not detract from the overall value of this work, which is engaging to read and provides a useful addition to the bibliography of the period and the region.

Demetrios Agoritsas, PhD

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[4] D.Z. Sofianos, Το «ορκωμοτικό γράμμα» (Ιούν. 1342) του Μιχαήλ Γαβριηλόπουλου προς τους Φαναριώτες της Καρδίτσας. Οι εκ των παραναγνώσεων και παραδιορθώσεων παρανοήσεις ενός ιστορικού ντοκουμέντου», in *Πρακτικά Α΄ Συνεδρίου για την Καρδίτσα και την περιοχή της (Καρδίτσα, 15-17 Απρ. 1994)*, έκδοση Λαϊκής Βιβλιοθήκης Καρδίτσας «Η Αθηνά», Karditsa 1996, pp. 33, 40.3.

Fiotaki, Alexandra. (2024). *A semasiosyntactic corpus study of Sequence of Tense in Modern Greek: the case of na clauses*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Ioannina]. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/389692919_Doctoral_Dissertation_A_semasiosyntactic_corpus_study_of_Sequence_of_Tense_in_Modern_Greek_the_case_of_na_clauses

Alexandra Fiotaki's doctoral dissertation, "A semasiosyntactic corpus study of Sequence of Tense in Modern Greek: the case of *na* clauses," is a comprehensive and well-structured investigation into the intricate phenomenon of Sequence of Tense (SOT) in Modern Greek. The study focuses primarily on the constraints imposed by matrix verbs on the tense and interpretation of subordinate clauses, specifically those introduced by the complementizers *oti* and *na*.

The dissertation is organized into six chapters, each addressing a specific aspect of the research. Chapter 1 introduces the topic, provides background information on SOT, and outlines the research aims. Chapter 2 presents the methodology employed in building and analyzing the corpus. Chapters 3 and 4 delve into the analysis of SOT in *oti* and *na* subordinate clauses, respectively. Chapter 5 discusses the LFG/XLE implementation of the Greek grammar, and Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation by summarizing the main findings and suggesting directions for future research.

A significant strength of Fiotaki's dissertation lies in the thorough construction and analysis of the corpora used to investigate the Sequence of Tense (SOT) in Modern Greek. The author's approach to data collection, annotation, and evaluation is rigorous and innovative, ensuring the reliability and validity of the findings.

Fiotaki created two specialized corpora: the *oti* corpus, containing 80,000 words, and the *na* corpus, comprising 250,000 words. The decision to focus on these specific types of subordinate clauses demonstrates the author's understanding of the need for targeted data collection to address the research questions effectively. The size of the corpora is substantial, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of syntactic and semantic patterns related to SOT in Modern Greek.

The data was sourced from the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC), a well-established and representative collection of Modern Greek texts. Fiotaki's choice to include a diverse range of genres, such as books, newspapers, and magazines, enhances the corpora's representativeness and mitigates potential genre-specific biases. The author provides a clear and detailed account of the data retrieval process, ensuring transparency and replicability.

One of the most impressive aspects of Fiotaki's methodology is the thorough data wrangling process, which consists of data manipulation, annotation, and evaluation. The author employed a combination of automatic and manual annotation techniques to ensure the accuracy and consistency of the annotated data. The *Ilsp_nlp_depparse_ud* tool, specifically designed for processing Greek texts, was used for automatic annotation, while the *BRAT Rapid Annotation Tool* was utilized for manual validation and correction. This multi-step annotation process demonstrates Fiotaki's commitment to producing high-quality, reliable data for analysis.

The use of the *R* programming language for data processing, manipulation, and statistical analysis is another notable strength of the methodology. *R* is a widely used and powerful tool in data science, and Fiotaki's competence in using it for tasks such as data cleaning, transformation, and visualization showcases her technical skills and attention to detail. The author's code and scripts are well-documented and organized, facilitating reproducibility and future extensions of the research.

Fiotaki's decision to make the annotated corpora available as a linguistic resource, known as the *ellexis* linguistic resource, is commendable and aligns with best practices in open science. By providing access to the corpora and the associated tools, the author promotes transparency, replicability, and further research in the field. This resource has the potential to benefit not only researchers interested in SOT but also those working on other aspects of Modern Greek linguistics.

While Fiotaki's focus on *oti* and *na* clauses is well-justified given the scope of her research, exploring the potential for extending the methodology to other types of subordinate clauses in Modern Greek could have provided a more comprehensive picture of SOT in the language.

This could have opened up avenues for future research and increased the broader applicability of the findings.

To further enhance the methodological description, the inclusion of spoken data in the corpora could be explored as an additional area for expansion. Although the HNC primarily consists of written texts, incorporating spoken data could have offered insights into the use of SOT in conversational contexts and potentially revealed differences between written and spoken language.

Despite these minor opportunities for enhancement, the methodology and data employed in Fiotaki's dissertation are of high quality and well-suited to the research objectives. The author's rigorous approach to corpus building, annotation, and analysis sets a strong foundation for the subsequent chapters, which explore the details of SOT in *oti* and *na* clauses. The creation of the *ellexis* linguistic resource is a valuable contribution to the field, facilitating future research and collaboration.

The core of Alexandra Fiotaki's dissertation lies in Chapters 3 and 4, which present a comprehensive and insightful analysis of Sequence of Tense (SOT) in Modern Greek, focusing on *oti* and *na* subordinate clauses, respectively. The author's careful examination of the various tense and aspect combinations, along with the consideration of grammatical, lexical, and semantic factors, reveals the complex nature of SOT in Modern Greek and contributes significantly to the broader understanding of this linguistic phenomenon.

In Chapter 3, Fiotaki investigates the behavior of verbs of saying, such as *leo* (say), *ischyrizomai* (claim), and *omologo* (confess), in *oti* clauses. The analysis is well-structured and thorough, taking into account the different tense and aspect combinations in both the matrix and subordinate clauses. The author carefully examines the interpretations available in each configuration, drawing upon a wealth of corpus data and examples to support her findings.

One of the key findings in this chapter is the influence of the grammatical aspect of the embedded verb on the availability of simultaneous and prior-to-the-matrix readings. Fiotaki demonstrates that when the embedded verb is in the imperfective aspect, both readings are possible, depending on the context. In contrast, when the embedded verb is in

the perfective aspect, the simultaneous reading is only available when the verb denotes an inchoative state. This observation highlights the intricate interplay between grammatical aspect and lexical semantics in determining the temporal interpretation of oti clauses.

Another significant finding in Chapter 3 is the emergence of the double access reading in the present-under-past configuration. Fiotaki's analysis reveals that this reading, in which the embedded event is interpreted as holding both at the time of the matrix event and the time of utterance, arises when the embedded verb is in the present tense and the matrix verb is in the past tense. The author's discussion of this phenomenon is thorough and well-supported, demonstrating her deep understanding of the semantic and pragmatic factors at play.

Chapter 4 analyzes the more complex realm of *na* clauses, exploring a wider range of verb classes, including verbs of saying, knowing, epistemic predicates, perception verbs, and volitional verbs. Fiotaki's decision to expand the scope of the analysis in this chapter is well-justified, as it allows for a more comprehensive understanding of SOT in Modern Greek and highlights the diverse behaviors of different verb classes.

The analysis in this chapter is particularly impressive, as Fiotaki navigates the complex web of factors influencing the interpretation of tense in *na* clauses. The author demonstrates that the lexical semantics of the matrix verb plays a crucial role in determining the available readings, with certain verb classes, such as verbs of saying and epistemic predicates, exhibiting distinct patterns. Fiotaki's identification of these patterns and regularities within verb classes is a significant contribution to the field, as it provides a more nuanced and systematic account of SOT in Modern Greek.

Another notable finding in Chapter 4 is the role of the perfective non-past (PNP) form of the embedded verb in the interpretation of *na* clauses. Fiotaki shows that the PNP consistently encodes a future-oriented interpretation, regardless of the matrix verb. This observation is significant, as it reveals a unique property of the Modern Greek verbal system and its interaction with SOT.

Throughout both chapters, Fiotaki's analysis is characterized by a careful attention to detail and a deep engagement with the existing lit-

erature on SOT and related phenomena. The author's use of corpus data is exemplary, as she consistently provides relevant examples to support her claims and illustrate the various interpretations. The inclusion of carefully constructed contexts for each example helps to clarify the subtle distinctions between different readings and enhances the overall persuasiveness of the analysis.

One potential area for further exploration in these chapters could have been a more explicit comparison of the findings for *oti* and *na* clauses. While Fiotaki does discuss the differences between the two types of subordinate clauses, a more systematic comparison of the patterns and factors influencing SOT in each case could have provided additional insights into the underlying mechanisms at work. This could have also strengthened the overall cohesion of the dissertation, as it would have highlighted the connections between the two core chapters.

Another avenue for expansion could have been a more detailed discussion of the implications of the findings for cross-linguistic theories of SOT. While Fiotaki does situate her work within the broader context of SOT research, a more in-depth exploration of how the Modern Greek data aligns with, or challenges existing theories could have further enhanced the significance of the study.

Despite these potential areas for further development, the analysis and findings presented in Chapters 3 and 4 are of exceptionally high quality and make a substantial contribution to the understanding of SOT in Modern Greek. Fiotaki's work not only illuminates the complex factors influencing the interpretation of tense in subordinate clauses but also provides a solid foundation for future research on this topic.

The strength of the analysis lies in Fiotaki's ability to integrate insights from various linguistic subdisciplines, including syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, to provide a comprehensive account of SOT in Modern Greek. The author's findings have important implications for the study of tense and aspect in subordinate clauses more generally, as they highlight the need for a nuanced and multifaceted approach that takes into account the intricate interplay of grammatical, lexical, and semantic factors.

In Chapter 5, Fiotaki presents a computational implementation of the Greek grammar within the Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) framework using the Xerox Linguistic Environment (XLE). The author provides an overview of the LFG framework and the XLE system, making the chapter accessible to readers unfamiliar with these tools.

The LFG/XLE grammar developed by Fiotaki covers a wide range of linguistic phenomena in Modern Greek, including main and subordinate clauses, and incorporates the findings from the corpus study. The grammar is accompanied by a lexicon containing approximately 40,000 wordforms, spanning a diverse vocabulary and accounting for the morphological complexity of the Greek language.

The computational implementation not only serves as a practical application of the research findings but also contributes to the development of language technology resources for Modern Greek. Fiotaki's work in this area demonstrates the potential for bridging the gap between theoretical linguistics and computational linguistics, paving the way for further research and applications in natural language processing and related fields.

In the concluding chapter, Fiotaki summarizes the main findings of the dissertation, highlighting the complexity of SOT in Modern Greek and the various factors that influence the interpretation of tense in subordinate clauses. The author emphasizes the role of grammatical and lexical aspect, as well as the semantic properties of verbs, in determining the available readings in both *oti* and *na* clauses.

Fiotaki also discusses the implications of the study for the broader understanding of SOT across languages and suggests several avenues for future research. These include extending the analysis to a wider range of verb classes, investigating the role of the perfective non-past form in more detail, and expanding the LFG/XLE grammar to incorporate a semantic analysis of tense and aspect.

The dissertation concludes by underscoring the importance of the corpus-based approach employed in the study and the potential for the developed resources, such as the annotated corpus and the LFG/XLE grammar, to be used in various academic and applied contexts.

Alexandra Fiotaki's doctoral dissertation is a significant contribution to the study of the Sequence of Tense in Modern Greek and to the broader field of tense and aspect in subordinate clauses. The author demonstrates a deep understanding of the theoretical and empirical issues surrounding SOT and employs a rigorous methodology to investigate the phenomenon in *oti* and *na* clauses.

The corpus-based approach, combined with the careful annotation and analysis of the data, ensures the reliability and validity of the findings. Fiotaki's attention to detail in the data collection and annotation process is commendable, and the resulting corpus is a valuable resource for future research on SOT and related phenomena in Modern Greek.

The analysis of SOT in *oti* and *na* clauses is thorough and well-supported by corpus data and carefully crafted examples. Fiotaki's findings shed light on the complex interplay of factors influencing the interpretation of tense in subordinate clauses, including grammatical and lexical aspect, as well as the semantic properties of verbs. The identification of patterns and regularities within verb classes is a notable contribution to the understanding of SOT in Modern Greek.

The LFG/XLE implementation of the Greek grammar is another strength of the dissertation, demonstrating the author's ability to bridge the gap between theoretical linguistics and computational linguistics. The grammar and lexicon developed by Fiotaki are valuable resources for the development of language technology applications for Modern Greek.

While the dissertation is generally well-structured and clearly written, there are a few areas that could have been explored further. For example, a more detailed discussion of the implications of the findings for the broader study of SOT across languages would have strengthened the work's contribution to the field. Additionally, a more in-depth exploration of the perfective non-past form and its role in the interpretation of tense in *na* clauses could have provided further insights into this complex phenomenon.

Overall, Alexandra Fiotaki's doctoral dissertation is an outstanding piece of research that makes significant contributions to the study of the Sequence of Tense in Modern Greek and to the broader field of tense

and aspect in subordinate clauses. The author's rigorous methodology, careful analysis, and innovative computational implementation make this work a valuable resource for linguists, computational linguists, and language technology researchers alike.

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