Reading Eustathios of Thessalonike

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Reading Eustathios of Thessalonike

Edited by
Filippomaria Pontani, Vassilis Katsaros
and Vassilis Sarris

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Table of Contents

Vassilis Katsaros, Filippomaria Pontani, Vassilis Sarris
Introduction —— 1

Richard Hunter
Eustathian Moments —— 9

I. Eustathios as a scholar

Lara Pagani
Eustathius' Use of Ancient Scholarship in his *Commentary on the Iliad:* Some Remarks —— 79

Georgia E. Kolovou
A Technical Approach to the Etymological Remarks of Eustathius in his Commentary on *Iliad* Book 6 —— 111

Baukje van den Berg
Eustathios on Homer's Narrative Art: the Homeric Gods and the Plot of the *Iliad* —— 129

René Nünlist
Was Eustathius Afraid of the Blank Page? —— 149

Paolo Cesaretti
***In my end is my beginning:* Eustathios' Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν ἰαμβικὸν κανόνα τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς. At the origins of Byzantine philology —— 167**

Silvia Ronchey
Eustathios at Prodromos Petra? Some Remarks on the Manuscript Tradition of the *Exegesis in Canonem Iambicum Pentecostalem* —— 181

Filippomaria Pontani
"Captain of Homer's guard": the reception of Eustathius in Modern Europe —— 199

II. Eustathios' style

Renzo Tosi
Proverbs in Eustathius: Some Examples — 229

Dimosthenis Stratigopoulos
Orator or Grammarian? Eustathios in his Work *Ad Stylitam quendam Thessalonicensem* — 243

Vassilis A. Sarris
Λυκοφρονείως ἢ ἄλλως διθυραμβικῶς: Eustathius' Enigmatic Stylistic Terms and the Polyphony of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon — 253

III. Eustathios and history

Eric Cullhed
Achaeans on Crusade — 285

John Melville-Jones
Eustathios as a Source for Historical Information. Decoding Indirect Allusions in his Works — 299

Gerasimos Merianos
More than a Shepherd to his Flock: Eustathios and the Management of Ecclesiastical Property — 309

Aglae Pizzone
History has no End: Originality and Human Progress in Eustathios' Second Oration for Michael III *o tou Anchialou* — 331

General index — 357

Index locorum potiorum — 363

Vassilis Katsaros, Filippomaria Pontani, Vassilis Sarris

Introduction

This book is a small tribute to the 12th-century scholar and cleric Eustathios, deacon of St. Sophia and then *maistor ton rhetoron* in Constantinople, later (since ca. 1178) archbishop of Thessalonike[1]. The fact that this homage takes the shape of a book should not be regarded as a modest compensation for the regrettable lack of a grander public recognition[2]: on the contrary, it proceeds from the persuasion that books were among the objects dearest to the archbishop throughout his eventful life, and he attached to them a special value in the quest for immortality and a continuous link with the past[3].

The details of Eustathios' relationship with his books are hard to make out, given our uncertainties about the shape and the functions of libraries in Comnenian Constantinople (above all the patriarchal and imperial libraries), and about the relationship of professors and teachers to these institutions[4]; we are also ill-informed about the size of the library of the monastery of St. Euphemia, where Eustathios was registered in his youth, and that of his uncle Nikolaos Kataphloron[5]. There is, however, no doubt that he had access to books of the greatest importance, for example (to name but a few well-known cases), to most of the important witnesses of Homeric exegesis (amongst them the ancestor of the venerable ms. Venetus A)[6], to a fuller manuscript than we now possess of Pindar's *Isthmian Odes*,[7] to the so-called "Thessaloniceum exemplar" of Euripides' alphabetical plays[8], and to a rare codex of Oppian's *Halieutica*.[9] There is no

1 Among the overviews of Eustathios' biography see esp. Každan – Franklin 1984, 115–195; Wirth 1980; Browning 1995; Schönauer 2006, xv–xxvii, 7*–23*; Karpozilos 2009, 663–690; Cesaretti – Ronchey 2014, *8–*18.
2 In February 2015 all the contributors to this volume, together with other scholars, signed a letter soliciting the erection of a statue of Eustathios by the Municipality of Thessaloniki (Δῆμος Θεσσαλονίκης).
3 See Hunter, this volume.
4 See e.g. Manafis 1972; Wilson 1967 and 1975; Browning 1962, 186–193. Katsaros 1988, 204–209.
5 On St. Euphemia see Müller-Wiener 1977, 122–125. Nothing is known of its library, although we assume it had to exist, as in the cases of the Sotiras Monastery founded by Michael Attaleiates in Rhaidestos (Gautier 1981, 5–143), or of the Kosmosoteira founded by Isaac Porphyrogennetos (Petit 1908, 17–77). On Nikolaos Kataphloron see Wirth 1980, 5–6; Loukaki 1953, 357–364.
6 See Valk, Eustathius I, lix–lxiv, and Pagani, this volume.
7 See Lampakis 1995; Kambylis 1991a.
8 See Turyn 1957, 304–308; Wilson 1983, 204; Bianconi 2005, 29.
9 See Benedetti 1976–77.

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doubt that Eustathios was a book-collector and a book-hunter, and this passion never faded, even during his long and eventful stay in Thessalonike – a time, it should be recalled, when the *Commentaries to Homer* were finished and enriched with marginal annotations, and a time when his personal library must have been transferred from Constantinople to Thessalonike, a city far less well equipped than was the capital[10].

The best known story about Eustathios' bibliophily is the famous anecdote about his reprimand to the *hegoumenos* of a monastery near Thessalonike, who had sold a valuable book once belonging to his library: "I had got to know that somewhere was preserved a holy book written by Gregory the Theologian… The book was indeed very remarkable, and its fame spread among many people, attracting the readers who regarded it is as a miraculous object… I thus also took pains to go and see for myself this wonderful Gregorios, but I had no success… I was distressed at this and so I asked the abbot, who was an honest man and well-versed in culture: 'Where on earth is the precious book?'. Upon my insistence and my friendly but repeated questioning, he admitted that the book had been sold, 'for what did we need it for?'. An internal rage started to grow in me… When my anger changed to harsh laughter, I reproached him: 'What do you need at all, excellent monks, if you hold in no esteem books of such value?'. The man went off feeling ashamed, and he never came into my sight again, being unhappy – I believe – with my exceeding love for books"[11].

It should be recalled that monastic culture was the dominant force in 12th-century Thessaloniki, and it was chiefly thanks to Eustathios' presence that some form of advanced public teaching was introduced in the city[12]. The fate of Eustathios' personal library, however, is wholly unknown, and whatever damage it may have suffered from the Norman conquest in 1185[13], one wonders if

10 See Cullhed 2012, 448; Agapitos 1998, 126; Bianconi 2005, 28–29.

11 Metzler 2006, 161–63, §144: καὶ ἔμαθον κατακεῖσθαί που βίβλον ἱεράν, ἣν ἐπονήσατο Γρηγόριος (ὁ καὶ Θεολόγος)… καὶ ἡ βίβλος εἶχε πολὺ τὸ παράσημον, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν κλέος ἐξηχεῖτο εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐφείλκετο τοὺς ἀκροατὰς οὕτως ἐκείνη, καὶ ἐθεῶντο αὐτὴν πρὸς θαῦμα… θέμενος οὖν καὶ ἐγὼ σπουδὴν ἐντυχεῖν τῷ καλῷ Γρηγορίῳ τούτῳ οὐκ εὐστόχησα… ἀμέλει καὶ λελυπημένος ἐπυθόμην τοῦ καθηγουμένου (ἦν δὲ ἐνάρετος ὁ ἀνήρ, καὶ γραμμάτων δὲ ἴδμων)· ποῖ ποτε τόπου τὸ καλὸν βιβλίον ἐστίν; … ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγκειμένου καὶ ἱλαρῶς ἐπανερωτῶντος ἀπεμποληθῆναι εἶπε τὴν βίβλον. τίς γάρ, φησί, καὶ χρεία ἦν ἡμῖν αὐτῆς; ἐνταῦθα ἐμοῦ θυμὸν ἐνδόμυχον ὑπανάψαντος… ὡς δ' ἐγὼ τὸν θυμὸν μεταβαλὼν εἰς βαρὺν γέλωτα ἐξωνείδισα ὑπειπών· τίνος γὰρ καὶ δεήσεσθε, οἱ λόγου ἄξιοι μοναχοί, ἐὰν τὰ τοιαῦτα βιβλία παρ' οὐδὲν ποιῆσθε; παρῆλθέ με ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐντραπεὶς καὶ οὐκέτι διὰ βίου εἰς ὄψιν ἦλθέ μοι βαρυνθεὶς οἶμαι τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὕτω φιλόβιβλον. See Katsaros 1997, 190–192.

12 See Bianconi 2005, 31–33.

13 See Kyriakides 1961, 112 and 150.

some parts of it were still to be found among the “over 300 manuscripts, most of them parchment, kept in an underground dome in the northern wing of the *bema*” of St. Demetrios, which were brought to light in 1873 by Patriarch Ioakeim III; these books were subsequently moved to the church of St. Athanasios where, according to our only witness, they were left in the courtyard, exposed to the greed of passers-by, well before the damages and losses inflicted by the great fire of 1917[14].

Be that as it may, the present book, unlike those which Eustathios kept in his library, searched for, or longed to read, is just a humble collection of scholarly papers with no ambition to say the “last word” on any of the topics connected with the archbishop’s oeuvre. Nonetheless, the essays here collected attempt to tackle some of the hottest issues concerning the study of this author and especially of his writings, in an age when more and more editions of his works are being published[15], and the time is ripe for a fresh critical reflection.

Three are three main ideas that this book would like to promote: a) we need a closer dialogue between the “Byzantine” and the “Classical”, i.e. the “medieval” and the “ancient” dimension of Eustathios’ output: we need a cooperation between scholars that might help cross over the disciplinary boundaries of academic curricula, and help us investigate not only the amount of learning in his works, but also his creative, and never static, assimilation of ancient prototypes, and the way his Classical *paideia* interacted with his Christian faith; b) we need a stronger international cooperation between different traditions of studies, so that each one can enrich the other: this has also been the point of bringing together scholars from many different countries, each with a peculiar background; c) as against some dismissive judgments uttered in recent years, we need to reaffirm the importance of Eustathios as the most outstanding scholar of his time, as an exquisite source of ancient learning, and as a full-fledged man of letters in the highest sense of the term.

Richard Hunter’s keynote paper spells out these principles in an admirable way: a fuller and revised form of the keynote lecture delivered in the Main Hall of the Society for Macedonian Studies in Thessaloniki on Feb. 25th, 2015, this paper

14 See Papageorgiou 1912, in whose view these books were “πιθανώτατα τὸ πάλαι ἀνήκοντα εἰς τὰς βιβλιοθήκας τοῦ σοφωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Εὐσταθίου (1175), τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ καὶ ἄλλων τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀρχιερέων”. On his library as revealed in his orations see Stone 2000.

15 See the works by Kambylis 1991b, Wirth 2000, Schönauer 2006, Metzler 2006, Kolovou 2006, and most recently Cesaretti – Ronchey 2014. The *Commentary on the Odyssey* is currently being edited by E. Cullhed.

insists on considering Eustathios' approach to Homer not according to the parameters of our own modern perspective nor (as too often classicists tend to view it) exclusively in his dialogue with ancient sources, but rather in the context of Byzantine rhetorical teaching (passages from the works of his pupil Michael Choniates are especially illuminating in this respect) and in the light of the original and fruitful exegetical threads that he weaves together: from the relationship between active and speculative life to that between fiction and history, from the metaphor of Homer as mankind's spiritual nourishment down to Homer's educational ὠφέλεια in a Christian society, from rhetoric to ethics and allegory. Hunter's close reading of several passages of the *Parekbolai* inspires wide-ranging reflections on the methods of the archbishop, and leads to a final comparison between him and Adamantios Koraes, another great teacher of the Greek nation, and another expert on ancient Greek language and literature: for both these scholars, albeit in different historical contexts, Homer was a starting-point for the promulgation of a larger educational agenda.

The rest of the volume is articulated in three sections, but loosely corresponding to the tripartition of Eustathios' output proposed by Robert Browning (grammatical and philological works, theological and pastoral works, historical and rhetorical works for contemporary occasions)[16]. The first of Browning's categories – embracing the commentaries on the ancient writers, and chiefly on Homer – has the lion's share in this volume; but of course works such as the *Exegesis on the Iambic Canon*, or even some speeches, fall somewhat across the typologies – not a surprising event in a writer who constantly writes *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*.

In the first section ("Eustathios as a scholar") eight essays highlight the quality of Eustathios' contribution to the understanding of ancient and Byzantine poetry. Eustathios' dialogue with ancient Greek exegesis is of course pivotal to this activity: Lara Pagani (pp. 79–110) offers an updated survey of the way in which he used, digested and quoted his erudite sources, from the mysterious commentary of "Apion and Herodorus" down to other forms of scholia and *hypomnemata* – the study of terminology plays a very important role here, and many examples are given of what can be gained from a thorough analysis and a fresh examination of van der Valk's monumental edition of the *Commentary on the Iliad*. In reading Homer, etymology was one of Eustathios' favourite interpretative tools: Georgia Kolovou (pp. 111–127), by focusing on the *Parekbolai* to *Iliad* book 6, shows to what extent his remarks in this field follow the lead of his ancient sources – often naive to our modern eyes, but essential in order to understand the tenets

16 Browning 1962, 186–190.

of lexical interpretation in antiquity. This essay, which opens with a brief overview of the pedagogic role of Eustathios' commentaries, is rounded off by a "lexicon" categorising his etymologies according to their function.

The *Parekbolai*, however, are not only about erudition: Baukje van den Berg (pp. 129–148) draws our attention to the way in which Eustathios interprets the gods as narrative devices suitable to construct a well-motivated and plausible plot. By taking Zeus as the poet's mind and Athena as the poet's intelligence, Eustathios goes beyond a mere "mythical" and allegorical reading of some Homeric scenes, and explains the workings of fiction and narrative in a way that resonates with other works of 12th-century Byzantine literature. René Nünlist (pp. 149–165) investigates the way in which Eustathios describes Homer's attempt to expand his own narrative material in cases where it appears inadequate (e.g. in the plot of the *Odyssey*). The use of specific terminology, some peculiar rhetorical observations, the comparison between different poems (and different songs), are all essential elements in order to understand how Homer could be paradigmatic for rhetors and writers in general (not least, for Eustathios himself) when it came to dealing with an insufficient subject-matter.

Two papers are devoted to the *Exegesis on the Iambic Canon for the Pentecost:* Paolo Cesaretti (pp. 167–179) argues that, despite this being Eustathios' latest work, composed as his swan-song in Thessalonike in the 1190s, it breaks new ground, bringing together the philological tradition of commentaries to classical texts and that of ἐξηγήσεις on liturgical hymns (developed by Gregorios Pardos, Theodoros Prodromos and others): in this respect, the *Exegesis* appears as the first work of philology on Byzantine texts, as opposed to Byzantine scholarship on classical texts. Silvia Ronchey (pp. 181–197) focuses on the manuscript tradition of the *Exegesis*, paying special attention to the monastery of Prodromos Petra in Constantinople, where a hyparchetype of the late 12th century (probably connected with Eustathios' pupil Michael Choniates) was produced. It can even be suggested – albeit tentatively – that Eustathios himself taught at the Prodromos Petra.

Finally, Filippomaria Pontani (pp. 199–226) offers a survey of Eustathios' role and popularity as a Homeric commentator in the cultivated *milieux* of modern Europe, from Angelo Poliziano down to early 19th-century German philology, focusing on the fame enjoyed by the *Parekbolai* in France (Racine, Rollin) and in such monuments of Western culture as the Homeric editions of Jean de Sponde, Anne Dacier and Alexander Pope. Eustathios' ethical dimension had perhaps its last moment of glory with Adamantios Koraes, who bestowed on him the utmost praise.

The second section of the book contains three papers, and addresses some aspects of the ambitious and delicate construction of Eustathios' prose style, a

notoriously heterogeneous and complex ensemble mingling and juxtaposing learned and vernacular vocabulary, different registers, and a series of more or less obvious rhetorical artifices. Renzo Tosi (pp. 229–241) addresses this topic from the point of view of the proverbs, which he regards as functional tools for achieving stylistic liveliness: ubiquitous as they are throughout Eustathios' oeuvre (not only in his exegetical writings, but also in his letters and public speeches), they represent a link both with a long-standing ancient tradition (whose sources are often difficult to single out) and with contemporary popular usage.

Dimosthenis Stratigopoulos' study (pp. 243–251) concerns the blending of elements from the rhetorical, the hagiographical and the grammatical tradition in Eustathios' very peculiar writing *Ad stylitam quendam Thessalonicensem:* this *Kreuzung der Gattungen* transforms this speech into a touchstone of the author's polyhedric literary culture. Vassilis Sarris (pp. 253–282) addresses the enigmatic and allusive element in Eustathios' works, with special attention to his definition of a "lycophronic and dithyrambic" style in the *Exegesis on the Iambic Canon on the Pentecost:* by detecting words behind words, Sarris follows Eustathios in uncovering a "hidden language" behind the plain language of the hymn, and he argues that in a broader sense the archbishop is in fact pointing towards a codified reading of ancient and medieval poetical works.

Finally, part three of the volume embraces four papers dealing with various aspects of Eustathios' relationship with history: not only his work as an historiographer, but also the reflections of historical events in his writings. It could be expected that, being simultaneously an historian and a distinguished man of letters, Eustathios should hark back to ancient sources, stories and characters (above all those taken from the Homeric epics) in order to illustrate contemporary events: this is the angle from which Eric Cullhed (pp. 285–297) moves to investigate the presence of elements of Homeric heroism in the narration of contemporary history by Eustathios and his pupils – whether in the sense of celebration or (as in the case of emperor Andronikos I Komnenos, but also of the Latins during the traumatic capture of Thessaloniki in 1185) of contempt.

Important historical information can be gleaned from more or less hidden references in works of rhetorical or similar content: John Melville-Jones (pp. 299–307) shows how we can decode Eustathios' rhetoric in order to understand the historical allusions and implications that his audience or readership certainly had in mind, and could grasp immediately. Gerasimos Merianos (pp. 309–330) sifts the *De emendanda vita monachica*, as well as scattered references in other rhetorical works, in order to shed light on the problems posed by the managing of monasteries in 12th-century Thessalonike: categories such as knowledge and ignorance are here employed not for theoretical speculation,

but in order to make out a proper consideration of the economic and "political" duties of an abbot.

Finally, Aglae Pizzone's paper (pp. 331–355) tackles the crucial issue of tradition and innovation in the Byzantine world of the 12th century, focusing on Eustathios' positive attitude towards originality, advancement, and creativity both in literature and in life: through a close reading of his *Logos* to Michael III "o tou Anchialou", Pizzone shows that *καινότης* (novelty) is not only an issue of rhetorical technique (applied for instance to ekphrasis and allegory), but characterizes Eustathios' view of human progress as well.

This book would not have seen the light of day if the association "Friends of the Center for History of the Thessaloniki municipality", under the guidance of Vassilis Katsaros (chair of the scientific board), Theodoros Dardavesis (chair of the organising committee) and Maria Tatagia (general organiser), had not organised a memorable conference on Eustathios in Thessalonike on February 25–28th 2015. May this book represent, as well as a tribute to our learned archbishop and to the passion with which many of us read his works, also a sign of gratitude to all the people who worked for and participated in that conference, and a nice memory of the happy "Eustathian moments" it offered us.

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Richard Hunter

Eustathian Moments

Reading Eustathius' commentaries

Eustathius' commentaries (παρεκβολαί) on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were declared by Paul Maas to be 'the most important grammatical achievement of the Middle Ages',[1] but for most modern classicists, even many 'Homerists', Eustathius remains little more than a name. There are a number of reasons for this, not least the fact that the *Odyssey* commentary must be consulted, whether online or in book-form, in an edition of 1825–1826, and even in the case of the *Iliad*, where we are lucky enough to have the edition of Marchinus van der Valk in four bulky volumes (1971–1987), one of the most extraordinary achievements of modern philology, Eustathius does not make things easy for modern readers. A very common structure in the commentaries is for 'general' discussions of a passage or episode to be followed by more detailed, often line-by-line, observations, but Eustathius also regularly goes back on himself to take a second (or third) look, refers to discussions elsewhere in the voluminous commentaries, or picks up a discussion after what looks to modern eyes like a long digression; reading Eustathius on Homer requires practice and patience, and – even then – one can often be left unsure whether Eustathius' last word on a subject has actually been found. Moreover, Eustathius fills out his discussions with a great deal of illustrative matter drawn from classical and later literature, and much of this would not pass modern tests of 'relevance'; page after page can seem filled with a miscellany which might appear to a modern classicist as

Some of the material presented here formed part of an opening lecture delivered at the conference on Eustathius in Thessaloniki in February 2015; I am very grateful to Rebecca Lämmle, Filippomaria Pontani, and a seminar audience at Venice International University for much helpful criticism of earlier versions. I am very conscious that I know far less about Byzantine culture and history than anyone who undertakes to write on this subject should know, but I hope that my essay, and this volume, will encourage other classicists to take the plunge; there is a great deal to do. Van der Valk's edition of the commentary on the *Iliad* (1971–1987) is cited throughout by author name and volume number; references to the commentaries use the traditional continuous numeration found in the editions of Stallbaum (*Odyssey*) and van der Valk (*Iliad*).

1 Maas 1973, 512. The best brief modern introduction to the commentaries is perhaps Pontani 2005, 170–178, and cf. also Pontani 2015, 385–393.

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more 'stream of consciousness' than commentary directed to the illumination of Homer.

Beyond the sheer difficulty, a deeper reason for the relative neglect of Eustathius arises perhaps from the nature of much of what he writes. Eustathius clearly had access to collections of scholia on Homer very much like those we ourselves possess,[2] and much of the commentary repeats (often verbatim) and elaborates ancient and Byzantine views which are available to us elsewhere; this has led to the charge, the danger of which Eustathius himself acknowledged (*in Il.* 3.3–7), that he is simply an unoriginal compiler, who is not worth the time even of classicists interested in the ancient interpretation of Homer, for anything which is valuable in the *Commentaries* can be sought in, and is owed to, his sources.[3] It is easy enough to point out that such a perspective is remarkably parochial, for this modern search for 'das Eustathische in Eustathius', for his 'original' contribution to the commentaries, is to treat him merely as a source for our own interest in ancient and Byzantine Homeric criticism, and entirely to neglect the context and purpose of the παρεκβολαί. As well as Paul Maas, however, Eustathius can in fact muster some pretty heavyweight voices in his defence,[4] none more heavy perhaps than Wilamowitz, who stressed what Eustathius himself had contributed from his own learning and declared that some Byzantinist should write a proper monograph about him,[5] a wish which (I believe) remains to this day unfulfilled. Be that as it may, what should matter to us is the study of the παρεκβολαί as an extraordinary moment of Homeric reception, and one poised, as we shall see, between ancient exegesis and a much more modern way of reading Homer.

Eustathius' commentaries were based upon the teaching in rhetoric and classical literature that he gave in Constantinople over several decades before he moved to become Metropolitan of Thessaloniki (c. 1178); the commentaries

2 Cf. Van der Valk I lix–lxiv; Erbse 1950, 1–22; Pagani, this volume.

3 Notably damning is Wilson 1983, 198, who also (p. 204) cites Voltaire's 'Le secret d'ennuyer est de tout dire'; the same essentially damning view of Eustathius' Homer-commentaries appears at Reynolds-Wilson 1974, 62 (= 2013: 70–71, where, however, an acknowledgement of Eustathius' 'high level of scholarly ability' has been added). This essay will only be concerned with identifying Eustathius' 'sources' when that can help in understanding Eustathius' own methods. On the issue see also Pontani, this volume.

4 There is a helpful bibliographical guide in Kambylis 1991, 1 n.1. The attitude that classicists too often take to Byzantine culture is rightly castigated by, e.g., Alpers 1988, 348–349, and some reviews of Wilson 1983 took a similarly corrective line, cf., e.g., Speck 1986; Dyck 1986a. There is a nice appreciation of the commentaries in Browning 1992.

5 Wilamowitz 1920, 22, cf. Erbse 1950, 7; Browning 1995, 85–86. It is remarkable that exactly the same wish is expressed by Browning 1995, 90, but without reference to Wilamowitz.

show signs of gestation and revision over a significant period, and it is also clear that he continued to add material after moving east, perhaps under the influence of access to different books.[6] We must, moreover, assume more than one audience for the commentaries. On the one hand, there will be Eustathius' students, and it is to the young that the commentaries are explicitly addressed: for them, broadly speaking, what matters is what their teacher has to say and how they can learn from him, not where his learning and material come from. There will, however, also have been Eustathius' fellow teachers and contemporary (and rival) πεπαιδευμένοι; the important element of learned display and self-fashioning on show in the commentaries may be thought primarily aimed at them, and it is perhaps not idle to recall that a particular style of modern commentary on classical texts also places a high value on the display of the commentator's learning. Moreover, claims that Eustathius seeks to conceal his sources and his debt to earlier writers and compilers can be overstated; the seriousness of the charge has certainly been exaggerated. Whether he cites his sources or not, the material in the commentaries is aimed at the benefit and education of his audience, and accurate 'footnoting', as we might call it, unsurprisingly takes second place to that.

So too, Eustathius often cites a classical author as though that author is, at that moment, in his hands or the front of his mind, whereas in fact we can establish that the citation is mediated through an anthologising source; this may be in part an *epideixis* of learning, the attempt to appear more learned than was in reality the case,[7] but it is hardly just empty show. When such citational practices are seen within a didactic context, let alone within the contemporary circumstances governing the consultation and quotation of earlier literature, the seriousness of the charge might be thought to be greatly diminished. It is obviously more impressive and memorable for students if a point is illustrated, for example, from Aristotle than from 'Aristotle reported by Strabo' or from Thucydides rather than from 'Thucydides as cited by the lexicon of Stephanus'. The fact that Eustathius does not behave entirely as a modern classical commentator might does not seem a very grave charge; what, after all, would be gained from the more 'accurate' mode of quotation? The task of establishing Eustathius' exact sources is, of course, very important for the study of Byzantine reading, scholarship and the availability of books, and Eustathius' methods can certainly lead to confusion and error, but his is a view of Greek tradition which is synoptic,

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6 The most important case here is that of the citations from Athenaeus, cf. van der Valk I xvi–ii; on the period of composition of the commentaries cf. also van der Valk I cxxxvii–ix. For examples of added material cf. below pp. 30, 37n.67, 41, 44, 45, 62, 68.

7 So, e. g., Van der Valk I xlviii.

cumulative and all-embracing, and that in itself is a very important lesson about Byzantine learning and teaching.

If a great deal, perhaps the majority, of Eustathius' work does indeed have roots in earlier critical traditions, often preserved for us by the Homeric scholia, much also extends or elaborates that inherited material in such a way that the attempt clearly to delineate 'das Eustathische' can become both fraught with difficulty and methodologically problematic. Let me offer just one example. Among the most famous similes of the *Iliad* is 22.199–201 in which Achilles' pursuit of Hector is compared to a similar pursuit in a dream:

> ὡς δ' ἐν ὀνείρωι οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν·
> οὔτ' ἄρ' ὃ τὸν δύναται ὑποφεύγειν οὔθ' ὃ διώκειν·
> ὣς ὃ τὸν οὐ δύνατο μάρψαι ποσίν, οὐδ' ὃς ἀλύξαι.
> Homer, *Iliad* 22.199–201
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> As in a dream [one man] cannot catch [another] trying to escape; neither can the one get away, nor the other catch; so [Achilles] could not catch [Hector] in running, nor Hector get away.

Aristarchus had excised these verses, and the scholia allege against them that they are weak in both language and thought, inconsistent with what is said elsewhere (notably the horse simile of 22.162–166), and diminish Achilles' renown for speed; the whole pursuit was in fact the subject of an intense critical discussion in antiquity, as it seemed beyond comprehension to some critics that Achilles could not catch Hector. The exegetical scholia point out that the resort to φαντασία (i. e. a dream) rather than reality is a very good way to represent τὸ ἄπρακτον, the 'lack of success', on both sides, that is in both escaping and pursuing. The strikingly compressed expression of the verses, something to which Aristarchus may have taken exception, had also been commented upon and explained long before Eustathius. Eustathius clearly starts from similar lore in noting that to illustrate the fact that both run equally fast, almost a kind of standstill (each with a relative speed of zero, as we might say), Homer uses a simile from φαντασία, rather than from truth (*in Il.* 1266.2–3). Moreover, the remarkably compressed and speedy (τροχαστική) expression of the simile, with its monosyllabic pronouns and a complex ἀπὸ κοινοῦ syntax which unites the pursuer and the escaper within the same verbal forms, functions as an analogy to what is actually being described; the brevity is a way of expressing the vigorous swiftness of the (in)action (τὸ γοργόν) as vigorously as possible (γοργότατα,[8] 1266.4–13).

8 On Eustathius' fondness for this stylistic classification, which he owes to the Hermogenean tradition, cf. van der Valk I xciii.

Far from being worthy of athetesis, these verses are another *tour de force* by Homer.[9] What is on show here, whether or not we wish to accept (all or some of) the analysis, is a 'close reading', and one very attentive to the text as something to be performed, a reading which can in fact seem, from one perspective, very modern indeed. Not, however, that modern Anglophone commentators have much time for Eustathius' account. Leaf, Richardson and de Jong do not even mention Eustathius' discussion, although Richardson is certainly in the Byzantine's wake in noting that '[T]he repetitions are surely deliberate, suggesting constant, frustrated effort'.

Unsurprisingly, rhetorical teaching plays a prominent role in the commentaries on Homer, as it always had in the long tradition of Homeric criticism.[10] Eustathius places help for 'the prose-writer and the young man wishing to achieve well-timed citations (παραπλοκαί) in rhetoric' at the top of the list of his target audience (*in Il.* 2.28). The spirit of the teacher, which is never far from the surface in Eustathius, can, for example, offer appropriate praise for, and describe the rhetorical category (τὸ ἐγκωμιαστικὸν εἶδος) and style (γλυκύτης) of, Odysseus' famous speech of praise to Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6.149–185 (cf. *in Od.* 1556.61, 1557.12–20); here both Homer and his character Odysseus show their consummate rhetorical skill in the grasp of the *kairos*, a relationship between poet and character which is sharply pointed by the fact that Homer makes Odysseus use the same comparison of Nausicaa to Artemis which he himself had put in the narrative immediately before. Eustathius' pupils will be expected to admire and imitate such attention to the *kairos* in their own encomiastic productions, for which Byzantium offered almost limitless opportunities.

So too, Eustathius can precisely visualise the speech which Antenor says Odysseus made when he and Menelaus came on an embassy to Troy and his words fell 'like snowflakes in winter' (*in Il.* 408.3–4).[11] We may smile as we

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9 Eustathius' method here of discerning a relation between a particular verbal style and the meaning conveyed was not, of course, unique to him, cf., e. g., schol. bT *Il.* 1.530c; schol. *Od.* 3.461a; Nünlist 2009, 215–217.

10 Cf., e. g., Lindberg 1977; Van der Valk I xcii–iii; II li–lxx; Nünlist 2012; for the influence of Hermogenes in other writings of Eustathius cf. also Stone 2001. On the importance of rhetoric in Byzantine high culture more generally cf., e. g., Papaioannou 2013.

11 Eustathius will have had many predecessors here; Libanius' versions of the speeches of Menelaus and Odysseus are preserved, 5.199–221, 228–286 Foerster, cf. Hunter 2015, 687–689. When Eustathius says that Odysseus is likely to have proceeded through the use of a κοινὸς τόπος, the point seems to be that the case was one of 'admitted wrong-doing' (cf., e. g., Nicolaus, III 470.18–19 Sp.) – no-one could deny that Paris had stolen Helen – and so Odysseus could use the *topoi* that one used to attack such a wrongdoer, without wasting his time demonstrating that wrong had actually been committed.

see the teacher in Eustathius award prizes: Nestor is 'Homer's orator', with a skill which comes from his very long experience ('for experience is the mother of intelligence'), and Odysseus takes second prize after him (*in Il.* 96.42), though when the ambassadors in Book 9 must reply to Achilles, Odysseus leaps in first, 'reckoning, as seems likely, that he would either persuade Achilles and carry off first prize for persuasion, or – if he could not persuade him – that he would subsequently knock down the tower of Achilles' anger through the speeches of those close to him, Phoenix and Ajax, as it were by a second and a third siege-engine' (*in Il.* 749.26–28). This last example is particularly interesting, and not just for the striking military image which Eustathius uses (and presumably used in his teaching – siege-engines were something very real to twelfth-century Byzantines). The question of why Odysseus responded first to Achilles seems to have been much discussed in antiquity.[12] The exegetical scholia note that we are not to put this down to any unhealthy sense of rivalry (βασκανία) from Odysseus, but rather he draws Achilles' hostility on to himself and away from the others, and perhaps he also realized that if Achilles' friends spoke first and failed, then there was absolutely no hope of success (cf. schol. D and bT *Il.* 9.223). Eustathius shares some of this analysis, but his Odysseus is also an ambitious pupil who wants to shine; no doubt Eustathius had seen a few such tiresome creatures. Moreover, it is the teacher who deserves as much attention as the pupil. Achilles, for whom in Eustathius' view Homer had a very soft spot,[13] was particularly fortunate in having had Phoenix and Cheiron as his teachers in rhetoric (*in Il.* 761.8, 1362.40–42), and when in *Iliad* 24 Achilles consoles Priam with the story of Zeus's two jars,[14] Eustathius goes out of his way to point out that he either owes this inventiveness to his teachers or that in fact he took the idea from his teachers; no doubt, too, Eustathius had seen more than one of his pupils parade as his own jewels borrowed from the teacher's lessons (*in Il.* 1362.40–42).

Eustathius' Homer, who filled out 'the narrow path' of the main story of the *Odyssey* with 'torrential rivers of rhetoric' (*in Od.* 1379.47–48), has in fact more than a little of the Eustathius about him. The famous 'epitome' of *Odyssey* 9–12 which Homer narrates that Odysseus offered to Penelope in bed at *Od*. 23.310–343 and which Aristarchus athetised is actually Homer (and Odysseus) showing us that he knows how to deliver the same material with different narrative orderings, as the order of the epitome follows the order of the events (*in*

12 The embassy to Achilles was a centerpiece of Homeric rhetoric and its study in antiquity, cf., e.g., Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 16 Keil (an address to Achilles); [Plut.], *De Homero* 2.169–170; Libanius, *Decl.* 5 (5.303–360 Foerster, Achilles' reply to Odysseus).

13 Cf. below p. 27–28.

14 Cf. below p. 43–46.

Od. 1949.15–22); whereas Homer was renowned for the complexity of his narrative ordering, he can, when the *kairos* demands it, narrate also κατὰ φύσιν or κατὰ τάξιν, i.e. in simple, chronological sequence.[15] Homer in fact would have excelled in the Byzantine rhetorical curriculum.

A related lesson may be drawn from one of the most famous interpretative cruces in the Homeric poems. After the battlefield meeting of Glaukos and Diomedes in *Iliad* 6, Diomedes suggests an exchange of armour so that they will know not to fight against each other in future, and they dismount and make their pledges to each other. What follows is one of Homer's great surprises:

> ἔνθ' αὖτε Γλαύκωι Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς,
> ὃς πρὸς Τυδεΐδην Διομήδεα τεύχε' ἄμειβεν
> χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων.
> Homer, *Iliad* 6.234–236
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> Then did Zeus, son of Kronos, take away Glaukos' wits: he exchanged armour with Diomedes, son of Tydeus, gold for bronze, a hundred oxen's worth for nine.

These famous verses were the subject of almost as many explanations in antiquity as they have been in modern times,[16] and Eustathius' discussion (*in Il.* 638.40–54) naturally draws upon the critical heritage.[17] What is important for him – and here it will not be unfair to hear the moralising teacher at work – is that Glaukos imitates the generosity and nobility of his ancestors in giving Diomedes a gift far more valuable than he himself received, and (on a more practical note) he adds that bronze offered no less security on the battlefield than did gold, implicitly thereby rejecting a charge against Glaukos of neglecting his personal safety in stripping off his armour.[18] More striking, perhaps, to a modern student of Homer will be Eustathius' explanation of v. 234, an explanation which he explicitly takes over from Porphyry:[19] ἐξέλετο does not mean 'took

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15 On these ideas cf. Hunter 2009b, 53–54. The rhetorical labelling of the passage is already found in the scholia ad loc., but, as often, Eustathius elaborates on the earlier critical tradition in ways which illustrate the particular focuses of his commentary. Eustathius' observation about narrative ordering is all but repeated by de Jong 2001, 563, though without any reference to Eustathius.

16 For discussion and bibliography cf. Stoevesandt on vv. 234–236; Graziosi-Haubold 2010, 38–40.

17 Cf. the schol. (b)T *Il.* 6.234a.

18 For a view of the passage which is not far removed from this, and which may well have stimulated Eustathius, cf. Aristotle fr. 379 Gigon (= 155 R), cited by Porphyry.

19 Porphyry in fact (cf. MacPhail 2011, 114–116) ascribes this view to 'certain critics' and does not, *pace* Eustathius, himself explicitly approve it.

away', but rather ἐξαιρέτους ἐποίησεν, i.e. 'made exceptional', so that Zeus in fact is doing honour to Glaukos, not making him look foolish.[20] Eustathius thereby produces a consistent (and didactic) reading of the Homeric passage, even if one which seems to us impossible. Eustathius is well aware that on the two other occasions on which this or similar phrases appear (*Iliad* 9.377, 19.137, both of Agamemnon) the meaning must be 'Zeus took away the wits', but this merely shows the poet's considerable τέχνη in being able to use the same words to express two quite opposite meanings (*in Il.* 757.11), a skill which we may well imagine Eustathius' pupils were encouraged to practise. Here again, then, Homer is both our teacher and also 'one of us'.

Homer nourishes us, just as do Eustathius' commentaries, but the images of hospitality and nourishment with which the commentaries are filled are neither just ornamental nor indeed just biblical and moralising. Rather, the language of criticism draws on, and mingles with, the language of the texts with which it works. In describing the nourishment which Homer offers, Eustathius observes that no serious student in antiquity, whether of philosophy or rhetoric, ever 'came to Homer's tent without receiving hospitality, but all lodged with him', some to stay for the rest of their lives, others just to fulfill a particular need and to take 'something useful' from him for their own discourses (*in Il.* 1.11–16). Hospitality is a key, perhaps in fact one of *the* key Homeric themes, and scenes of hospitality become in Hellenistic and imperial literature (*inter alia*) a setting for inter-generic experimentation or, indeed, for confrontations with the past and the literature of the past. Eustathius' image, however, evokes some of the great scenes of the *Iliad*, notably the embassies to Achilles by the Greeks in Book 9 and by Priam in Book 24. Those moments of unforgettable narrative power become our own, and our predecessors', experience of reading and listening to Homer, who – it is suggested – has crafted these scenes as models for the educational and consolatory experience of listening to epic. Priam becomes one model for the audience of poetry, and Eustathius' complex image figures Homer as Achilles, dispensing his wisdom to all who will be bothered to listen.

The commentary form in fact lends itself readily to images of food and nourishment. In the Preface to his commentary on the geographical poem of Dionysius Periegetes, which he addressed to John Doukas,[21] Eustathius produces an elaborate image of how, by commenting selectively only on things which would prove 'useful' to those who were to imitate Dionysius whether in prose

20 Tzetzes offers a similar explanation (*alleg. Il.* 6.65–66 = Goldwyn-Kokkini 2015, 166): 'Fate extolled (ἐδόξασε) the mind of Glaukos, for the sake of friendship to exchange gold for bronze'.
21 Cf. Kazhdan-Franklin 1984, 139.

or verse, he has produced a full 'mixing–bowl of wisdom, free of all grapeskins and rough grapestones' (*in Dion. Per.* 204.11–21 Müller). He then somewhat changes the image so that what he offers John is 'like the marrow of wisdom, with all the bones of poetic harshness banished', and this he sets before John as Cheiron is said to have reared Achilles on animal marrow; classical poetry and myth was a currency of discourse among this educated Byzantine elite, rather indeed as it had been for the elite of the Second Sophistic. So too were images drawn from the realms of food and drink, and here again – as indeed with Homer's rhetoric – the watchwords are συμμετρία and τὸ εὔκαιρον (*in Dion. Per.* 205.1–2, cf. 206.25). Eustathius continues to John: 'I have blended anything which was tasty (νόστιμον) in Dionysius' poem into a dish of friendship … brightening it up with exotic sauces, so that there is nothing mean about our hospitality.' The image almost becomes a kind of theory of commentary. Whatever is said must be relevant to what the author has said, for to go beyond that would be nothing but φιλοτιμία κενὴ καὶ φαύλη δοξοσοφία, 'empty showing-off and a vain pretence of learning'. Eustathius proclaims that he will stick closely to Dionysius' text, 'changing some things around to explain them as when paraphrasing, but explicating other passages in Dionysius' own words; if something needs to be added, I will add that, and so I will, as it were, with appropriate measure (συμμέτρως) put a little weight on the slender narrative and gently increase the size of this little text' (*in Dion. Per.* 205.10–16).[22] Commentary here becomes a form of nutritional science. A poem with its commentary is always going to be fatter, have – to use the modern euphemism – a fuller figure, than a poem on its own, but what matters is the measure of that difference. No commentary should be simply calorific junk food, although too often modern classicists (in particular) have approached Eustathius' commentaries as though that indeed is what they are.

In the introduction to the commentary on Dionysius, Eustathius then elaborates further on how he sees his role as a commentator. What Eustathius writes there cannot, of course, simply be taken as reflecting also upon the commentaries on Homer, as it is clear that Eustathius was very conscious that the nature of his commentary had to fit not only the utility of those who read the *Periegesis* and the purposes for which they read it, but also the nature of Dionysius' poem itself, a poem which he characterizes by τὸ λεπτὸν τῆς ἱστορίας, 'the slenderness of the narration', and τὸ μικρὸν ὑποκείμενον 'this little text' (*in Dion.*

22 This imagery can, of course, be traced at least as far back as the Aristophanic Euripides, cf. *Frogs* 939–944. Eustathius picks up the 'weight' metaphor shortly afterwards at *in Dion. Per.* 205.36–39.

Per. 205.14–15). These are not descriptions that anyone, let alone Eustathius, would apply to Homer:

> Dionysius is an excellent and sweet poet, lively (γοργός) in expression, full of narrative of every kind, one who saw the cities of many men and, with his eyes and the teaching of the Muses, knew their minds.[23] This commentary of mine works with these qualities of Dionysius towards the things which a student of literature (ἀκροατὴς φιλόλογος) wishes to know. If Dionysius sometimes addresses well advanced students in a summary way, then this commentary serves as a reminder by expatiating on what is necessary (τὰ καίρια) for the sake of beginners who are less sophisticated. If, on the other hand, Dionysius elsewhere speaks to beginners, then the present work speaks at greater length for those who enjoy learning. It does not fill in gaps as though what Dionysius has said is incomplete, but rather it expands at greater length on his own topics, as is appropriate for a prose work. … It also removes much of the labour:[24] the things which a student might wish to learn from somewhere else, he can now acquire here in this commentary, without effort, at least to a reasonable degree (πρὸς τὸ μέτριον) and as is necessary for the subject in hand. Dionysius was concerned to produce a general description of the earth and a review of its peoples; he was not very concerned in every case to set down where or among whom names arose or the characteristics of places and peoples. I have preserved the general limits which Dionysius set himself. In doing this, I do not correct the periegete, nor do I fill in what has been unnecessarily omitted, as I noted above, but I follow my audience's wishes in softening what is imposed by the metrical nature of the narration.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*, 205.22–206.11 Müller

Eustathius is thus very conscious of Dionysius' limited aims and of the limited scope of his 'small little body of poetry' (τὸ μικρὸν τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦτο σωμάτιον), a smallness more than compensated by its rich poetic beauties (*in Dion. Per.* 216.27–30). The constant forward movement of the *periegesis*, a movement driven by names and catalogues, clearly lent itself to a very different type of com-

23 Eustathius here combines a citation of *Odyssey* 1.3 (cf. also *in Dion. Per.* 215.3) with an echo of Dionysius' own boast that he is transported over the world, not physically, but by the 'mind of the Muses' (*Perieg.* 715, alluded to in the Introduction at *in Dion. Per.* 211.11–12, 214.23), cf. Hunter 2004: 228–229. Eustathius recognizes too the Hesiodic frame (*Op.* 646–662) for the disavowal of knowledge based on personal experience, cf. *in Dion. Per.* 343.17–42. Eustathius' claim that Dionysius 'saw the cities of many men with his eye' may simply misrepresent (cf. *Perieg.* 707 οὐ μὲν ἰδὼν κτλ.), or it may rather be a way of establishing Dionysius as an Odysseus, as Dionysius himself does (though with the significant difference that he did not 'wander'). Dionysius and his readers both see with 'the mind's eye', cf. *in Dion. Per.* 210.26, in a virtuoso passage about the transport of both poet and reader. For Dionysius putting the reader in the same position as himself cf. *in Dion. Per.* 343.32–36.
24 For this motif cf. also, e.g., *in Dion. Per.* 207.20–25, 210.24; it is tempting to think that its use here picks up the motif of 'ease' with which Dionysius, like other didactic poets before him, plays, cf. Hunter 2004, 223–224; Lightfoot 2014, 419–420.

mentary, and one with a much more clearly delimited scope, than did the Homeric poems. Not every verse demands commentary, and the problem of 'lemmatisation', the 'what to discuss' question, almost solves itself. Homer is different in almost every way. The epic was all-encompassing, in a way which, as Eustathius' words make clear, Dionysius deliberately avoided, and in a way which demanded a different type of commentary.

The Homer-commentaries reflect Eustathius' sensitivity not merely to genre but also to the particular place Homer held in the Byzantine view of the classical past and in Byzantine education. Their cumulative nature, the sense that they are never finished, that one is always thinking and re-thinking what one wants to say about Homer, reflect this. Eustathius sees his role as a commentator as not limited to the elucidation of the Homeric text, as we might understand that in a strict sense; nor, however, is he simply accumulating 'facts' in a spirit of 'the more the merrier'. The commentaries bear impressive witness to the power of Homer's poetry to generate multiple interpretations, once the 'literal' meaning has been established, but they also aim at the broader 'literate education' of their readers, and in the fulfillment of that aim Homeric poetry can be a jumping-off point, as well as the end to which everything moves. Eustathius' readers and pupils were indeed communities which embraced multiple readings and which sought and found openness, rather than closure, in classical texts (which did not of course mean that there were not 'right' and 'wrong' readings); to this extent, they remain very different from most modern readers of Homer, even from those who actively seek interpretative openness. The fact that Eustathius and those around him read Homer as Christians and therefore, despite all their admiration for the pagan epic, were always dealing with a text to which they could not be ideologically committed, strengthened the drive towards multiple interpretation. There is, in Eustathius, an interpretative generosity and capaciousness which – to generalise sweepingly – is utterly different, for example, from systematising neo-Platonic interpretations of Homer.[25]

In praise of Eustathius

In one sense the aim of ancient and indeed Byzantine teaching was to produce pupils who resembled (without of course surpassing) the teacher, and we are lucky that the funerary lament (μονῳδία) for Eustathius by someone who was his pupil survives. This is Michael Choniates who was Metropolitan of Athens

25 Lamberton 1986 remains indispensible here.

at the end of the twelfth century (AD 1182–1204) and whose niche in the world of classicists is secured by the fact that he seems to have known (and possessed?) and quoted from the *Hecale* and perhaps also the *Aitia* of Callimachus;[26] we do not know of anyone after Michael of whom the same can be said. Michael's lament[27] for Eustathius will strike anyone unfamiliar with Byzantine rhetoric as emotionally over-heated (to say no more), but near the beginning of the speech Michael himself self-consciously poses the dilemma of whether speechless grief, 'resembling those turned to trees and stones in myths', or the full outburst of lamentation is the appropriate response; this overt concern with the καιρός (284.27 Lampros) does not merely remind us that these works are 'performative' in the sense that there is always a sense of the judging audience, but that, for the classically trained, an important part of that judgement, and hence of the display of the speech, is a 'generic' one where what matters is indeed what is appropriate. In the introduction to his eyewitness history of the Norman capture of Thessaloniki in 1185, Eustathius himself discusses what style of narrative is appropriate, on the one hand, to historians describing events in which they were not involved and, on the other, to those describing events in which they took part and with which they are therefore closely involved.[28] Here too it is questions of καιρός and τὸ σύμμετρον which dominate; as a teacher of rhetoric, Eustathius was heir, not merely to *progymnasmata* on the capture of cities,[29] but also to a long classical tradition of discussions of appropriateness in historiography. For both Eustathius and Michael, questions of rhetorical appropriateness were not merely, as we might say, a 'literary' matter, but were central to how one's life and character are revealed to others.

Michael's funeral oration portrays Thessaloniki mourning for its 'fair bridegroom, lovely shepherd, wise teacher, the saviour of the city, the bulwark and unbending pillar, as Pindar put it [*Ol.* 2.82]' (285.25–28 Lampros); it is as if the city has been sacked all over again (286.2–3), a trope also used by another friend of Eustathius, Euthymios Malakes, in his μονῳδία for Eustathius, delivered shortly after the Bishop's death (*PG* 136.757 Migne). It is, however, Constantinople whose loss is even greater, for it was there where Eustathius had himself been

26 Cf. Wilson 1983: 205, Hollis 1990: 38–40; Pontani 2011: 114–117; Harder 2012: 1.71–72. For an outline of Michael's life cf. Kolovou 1999, 9–23, and for his period in Athens cf. Kaldellis 2007, 318–334, with the bibliography cited there.

27 Cf. Lampros 1879, 283–306; I cite the speech by Lampros' page and line numbers. On Byzantine *monodiai* in general cf. Hunger 1978, I 132–145.

28 *Preface*, pp. 2–4 Melville Jones.

29 For the importance of *progymnasmata* in Byzantine rhetorical education cf. Hunger 1978, I 92–120.

educated and where he then shared his wisdom unstintingly with his pupils (286.14–22). Michael's rhetoric is, as we would expect, everywhere adorned with echoes of classical literature: the reference to Eustathius as a κοινὸν πρυτανεῖον λόγου καὶ σοφίας πανδεχὴς ἑστία, 'common meeting-hall for literary culture (*logos*) and a hearth of wisdom, open to all' 286.20–21), for example, suggests through evocation of Plato (*Protagoras* 337d) and Athenaeus (5.187d–e) that Eustathius himself was the modern embodiment of, or perhaps replacement for, classical Athens as the centre of Greek learning. Michael, who recognises and values the discursive and digressive nature of Eustathius' lectures and commentaries (287.22–288.2 Lampros), praises his teacher for having initiated young men into the 'mysteries' of literature, rhetoric, metre and mythical allegory (288.17–289.4); in no time at all, Eustathius 'the hierophant' guided young men from the outside of the shrine to the innermost secrets of learning (288.21–25).

It is of course Homer who is at the centre of Michael's representation, both because Homer was central to Eustathius and because Michael is displaying the fruits of Eustathius' learning and teaching. Eustathius is indeed almost a second Homer, claimed – like Homer – by more than one continent (294.9–21). Homer of course also afforded the best images to describe the power of Eustathius' oratory and teaching; his *logoi* were like Homer's lotus-plant: once you started listening, you would forget to go home (290.10). As in the *Odyssey* itself, the Lotus-eaters and the Sirens are variants upon the same theme: 'Eustathius' Sirens' (τῶν Εὐσταθίου Σειρήνων) put all other rhetorical graces in the shade (289.12–13). The compliment is indeed a commonplace: in Euthymios' version (*PG* 136.760 Migne), no educated person would put wax in their ears to avoid listening to Eustathius' enchanting words, and once heard the only remaining wish was to die surrounded by that sweetness, as indeed the Homeric Sirens had caused the death of so many:

> ἤθελον δὲ τῇ ἀκροάσει καὶ ἐπαποθανεῖν, καὶ αὐτῇ συναποθανεῖν τῇ γλυκύτητι.
> Euthymios Malakes, *PG* 136.760 Migne
>
> They wanted to die in response to what they had heard and surrounded by that sweetness.

Euthymios here alludes, not just to Homer, but also to a famous passage of Plato's *Symposium* in which Phaedrus claims that the gods honoured Achilles exceedingly because he chose to avenge his lover Patroclus, not only 'by dying for him, but also in addition to him', ὑπεραποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαποθανεῖν (180a1). Euthymios thus evokes, in Eustathius' honour, not just the Sirens of the *Odyssey*, but also the central hero of the *Iliad*, and the echo of Plato acknowledges the depth of Eustathius' classical learning.

However commonplace the comparison of poets and orators to Sirens may be, it is tempting to see in the phrase τῶν Εὐσταθίου Σειρήνων an allusion to the opening words of Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad*, τῶν Ὁμήρου Σειρήνων; Eustathius begins the *Iliad* commentary with a variation on the very familiar 'allegorising' of the Sirens as the charms of literature more generally.[30] Whether or not Michael is indeed specifically evoking these opening words may be left open, but there can be little doubt, I think, that he has in mind Eustathius' extended discussion of the allegory of the Sirens in the commentary on the *Odyssey* (*in Od*. 1706.23–1711.10).[31] Eustathius is there heir to a very long tradition of allegorising on why the philosopher Odysseus, but not his companions, can listen to the alluring song of the Sirens, but of particular interest is Eustathius' account of 'what song the Sirens sang?'. The answer, broadly put, is 'literature' or, as Eustathius puts it:

> … stories, old tales, histories, collections of myths, both philosophical and other; a philosopher too will, when appropriate (ἐν καιρῷ) give ear to these. From some he will take sensible pleasure, from others he will take what is useful (τὸ χρήσιμον), and he will mix what is excellent (καλόν) in these sources into his own writings and will himself become, as it were, a marvellous Siren (θεσπεσία Σειρήν).
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey* 1708.39–43

The traditional idea that one reads 'classical literature' in order to nourish one's own writings and speeches shows Eustathius as very much within the tradition of rhetorical teaching,[32] but the striking idea that one can in this way become a Siren oneself clearly stuck in Michael's mind. In Eustathius' idealising vision, then, the Sirens, if listened to in the right way, become model teachers who can reproduce themselves in their pupils, and Michael identifies Eustathius himself as the very embodiment of that vision. For Eustathius, as the opening of the *Iliad* commentary has already shown us (and cf. further below), there was one special 'Siren' above all others, and that of course was Homer himself. For Eustathius (and not for Eustathius alone), Homer uses the song of the Sirens to advertise the pleasures of his own poetry and of poetry more generally (*in Od*. 1709.1–18). What is it that the Sirens, or any individual Siren, most notably Homer himself, offers? 'Pleasure and knowledge' is the Homeric answer (*Od*. 12.188), and Eustathius stresses that this is indeed what Homer offers us. Michael's implica-

30 Cf. Hunter-Russell 2011, 79–80, citing earlier literature. Kaldellis 2007, 314–315 discusses the possible ironies of Eustathius' appeal to the Sirens.
31 Wedner 1994, 155–165 offers an accurate account of Eustathius' treatment of the Sirens, but does not discuss the matters raised here.
32 Cf. Hunter 2009a, Chap. 4 on Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

tion, and perhaps also already Eustathius', if – as seems likely – there is a degree of 'self reference' in his description of how to use the literature of the past in one's own work to become a 'Siren', is that this is also exactly what his pupils and audiences took from Eustathius. Elsewhere in the oration, Michael is very explicit about what was to be gained from listening to his teacher's lectures.

Eustathius' account of Odysseus and the Sirens does not stop with the pleasure and knowledge to be gained, for there is also the question of what role 'listening to the Sirens' should play in the life of an educated man engaged in public activity, a πολιτικὸς φιλόσοφος, as Eustathius puts it (*in Od.* 1709.18). The answer is that such a man cannot spend all his time listening to the Sirens, for he has to move on to practical activity in the world. The Sirens, in fact, represent 'theory' or, to put it another way, learning or education (μάθησις); as even an Odysseus knows that learning never stops, so 'I learn as I grow old' (1709.26) comes very readily to Eustathius' pen, and therefore Odysseus wants to hear the Sirens, but he knows that he must also get away from θεωρία into πρᾶξις, for the 'complete philosopher' is put together out of both (1709.23–30). 'Theory' has a very proper and necessary place (ἐν χρῷ, 1709.22), but there is more to a full life than that. Eustathius is here heir to a very long tradition, going back at least to Plato and Aristotle, of argument about the relative merits of the life of activity and the life of philosophical speculation,[33] but it is difficult not to wonder about Eustathius himself, particularly if we take into account his later life in Thessaloniki. He was a man whose life did indeed 'mix action with theory' (1709.21), a man who had reservations (to say no more) about those monks who devoted themselves to ascetic contemplation removed from the world of action. How deep a chord might the Sirens-image have struck in twelfth-century Constantinople (or even Thessaloniki)? In using Eustathius' commentaries to describe his life, or rather allowing the one to seep into the other, Michael may indeed have (again) merely been following Eustathius' own lead.

We may bring another famous Odyssean figure into the picture here.[34] Both explicitly in the *Odyssey*-commentary (*in Od.* 1618.31–32) and by clear allusion in his theological writing (*Opusc.* p. 148.38–48 Tafel), Eustathius compares ascetics and hermit monks to the Cyclopes of the *Odyssey*, 'who, trusting in the immortal gods, neither plant crops with their hands nor do they plough, but everything grows unsown and unploughed … they have neither meeting-places where counsel is offered nor laws, but they dwell on the peaks of lofty mountains and in

33 Key texts here include Plato's *Gorgias* and Aristotle, *EN* 10. On this topic in Eustathius, see also Pizzone, this volume.

34 For what follows cf. Kazhdan-Franklin 1984, 151–153; on some of Eustathius' problems with the monks and lay people of Thessaloniki cf. Magdalino 1996.

hollow caves, and each man administers law over his children and wife, and they take no thought for each other' (*Odyssey* 9.107–115). Eustathius here seems to take over the ancient view, found as early as Antisthenes, if not before, that the inconsistency between this description of the Cyclopes and the blasphemous savagery of *the* Cyclops is to be explained by the fact that Polyphemos is a one-off: all the other Cyclopes are indeed god-fearing, and when Polyphemos says they are not, he is simply lying (*in Od.* 1617.61–1618.1). In the related passage in Eustathius' encomium of St Philotheus,[35] the tone is perhaps more humorously dismissive (hermits 'cram themselves into caves … and slip into holes in the ground' in their attempts to avoid the life of community, τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ σύμβιον), but Eustathius then proceeds to acknowledge that the hermits' solitary struggle for virtue, a struggle seen only by God, is indeed a noble and praiseworthy one. Greater, however, was St Philotheus' open struggle in 'the theatre of life' where so many obstacles stand in the way, but where there are also thousands of spectators to see the struggle and – and this is what is most important – be stimulated to imitate the struggle in God's service which they witness. It is not hard to see Philotheus here not just as a model for Eustathius, but also as (here at least) a representative for him and for his view of the public role and responsibilities of a priest. For Eustathius, Homeric allusion is never far away from that role.

Just as, for Eustathius, Homer was a place where one could receive board and nourishment for as long as one wished (*in Il.* 1.11–16, cf. above p. 16), so for Michael Eustathius was an 'unlocked garden of wisdom, a rich field … and a gushing spring of *logoi*' (286.22–24 Lampros) where no one need go hungry or thirsty.[36] According to Euthymios, the stream of Eustathius' words watered the city, surpassing even the cataracts of the Nile; now, however, after the master's death, those who drank so eagerly are dry and burning with thirst (*PG* 136.757 Migne). Using an elaborate version of the same *topos* as Michael, Euthymios describes Eustathios himself as a new paradise open to all, where many came and plucked the fruit of his virtue and teaching, filling themselves to their heart's content (*PG* 136.760 Migne). Even the figure of the Cyclops makes an unexpected appearance here also: for Michael, Eustathius' lectures dripped honey and were like 'distillations (ἀπορρῶγες) of nectar' (287.9 Lampros), a phrase which Michael has taken from the Cyclops' description of the very strong wine which Odysseus has offered him, 'a distillation of ambrosia and nectar';

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35 *Opusc.* p. 148.38–48 Tafel. This passage also seems to rework Hesiod's famous verses on the path towards ἀρετή (*Op.* 286–292).

36 For the classical roots of the image cf., e. g., Philostratus, *Heroicus* 4.11.

whereas, however, Odysseus' wine befuddled the Cyclops and eventually left him unconscious, Eustathius' lectures entered his pupils' souls, there to remain forever.[37] Once again, Michael's praise activates a memory of the teaching which it celebrates: Eustathius wrote a long note on the relevant Homeric phrase and, in particular, on the metaphorical uses of ἀπορρώξ (*in Od*. 1633.39–58).

It should of course be no surprise that food and drink are almost as obsessively interesting in Byzantine society as in classical times, and just as rich a source of critical imagery. It is certainly no surprise that they recur insistently in Eustathius' account of the capture of Thessaloniki in 1185, for a city under siege is a city where food and drink assume an even greater significance than ever. At one point Eustathius offers a marvellous account of how the invaders had no appreciation for the properly aged local wine, which was not sweet enough for their barbarian tastes, and so it was just wasted and poured out (§136, p. 148 Melville Jones). Instead, virtually unfermented new wine which 'seethed and bubbled' was swilled down with a gay abandon which, to Eustathius' delight, was often enough to prove fatal, particularly as the barbarians combined it with gorging themselves on the flesh of pigs and cattle and on the local 'excellent garlic'. Eustathius himself has some marvellous food descriptions,[38] and he can reach for a high level of poeticism: thus, for example, he describes a *coq au vin* washed in wine, 'as Homer says the sun is washed in Ocean' (*Epist*. 5 Kolovou). Eustathius was certainly no ascetic: in several places in Eustathius' letters in fact one is strongly reminded of Petronius' *Satyrica*.

When Michael comes to describe the throng who sought Eustathius out, it is of course Homer to whom he again turns:

> Whenever I watched his pupils coming and going, I was reminded of the Homeric simile. As hordes (ἔθνη) of bees come out from a hollow rock, so every day did countless swarms (σμήνη) of students flit to and from Eustathius' hive like bunches of grapes (βοτρυδόν)
> Michael Choniates, *Funeral Oration for Eustathius* 289.21–28 Lampros

Bees have a very long history as a *comparandum* for students and their teachers,[39] but Michael's evocation of *Iliad* 2.87–90, the comparison of the Greek army rushing to assembly like swarming bees, is not chosen at random:

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37 Michael in fact says that Eustathius' teaching was 'burned into' his pupils (287.11 Lampros), but I wonder whether the burning of the Cyclops' eye plays some (? unconscious) role here; the metaphor comes from encaustic techniques in art.

38 Cf., e.g., Kolovou 2006, 63–68.

39 Cf., e.g., Hunter-Russell 2011, 16, 183, citing earlier literature.

ἠΰτε ἔθνεα εἶσι μελισσάων ἁδινάων
πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων,
βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν·
αἳ μέν τ' ἔνθα ἅλις πεποτήαται, αἳ δέ τε ἔνθα· 90
ὣς τῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων
ἠϊόνος προπάροιθε βαθείης ἐστιχόωντο
ἰλαδὸν εἰς ἀγορήν·
Homer, *Iliad* 2.87–93

As hordes of dense bees come out in a never-ending stream from a hollow rock, and like bunches of grapes fly to the spring flowers, some this way in great numbers and some that, so did the many hordes [of Greeks] proceed in troops from the ships and huts along the deep shore to the place of assembly.

This is the first extended simile in the *Iliad*, as Eustathius notes in his commentary (*in Il.* 179.28), and Eustathius had prefaced his detailed commentary upon it with one of the fullest and most important surviving discussions of the technique of Homeric similes (*in Il.* 176.23–178.1). Moreover, one of Eustathius' letters (3 Kolovou), accompanying a gift of shining grapes of the kind called in contemporary speech κουκοῦβαι ('owls'), is almost an extended riff on the analogy between grapes and bees which this Homeric simile inaugurates: if Homer can say that bees fly βοτρυδόν, then Eustathius can say that his grapes are piled up μελισσηδόν, and so forth. In his discussion of the Homeric passage, Eustathius draws heavily upon ancient criticism,[40] but a leitmotif is that the extended simile is for Homer a technique for τὸ διδάσκειν, by which is meant not just making the narrative vivid and lively by drawing upon images from the everyday, but also teaching the audience about the world around them.

Michael clearly remembers Eustathius' own 'teaching' through his evocation of the Homeric simile and of Eustathius' discussion. One aspect of this discussion was Eustathius' insistence that the point of the comparison is the similarity between the movement of 'swarms' of bees and 'swarms' of men; this is not one of the, in Eustathius' view, rare Homeric examples where every aspect of the tenor matches every aspect of the vehicle. After all, the bees are coming out from one location and then dispersing in various directions, whereas the Greeks are coming together in one place, having been previously scattered among their own camps and ships. Michael's image of students both 'alighting on' and 'flying off' from the one place, which is 'the hive of Eustathius', an image which deliberately omits the destination for which the bees are headed, draws vehicle and tenor closer together, very likely under the influence of Eustathius' discussion. Moreover, Homer had used ἔθνεα of both the bees and the Greeks, and this

40 For relevant bibliography cf. Hunter 2006, 83 n.8.

had drawn the attention of both the scholiasts and then of Eustathius; the latter explains at some length that the proper term for bees is not ἔθνος, but σμῆνος (*in Il.* 178.10–19). Michael picks up this strand of criticism by referring to the φιλολόγων σμήνη μυρία who thronged Eustathius' 'hive', thus varying Homer's seepage from vehicle to tenor, again under the influence of Eustathius' teaching; the verbal wit is reinforced by using βοτρυδόν of these 'swarms' of students, whereas in Homer this adverb had been applied to the bees, with ἰλαδόν describing the parallel movement of the Greek soldiers.[41]

If Eustathius was an embodiment of Homer, his power of words also evoked the central figures of Homer's two poems. Like Achilles, Michael's Eustathius 'sang of heroic deeds', ἄειδε κλέα (*in Il.* 291.8, cf. *Iliad* 9.189), but Homer's 'heroes' (ἀνδρῶν) are replaced by βασιλέων μεγαλουργῶν καὶ ὑψιθρόνων πατριαρχῶν, 'powerful kings and high-throned patriarchs', who after all were indeed the contemporary equivalent of Homer's elite. Eustathius had in fact noted that, in contrast to Paris' lascivious lyre-playing (*Iliad* 3.54), the poetry of both Achilles and Homer was praiseworthy, 'for Homer's poetry too sings of the glorious deeds of men' (*in Il.* 381.4–5); in his discussion of the famous passage in which the ambassadors find Achilles entertaining himself with poetry in *Iliad* 9, Eustathius observes that Achilles makes those of whom he sung ἀοίδιμοι, 'just as the poet had made him' (*in Il.* 745.52). Michael's Homeric allusion in ἄειδε κλέα thus in fact reincarnates Eustathius as both Achilles and Homer. For Eustathius Homer was φιλαχιλλεύς, 'fond of Achilles',[42] and the poet's attachment to Achilles is a leitmotif of the commentary on the *Iliad*, the last words of which record that while the dead Hector deserved pity, this was not how Homer saw it, because that was not how Homer's *philos* Achilles saw it.[43] Eustathius' devotion to and writing about Homer has now made him as dear to the poet as Achilles himself was. In introducing Achilles' account to Priam

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41 Michael here perhaps also remembers Eustathius' observation that 'some ancient' reversed Homer's usage by writing of a 'swarm of grapes' (σμῆνος βοτρύων), *in Il.* 179.33–34; van der Valk I cix conjectures that this is from a lost work of Himerius.

42 This compound is not apparently applied to Homer in the extant scholia. On this topic see also van den Berg, this volume.

43 At *in Il.* 1362.59 Eustathius calls Achilles, in the context of his consolatory speech to Priam (cf. below pp. 43–46), 'the dear comrade of the poet, who was both brave and eloquent'. Eustathius' view of the end of the *Iliad* is an outlier among ancient and scholiastic interpretations; he notes the speed and brevity with which Homer brings the poem to a conclusion, but focuses not, as seems to have been traditional, on how Homer saved material for the *Odyssey* (see on this also Nünlist, this volume), but rather on the absence of details of the actual burial rites and on the absence of funeral games. He then closes with the remark about Achilles which is cited above.

of Zeus's jars in *Iliad* 24,[44] Eustathius notes that the poet wanted to show 'his beloved Achilles' as also eloquent (λόγιος), which was only reasonable given the quality of his teachers in rhetoric, Cheiron, Peleus, and Phoenix, and Achilles' speech of consolation is analysed by rhetorical criteria (*in Il.* 1362.39–48);[45] it is perhaps not altogether fanciful to imagine that Eustathius himself sometimes daydreamed about what it would be like to teach rhetoric to an Achilles – a star pupil, if ever there was one and, as a 'kingly young man devoted to the Muses', the very model of a young member of the Byzantine élite. Eustathius' commentary insistently impresses upon his pupils what a good teacher can do for you.

Eustathius' fondness for Achilles, which matches Homer's own, may shape interpretation, as we have seen in Eustathius' view of the very end of the poem (above p. 27n.43). In the discussion of *Iliad* 23.187, where Homer reports that Aphrodite protected Hector's corpse with ambrosial oil, 'so that he should not disfigure him as he dragged him [around the walls]', the subject of the verb is obviously Achilles, who has been at the centre of our thoughts for some time and whose preparations at Patroclus' pyre have just been described; Achilles is not, however, named explicitly, and grammarians and teachers obviously felt some difficulty. The D-scholia explain that the reference is to Achilles, and Eustathius is in touch with this same grammatical lore (cf. *in Il.* 1294.13 ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς δηλαδή); the paraphrase in the exegetical b-scholia also names the hero, as though this was necessary for full understanding. Eustathius, however, goes on to note that, because the action of dragging Hector was κακόν (cf. *Il.* 23.176–177 and further below), Homer has, at the price of unclarity, suppressed the name of 'his dear Achilles', thus forcing us to bring it over ἀπὸ κοινοῦ from its last appearance eighteen verses previously. By contrast, notes Eustathius, when Homer describes the funeral procession for Patroclus (23.134–140), 'which was a praiseworthy thing', he names Achilles three times in six verses (*in Il.* 1294.50–59). Homer thus controls every detail of his poem, and when something catches our attention, like a slight grammatical unclarity, we should ponder what that might mean; no aspect of the poem, however apparently trivial, is without purpose.[46]

The fondness of the poet and commentator for Achilles does not, however, put the hero beyond criticism. Achilles' funeral for Patroclus and his maltreat-

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44 Cf. below p. 43–46.

45 Note especially πίστιν τεχνικῶς τῷ λόγῳ πορίζων κτλ. at *in Il.* 1362.46.

46 This critical principle of οὐδὲν μάτην, i.e. the poet included (or excluded) nothing without a purpose, was part of Eustathius' broad debt to the ancient critical tradition, cf., e.g., Dio Chrys. 2.40, 48; schol. bT *Il.* 11.58 and 12.292–293 etc.

ment of Hector's body, for example, belong to ἱστορία, to 'what happened', and what matters therefore is how Homer chose to present these events. If in the passage just considered Homer is claimed to have done what he could to play down Achilles' responsibility for a 'bad' action, neither Homer nor Eustathius can deny the action itself. Homer had famously called Achilles' treatment of Hector ἀεικέα ἔργα (*Il.* 22.395, cf. 23.24), and Eustathius could draw on a rich critical tradition in seeking to explain the adjective, just as the phrase has become a focus for modern discussion of the narratorial voice in Homer.[47] Eustathius (*in Il.* 1276.1–4) is clear that Homer condemns the dragging of Hector's body, both from the fact that in *Il.* 22.395 he calls the Trojan δῖος and from the fact that the things which were done to him were ἀεικέα, that is, in Eustathius' view, ἀπρεπῆ, 'not fitting' [for Hector], one of the rival interpretations of ἀεικέα which Eustathius inherited from the grammatical tradition (cf. schol. b *Il.* 22.395a2).[48] There are thus limits to Homer's, and Eustathius', fondness for Achilles.

Even worse than the dragging of Hector's body was, of course, Achilles' human sacrifice at Patroclus' tomb:

> δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς
> χαλκῶι δηϊόων· κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μήδετο ἔργα.
> Homer, *Iliad* 23.175–176
>
> [And he threw on the pyre] twelve noble sons of great-hearted Trojans, killing them with bronze; in his heart he devised grim deeds.

Homer's comment on the action seems unequivocal, even if some modern commentators have read the second half of v. 176 as devoid of criticism of Achilles. The exegetical scholia refer to Achilles' natural ὠμότης, and also note that Patroclus' death 'has made [Achilles] more savage' (πλέον ἠγρίωσεν). Eustathius makes three points about this brief passage (*in Il.* 1294.18–23). First, we have to understand ἐνέβαλλε πυρῆι, 'threw into the fire', from vv. 172 and 174, as what Achilles actually did to the young men: Homer shrank from explicitness here, and this silence (formally an ἔλλειψις) must be judged appropriate (καιρία). Unlike the case of *Il.* 23.187 considered above, modern readers might judge Eustathius at least over-sensitive here: there is no real risk of unclarity, and the syntax would seem to make Achilles' action with regard to the young Trojans explicit. Nevertheless, the hero's actions are very carefully described in vv. 168–177, and

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47 Cf., e.g., Hunter-Russell 2011, 108; de Jong on *Il.* 22.395.

48 In the second instance of ἀεικέα ἔργα in this context, *Il.* 23.24, where the reference is less obvious than it is in Book 22, Eustathius notes that Achilles was 'overcome by anger' (*in Il.* 1285.30).

expressions for ‘threw in the fire’ occur three times in a brief space; such a pattern suggests to Eustathius that the ‘omission’ in vv. 175–176 is deliberate and prompts him to ask ‘why?’. These should still be the instincts of a modern commentator, however much they are rooted in the analyses of ancient grammarians. Secondly, the language in which the young Trojans are described, μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλούς, dignifies them (ἀποσεμνύνας), and, finally, Homer explicitly calls Achilles’ action κακόν. In a subsequent addition to the commentary, Eustathius goes further:

> [Achilles’ action] was beastlike (θηριώδης) and truly barbarian, if one reflects upon the fact that we are told that it was the custom of Gauls to sacrifice the prisoners, whenever they enjoy some success in wars. That custom, however, had some rationale, as it was an offering to the divine, like a sacrifice, whereas Achilles’ action is of a completely different kind.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 1294.22–24

Eustathius here extends the traditional criticism of Achilles – ‘beastlike and truly barbarian’ is an intensification of the scholiastic charge of ὠμότης and ἀγριότης against Achilles – but his use of the case of the Gauls as a *comparandum* for Achilles’ action also has an interest beyond that.[49] Aristotle seems to have explained Achilles’ dragging of Hector’s body around Patroclus’ tomb from the fact that such actions were still in his day a Thessalian funeral practice (fr. 389 Gigon = 166 Rose); such appeal to ‘other’ customs was of course a standard way of dealing with literary ‘problems’. Eustathius is heir to such a tradition, but here uses the existence of this custom among ‘barbarians’ as evidence for the abhorrent nature of Achilles’ action; Aristotle’s Thessalians were at least Greeks, whereas Gauls are entirely beyond the pale. If anything, the comparative method here complicates the difficulty of the text, rather than providing a ‘solution’.

For Michael Choniates, as we have seen, Eustathius was an Odysseus, as well as an Achilles. No figure comes of course more readily to mind in any rhetorical context than Odysseus,[50] but Michael uses this figure in a perhaps surprising way at one crucial point of his eulogy. Eustathius’ death was a falling asleep:

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49 Eustathius draws his example of the Gauls from Athenaeus 4.160e where the custom is cited in a quotation of verse by Sopater (fr. 6 K-A); Eustathius, however, seems to have known Athenaeus only in a version of the Epitome (cf. van der Valk I lxxxiv–v; Hunter 1983, 32), and in the Epitome the Gaulish custom is cited but the poetic context concealed. On Eustathius and the customs of other populations see Cullhed, this volume.

50 For some aspects of the use of the figure of Odysseus in Comnenian literature cf. the bibliography in Pontani 2015, 392 n. 473.

> [Sleep] escorted you through the Gates of Dreams to death or, to put it more fittingly, conveyed you as if from your stay here in a foreign land to your homeland over there, just as in poetry a heroic wise man of much wandering is conveyed while sleeping from a foreign island to the island which bore him.
> Michael Choniates, *Funeral Oration for Eustathius* 302.6–11 Lampros

The allusion to Odysseus being transported by the Phaeacians from Scherie to Ithaca could hardly be clearer:

> ὣς ἡ ῥίμφα θέουσα θαλάσσης κύματ' ἔταμνεν
> ἄνδρα φέρουσα θεοῖσ' ἐναλίγκια μήδε' ἔχοντα,
> ὃς πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ πάθ' ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, 90
> ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων·
> δὴ τότε γ' ἀτρέμας εὗδε, λελασμένος ὅσσ' ἐπεπόνθει.
> Homer, *Odyssey* 13.88–92

> So did [the Phaeacian ship] cut through the waves of the sea in its swift course, bearing a man whose counsels were like the gods'. In the past he had suffered very many griefs in his heart, as he passed through the wars of men and the grievous waves; but at that time he slept quietly, forgetful of all that he had suffered.

Eustathius has gone home: Heaven is where he really belongs (not much later Michael describes the Gates of Heaven opening to receive him (303.23–24)). The Homeric allusion, as so often, is not mere idle display: like Odysseus, Eustathius too was a man 'whose plans were like those of God[s], who before had suffered very many griefs in his heart' but now was asleep, 'forgetting all that he had suffered'. Why the Phaeacians did not wake Odysseus up was a famous Homeric 'problem' which Eustathius had of course discussed (*in Od.* 1733.1–23);[51] once again, then, Michael offers us a truly Homeric Eustathius.

Eustathius and allegory

As what mattered to Eustathius in the commentary on Dionysius Periegetes was 'the useful' (cf. above), so too in the commentaries on Homer. In the Preface to the *Iliad*-commentary (*in Il.* 2.17–47), Eustathius stresses his wish that the commentary be χρήσιμον for young men who are still learning and who wish to understand Homer in order to use that understanding for the benefit of their own rhetoric; we have already seen such a model of 'benefit' in Eustathius' use of the image of the Sirens, and there is certainly something in common between how

51 For discussion and further bibliography cf. Hunter 2009a, 199–201; Hunter-Russell 2011, 155.

Eustathius wants us to read Homer and how we are to read his commentaries. A particular problem, however, is posed by myth and the question of allegory, for allegorising is a crucial weapon in making poetic myth 'useful' in an educational context. Eustathius notes that Homer is not to be criticized for being 'full of myths', because his myths are not there to make us laugh, but rather 'they are shadows or screens (παραπετάσματα) for noble thoughts', some of which Homer himself created, whereas others which were pre-existing have been transferred (ἑλκόμενοι) to serve a useful purpose in his poetry; both kinds of myth are to be interpreted allegorically (*in Il.* 1.35–40). Eustathius' language here is reminiscent of the interpretative language of the neo-Platonists, notably Proclus, for whom the surface meaning and language of the poems are indeed a set of 'screens' which those who properly understand will remove in their reading to reveal the allegorised truth which they conceal, a truth which will however always remain invisible to the uninitiated and the vulgar.[52] Thus, for example, Proclus notes, in regard to poetry about the gods, that these surface features of the text, which apparently assimilate divine society and behaviour to our own, are rather 'appropriate screens (παραπετάσματα) for ideas about the gods, which are transferred (ἑλκόμενα) from events which came after the gods to the gods themselves' (*in Plat. Remp.* 1.66.7–9 Kroll).[53] Myths seek to conceal the truth 'by screens which can be seen' (παραπετάσματα φαινόμενα, 1.73.15–16 Kroll, cf. 1.74.18–20), a phrase which draws on the distinction fundamental to any allegorising interpretation, namely that between what the text 'appears' to say and what it 'really' means. Both Proclus and Eustathius are, of course, concerned with the useful teaching which lies concealed behind the 'screens', but Eustathius sees Homer's aim, not entirely unlike his own, as much more strictly introductory and educational: 'because they are attractive to the many, Homer wove myths into his poetry with the intention that the outward appearance (τὸ προφαινόμενον) would lure and bewitch those who shunned the subtleties of philosophy so that he might catch them, as they say, "in the nets"; once he had given them a taste of the sweetness which lies in truth, he would release them to go their own way and search for that sweetness elsewhere' (*in Il.* 2.1–4). Homer's aim in fact was precisely in line with how the educational tradition had used him for centuries, namely as an introduction to the higher studies of philosophy; this is, for example, the principal perspective from which Plutarch presents poetry in *How the young man should study poetry.*[54]

52 Cf., e.g., Festugière 1970, 62–63; Sheppard 1980, 16–17; Lamberton 1986, 185.
53 Both the language and the thought go much further back than Proclus, cf., e.g., the opening sections of Dio Chrysostom 5, 'the Libyan myth' on which cf. Hunter 2017.
54 Cf. esp. Plutarch's programmatic statement at *aud. poet.* 15 f–16a.

In Plato's *Republic* (2.378d-e), Socrates, speaking of some of the most notorious acts of violence by Homer's gods against each other, notes that such passages cannot be accepted into the ideal city, 'whether they have been composed with or without underlying meanings (ὑπόνοιαι)', because the young are unable to discern what is and is not such an underlying meaning. Almost immediately before, Socrates had outlawed stories such as Ouranos' castration by his son in Hesiod's *Theogony* 'even if they are true' (2.377e–378a); if, however, they must be told, it should only be to a very small group, and in secret after appropriate sacrifices. From these two passages Proclus developed the view that Socrates/Plato held that there were two kinds of myth, each appropriate to a different audience at different stages of intellectual development:

> One kind of myth is educational (παιδευτικόν), the other initiatory (τελεστικόν); one contributes to ethical virtue, the other to our union (συναφή) with the divine; one can benefit the majority of us, the other is appropriate for very few;[55] one is common and familiar to men, the other secret and inappropriate to those who do not strive to be completely situated in the divine; one corresponds to the condition of the souls of the young, the other scarcely reveals itself after sacrifices and mystical training.
> Proclus, *On the Republic* 1.81.13–21 Kroll

In accordance with the purpose of the *Commentaries*, Eustathius gives pride of place to the first, educational myths; these are what his readers will find χρήσιμα. The distinction which he proceeds to draw concerns the kind of interpretation to be applied to the Homeric text, and he sets his discussion (*in Il.* 3.13–34) within the history of previous interpretation.[56] For Eustathius, the two extremes are represented by those who 'turn everything into allegory', even events and characters which are rooted in reality, what Eustathius terms τὰ ὁμολογουμένως ἱστορούμενα, 'so that the poet seems to speak to us in dreams'.[57] On the other side are those 'who have torn off Homer's wings and never allow him to soar aloft', by refusing to allow any allegorical interpretation; for these people,

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55 Proclus' word ἐλαχίστοις picks up *Resp.* 2.378a6.

56 What follows re-uses some material from Hunter 2016, which should be consulted for the background to Eustathius' discussion. Eustathius is heir to a very long tradition, not just of allegorising itself, but of classifications of types of allegory, and Eustathius' division was not the only one current in late antiquity and Byzantium – cf., e.g. scholia on *Odyssey* 1.8 h, 1.26j Pontani etc.

57 Cesaretti 1991, 241 n.13 suggests that Eustathius here recalls Dio's criticisms of Homer at 11.129; Eustathius certainly knew the *Trojan Oration*, cf. *in Il.* 460.10–12. As for Eustathius' target, Cesaretti 1991, 231 suggests allegorists such as Metrodorus of Lampsacus from the fifth century BC (cf. Hunter 2012a, 92, citing earlier bibliography); it is tempting, however, to think that Eustathius is thinking of allegorists nearer in time to himself than Metrodorus.

whose ‘lawgiver’ was Aristarchus,[58] myths are just that – myths. For Eustathius the third way, and the way he will follow, is the way of careful examination and discrimination, rather than the imposition of totalising and undiscriminating systems; he will not be the last scholar to use such a rhetoric about the difference between his work and that of others, nor will he be the last whose practice is much less clearcut, and much more of a compromise, than his proclaimed methodology.[59] Eustathius lines himself up alongside οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι, who take the trouble to investigate the material properly: that which is historical is accepted as it is, but with myths, such readers first consider their origin, nature and plausibility and then the nature of the truth which lies within them, which must be revealed through allegorical interpretation, or – in the evocative language which Eustathius inherited – θεραπεία, whether that be φυσικῶς (‘pertaining to the nature of the world’) or κατὰ ἦθος (‘ethical’, ‘moralising’) or ἱστορικῶς, by which last method Eustathius means that many myths contain a central core of reality, an event or events which really did happen, but that reality has been distorted by mythical material to make it more marvellous (τοῦ δὲ μύθου τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐκβιαζομένου πρὸς τὸ τερατωδέστερον) and must therefore be recovered by the interpreter.[60]

Eustathius’ *Commentaries* contain allegories from right across the board, from the simplest and most familiar to what can seem the most remarkably *recherché*, although Eustathius does not of course necessarily endorse every theory or interpretation to which he offers space, and it is not rare for a modern reader to feel that mutually incompatible reading strategies have simply been juxtaposed. Often, as for example in his ample commentary on the song of Demodocus about the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite (*in Od.* 1597.42–1598.9), Eustathius offers a list of competing allegories as part of making his commentary ‘useful’, though in the case of Demodocus’ song it is clear that Eustathius in fact endorses a simple *a fortiori* moral didacticism which demonstrates that ‘even among those

58 Eustathius is of course referring to Aristarchus’ famous view (schol. D *Il.* 5.385, cf. *in Il.* 40.28–34; 561.29–30) that ‘what is said by the poet should be accepted mythically, in accordance with poetic licence, and readers should not busy themselves (περιεργαζομένους) with anything beyond what the poet said’; for differing assessments of what Aristarchus actually meant by this cf., e. g., Porter 1992, 70–74; Nünlist 2009, 180–181; Nünlist 2011. Eustathius’ description of his own work – περιεργάσεταί που [τοὺς μύθους] ἀκολούθως τοῖς παλαιοῖς – may indeed scornfully pick up Aristarchus’ verb.

59 For a helpful survey cf. Cesaretti 1991, 222–274.

60 Eustathius makes very similar points at the head of the *Odyssey*-commentary, where the purpose of τὸ τερατεύεσθαι is the creation of ἡδονή and ἔκπληξις for the audience (*in Od.* 1379.13–14). On the ἀκριβέστεροι see Pagani, this volume; on the general issue, see van den Berg, this volume.

above us (οἱ κρείττονες) wicked deeds do not prosper' (cf. *Od*. 8.329).[61] Often, of course, it will be the relative didactic weight which determines to which allegories Eustathius gives space: when Athena tells Zeus that Odysseus 'longing to see even the smoke rising from his own land, desires to die' (*Od*. 1.58–59), Eustathius notes an allegorical interpretation by which Homer chooses to dwell on smoke, which like philosophy mounts up to the sky, because philosophical knowledge at first seems murky, whereas the full revelation (i.e. the fire which causes the smoke) is brilliant and bright. If you cannot attain that full and final revelation, then the murky first beginnings are much better than nothing, just as even if you cannot stuff yourself with honey, a little taste is something to be desired (*in Od*. 1391.46–48); Eustathius' pupils and colleagues will not have needed to have the lesson made any plainer.

As an illustration of very familiar and relatively simple allegorising, we may take the case of Athena as φρόνησις or σύνεσις; this is one of Eustathius' most common allegorical strategies, and it was one which had a very long history, stretching back in fact to the beginnings of allegorical interpretation itself.[62] The account, for example, of Nausicaa's reaction to the appearance of the naked Odysseus, when all her maidservants flee, gestures to this interpretation, even though that is not made explicit:[63]

> οἴη δ' Ἀλκινόου θυγάτηρ μένε· τῆι γὰρ Ἀθήνη
> θάρσος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε καὶ ἐκ δέος εἵλετο γυίων.
> στῆ δ' ἄντα σχομένη·
> Homer, *Odyssey* 6.139–141a

> Alcinous' daughter alone remained, for Athene put courage into her heart and removed fear from her limbs. She stood still facing him.

> Nausicaa alone remained and did nothing ignoble (ἀγεννές) because of her good sense (σύνεσις). For this reason the poet says that Athena put courage into her heart and took fear from her limbs ... [Nausicaa] reckoned sensibly (φρονίμως) that there is nothing frightening on the island ... and so there is nothing to fear in the man who has appeared. This also demonstrates Homer's skill in the arrangement of his narrative (δεινότης διὰ τὸ εὐπλα-

61 On the use of this verse as a 'moral' for the story of Ares and Aphrodite cf. Hunter-Russell 2011, 108; Hunter 2012b, 96.

62 Cf., e.g., Democritus, 68 B2 D-K; *LfgrE* I 210–211; for further discussion and bibliography on this allegory cf. Hunter 2012a, 60–67; Hunter 2014b, 34–35.

63 So too, Eustathius observes that it is appropriate that it is Athena who is responsible for making Odysseus larger and more handsome to look upon, 'because it was his *phronesis* which made him admired and seem more impressive' (*in Il*. 258.1); van der Valk ad loc. suggests that Eustathius has misremembered that it is Laertes who is transformed at *Od*. 24.368–370, but cf. *Od*. 6.229–235, 18.69–70.

> στότερον). If the king's daughter had fled, Homer's fiction (πλάσις) would have become bathetic (κακόζηλον) and succeeding events would not have been plausible.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey* 1555.28–31

So too, in *Iliad* 2, when Odysseus rises to address the army after having quashed Thersites' shortlived impudence, Athena stands beside him in the guise of a herald to command silence so that everyone in the audience could hear what he has to say and 'take note of his advice' (*Iliad* 2.279–282). For Eustathius, Athena here (as so often) represents Odysseus' good sense (σύνεσις): the Greeks fall silent because they want to hear what Odysseus has to say, as they know of that quality of good sense and intelligence (*in Il.* 220.14–17). That expectation itself obviated the need for a herald, but Homer necessarily represents this sequence of events with the typical 'divine machinery' of epic.[64] Again, when in *Odyssey* 13 Athena shows Odysseus the landmarks of Ithaca to prove to him that he has finally reached home and scatters the mist which had prevented him from seeing clearly, this is really the workings of φρόνησις: Odysseus knows that the Phaeacians have not cheated him, and Athena's words represent an internal process of reflection and dawning memory, by which he recognizes long familiar landmarks one by one; the mist which Athena scatters is the 'mist of forgetfulness' (*in Od.* 1743.35–39), and many modern readers of Homer would attest, I think, to the continuing power of such a critical account.

In the tradition of Homeric criticism, this allegory of Athena assumed particular importance with regard to *Odyssey* 1, where Athena's advice, given in the guise of Mentes, to Telemachus to go in search of information about his father was standardly interpreted as the stirrings of φρόνησις within the maturing young hero.[65] This simple allegory was also often found in conjunction with the allegorizing of Athena's father, Zeus, as νοῦς, as φρόνησις is a product of the mind, and indeed its 'natural', desired state. Eustathius notes that, even if Zeus/the mind is darkened by anger or desire and turns away from the light of Athena/*phronesis*,[66] this will never last long (*in Il.* 717.43–44). The allegory also comes prominently into play at two crucial moments of the poem involving Achilles. Athena's appearance to Achilles in *Iliad* 1 when he is choosing between drawing his sword on Agamemnon or checking this angry impulse is naturally

64 Eustathius' explanation must also be set within the context of a rich critical tradition about the speeches of Odysseus and Nestor in *Iliad* 2; in that tradition Odysseus is indeed the 'people's choice'.

65 Cf. *Hypothesis* c Pontani and the scholia to *Odyssey* 1.44c, 270a etc.

66 Eustathius is fond of the epithet φωσφόρος for Athena, cf. van der Valk I 704; this is not, I believe, attested before Eustathius, though it is obviously connected with the goddess' association with the moon, for which cf. *LfgrE* I 211.

seen as Achilles coming to his senses, as ἀγχίνοια and φρόνησις now take over (*in Il.* 81.28–82.22).[67] Secondly, in considering (*in Il.* 1267.6–25) the scene in *Iliad* 22 in which Athena tells Achilles to stop pursuing Hector around the Trojan walls as she will deceive him into standing to face Achilles (vv. 214–225), Eustathius begins by noting that, although Homer might seem to downplay Achilles' prowess by giving Athena all the credit for his victory, this is not in fact problematic, for us or for Homer; for Eustathius 'the facts' (ἡ ἱστορία) are clear: 'Hector was brave, but was overthrown by Achilles who was bravest'.[68] The distinction between ἱστορία and the elaborations and 'allegories' of poetry and myth, to which (for Eustathius) Athena obviously belongs, is fundamental to Eustathius' procedure as a commentator (though not of course just his alone), and it is to poetry that Eustathius next moves:

> In its typical fashion, poetry prefers to set out events in ways surpassing the normal (τερατωδέστερον), rather than to set them out as they happened (ἀληθῶς) but in a less exalted way (ταπεινότερον). Here he prefers to show Achilles as dear to the gods than as just brave; many other people are brave, but it is rare to be so loved by the gods … This passage is also educative, if the divine cares about men to this extent.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 1267.10–17

If the last observation in this passage is very clearly owed to Eustathius' Christian perspective, then what follows is a remarkable rationalising account of Achilles' thought-processes: the whole scene seems to hint (ὑπεμφαίνειν) that intelligence (φρόνησις) has come to Achilles' aid. Realising that both he and Hector were tired, Achilles stopped for a break, which caused Hector, as a result of his own (deceptive) reasoning, also to cease from running away and to stand to face Achilles. One has a choice in fact, notes Eustathius: either we simply understand that Achilles had a rest-break, after which he was too strong for Hector, or that, in addition, Hector gained new courage to face Achilles; either way φρόνησις/Athena was responsible, destroying Hector and bringing glory to Achilles (*in Il.* 1267.18–24).

67 On the allegorising tradition of this scene cf. Hunter 2012a, 60–67. Hera's role in sending Athena is interpreted either in connection with Agamemnon's royal status or, in a later addition to the commentary, through the familiar equation of Hera with ἀήρ: 'Understanding, which is Athena, is sent because the afterthought arising from change of mind comes upon him in obscurity (ἀερίαν) and darkly and, as it were, unseen and unexpected' (*in Il.* 81.43–44). For Eustathius' further assimilation of Athena's intervention to Socrates' δαιμόνιον (*in Il.* 82.9–11) cf. Max. Tyr. 8.5–6; Hunter 2012a, 63 n.71.

68 On Eustathius' fondness for Achilles, and his belief that Homer was similarly fond, cf. above pp. 27–28.

Even if with such a well established allegory as Athena ~ φρόνησις, however, the commentator and reader must exercise judgement; 'allegorical' reading is not simply a matter of 'global change', so that wherever Athena is named, one can substitute φρόνησις. Part of the depth of Homeric poetry precisely arises from the interpretative demands it makes upon readers. In *Iliad* 5, for example, Athena encourages Diomedes to fear no one, not even Ares, in combat and takes her place beside him in his chariot by dislodging his comrade Sthenelos:

> ὣς φαμένη Σθένελον μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων ὦσε χαμᾶζε,
> χειρὶ πάλιν ἐρύσασ', ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἐμμαπέως ἀπόρουσεν·
> ἣ δ' ἐς δίφρον ἔβαινε παραὶ Διομήδεα δῖον
> ἐμμεμαυῖα θεά· μέγα δ' ἔβραχε φήγινος ἄξων
> βριθοσύνῃ· δεινὴν γὰρ ἄγεν θεὸν ἄνδρά τ' ἄριστον.
> Homer, *Iliad* 5.835–839
>
> So saying, she pulled Sthenelos back with her hand and pushed him out of the chariot to the ground; he quickly leapt clear. With great eagerness the goddess then mounted the chariot alongside the noble Diomedes; the axle made of oak creaked loudly under the weight, for it bore a dread goddess and the best of men.

Eustathius here weighs up the options:

> Note that this passage is entirely unallegorical (ἀναλληγόρητον) and an excellent example of poetic marvellousness (ποιητικὴ τερατεία). It is not possible to understand as factual (νοεῖν ἱστορικῶς) that Sthenelos stepped down from the chariot through some inner thought (κατά τινα σύνεσιν) so that Diomedes would himself be both rider and charioteer, unless such a myth is to be read to mean that Diomedes so cleverly (δεξιώτατα) controlled the whole business of fighting in the chariot that the charioteer Sthenelos is not even to be reckoned into the deeds.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 612.36–41

Eustathius thus works through the possible ways in which this passage could be read with the common allegorisations of Athena as 'forethought' (σύνεσις etc.) or 'skill' (δεξιότης); one he rejects outright and another he offers without apparent confidence. He may have been strengthened in his view that this scene is not to be read allegorically by the following verses (athetised by Aristarchus) in which the chariot groans beneath the weight of the great hero and the dread goddess; intellectual qualities such as σύνεσις tend to be imagined as 'light' rather than heavy. It is, however, typical of Eustathius' methods that he then proceeds to address this question, but in a way which does not sit particularly comfortably with his earlier discussion. He notes that the question of how Athena could weigh so much had been raised, as she should be 'weightless', and he cites a neo-Platonic solution to the problem: the intelligible (τὸ νοητόν) is indeed weightless, but

when it takes on perceptible form, then it appears to have weight. Rather, however, than trying to combine Eustathius' views on, first, Athena's removal of Sthenelos and, second, the groaning chariot into one single 'coherent' view, we should note that here Eustathius, like the ancient commentators, moves from single problem to single problem, even when they appear close together in the text and might well be thought to be related.

The *Commentaries* contain some remarkable examples of 'physical allegory', such as an extended discussion (*in Il.* 150.40–152.25) of Hephaestus bringing an end to the quarrel of Zeus and Hera at the end of *Iliad* 1 as 'heat' bringing about a reconciliation between 'dry' and 'wet'. The sources of many of these allegories are unknown, though modern scholars are fond of evoking the name of Demo, a female Homeric critic of perhaps the fifth century AD who is indeed cited on more than one occasion by Eustathius.[69] Let me consider here a relatively straightforward physical allegory from *Iliad* 23. In that book Achilles prays to Boreas and Zephyros to come to fire the pyre on which lies the body of Patroclus, surrounded by dead animals and the bodies of twelve young Trojans:

> ἔνθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς·
> στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς δοιοῖς ἠρᾶτ' ἀνέμοισι
> Βορρῆι καὶ Ζεφύρωι, καὶ ὑπίσχετο ἱερὰ καλά· 195
> πολλὰ δὲ καὶ σπένδων χρυσέωι δέπαϊ λιτάνευεν
> ἐλθέμεν, ὄφρα τάχιστα πυρὶ φλεγεθοίατο νεκροί,
> ὕλη τε σεύαιτο καήμεναι. ὦκα δὲ Ἶρις
> ἀράων ἀΐουσα μετάγγελος ἦλθ' ἀνέμοισιν.
> οἳ μὲν ἄρα Ζεφύροιο δυσαέος ἀθρόοι ἔνδον 200
> εἰλαπίνην δαίνυντο· θέουσα δὲ Ἶρις ἐπέστη
> βηλῶι ἔπι λιθέωι. τοὶ δ' ὡς ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι
> πάντες ἀνήϊξαν, κάλεόν τέ μιν εἰς ἓ ἕκαστος.
> Homer, *Iliad* 23.193–203

> The swift-footed noble Achilles had a different thought. He stood away from the pyre and prayed to the two winds, Boreas and Zephyros, and he promised them fine sacrifices. Pouring many libations from a golden cup, he begged them to come, so that the corpses could be consumed by fire as soon as possible, and the wood would quickly catch alight. Iris heard the prayers and quickly went as a messenger to the winds. They were all together feasting in the dwelling of the stormy Zephyros. Iris arrived at a run and stood on the stone threshold; when they laid eyes on her, they all leapt up, and each of them called her to himself.

The swiftness of Iris's response is marked by her sudden intrusion, mid-verse, into the narrative, prompting Eustathius to draw his students' attention to Ho-

69 On Demo cf. Pontani 2005, 87–88, citing earlier bibliography.

meric technique (καὶ ὅρα τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἶριν, *in Il.* 1295.65); he points out that either Achilles prayed also to her, but Homer did not mention this (the principle of κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον),[70] or else it was simply Iris's job (which, standardly in epic, it was) to report such things to the winds. What follows, however, offers apparently a clear and explicit two-part explanation: first, ἡ ἀλληγορία, and then ὁ μῦθος. The allegory here is a physical one. Iris is the rainbow, and rainbows are signs not just of rain and war, but also sometimes of winds;[71] when the winds leap up at her arrival, this indicates that the appearance of the rainbow has stirred the winds to blow. They all leap up, because rainbows can rouse winds from all directions; Iris herself, however, departs quickly because rainbows do not linger long, and she heads off to Ocean because rainbows are associated with moisture and appear in fact through raindrops (*in Il.* 1296.1–6). As usual, scholarly interest has been focused on Eustathius's sources, but what is striking here is both the didactic clarity and completeness of Eustathius' exposition and the typical independence of the allegorical interpretation from the narrative which calls it forth. Behind such physical allegories stands (again) the idea of the poet as teacher, and an interpreter, such as Eustathius, here stands in for, almost ventriloquises, the poet's teaching. The closer that teaching is to our own (and to Eustathius' students') experience, the greater the poet's authority; this authority, established through what is now seen to be an accurate account of the physical world, carries over into the non-allegorical narrative: the poet who accurately reports the physical world can also teach us about the moral and ethical world.

After the allegory, the μῦθος,[72] that is simply the narrative of the poem as the poet tells it. Here Eustathius is perhaps uncharacteristically brief: 'Each of the winds calls Iris [to himself] as they are in love with her (ἐρῶντας)' (*in Il.* 1296.17–18). Eustathius knew, as did the scholiasts, that poets after Homer had created a romantic relationship between Iris and Zephyros (in Alcaeus fr. 327 V they were the parents of Eros),[73] but here the Homeric text clearly invited a rather more ribald reading. A beautiful woman entering a male feast can mean one of only a few things, and it was easy enough to see each of the winds suddenly competing for her sexual favours, like symposiasts squabbling over a flute-girl; the exegetical T-scholium in fact makes the tentative suggestion that the

70 Cf. Nünlist 2009: chap. 6.

71 For an association of the two cf., e. g., Anaxagoras fr. 19 D-K; Empedocles fr. 50 D-K (cited by Tzetzes in the *Allegories of the Iliad*, Goldwyn-Kokkini 2015, 274); West on Hes. *Theog.* 266.

72 Eustathius in fact returns to physical allegory concerning the winds after dealing with the μῦθος (*in Il.* 1296.10–12), but not to Iris' relationship to the winds.

73 Plutarch himself offers an elaborate, Platonising allegory of this fragment at *Amatorius* 765d-f, cf. Hunter 2012a, 195–197. For the later attestations of this version cf. Page 1955, 271 n.7.

winds' erotic excitement can be explained by the fact that they were a bit tipsy (ἀκροθώρακες). Iris, however, makes her excuses and beats a hasty retreat. One strand of ancient interpretation certainly took this view; the schol. bT *Il.* 23.206a observe that Iris tells a lie in order to escape these pestering men (οἱ ἐνοχλοῦν-τες, the standard verb for 'sexual harrassment'). Of this, there is not a word in Eustathius, and it is not, I think, unreasonable to infer that he here averts his students' eyes from a type of male behaviour that he certainly would not want them to imitate. Rather, he follows another line, familiar also from the scholia (schol. bT *Il.* 23.206b), that the gods really have withdrawn from Troy, now that the course of action concerning Achilles and Hector has been decided (*in Il.* 1296.24–25). As always, however, Eustathius is alive to how one part of the poem corresponds to another. So here, he recalls how, at the onset of the μῆνις, Thetis reported to Achilles at *Il.* 1.423–424 that all the gods had gone off to the Ethiopians; Eustathius' point is not that we have what we would call a simple ring-composition, but rather that the two instances of divine feasting with the Ethiopians are quite different, and 'this is a sign of Homer's skill as he avoids, as far as possible, sameness in his writing' (*in Il.* 1296.25).

Eustathius turns his attention elsewhere also to Iris, and comparison with his discussion of *Iliad* 23 may prove instructive. In *Iliad* 5 Iris, again entering the narrative without introduction, leads Aphrodite away from the battle after she has been wounded by Diomedes. The bT-scholia on *Il.* 5.353 observe that Iris' role here is because 'she serves all the gods in common or is ἐρωτική [i.e. and therefore associated with Aphrodite]'. Eustathius follows this tradition, but seeks to explain it in terms (again) of the physical allegory: because of the rainbow's beautiful colours it has 'something of Aphrodite' (τι ἐπαφρόδιτον) about it, and it is therefore closely connected to Aphrodite (*in Il.* 555.31–33). He then turns to Iris' speed, another characteristic which is always foregrounded in poetry. From the allegorical point of view, this (again) is to be understood from the fact that rainbows appear and disappear very quickly (555.36), but when looked at μυθικῶς, i.e. as poetry depicts the anthropomorphic Iris, she has wings to indicate her speed, as also does Hermes, who is, like her, a messenger, and 'speed is the virtue of the messenger'. Eustathius also notes here, as he does elsewhere (cf. below), that Iris and Hermes share an etymology from εἴρειν, interpreted as 'to tell, announce'.[74] In a subsequent addition to his text Eustathius notes that he has already observed that Iris appears in two forms, one anthropomorphic (σωματοειδής) and the other 'the sign in the sky'; as an example

74 The etymology is not, of course, original to Eustathius, cf., e.g., Plat. *Crat.* 408b; *Etym. Magnum* 475.38–40 Gaisf.

of the former manifestation he cites *Iliad* 3.121, where Iris (again without explicit narrative causation) comes as a messenger to Helen, having taken the shape of Laodike, 'the most beautiful of Priam's daughters', in order to make Helen come to watch the duel between Paris and Menelaos.

The exegetical bT-scholia on *Il.* 3.121 note that Iris must have been sent by Zeus to Helen and they offer two reasons for the choice of Iris: 'a woman can persuade another woman', and secondly – the explanation we have found elsewhere – Iris is an ἐρωτική goddess and 'is always present with Aphrodite'. This second explanation presumably not only assumes the very close relationship between Helen and Aphrodite, but also the fact that after having spoken to Helen, Iris is said to throw 'sweet desire' into Helen's heart to see her former husband. Eustathius' note on the passage (*in Il.* 391.21–34) is, once again, arranged into ἀλληγορία and μῦθος, although this time it is the latter which comes first. Under this heading, Eustathius places the now familiar (to us) wings, denoting speed, and the etymology of her name. The physical allegory is of course of the rainbow, and here Eustathius notes that the etymology from εἴρειν, 'to tell, announce', is appropriate here too, because rainbows 'announce in the midst of the rain that something is to happen'; for this reason 'she is said to be the messenger of Zeus, that is of the air'. It may, however, not be obvious to us what a rainbow might have to do with Helen being drawn to the walls of Troy, particularly as – as Eustathius in his note on *Il.* 5.353 implicitly acknowledges – Iris here takes on a very human shape to address Helen.[75] Here therefore Eustathius calls on 'the more common treatment (θεραπεία) of the myth', namely that Iris represents φήμη, 'report, rumour', a kind of allegorising (though that is not the word which Eustathius uses) for which the etymology from εἴρειν is also appropriate.[76] It is rumour about the duel, here transmitted by Laodike, which brings Helen out on to the walls, just as when at *Il.* 2.786–806 Iris tells Priam of the mustering of huge Greek forces, that too is the operation of φήμη. Here we might well think that we are very close to epic modes familiar from elsewhere, most notably Virgil's *Aeneid*. Virgil's famous picture of malicious *Fama* may in fact suggest at first, not just

75 Such considerations do not, however, deter Tzetzes for whom Iris' likening of herself to Laodike does indeed mean that she became a rainbow, 'from which Helen realized what was going to happen, as if someone had given her a full and clear account' (*alleg. Il.* 3.82–87 = Goldwyn-Kokkini 2015, 136).

76 φήμη is one of the meanings of Iris found at *Etym. Magnum* 475.45 Gaisf.

Homeric Eris, but also the rainbow, in a gesture to the linkage between Iris and φήμη which Eustathius attests:[77]

> Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum:
> mobilitate uiget uirisque adquirit eundo, 175
> parua metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras
> ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.
> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.174–177

> Rumour, the quickest of all evils: movement gives her strength, and she increases in force as she proceeds. Small at first through fear, soon she raises herself to the sky and treads the earth with her head hidden in the clouds.

In the *Commentaries* the allegorical and the non-allegorical in fact constantly bleed into each other, as Eustathius jumps backwards and forwards through his material, repeating here, reworking there. Another excellent illustration of this is the discussion of one passage of the *Iliad* which is itself at least quasi-allegorical, namely Achilles' famous account to Priam of the human condition:

> ὣς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
> ζώειν ἀχνυμένοις· αὐτοὶ δέ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσίν.
> δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει
> δώρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων·
> ὧι μέν κ' ἀμμείξας δώηι Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος,
> ἄλλοτε μέν τε κακῶι ὅ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶι· 530
> ὧι δέ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δώηι, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε,
> καί ἑ κακὴ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν ἐλαύνει,
> φοιτᾶι δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.
> Homer, *Iliad* 24.525–533

> This is the fate which the gods have allotted to wretched mortals, that they should live in grief; they themselves are free from cares. Two jars stand on Zeus's floor containing the gifts he gives: [one contains] bad things, the other good things. The man to whom Zeus who delights in thunder gives a mixture sometimes meets with ill and at other times with good. However, the man to whom he gives [only] grim things is brought to ruin, and evil hunger drives him over the holy earth, and he wanders honoured by neither gods nor men.

Achilles then proceeds to apply this lesson both to his own father, Peleus, and to Priam himself; both had been very prosperous, but now they live out a wretched old age which has brought them nothing but pain. Since at least the time of Pindar (cf. *Pyth.* 3.80–82), these verses and their sentiment were echoed, discussed

77 On *Fama* cf. above all Hardie 2012 (where, however, there does not seem to be any mention of Iris and the rainbow).

and sometimes rejected, as by the Platonic Socrates (*Resp*. 2.379d) who banned them from the ideal state on the grounds that they make the god responsible for κακά. Much has been written about the consolatory effect of Achilles' image, a point already made in the scholia and repeated by Eustathius (*in Il.* 1362.57), who was of course very conscious of the 'rhetorical genre' of the speech, but Eustathius' discussion of the image offers a particularly interesting example of the cumulative way in which some parts of his commentary unfold and of how what is by any standards a remarkable Homeric passage has prompted commentary which pays particular attention to the power of Achilles' fable to generate multiple interpretations, once the 'literal' meaning has been established.

The exegetical scholia on *Il.* 24.526 note that when Achilles says that the gods are ἀκηδέες, 'without cares', he must be talking about the truly divine, τὸ φύσει θεῖον, for the gods of poetry, particularly of course those of Homer, certainly feel grief and other human emotions; that Homer's gods are ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς is a commonplace of ancient and Eustathian commentary. The scholia also quote Epicurus to the effect that 'the immortal and indestructible neither feels trouble nor provides it to others; therefore it has nothing to do with anger or grief' (*Kyr. Dox.* 1).[78] The scholia on the following verses about the jars cite Plato's condemnation of them in the *Republic*, but explain that Achilles has invented the jars in order to console Priam. Eustathius helpfully puts these notices about Epicurus and Plato together as 'what the philosophers say' (*in Il.* 1363.8), to be opposed to the poetic view of gods with human emotions which include an unwillingness to allow those beneath them to enjoy equal happiness, a view expressed with allusion to a passage of Herodotus (7.10ε).[79] Eustathius then proceeds to explain the mixture of good and bad that Homer sets out as the model for human life, illustrating this from Demodocus in the *Odyssey* 'to whom the Muse gave good and bad' (*Od*. 8.63); human beings are unable to get unmixed good things from the one jar that contains them, but may get unmixed bad. In a subsequent addition to the commentary, Eustathius illustrated the inevitability of mixed fortune by two characters (including Ptolemy Philadelphus) drawn from the pages of Athenaeus.[80]

78 Text and interpretation of this saying are very disputed.

79 van der Valk notes that Eustathius 'pretends' ('simulat') that he has taken the observations direct from Plato and Epicurus, rather than from scholia; whether or not this is correct, such a perspective entirely ignores the utilitarian purpose of teaching for which the commentaries are written, cf. above p. 11.

80 Eustathius seems to have made much greater use of Athenaeus when adding to the commentary in Thessaloniki than he did in Constantinople, cf. van der Valk I xvi–xvii; it is natural to connect such differences to the availability of books.

Having explained, as it were, the 'literal' meaning of Achilles' jars,[81] that human life necessarily involves misfortune, Eustathius now turns to various forms of allegorical interpretation; as often, the shift is marked by ἰστέον δέ, 'Observe, moreover ...' (*in Il.* 1363.27). The most common way of deflecting Plato's charge against the verses was to explain that Zeus here stands for 'fate', but Eustathius notes that 'Zeus' could here stand for νοῦς, 'mind, intention', a very common allegorical equation.[82] Not just Zeus's mind, but human intention and will can cause both good and evil, and so the two jars may represent different 'states of mind'. If so, Eustathius continues, then human beings may indeed receive any of the three possible options – unmixed good, unmixed bad, and a mixture of good and bad. The first is 'complete blessedness' (ἄκρα μακαριότης) and the second 'wretchedness in the soul' (ἀθλιότης ψυχική), both of which are presumably to be understood in Christian terms: pagan texts, particularly great texts such as Homer, teach eternal messages, which for Eustathius and his pupils must be understood in Christian terms. The third option utilizes the fundamental division for any priest between the religious or spiritual realm and that of 'ordinary' life, for the category of 'the mixed' refers in this scheme to our day-to-day life (κατάστασις πολιτική), in which we all must indeed accept human limits to good fortune.

Eustathius' Christianising interpretation is testimony to the extraordinarily productive power of Achilles' image, which – as is often pointed out – is in many ways closer to folktale and fable than to 'high poetry'. Eustathius too feels something of this 'strangeness' about the image, for he draws attention to the spherical shape of jars which associates them with the heavens above; by choosing πίθοι, Homer has been concerned, in Eustathius' account, to lend τὸ σεμνόν to an image for which more vulgar equivalents could easily have been found (the gifts of the gods could have been made to 'lie on the floor or be kept in boxes or pits'). Eustathius also notes that πίθοι are common in mythic tales; he cites (again) the story from *Iliad* 5 of Ares bound and chained and the leaky jars of the Danaids. In a subsequent addition to the commentary, Eustathius collects some appearances of πίθοι in proverbs and takes the chance to offer an allegorical (συμβολικῶς) interpretation of Hesiod's gnomic advice on how best to use a πίθος (*Op.* 368–369). The discussion of the jars then closes with an account of the difficult syntax of the verses, made all the more necessary

81 I pass over an intervening note in which Eustathius contrasts the Homeric passage with the Hesiodic jar which Pandora opened; Eustathius will have known that the scholiastic tradition made the Homeric passage Hesiod's 'source' (schol. A and T *Il.* 24.527–528a–b, cf. Hunter 2014a, 244), but that is not his interest here.

82 Cf., e.g., *LfgrE* I 210, above p. 36.

by the fact that, as Eustathius observes, some thought that Homer indicated that Zeus had in fact three jars, two of bad things and one of good. Eustathius appeals to Homeric usage in ruling that there were only two jars, though he will admit that Homer has been guilty of unclarity; the syntactical discussion is, as often, indebted to the same grammatical tradition which has fed into the scholia.

The Achaean wall

At the opening of *Iliad* 12 the narrator foretells the complete obliteration by Poseidon and Apollo after the fall of Troy of the Achaean fortification which had been constructed at the end of Book 7; the interpretative problems concerning this narrative sequence remain of great interest to modern students of the *Iliad*, and offer a very interesting test-case for Eustathius' use of the critical heritage and for the focuses of his commentary.[83] I will here follow his discussions sequentially (though with some omissions), in order to confront the text as his students and readers may have done; some of the problems which modern scholars find in the conception and role of the wall will, therefore, here find little discussion, because Eustathius did not in fact discuss them, but this itself will, I hope, carry its own instructive value.

The making of a defensive wall and ditch to protect the Greek ships and encampment is first suggested by Nestor at *Il.* 7.325–344, and the Greeks carry out Nestor's instructions almost to the letter at 7.433–441.[84] The scene then switches to Olympus where the gods are watching the Greeks at work. Poseidon complains to Zeus that the successful building of this wall, although the Greeks

83 Cf. Porter 2011, which has been an important stimulus to the present discussion. Some of Porter's arguments have elements in common with Ford 1992, 147–157, though Ford rather sees the wall as (in part) an image for the composition of the *Iliad* itself: 'I conceive of the episode of the wall, for all its ancient elements, as formulated along with the plan to construct a monumental text of the *Iliad* of the sort we now have' (p. 151); some of the concerns of Ford and Porter are picked up by Bassi 2014. Scodel 1982 stresses that the obliteration of the wall by flood marks a complete break between the time of the heroes and the time of Homer and his audience, and West 1995 associates the destruction of the wall with the Assyrian destruction of Babylon in 689–688 BC. Cf. further Grethlein 2008, 32–35.

84 Eustathius (*in Il.* 689.54–55) notes that the σκόλοπες of v. 441 were not in fact mentioned by Nestor and, with a properly didactic eye, he points out how, quoting (but not spelling the quotation out) Eur. *Hipp*. 436, this shows that 'second thoughts are wiser'. Clearly, though Homer does not say so explicitly, the Greeks gave further thought, beyond Nestor's speech, to what kind of fortifications were needed; on this exegetical principle of κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον cf. Nünlist 2009, Chap. 6.

had offered no sacrifices to the gods, will lead to a decline in concern with the gods and also to the eclipse of the walls of Troy which he and Apollo had built:

> Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥά τίς ἐστι βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν
> ὅς τις ἔτ' ἀθανάτοισι νόον καὶ μῆτιν ἐνίψει;
> οὐχ ὁράαις ὅ τε δὴ αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ
> τεῖχος ἐτειχίσσαντο νεῶν ὕπερ, ἀμφὶ δὲ τάφρον
> ἤλασαν, οὐδὲ θεοῖσι δόσαν κλειτὰς ἑκατόμβας; 450
> τοῦ δ' ἤτοι κλέος ἔσται ὅσον τ' ἐπικίδναται ἠώς,
> τοῦ δ' ἐπιλήσονται, τὸ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
> ἥρωι Λαομέδοντι πολίσσαμεν ἀθλήσαντε.
> Homer, *Iliad* 7.446–453

> Father Zeus, is there any mortal on the boundless earth who will in the future reveal his intention and plan to the immortals? Do you not see that now the long-haired Achaeans have built a wall in defence of the ships and dug a ditch along it and have not offered splendid hecatombs to the gods? The fame of this wall will stretch as far as dawn is scattered, but they will forget the wall which I and Phoebus Apollo laboured to build for the hero Laomedon.

Zeus, however, will have none of this, but grants that once the Achaeans have left, the wall may be utterly destroyed:

> "ὢ πόποι ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές, οἷον ἔειπες.
> ἄλλός κέν τις τοῦτο θεῶν δείσειε νόημα,
> ὃς σέο πολλὸν ἀφαυρότερος χεῖράς τε μένος τε·
> σὸν δ' ἤτοι κλέος ἔσται ὅσον τ' ἐπικίδναται ἠώς.
> ἄγρει μὰν ὅτ' ἂν αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ
> οἴχωνται σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, 460
> τεῖχος ἀναρρήξας τὸ μὲν εἰς ἅλα πᾶν καταχεῦαι,
> αὖτις δ' ἠϊόνα μεγάλην ψαμάθοισι καλύψαι,
> ὥς κέν τοι μέγα τεῖχος ἀμαλδύνηται Ἀχαιῶν."
> ὣς οἳ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,
> δύσετο δ' ἠέλιος, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον Ἀχαιῶν.
> Homer, *Iliad* 7.455–465

> "Shame, Earthshaker of mighty strength, for what you have said! Some other god might fear this scheme, one much weaker than you in might and strength. Your fame will stretch as far as dawn is scattered! Come then: when the long-haired Achaeans return in their ships to their own dear land, then break down the wall and pour it all into the sea and cover over the whole shore again with sand, so that the Achaeans' great wall will be nothing." Thus they spoke to each other; the sun set and the Achaeans' task was completed.

Since the Achaeans finished the task as the sun set, the building of the wall had taken them one long day. At the opening of Book 12, the poet reports how Poseidon and Apollo did indeed obliterate all trace of the wall after 'the city of

Priam had been sacked in the tenth year'. The passage naturally attracted critical attention as one of the very few places where the poet explicitly refers to Trojan events that lie outside the scope of his poem and, in particular, to the fall of Troy. Eustathius himself links this to the familiar critical notion (cf. esp. the scholia on *Iliad* 1.1a–b), going back at least to Aristotle, that although Homer severely limited the time-frame of the events of the *Iliad,* his technique allowed him to embrace events outside that frame:

> Observe that, just as in the previous book Homer had, in full accordance with his technique (εὐμεθόδως), inserted some of what happened before the Trojan war, such as the raising of the army and associated events,[85] so here, through the trope of 'foreshadowing' (προαναφώνησις), he vividly (γοργῶς) and briefly sets out the end of the war and some of the events after that ... This is his normal practice, so that, even if the opening he laid down for the *Iliad* was the wrath of Achilles, nevertheless we would not fail to hear about some of the major events outside that, namely what happened before the wrath and after it.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 889.38–43

Before turning in detail to the Olympian conversation in Book 7, Eustathius discusses the Greek wall:

> Observe that the ancients (οἱ παλαιοί) took the view that this Greek wall was a fiction (πλάσμα) of Homer. It did not, they say, happen in truth, but the poet invented (ἐπλάσατο) the wall-building beside the ships and what happened there; he was not relating an event which happened but setting forth one as though it had happened (οὐχ' ἱστορῶν πρᾶγμα γενόμενον ἀλλ' ὡς γενόμενον ἐκτιθέμενος), nor was he speaking the truth, but rather supposing what might have happened (τὰ εἰκότα δὲ ὑποτιθέμενος). His purpose in doing this was later on to be able to exercise (ἐγγυμνάσῃ) his rhetorical skill in [the depiction of] sieges (τειχομαχίαι) and the dangers associated with them, which was for various reasons not possible with Troy itself, but particularly because of Achilles' wrath; without Achilles, the Trojans could not be hemmed in their city and endure a siege, because the will of Zeus which had been announced before [*Iliad* 1.5] had to be brought to fulfillment. The poet invented (ἐπλάσατο) the construction of towers at the ships very convincingly (οὐκ ἀπιθάνως) thanks to the rich variety and abundance of his writing (διὰ πάνυ πολλὴν ποικιλίαν καὶ εὐπορίαν γραφῆς).
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 689.56–63

In drawing attention to the fictionality of the wall, as something which 'might have happened' rather than as something which did, and to the fact that this is an opinion which he has inherited from 'ancient' scholarship, Eustathius uses what would have been to him and his pupils a very familiar classification

85 The reference is to Nestor's account at *Il.* 11.769–790.

of narrative material into the 'true', the 'as if true (fictional)' and the 'fantastic/ mythical'. In the repetitive fullness with which he notes the difference between what is true and merely probable, it is perhaps not fanciful to hear the careful, didactic voice of the teacher, making sure that his pupils understand. What matters to Eustathius, moreover, is the opportunity that this poetic fiction gives him to highlight Homer's rhetorical virtues, and the way the note is constructed makes it impossible to identify where the views of 'the ancients' end and Eustathius takes over. Homer wanted to exercise (or practise) the rhetorical description of a τειχομαχία, a 'battle involving walls',[86] a term which need not be synonymous with 'siege', but which easily slips into such a meaning, as suits Eustathius' didactic purposes. Eustathius' use of ἐγγυμνάζειν points clearly to rhetorical exercises or *progymnasmata*. Aelius Theon cites the siege of Plataea in Book 3 of Thucydides as a model for the exercise of *ekphrasis* (118.25–26 Sp. = p. 67 Patillon-Bolognesi), and *ekphraseis* of a πεζομαχία and a ναυμαχία are preserved under the name of Libanius (8.460–464, 489–490 Foerster).[87] For any Byzantine of the twelfth century, however, sieges were not simply a subject for school-exercises, but a familiar and awful reality; long before the siege of Thessaloniki in 1185, which he describes so vividly in his history of the Norman sacking, Eustathius will have known all about the κίνδυνοι associated with such events (*in Il.* 689.59). There is, of course, as in fact Eustathius' own introduction to his account of the siege of Thessaloniki makes clear, no gulf between the description of 'real' events and a concern with rhetorical convention and appropriateness, such as he ascribes to Homer here. It was indeed that very concern and the extraordinary riches of his poetic talent which made Homer's account 'utterly convincing'.[88]

If, for Eustathius, the Achaean wall can be explained through rhetorical need, the reason why that rhetorical need could not be fulfilled through a siege of Troy must be explained somewhat differently. It would, of course, be very easy for us to say that the whole design of the *Iliad* excludes a siege of Troy, which might ultimately have led to its fall, and Eustathius' explanation is not in fact far removed from that consideration of the whole sweep of the poem. A siege, he explains, is incompatible with Achilles' wrath and hence withdrawal from fighting, because only Achilles could make the Trojans stay within

86 This explanation also survives, though less clearly expressed, in the schol. T *Il.* 12.3–35. Plato, *Ion* 539b2 shows that τειχομαχία was a title given to all or part of what we call *Iliad* 12.
87 Cf. also Aphthonius *prog.* 12.2. p. 148 Patillon.
88 Eustathius frequently refers to the ποικίλον element of Homeric poetry (cf. van der Valk II lvi–ii), but it is noteworthy that Aphthonius stresses the need in *ekphrasis* to use different σχήματα in order to lend τὸ ποικίλον to the description (12.3 Patillon).

their walls, and this too does not fit with the 'plan of Zeus', here clearly understood as the promise to Thetis to grant success to the Trojans until the Greeks recompense her son's outraged honour (*Iliad* 1.508–510).[89] Whatever one might think of this explanation, what is notable is the way Eustathius places his discussion of the building of the wall within a wider view of the narrative. The difference that Achilles made is, of course, a recurrent motif of ancient discussion of the design of the poem. The exegetical scholia on the opening verse note, as one explanation of why Homer began in what was to be the last year of the war, that the Trojans did not come out to fight while Achilles was actively engaged on the Greek side, and so there was actually little action to describe, and this is an explanation which Eustathius too offers (*in Il.* 7.6–14). Eustathius thus places the making of the wall within a view of the economy of the poem as a whole; with such a view, ancient and modern worries about why the Greeks only got around to building a defensive wall in the tenth year of the war fade into insignificance. So too, van der Valk (I 493) suggests that the Christian Eustathius deliberately ignored an explanation which is found in the exegetical scholia to *Iliad* 12.3–35, namely that Homer could not stage operations at the walls of Troy because they had been built by (pagan) gods; to focus on this, however, is to fail to appreciate how Eustathius has in fact thought through Homer's overall strategy.[90]

Having explained why Homer has introduced the wall, Eustathius then turns to the Olympian conversation which guaranteed the wall's eventual destruction. Here Homer's purpose was to prevent anyone proving that he had invented the wall by pointing to the complete absence of any traces 'of such a famous piece of wall-building' (*in Il.* 689.68).[91] Poseidon's anger and jealousy (φθόνος) and his rousing of Zeus against the Greek failure to sacrifice will lead to the complete obliteration of the wall and hence to an explanation of why no single trace of it survives. The instruments of that obliteration will naturally be 'earthquake and floodwaters, which are in the control of Poseidon together with Apollo' (*in Il.* 690.4–5).[92] Homer can therefore (though Eustathius does not, for once, use a culinary metaphor) 'have his cake and eat it': he can both have a 'most brilliant τειχομαχία at this invented wall' and also 'avoid being convicted of lying', for, and now Eustathius cites Aristotle (fr. 162 R = 402 Gigon, which Eustathius pre-

89 At *in Il.* 20.21 Eustathius notes this explanation as one of several current for the Διὸς βουλή of *Iliad* 1.5.

90 Porter 2011, 13–14 discusses the relevant scholium.

91 This motive is expressed more briefly in the exegetical schol. T *Il.* 7.445 and 12.3–35.

92 On Apollo's role cf. below p. 56–58.

sumably took from Strabo 13.1.36), 'the poet who devised the wall also obliterated it'.[93]

Two points of note may be mentioned here. We know from the scholia that Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus all concurred in the athetesis of *Iliad* 7.443–464, i.e. the Olympian conversation, on the grounds, as represented by the surviving schol. A *Il.* 7.443–464a, that it was an unhappy anticipation of what is said in Book 12. Eustathius presumably knew of this athetesis, but (as often in such cases)[94] he does not mention it, perhaps because to do so would weaken the force of what he is teaching, namely that Homer is operating to a well-devised scheme in which each part plays its role. He will, moreover, pick up and elaborate the themes of divine anger and jealousy and of Poseidon as a god of earthquake in his subsequent discussion; here (*in Il.* 689.63–690.8) they are merely briefly adumbrated, because it is Homer's purpose in creating the divine conversation, not the nature of Homer's gods, which for the present moment is where Eustathius' attention is directed. Secondly, Eustathius' otherwise unusual emphasis on the obliteration of the fictional wall reflects a long tradition, visible not just in the scholia, of critical interest in this poetic construction;[95] Eustathius' discussion, however, is directed towards the whole sequence as an illustration of Homeric poetic technique. That Eustathius is less interested in the notion of fiction than in how this particular fiction functions within the Homeric text is hardly surprising, but the holistic view of the text which he here takes is in fact one which ancient (and Byzantine) commentators are often accused of lacking.

It is the entirely fictional nature of the wall which also accounts, in Eustathius' explanation, for why Homer has it built in a single day (v. 465) and says so little about the building. Eustathius now moves to a consideration of this matter before going back to the individual details of the speeches of Poseidon and Zeus, because this hangs together with the previous discussion of Homer's strategy. That the wall was finished so quickly is not improbable given the large numbers of Greeks available (*in Il.* 690.9, 18), and Homer says so little about the construction – no architects, no builders, nothing about where the wood and other material came from etc. etc. – so as not to waste words in a great rigmarole about something which was a simple invention;[96] to do so would have thrown suspi-

93 Cf. also Strabo 2.3.6, citing Posidonius, and the schol. T *Il.* 7.443–464c.

94 For a further example cf. below p. 60.

95 Cf. Dio Chrys. 11.75–76; Philostr. *Her.* 7–8.

96 van der Valk II 494 notes here a typical Byzantine interest in the proper construction of walls.

cion 'on his whole poem' and would have created disbelief 'also about what really happened' (690.16). Eustathius draws attention to Homer's elaborate description of the fetching of the wood for Patroclus' pyre (*Iliad* 23.109–126) as an example of how Homer could describe building operations if he wanted to; Patroclus' 'little pyre' (ὀλίγη πυρά) was the object of 'many words' (πολὺς λόγος) and an elaborately detailed description from Homer,[97] whereas nothing comparable accompanies the building of the wall. In his discussion of the differences between Patroclus' pyre and the Achaean wall, modern critics might perhaps say that Eustathius anticipates the idea that 'effects of the real' lend plausibility to fiction, were it not for the fact that, for Eustathius, Patroclus' pyre is not fictional. On the other hand, Homer has made entirely plausible (πιθανόν) the fact that the wall was so completely swept away, as it had been built in a day as an improvised structure on sand (*in Il.* 690.18–19); Eustathius here operates very close to a form of 'rationalising', but he has his eye principally on how well Homer has handled the whole fiction of the wall and its destruction.

One aspect of the whole episode which for Eustathius obviously belongs to μῦθος, rather than to the 'as if true', are the Olympian gods. Eustathius now turns briefly to them, juxtaposing their mythical status to the πιθανότης of Homer's handling of the wall. At one level it is important for Eustathius' students to remember that 'nothing happens without God' (*in Il.*690.20), but these are Homeric gods and, as was very familiar in ancient criticism, Homer makes his gods act ἀνθρωπίνως, 'like human beings', and ἐμπαθῶς, 'with human emotions' (690.21, 26).[98] The idea is perhaps most familiar to us from 'Longinus', *On the Sublime* 9.7. So here Eustathius elaborates on a point he has briefly mentioned before, namely Poseidon's emotions. The god acts from φθόνος, a notorious characteristic of 'the Greek gods', and φιλοτιμία, and he acts against the Greeks, even though they are his φίλοι; he also stirs Zeus to anger against an 'impiety deserving of punishment'. Eustathius thus assimilates a scene which, as we have seen, aroused considerable critical discussion, to the ordinary patterns of Homeric poetry. When Poseidon merely mentions the wall and the ditch (7.449), rather than repeating the detail of vv. 440–441, Eustathius sees here too very 'human' emotions: 'Observe that in his anger Poseidon did not speak at length about the fortification. He said nothing about the towers and the stakes

97 Eustathius does not want us to remember that here Homer refers to the μέγα ἠρίον for Patroclus and Achilles at *Il.* 23.126.

98 Cf. Van der Valk II 107; Eustathius commonly comments on the fact that Homer's gods are ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς, cf., e.g., *in Il.* 1363.10, 1597.50 and the following note.

or even about the nature of the ditch, but it is as though the very mention of the fortification upset him' (*in Il.* 690.47–48).[99]

Eustathius returns to the fictionality of the wall when he considers Poseidon's claim that 'the fame (κλέος) of [the Greek wall] will stretch as far as the dawn light scatters', whereas the wall which he and Apollo built will be forgotten (*Iliad* 7.451–453):

> The ancients said that poets also had to be prophets, and this is how Homer appears both elsewhere and here when, trusting in the power of his own eloquence (λογιότης), he has Poseidon say that 'the fame' of the wall he has invented 'will stretch as far as the dawn light scatters', that is over the whole earth beneath the sun, as far obviously as his own poetry is distributed. The expression is hyperbolic, for 'as far as the dawn light scatters' embraces both the inhabited and the uninhabited world; the sun's brightness spreads over deserted lands also. This could however be understood differently, with reference, not to space, but to time. In imitation of Homer, Euripides says 'gratitude lasts a long time' (*Hecuba* 320), and so here it could be understood that the fame of the wall will be eternal and everlasting, for as long as the light of day shines. This is clear from the fact that Poseidon says that 'they will forget' our wall, thus opposing forgetfulness to long memory … Observe also that here the poet puts his own invented (πλαστόν) wall on a par with the historical and real wall of Troy. Only the fame of both of them lives on, while in reality neither is visible, but the Homeric one is now the more renowned. Because of the poet's eloquence, this wall exists in some way, having come from nothing, whereas the real Troy has in the sweep of time passed from real existence into nothing and disappeared.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 690.54–64

James Porter has rightly drawn attention to the remarkable nature of Eustathius' reflection on how Homer's poetic fiction now has an 'existence', in contrast to the 'real' wall of Troy.[100] There is indeed much one could say about τὸ μὴ ὄν

99 The exegetical T-scholium on *Il.* 7.445 note that Apollo does not speak at all in the exchange whereas 'Poseidon, being a pro-Greek god [or 'though he is a pro-Greek god'] seems to accuse the Greeks ἀπαθῶς'. The adverb is difficult to understand, and Cobet suggested ἀμαθῶς; Porter suggests that the term implies that Poseidon is 'acting inconsistently, as though he lacked all feeling for the Greeks whom he otherwise favors' (Porter 2011, 16). This interpretation might be supported by the scholium on v. 450 which notes that the lesson there is that, though Poseidon is friendly to the Greeks, he grants no pardon when they do not reverence the gods. Eustathius' discussion perhaps suggests another solution. Might Poseidon speak not ἀπαθῶς, but rather ἐμπαθῶς? I once also toyed with ἀνθρωποπαθῶς: for the adverb cf. Hermogenes 391.18 Rabe, and the exegetical scholia regularly use the adjective of Homer's gods (schol. (b)T *Il.* 4.2a, 5.563, 13.521a, 14.168a, 176b), and cf. Eust. *in Il.* 563.44.

100 Porter 2011, 17–20; Porter 2016, 370–371. Taplin 1992, 140 observes, 'The reason why we, the audience, know about the wall, despite its total obliteration, is that it is preserved in poetry … The poet prompts the thought that it is significant that the gods have not obliterated the *Iliad*'; Taplin makes no reference to Eustathius. See also van den Berg, this volume.

and the idea of fiction, just as there is much to be said about the very long tradition of contrasting the permanence of poetic 'monuments' with the inevitable decay of their physical counterparts,[101] but from Eustathius' point of view it is indeed the lasting power of Homer's poetry which is proved here. If one looked back from twelfth-century Constantinople (or Thessaloniki) at the classical past, there were physical 'ruins' and 'survivals' or 'traces' everywhere, though Troy was not alone in having utterly disappeared. More potent than any such physical, archaeological remains, particularly for a teacher, priest and scholar like Eustathius, was the immanent power of the book of classical poetry that one could hold in one's hand: this really did have an existence, whereas the physical world of Troy had utterly disappeared. Homer was, as we might be tempted to say, Eustathius' contemporary. It is indeed the sweep of time, ἡ τοῦ χρόνου φορά, and Homer's power to survive it, which Homer's wall has impressed (once again) upon Eustathius' consciousness. We may here catch something genuinely Byzantine.

Here again we can point to the kind of earlier critical tradition upon which Eustathius was drawing. A bT-scholium on *Iliad* 7.451(a) reads as follows (in Erbse's text):

> τοῦ δ' ἤτοι κλέος ἔσται, ⟨ὅσην τ' ἐπικίδναται ἠώς⟩: ἴσως διὰ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὸ τεῖχος ἀοίδιμόν ἐστιν, οὐ δομηθὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' Ὁμήρῳ γενόμενον ἕνεκεν τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ μάχης.
>
> 'the fame of [the Greek wall] will stretch ⟨as far as the dawn light scatters⟩': Perhaps because of his poetry, for it is because of this that the wall is celebrated, not built by the Greeks, but created by Homer because of the battle over it.

The scholium is lacunose, and the reference to Homer in αὐτοῦ comes in rather suddenly, but the meaning can hardly be doubted, and is confirmed – in as much as such things ever can be – by the passage of Eustathius we are considering.[102] The scholiast, like modern scholars, found Poseidon's prophecy[103] puzzling (hence ἴσως, 'perhaps') and wondered whether the reference was to Homer's poetry. No such uncertainty for Eustathius – far from it. From his perspective, Homer's prophecy of the fame of his poetry and of everything in it (such as the Achaean wall) has more than come true.

101 Important moments in that tradition include Pindar, *Pyth.* 6.5–14; Simonides, *PMG* 531; and Horace, *Odes* 3.30.

102 Porter 2011, 21 seems to interpret διὰ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ, at least at the first level of reading, as 'owing to the making of [the wall]', but that cannot, I think, be correct.

103 Eustathius too saw Poseidon as a tool of Homeric prophecy, *in Il.* 690.52–54.

In the passage cited above Eustathius offers a second possible interpretation, to which he obviously feels drawn: Poseidon does not say that the fame of the Greek wall 'will stretch as far as the dawn light scatters', but rather 'for as long as the dawn scatters its light', i.e. forever,[104] and he sees support for this interpretation in Poseidon's following verse: '[men] will forget' the wall built by Poseidon and Apollo. 'Forgetting' is a function of time, rather than space. 'Haud recte' is van der Valk's laconic comment on this second interpretation, which is, however, hardly a foolish one: κλέος is habitually associated with time – κλέος ἄφθιτον does not die, but escapes the 'forgetting' of death and *is* forever, just as, Eustathius notes, is the fame of the Greek wall. It would be very pointed indeed for Poseidon, an immortal, to prophesy that the Achaean wall will be 'immortal', whereas the divinely made one will 'perish' and be forgotten.

Space and time may, of course, co-exist in such contexts, but it is time which predominates in Greek thinking, particularly in the context of poetic survival. We may think of Theognis' prophecy of Kyrnos' fame (Theognis 237–254): from one point of view, Kyrnos, like the Achaean wall, is a poetic construct and construction, who owes his very existence, present and future, to the poet; he will not 'lose his *kleos*, even after death' but he will be celebrated 'as long as there is earth and sun' (Theognis 245, 252, cf. *in Il.* 690.59).[105] A Hellenistic inscription in fact declares that the *kleos* of Homer's poetry will last 'while night and the sun revolve' (*SGO* 06/02/18, vv. 7–8). We may say that time and space do indeed already co-exist implicitly in the words which Homer gives to Poseidon, and that Eustathius is drawing a false division in opposing two interpretations which in fact work poetically together; if, however, it was the grammarian and teacher in Eustathius which made him express the matter in terms of alternative interpretations, 'space' vs 'time', it was his deep sympathy with how traditional concepts were expressed which brings him to make this distinction and to draw out the implications of Poseidon's concern with 'forgetting' in ways which go well beyond anything that modern commentary has to offer.

When Eustathius picks up the story of the wall in his commentary on Book 12, he begins first with the theme of the wall as Homer's πλάσμα (*in Il.* 888.52–

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104 Whether the textual variation in v. 451 between ὅσον and ὅσην (Aristarchus), of which Eustathius might have known, played any role in alerting him to the possibility of alternate interpretations cannot move beyond speculation. In his famous translation, Richard Lattimore indeed took the text to mean 'as long as dawnlight is scattered', but to what extent this was a 'deliberate misinterpretation' I do not know.

105 Another telling example is the famous epigram on Midas' tomb to which Simonides responded (*PMG* 581), cf. Yunis on Pl. *Phdr.* 264d4–7.

54), and then with its destruction by Poseidon and Apollo. Here one detail seems to stand out as surprising:

> Together with the foundations, Homer also removed the possibility that he could later be found out [i.e. be shown to have invented the wall] and he brought the wall down through the agency of Poseidon and Apollo, that is through earthquake, as was reasonable (εἰκός), and inundation; the first of these is under the control of Poseidon, the 'earth-shaker' (σεισίχθων) and the one 'who makes the earth quake' (ἐννοσίγαιος), and the second is controlled by the sun which gathers the clouds (νεφεληγερέτης).
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 888.53–57

Eustathius assumed readers who knew that the gods who destroyed the fictional wall are themselves to be understood as poetic allegories for natural phenomena: the wall was utterly destroyed by seismic movements and floods, which Homer typically ('mythically') presents as gods. Poseidon's seismic role is expected,[106] and it is Zeus who, as also expected, sends torrential rain (*Iliad* 12.25–26, cf. *in Il.* 889.1, 26). Apollo's role seems to be that of Poseidon's helper, and Homer makes him bring all the local rivers together in an overpowering torrent (*Iliad* 12.24, cf. *in Il.* 889.26). The purpose of the note cited above is to explain the simple allegory by means of stock epithets of the gods concerned; νεφεληγερέτης, 'cloud-gatherer' can only be Zeus, but the sun makes a completely unexpected appearance with that epithet, and the sun certainly has nothing to do with the alleged destruction of the wall.[107] Eustathius repeats the explanation a few pages later, and here again there seems to be some confusion:

> The earth-shaker is obviously responsible for the earthquake … and Zeus, as has been explained, the sun, for the inundation, as he sent down rain not just once but continuously through Zeus's air and brought the mouths of the rivers together in flood.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 890.38–40

In this latter passage there is no mention of Apollo and his Homeric task of turning the mouths of the rivers seems rather to be ascribed to Zeus. In contrast to this apparent confusion in Eustathius' explanations, Tzetzes identifies Apollo here as time, 'which is completed through the movement of the sun' (*alleg.*

106 The history of the 'rationalisation' of 'Poseidon' as referring to earthquakes goes back at least to Herodotus 7.129.4, where however de-mythologising is only at a half way point: *if* you think that Poseidon causes earthquakes, then it is reasonable to say of the effects of earthquakes that they are the works of Poseidon.

107 In other contexts, of course, particularly neo-Platonic ones, Zeus could be interpreted as the sun, cf., e.g., *in Il.* 987.33.

Il. 12.8–9, 18),[108] and a role for time might well seem at least true to the resonance of this extraordinary Homeric passage.

Homer seems to describe two separate cosmic phenomena which led to the obliteration of the Achaean ramparts: Apollo brought the rivers together and unleashed their combined force at the wall (*Il.* 12.24–25), whereas 'Zeus' rained continuously (12.25–26); Eustathius' paraphrase (*in Il.* 889.26–29) makes plain this division of labour. Poseidon is imagined to have directed operations (*Il.* 12.28) and to have used the water to sweep away the Greek foundations and then covered over all the erstwhile traces with sand (12.27–33). Given that in Book 7 Zeus had given Poseidon permission to destroy the wall, once the war was over, and that at 12.17–18 the destruction is said to have been the plan of 'Poseidon and Apollo', it would have been easy enough for any ancient reader to understand the reference to Zeus in 12.25 as an allegorical *façon de parler*, with the 'real gods' involved being Poseidon and Apollo, acting out of protective jealousy for their own Trojan wall. On the other hand, the manner of the destruction strongly suggests the work just of Poseidon, the powerful god of earthquake and water. For an ancient reader attuned to allegorical interpretation, Apollo's presence is an awkward one,[109] for Apollo's principal cosmic manifestation, the sun, has no role to play in the destruction, unless we were to imagine a rather different version in which, after the wall had been swept away, the action of the sun dried up the waters leaving what is now to be seen at the site: sand with no trace left of the wall (cf. 12.30–32 on Poseidon's 'repair work').

In Pseudo-Heraclitus' *Homeric Problems* the destruction of the wall is indeed entirely the work of the allegorised Poseidon (*qu. Hom.* 38), and we may recall how in Book 7 Apollo had been silent as Poseidon remonstrated with Zeus over the Greek fortifications; in discussing that passage, Eustathius had noted that Poseidon was responsible for earthquake and inundation 'together with Apollo' (*in Il.* 690.5), and the awkwardness of Apollo's role here is again very plain to see. What then we perhaps have in the references to the sun in Eustathius' discussion of the opening of Book 12 are remnants of an attempt, in which, as we have seen, Tzetzes succeeded, to find a role for an allegorised Apollo in the destruction, but an attempt which failed before the clear indications of the text. We may even be able to trace the origin (or one of the origins) of such an attempt. In discussing the epithet 'holy' for Troy in the second verse of the *Odyssey*, Eustathius first notes the standard ancient explanation, namely that the city

108 Cf. Goldwyn-Kokkini 2015, 232. Apollo as the sun is Tzetzes' standard interpretation of the Homeric god.

109 That at *Il.* 21.446–449 Poseidon – in a speech to Apollo – claims all the credit for the building of the Trojan walls certainly does not lessen the oddity of Apollo's role in Book 12.

was founded by Poseidon and Apollo, and then he catalogues a couple of 'rationalisations' of this story. One of these is that any form of building requires 'Poseidon' (i.e. water or moisture) and 'Apollo' (i.e. the heat of the sun) to dry out the building-works, and that this entirely general explanation was applied in particular to the building of Troy (*in Od.* 1382.50–53). As at the building, so at the destruction: a place is found for both gods, even at the expense of some awkwardness.

Finally, it is worth noting that when in Book 15 Apollo breaches the wall as easily 'as a child knocks over a sandcastle' (*Il.* 15.361–366), a simile for which Eustathius expresses the greatest admiration, both the scholia and Eustathius are concerned with the question of how the god could do this so easily, when it later took Apollo and Poseidon nine days (*Il.* 12.25) to obliterate the wall entirely.[110] Eustathius' answer (*in Il.* 1019.58–61) is that in Book 15 we are dealing with 'the Apollo of myth', i.e. the Homeric Olympian, whereas in Book 12 Apollo and Poseidon are 'not the gods of myth', but are allegorical figures.[111] What is most interesting here is not so much welcome confirmation for the above interpretation of the discussion of Book 12, but rather the capacious modes of explanation which allowed Byzantine readers a complete picture of Homeric technique and which assumed a Homer working with principles of consistency familiar to them.

Love and sex

It is a commonplace of modern criticism of the *Iliad* that the scenes in Book 3 in which Aphrodite compels Helen to visit Paris after his duel with Menelaus and make love with him and in Book 14 in which Hera 'deceives' Zeus by arousing him to sleep with her, thus being distracted from what is happening in the battlefield, may be mutually explicative. Paris and Zeus, after all, share verses in which they express their arousal. The similarity between the scenes was certainly not lost on Eustathius, and it is of some interest to see how a Byzantine handles such material. As with the discussion of the Achaean wall of Books 7 and 12, I shall (as far as possible) follow Eustathius' discussion sequentially.

110 Critics were also of course bothered by the fact that the gods took nine days to destroy what the Greeks had built in a day, cf. schol. T *Il.* 12.25, with Porphyry's note cited by Erbse ad loc., Eustathius, *in Il.* 890.34–40.

111 For Tzetzes, however, the allegories continue: the Achaean ditch had been weakened by rain, and 'the sun made it collapse like a dry loaf of bread' (*alleg. Il.* 15.140–141 = Goldwyn-Kokkini 2015, 278).

Eustathius certainly does not dissent from the standard view of the scholia that the scenes in Book 3 depict Paris as an outrageously dissolute individual, plunged helplessly in τρυφή and ἀκολασία (cf., e. g., *in Il.* 428.14–16). Aphrodite's seductive description to Helen of Paris catches his attention particularly:

> δεῦρ' ἴθ', Ἀλέξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι·
> κεῖνος ὅ γ' ἐν θαλάμωι καὶ δινωτοῖσι λέχεσσιν,
> κάλλεΐ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν· οὐδέ κε φαίης
> ἀνδρὶ μαχεσσάμενον τόν γ' ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ χορόνδε
> ἔρχεσθ', ἠὲ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίζειν.
> Homer, *Iliad* 3.390–394

> Come here – Paris is calling you to return to your dwelling. He is there in the bedroom on the intricately carved bed, gleaming with beauty and fine clothing. You would not think that he had returned from a duel with a man, but that he was going to a dance or was resting after a recent dance.

When Eustathius notes that this description would suit 'a bridegroom or some other man of *truphe*' (*in Il.* 428.10), it is tempting to think that he has caught some of the sense, as also has modern criticism, that this scene does not just evoke the first time Aphrodite 'led' Helen to Paris' bed, but is also a kind of 'wedding' in which the bride is transferred to the groom's house.[112] Be that as it may, it is a mark of how Eustathius thinks through the implications of the text that he works out the basis of Aphrodite's comparison of Paris to a dancer:

> He mocks the luxurious Paris, who is not pained like someone who has been beaten, but loves like a dancer, having sweated (ἐνιδρώσας) for a very brief time in the fighting as a dancer in the dance.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 428.15–16

This might seem to us wrong-headed, as Aphrodite's comparison refers merely to Paris' appearance and dress (as Eustathius (*in Il.* 428.30) goes on to point out, we are to understand that Aphrodite not only saved Paris from the battlefield, but also beautified him), but Eustathius typically sets the comparison within a holistic reading of the scene as one which mocks Paris; it is not so much (despite Priam's abuse of his remaining sons at *Il.* 24.261) that being a χορευτής is disreputable, as it is transient – Paris is (to put it briefly) a dilettante in warfare. The

112 On Homer's technique of 'replaying' incidents beyond the temporal scope of his poem cf. above p. 50.

reference to sweat perhaps picks up a possible implication of Aphrodite's στίλβων, 'gleaming'.[113]

Helen's recognition that the old woman standing in front of her was in fact Aphrodite was a famous moment for the ancient critics:

> ὣς φάτο· τῇι δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὄρινεν·
> καί ῥ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε θεᾶς περικαλλέα δειρὴν
> στήθεά θ' ἱμερόεντα καὶ ὄμματα μαρμαίροντα,
> θάμβησέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·
> Homer, *Iliad* 3.395–398
>
> So [Aphrodite] spoke and stirred the spirit in Helen's chest. When she saw the goddess' beautiful neck and lovely breasts and sparkling eyes, then she was amazed and addressed her as follows ...

Two issues dominated ancient criticism: How could Helen recognise the disguised goddess?, Why does Helen speak to the god as she proceeds to do? Aristarchus in fact athetised all of 396–418, thus removing the angry exchange between god and mortal altogether; his reasons for doing so seem to have been various, but the improbability of the verses describing the god's lovely body (396–397) and the inappropriateness of the exchange of insults seem to have loomed large (cf. schol. A *Il.* 3.395). The presence of the allegedly intrusive verses was ascribed to someone who took θυμὸν ... ὄρινεν in v. 395 to mean 'stirred her anger', rather than 'stirred (i.e. aroused) her spirit/desire'. Those who did not accept these arguments noted that, as the exegetical scholia on v. 397 'lovely breasts' put it, 'there is nothing odd in the goddess appearing naked: she came to be recognised by Helen, but conceals herself from the Trojan women'. In other words, the goddess at this moment grants Helen special vision which she denies to everyone else. Modern critics too would be inclined to note that there is (at least) a special relationship between Helen and Aphrodite, whether or not they subscribe to some version of the view that Aphrodite is 'a projection of personal emotions' (Kirk on vv. 396–398); this scene has always been one of the strongest cases for those who wish to see the interventions of the Homeric gods as, at least in part, a way of describing internal psychological processes and drives. As is his habit, Eustathius does not even mention the Aristarchan athetesis; after all, the scene is a morally didactic one: it shows us Helen strongly, and indeed angrily, resisting Aphrodite's 'pimping' (μαστροπεία), a harsh

113 Cf. Theocritus 2.79, where the reference is presumably to the use of oil after exercise. Through ἐνιδρώσας Eustathius perhaps recalls Xen. *Symp.* 2.18, the only occurrence of this compound verb in the literature of the classical period, where (the notoriously ugly) Socrates uses it precisely in the context of dancing.

word which Eustathius repeats with pointed effect.[114] Eustathius also does not waste words over how Helen could recognize the disguised god, and whereas the exegetical scholia accept that vv. 396–397 mean that Helen at least saw part of the female body which is normally concealed, for Eustathius 'beautiful neck and lovely breasts and sparkling eyes' are 'simply praise of a beautiful woman' (*in Il.* 428.33); we perhaps here catch a glimpse of Byzantine court society peeping through the commentary. What, however, Eustathius particularly draws our attention to is how this 'simple praise' of beauty is itself 'beautified' (κεκαλλώπισται) in vv. 396–397 by the use of three *parisa*, or noun-adjective phrases of equal length; the rhetorician and stylist in Eustathius is never far away. Thus he also notes that Helen's angry words to Aphrodite (vv. 406–411) come out in short, choppy phrases, a familiar effect of anger (*in Il.* 430.24).

When Helen sarcastically accuses Aphrodite of trying to deceive her and suggests that the god will pass her on to one φίλος after another, just as she gave her to Paris (vv. 399–404), Eustathius suggests that Helen here 'praises herself as being famous and worthy of being loved (ἀξιέραστον)', as Aphrodite would certainly not behave like this if Helen was not a gift worth having (*in Il.* 429.23–24, cf. 429.19). The observation is again driven by a concern with the rhetorical effect of what every character says, with the strategies of speaking; when Nausicaa offers Odysseus the imaginary speech of the jealous Phaeacians about the handsome stranger at her side (*Od.* 6.275–285), another passage which Aristarchus athetised as being inappropriate to the character speaking, Eustathius not only expresses his admiration for the 'wondrous technique' by which Nausicaa declares her love as though someone else was speaking, but – as with Helen in Book 3 – he similarly notes that the princess here subtly suggests to Odysseus that she is ἀξιέραστος, given the number of Phaeacian admirers which she has (*in Od.* 1563.49). The only other occurrence of the term in the *Commentaries* is at *in Il.* 989.26 where the famous catalogue of Zeus's conquests which he recites to Hera as a prelude to their love-making, a passage once again athetised by Aristarchus (as well as Aristophanes before him), is understood as part of Zeus showing himself ἀξιέραστος; if he has had so many lovers, then there must be something worth having there! The strategy of explanation in all three cases is similar. In each of the three cases a plurality (or potential plurality) of lovers or admirers is implicitly a mode of self-praise; in Book 3, however, Helen is not speaking to a man whom she wishes to impress, but to Aphrodite, and Eustathius' interpretation of her words might have been influenced by his

114 Cf. *in Il.* 429.8, 24. The idea itself, but not the word, is already in the scholia, cf. προαγωγόν in the schol. bT *Il.* 3.383a.

reading of the other scenes, in particular perhaps by Zeus's words in Book 14; as we have already seen, Eustathius recognised the scene in Book 14 as very close in some respects to the analogous scene in Book 3.

Central to the critical engagement with this scene was the outrageous behaviour of Paris: a man who has just been beaten in a duel by the husband whose wife he stole can think only of sex. Why does Homer portray him as so degraded?[115] The man is, as Eustathius puts it, simply μαχλότατος (*in Il.* 431.20). In a later addition to the commentary, Eustathius suggests that Paris' ἐρωμανία is perhaps (ἴσως) to be explained by the effect of the *kestos* which Aphrodite wears and which plays such an important part in the 'deception of Zeus' in Book 14 (*in Il.* 431.24–29); the *kestos* is not mentioned in Book 3, but how else to explain Paris' extraordinary desire? Other than Zeus in Book 14, the other parallel which springs to Eustathius' mind is Herodotus' Candaules, whose obsessive *eros* for his own wife brought him to a nasty end. Eustathius uses exactly the same parallel in his discussion of Zeus's desire in Book 14, and there he elaborates upon ancient semantic discussions[116] to make clear why *eros* is not what a man should feel for his wife:

> A man might be said to love (φιλεῖν) his own wife and cherish (ἀγαπᾶν) her and be of one mind (ὁμονοητικῶς ἔχειν) with her,[117] but not *eran* her. *Eros* refers to things which are not in our power or control, as it is an excess of desire for things which we do not really have. Herodotus indeed reports that Candaules felt *eros* for his own wife, but this brought him the bad end we all know about. Zeus too will get nothing good from the *eros* he feels for Hera, as he did once in the beginning, but he will lose the chance to watch what is happening.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 988.30–33

It is tempting to think that it was consideration of Book 14 which led Eustathius to his second thoughts on Paris' behaviour in Book 3. Be that as it may, the parallels which Eustathius draws, with Zeus and Hera and Candaules and his wife, confirm that Eustathius stands in the critical tradition which viewed Paris and Helen, in this scene at least, as a 'married couple', however unusual an example of the institution. Nowhere is this more striking than in the critical attitude to the verses which close the scene:

115 For some discussion and bibliography cf. Hunter 2009a, 21; Hunter-Russell 2011, 105.
116 Cf. van der Valk's note ad loc.
117 When, however, Odysseus famously wishes ὁμοφροσύνη, 'like-mindedness', for Nausicaa and her future husband (*Od.* 6.180–185), Eustathius wrily comments that this is actually rarely found in married couples, most of whom spend all their lives squabbling (*in Od.* 1558.26).

> ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἄρχε λέχοσδε κιών· ἅμα δ’ εἵπετ’ ἄκοιτις.
> τὼ μὲν ἄρ’ ἐν τρητοῖσι κατηύνασθεν λεχέεσσιν …
> Homer, *Iliad* 3.446–447
>
> So he spoke, and led the way to the bed; his wife followed after him. Those two lay on the worked bed …

For Eustathius these verses describe ‘chaste marital relations’ (*in Il.* 434.9); however strongly one might wish to stress Helen’s σωφροσύνη in this scene, I think that most modern critics would take a rather different view. The exegetical scholia compare the ‘going to bed’ of Zeus and Hera at the end of Book 1, while also noting that Paris and Helen are not a ‘standard’ married couple:

> Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς ὃν λέχος ἤϊ’ Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητής,
> ἔνθα πάρος κοιμᾶθ’ ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἱκάνοι·
> ἔνθα καθηῦδ’ ἀναβάς, παρὰ δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἥρη.
> Homer, *Iliad* 1.609–611
>
> Then Zeus, the Olympian who sends lightning, went to the bed where previously he slept whenever sweet sleep took him. He climbed in and slept, and beside him was Hera of the golden throne.

In that scene also the husband and wife have squabbled immediately before (though Hephaestus has tried to calm things down), and there too the exegetical scholia draw a moralising lesson, which one might think anything but appropriate: ‘The poet is teaching [us] that a husband and wife should share the same bed, so that her absence will not pain him’ (schol. bT *Il.* 1.611b).[118]

Eustathius is alive not merely to the variety of tones in Helen’s short address to Paris (like a good rhetorician she is πολυειδής, *in Il.* 431.30), but he also envisages the scene in his mind’s eye and helps his students to see it. Thus Paris looks at Helen ἀσέμνως, when really he should cover his head in shame (*in Il.* 431.20), and Helen’s gesture of v. 427, ὄσσε πάλιν κλίνασα, which the exegetical scholia see as a further mark of her σωφροσύνη, is acknowledged as an open gesture of multiple possible implications, and here (as so often) Eustathius has set the pattern for modern commentary.[119] On the one hand the gesture is

118 It would be typical of a scholiast to view things from the male perspective, and the note gives due attention to the ordering of the Homeric text, but I have wondered whether we should not read αὐτήν, i.e. ‘so that the husband does not pain his wife by his absence’.
119 Cf., e.g., Kirk’s n. on v. 427. In Tzetzes’ account, Helen is unable to resist Paris’ beauty, despite her inner struggle (πολλὰ ζυγομαχήσασαν πρὸς ἑαυτήν), because Paris was born under the sign of Aphrodite (*alleg. Il.* 3.163–171 = Goldwyn-Kokkini 2015, 142).

almost flirtatious (*in Il.* 431.31), but she also seeks to avoid his gaze, because she knows that the eyes are the source of *eros* (a very familiar piece of ancient erotic lore)[120] and she does not want to feel the desire which he himself feels (432.5), and Eustathius makes the point by drawing a verbal link between ὁρᾶν and ἐρᾶν, though he does not (quite) imply that Helen herself knew of the etymological link. For good measure he adds a quotation about desire and the eyes from Euripides (*Hippolytus* 525–526) and cites 'some later rhetorician' for the idea that *eros* flows (ῥέειν) from the eyes.[121]

Paris describes his desire by recalling the very first occasion on which he and Helen made love:

> οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὧδέ γ' ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν,
> οὐδ' ὅτε σε πρῶτον Λακεδαίμονος ἐξ ἐρατεινῆς
> ἔπλεον ἁρπάξας ἐν ποντοπόροισι νέεσσιν,
> νήσωι δ' ἐν κραναῆι ἐμίγην φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῆι, 445
> ὥς σεο νῦν ἔραμαι καί με γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ.
> Homer, *Iliad* 3.442–446
>
> Never before has desire so covered my mind, not even when I first took you from lovely Lacedaemon and sailed away with my seafaring ships and made love to you on a rocky island, as now I feel desire for you and sweet longing lifts me.

Eustathius' analysis of Paris' language is a good illustration both of his habit of accumulating various interpretations, in a manner which was to prove very influential on the later commentary tradition, and of his persistent attempt to see Homeric language and imagery as hanging-together in a large-scale and meaningful picture:

> ἀμφεκάλυψεν ['covered over'] is either taken from the likeness to a cloud, as *eros* darkens the sun which is the soul, or is a metaphor from nets which, when they are spread out, cover what has been caught,[122] or is simply taken over from whatever conceals what is covered or makes it disappear … αἱρεῖ ['takes hold of'] is from the language of hunting, and so it follows on from ἀμφεκάλυψεν, so that he is saying '*eros* has covered me in his nets and has caught me, but it is a sweet catching'.
> Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 433.11–32

At *Il.* 14.294 the poet uses similar language of the effect which the sight of Hera has upon Zeus, and there (*in Il.* 987.29–33) Eustathius repeats the explanation

120 Cf., e.g., Calame 1999, 19–23.
121 At Plato, *Cratylus* 420a9–b4 the link between ἔρως and ῥοή is explicit.
122 This explanation is also found in the schol. bT *Il.* 3.442.

that ἀμφεκάλυψεν is a metaphor from hunting-nets, but he also notes that one could take it as a metaphor from clouds (Zeus's mind is, after all, the sun in some allegorical interpretations of the cosmos), and – perhaps most surprising of all to us – he draws a link between the two explanations by seeking to connect this occurrence of ἀμφεκάλυψεν with Zeus's subsequent promise to Hera that she need not worry about anyone seeing them, because 'I shall conceal (ἀμφικαλύψω) us in a golden cloud' (v. 343), and by the fact that the word νεφέλη denotes a particular kind of hunting-net, a fact which Eustathius illustrates from Aristophanes, *Birds* 194.[123] Here it is (again) tempting to believe that at least his knowledge of, if not his commentary on, the passage in Book 14 has fed back into the commentary on the analogous scene in Book 3, where the interpretation of ἀμφεκάλυψεν as a metaphor from clouds seems to come in very unexpectedly; if this is correct, it may be thought to have implications for Eustathius' habits of working.

Eustathius' discussion of the 'Deception of Zeus' in *Iliad* 14 naturally records allegorical readings of the joining of Zeus and Hera (*in Il.* 986.60–987.6), but what is perhaps of most interest, as it has also been to modern scholars, is the famous passage in which Zeus catalogues his past conquests as a way of expressing to Hera the strength of his present desire. Eustathius begins by noting that, within a context which is both erotic and 'unrelievedly mythical', i.e. stories about Homer's invented gods, Homer weaves in very brief διηγήματα of a similar kind (*in Il.* 988.25–26); in other words, Homer's technique here is, as we might say, a generically conscious one: the catalogue of erotic narratives, very briefly alluded to, reinforce the generic sense, 'myth', of the framing narrative. Eustathius will shortly return to the importance of the idea of 'myth' for this scene,[124] but he also subsequently points out that such a catalogue of brief allusions to stories has a didactic function in making the hearer πολυμαθής (*in Il.* 988.63). Here, as so often, Eustathius casts Homer's ideal audience in his own image.

In Eustathius' view Zeus is, as we have already noted, trying to make himself ἀξιέραστος to Hera by this display of his amorous past, but he is also speaking, 'already deprived of his *nous*' (*in Il.* 988.28), under the sway of the *kestos* which Hera is wearing and which makes him feel ἔρως ἄτοπος for his own wife (cf. above p. 62).[125] This disturbance of his intelligence, the taking away of his πυκιναὶ φρένες as Homer puts it (*Il.* 14.294), makes him 'pride himself on things he

123 Cf. Dunbar ad loc. and Harder on Call. fr. 75.37 Pf.
124 Cf. below p. 66.
125 Cf. the schol. bT *Il.* 14.315b.

should not, artlessly and rather simply' (ἀφελῶς καὶ ἁπλούστερον, *in Il.* 988.29); as Van der Valk notes, Eustathius here has in mind rhetorical discussions of ἀφέλεια as a characteristic of style (cf. Hermogenes, *Id.* 322–329 Rabe), and Eustathius' analysis suggests that Zeus is here behaving not unlike, for example, one of Theocritus' rustics, such as the Cyclops telling Galatea about all the wonderful delights of his cave. It might well be thought that this interpretation is not in fact very far off the mark. It is indeed the style and the manner of expression of the passage to which Eustathius wishes us to pay attention. The poet has, for example, 'beautified this erotic passage with the attractive (εὐειδής) figure of negation',[126] and Eustathius notes that the poet gives Zeus the negative οὐ nine times in his catalogue of past conquests; whereas Zeus dwells on this 'conspicuous figure' and also on the repeated reference to the fact that his unions bore fruit, he uses the word 'I desired' (ἠρασάμην) 'very sparingly',[127] only once in fact (v. 317), whereas it must be understood seven times with the individual items in the catalogue.[128] Zeus 'is ashamed of the word ἐρᾶν and does not wish to dwell upon it' (*in Il.* 988.39); the whole catalogue is in fact an excellent example (988.40) of how Homer can emphasise or suppress details in accordance with rhetorical need.

Eustathius then proceeds to a lengthy demonstration of how Zeus's catalogue illustrates Homer's stylistic *poikilia:*[129] to put it simply, Homer takes our minds off the sex by holding our attention on his style and manner of expression. The variation operates at every level of the catalogue: Zeus lists more mortal women than goddesses; he names the children of the mortals, but not of the immortals; the goddesses are given epithets, but the mortals – except for Danae – not, whereas the children of the mortals are given epithets, except for Minos; one mother and one child are followed by one mother and two children, then two mothers in one verse, each of whom had one child, then two mothers in two verses, and so on (*in Il.* 988.41–56). Ancient critics had also been interested

126 On the σχῆμα κατὰ ἄρσιν, which may amount to what we would consider little more than repeated anaphora of οὐ, cf., e.g., Hermogenes 293.16–25 R; Anon. περὶ σχημάτων III 129–130 Spengel.

127 This seems to be the meaning of πτωχικῶς at 988.39, i.e. it is a synonym of ἐλλιπῶς immediately following at *in Il.* 988.40; van der Valk suggests rather the meaning 'furtively'. πτωχικῶς also resonates against the illustration of the richness of stylistic *poikilia* which follows.

128 The grammatical observation is also found in the schol. A *Il.* 14.317a.

129 Erbse's note on the scholium to v. 317 transcribes the whole Eustathian passage, which he thinks contains material from scholia which have not survived; Janko's note on vv. 313–328 refers to Eustathius' 'fine analysis' and offers a summary of that analysis. Eustathius returns to the favourite theme of Homeric *poikilia* at *in Il.* 990.32, in the context of the variety of ways in which Hera can allude to Zeus's desire for sex, without being too explicit about the physical act.

in why Zeus says θεᾶς ἔρος οὐδὲ γυναικός, but then catalogues his mortal conquests first. One explanation (cf. schol. T *Il.* 14.315c) offered was that ἔρως for one's own kind (e. g. a god for a god) was less fierce than for someone of a different kind (e. g. a god for a mortal); Eustathius explicitly ascribes this view to 'the ancients' (*in Il.* 988.59), but he adds that familiar evidence supports the point: 'for many men who are seized by desire prefer slave-girls to women of good family' (988.61). As so often, it would be very nice to know what (or whom) precisely he has in mind. It may of course (rightly) be objected that a man's desire for a slave-girl does not represent the same disparity of nature as that of a god for a mortal, which the schol. T *Il.* 14.315c describes as a desire for something παρὰ φύσιν, but we may either simply forgive Eustathius for a not particularly apt analogy of hierarchies, or we may wonder just how revealing that analogy is of how slaves were regarded in Eustathius' world.

The final verses of the scene are a famous example of almost cinematic metaphor and distraction:

> ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀγκὰς ἔμαρπτε Κρόνου πάις ἣν παράκοιτιν·
> τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθὼν δῖα φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην,
> λωτόν θ' ἑρσήεντα ἰδὲ κρόκον ἠδ' ὑάκινθον
> πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν, ὃς ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' ἔεργεν.
> τῶι ἔνι λεξάσθην, ἐπὶ δὲ νεφέλην ἕσσαντο   350
> καλὴν χρυσείην· στιλπναὶ δ' ἀπέπιπτον ἕερσαι.
> Homer, *Iliad* 14.346–351
>
> So he spoke, and the son of Kronos took his wife in his arms. Beneath them the earth sent forth fresh grass, and dewy clover and crocus and hyacinth thick and soft to form a high barrier between them and the ground. There they lay and a lovely golden cloud enveloped them, as sparkling dew dripped around.

A standard critical approach to these verses is outlined by the exegetical scholia on vv. 347–351:

> As he has to describe a vulgar matter, the poet has turned his verses in another direction, namely to the flowers which grow up from the earth and to the cloud; in this way he has stopped us wondering (πολυπραγμονεῖν) about what happens next.
> schol. bT *Il.* 14.347–351[130]

130 On the idea of πολυπραγμονεῖν here cf. Hunter 2009c, 60–61.

Eustathius duly offers a version of this explanation (cf. *in Il.* 991.9–10),[131] but he typically also adopts a stylistic approach to the moral problem raised by the verses. Thus v. 346 is harsh in its verbal expression 'so that the passage should not be entirely pleasant and smooth', and Homer also gets the matter over with very quickly (*in Il.* 990.52, cf. 991.30). In the end, however, Eustathius has (in his second thoughts) to admit that 'though neither "love-making" (φιλότητι) nor "took up in his arms" (ἀγκὰς ἔμαρπτεν) are very decent (σεμνόν), nevertheless the poet had no other way to express this passage more decently, however hard he tried to express it appropriately' (991.39).

Eustathius and Koraes

In 1804 Adamantios Koraes published in Paris a two-volume edition with ample commentary of one of the last great works of pagan Greek literature, the *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus.[132] In the long prefatory epistle to his edition, Koraes surveys the history of the Greek novel in antiquity, and then follows this with a scathing attack on what we now call the Byzantine novel; much of Koraes' scorn is of course reserved for the utterly artificial language (as he sees it) of such fiction. When he comes to Heliodorus himself, Koraes naturally draws attention to the very Homeric narrative structure of the *Aithiopika* and to Heliodorus' marvellous depiction of character, which is indeed worthy of being mentioned in the same breath as Homer's. He then turns to the nature of his own commentary, and in particular to its very full coverage of linguistic matters, particularly as regards the relation between ancient Greek and 'this new language which we speak today'. Here Koraes says that his model for the commentary was the 'wise and useful bishop' Eustathius. For Koraes, it was truly remarkable that, at a time of cultural and linguistic decay and political enslavement, when the despised Byzantine novel was being produced and 'other barbarous writings saw the light of

131 Eustathius also (*in Il.* 991.19) repeats the critical observation (schol. bT *Il.* 14.347) that Homer did not include roses among the flowers which the earth sent up because it would not be very nice to sleep on their thorns (!); the implication is that roses would have been expected in such an erotic context. He adds however that perhaps it was also not the season for roses, because roses do not bloom at the same time as crocus and hyacinth. Eustathius' interest in flowers and gardening is familiar from his letters and other texts, but it is hard here not to remember the Cyclops' words to Galatea at Theocritus 11.58–59. Here one might think that Eustathius' didacticism is somewhat misplaced.

132 On Koraes' edition of the *Aithiopika* cf. Tabaki 2010, 161–167; there is an Italian translation of the prefatory epistle in Rotolo 1965.

day, which are fit only to be buried beneath the earth for all time', Eustathius interpreted the first and greatest poet of Greek wisdom, 'from whom all waters … flow', citing *Iliad* 21.196–197, which – as Koraes well knew, though he does not let on – Eustathius himself had quoted at the head of his *Iliad*-commentary (*in Il.* 1.9). No one can doubt the services which Eustathius had performed for the Greek people; he was truly φιλογενής, as in the scholiastic tradition Homer himself was φιλέλλην, though here again Koraes does not make his 'learned' allusion explicit.

Koraes' expansive and self-confessedly digressive prefatory epistle (cf. τὰς μακράς μου παρεκβάσεις, p. να′ top) becomes indeed itself an exercise in Eustathian *mimesis*; we may recall Michael Choniates' praise (287.22–288.2 Lampros) for how Eustathius's lectures were filled (and filled out) with παρεκβάσεις which gave the student a complete picture, going far beyond merely explaining the text in hand, and how these 'digressions' were anything but 'inappropriate excursuses' (ἔξωροι παραδρομαί).[133] Here again, there is a direct line of descent from the Homeric text itself. Just as ancient criticism never tired of pointing to the *poikilia* of the texture of the Homeric poems, which always kept the audience refreshed and attentive through variations of scene-type and emotional level, so Eustathius advertises the variety and careful structure of the *Commentaries* which 'are not stretched out in a single text and body of unbroken continuity, which would weary the reader with the lack of breaks' (*in Il.* 2.43–44); rather, 'anyone proceeding on his way through [the *Iliad* commentary], will find many places, as it were, to stop and rest' (2.46).

Koraes then proceeds to discuss why Eustathius was not in a position to deal diachronically (as we would say) with the Greek language and in particular with the correction (διόρθωσις) of the 'common language', as extensively as Koraes has done in his commentaries:

> By 'correction' of the language I mean not only the changing of various barbarous words and structures, but also the preservation of many others which all who have not carefully investigated the nature of the language try to remove from the language as barbarisms. In Eustathius' time such correction was not possible. The time when things are collapsing is not the time for rebuilding.[134] The sensible house-owner laments from afar the inevitable destruction of his house; when the ruins have fallen and the dust has scattered, then he approaches and gathers what he can from the ruins in order to build a new house. At long last the desperately desired time for rebuilding has arrived, and day by day the

133 Cf. Browning 1995, 85. Not all moderns have agreed with Michael's assessment, of course.
134 Earthquakes were, of course, not unfamiliar to Koraes; the present passage perhaps evokes the state in which he found Smyrna and his own family-house on his return in 1779, cf. Kitromilidis 2010b, 5.

> Greek people are enriched by new Eustathiuses and freed from the horrors of [the language of Byzantine novels].

There follows Koraes' favourite subject of the reform of how the Greek language is currently taught and what should replace that;[135] there is more here than just the fact (remarkable enough in itself) that Eustathius has been adopted into, become indeed a standard-bearer for, Koraes' project for the rebirth of the Greek people and the Greek language, to become almost an Enlightenment figure *avant la lettre*. Koraes is here, in fact, at his most Eustathian, both generally in the close connections he draws between language and morals, and also more specifically. He draws, he tells us, on his experiences with non-Greeks in declaring that once one 'has drunk to the full the cup of this sorceress which is the language of the Greeks' then one is no more a slave to the mere pleasures of the body; the beauty of the Greek language is in fact more entrancing than the Trojan elders found the beauty of Helen (pp. νβ′–νγ).[136] The allusion, of course, is to the Homeric Circe whose bewitching and metamorphosis of Odysseus' men had been allegorised, many centuries before Eustathius, as the enslavement to bodily pleasure which the sight of beautiful women can produce in the unwary. Odysseus, however, was protected by the μῶλυ which Hermes had given him, and in the allegorical interpretation which Eustathius had accepted (*in Od*. 1658.26–30), Hermes was understood as λόγος with μῶλυ as παιδεία, 'education'.[137] The root of μῶλυ, Homer tells us, is black, and this means, in Eustathius words, that 'for those starting out on education, the end (τέλος) is obscure and hard to see' – the first steps are anything but 'sweet', but the flower is white because the end of education truly is 'bright and gleaming, and sweet and nourishing'.

Koraes – perhaps under the influence of other ancient allegories, such as the explanations for the drug which Helen placed in the drink of Menelaos and Telemachus – has re-mixed Circe's potion, so to speak, so that it is now λόγος which entrances, Greek λόγος to be precise, and which protects the young from the

135 Cf. esp. Mackridge 2010.

136 Cf. Mackridge 2010, 132.

137 This allegory is of a very common kind; we may compare Dio Chrys. 16.10 where the magic potion that Jason received from Medea for protection against the fire-breathing bulls and the dragon was in fact received from φρόνησις, with Μήδεια implicitly connected with μῆτις and μήδομαι. Dio says that we should follow this example and 'show contempt to all (such) things, for otherwise everything will be fire for us and everything sleepless dragons'. In most extant versions of the story, Medea's ointment only protected Jason from the bulls, the dragon being overcome with different magic.

lusts of the body. Koraes does not conceal that learning Greek properly is difficult, but 'the reward for the labours is inexpressible pleasure (ἡδονή)' (p. νγ′); here again it is impossible not to be reminded of Eustathius' account of the 'sweet' (ἡδύ) rewards of education as represented by the μῶλυ which protected Odysseus. Both Eustathius and Koraes address themselves to young men, νέοι, and their aim is to help by offering τὸ χρήσιμον (cf. *in Il.* 2.21); Koraes has, he tells his addressee, no aim other than offering 'common benefit to the Greek nation' (νε′). Eustathius remains above all an educator and a didactic model. Koraes indeed once planned a new six-volume edition of Eustathius' Homeric commentaries, but for various reasons (including, of course, money) it never came to pass.[138] When Greece recovers, Koraes proclaimed, it should raise statues of Eustathius, an honour which – as far as I am aware – remains unbestowed, though Athens has done the right thing by Koraes himself;[139] there he sits outside the University building on Panepistimiou, an elderly man slightly bowed forward like a kindly and didactic uncle, as though carrying the whole of Greek tradition on his shoulders. The now somewhat worn inscription declares that the statue was erected so that young men should have a model to emulate; Eustathius would have deserved no less.

Homer and Heliodorus, Eustathius and Koraes. The temptation to play with the parallelisms and differences is almost irresistible. Heliodorus was well known and influential in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[140] and seems also to have been subject to allegorical critical practices ultimately derived from Homeric criticism.[141] Although Eustathius cites Heliodorus only rarely in the *Iliad* commentary we may, I think, assume that he knew the novel, and its 'Homeric' qualities, well.[142] Homer and Heliodorus frame classical antiquity, in one influential (and, who knows?, possibly even correct) view; Eustathius and Koraes were both strikingly interested in the history of the Greek language and how it was spoken in their own day, even if the Bishop lacked Koraes' reforming

138 Cf. Paschalis 2010, 113–116.

139 Cf. Kitromilidis 2010b, 27.

140 Cf. Gärtner 1969; Agapitos 1998.

141 On 'Philip the Philosopher's' famous allegorisation of the *Aithiopika* cf. Hunter 2005.

142 Van der Valk I cvii lists two instances (*in Il.* 55.32–34, 160.15–16), both in the commentary on *Iliad* 1; we should perhaps add *in Il.* 159.25 (also on *Iliad* 1) where ἡμέρα διαγελᾷ looks like a borrowing from the very opening of Heliodorus' novel. A principal witness for Byzantine appreciation of Heliodorus' 'Homeric' qualities is Michael Psellus' comparison of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius from the previous century, cf. Dyck 1986b; Psellus' account of how Heliodorus 'gives the reader breaks through variety and novel diction and episodes and turns of every kind' (61–62 Dyck) assimilates him closely to a familiar scholiastic view of the Homeric poems.

zeal.[143] Homer's poems were the ideological charter which had founded Greek identity and which was at the heart of how its living sense was handed on from generation to generation; Heliodorus' *Aithiopika* has 'identity', both Greek and other, at its very centre, and is clearly constructed not just as a rewriting of Homer, but as a monument to be set alongside the epic poems. The capacious inclusiveness of Heliodorus' narrative and Eustathius' *Commentaries* allows both to be seen (with hindsight) as innovative repositories of tradition and also as pointing forward to new literary and scholarly forms which would come to dominate their respective worlds. Even more important perhaps is the fact that Eustathius and Koraes both use Homer and Heliodorus respectively as leaping-off points for the promulgation of a larger educational and moral agenda. Homer was never just another text, or even simply just the best text: he was always much more than that.

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143 For Eustathius' interest in the development of Greek and the contemporary vernacular cf., e.g., Koukoules 1950; Hedberg 1946; Hunger 1978, II 64.

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I. Eustathios as a scholar

Lara Pagani

Eustathius' Use of Ancient Scholarship in his *Commentary on the Iliad*: Some Remarks

1 Introduction

The *Commentary on the Iliad* is by far the longest among the known works of Eustathius, who was certainly no champion of conciseness or brevity[1]. It was composed, as is commonly agreed for all of his works dealing with philological topics, in an early phase of his activity, prior to his appointment as Archbishop of Thessalonica[2]. During that first period of his life, he had fulfilled the role of μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων at the so-called patriarchal school of Constantinople[3], after having very probably been active as a private teacher of grammar and rhetoric[4]. In a sense, it is precisely this background as a teacher that should be considered as the *humus* for the monumental *Commentary*, as is confirmed in a statement by Eustathius himself in the proem. He declares that far from having been asked by some important person to take on the task, the request had come from his "dear pupils" (πρὸς φίλων ὁμιλητῶν), who held him in great respect. His intention, he

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1 Cf. *e.g.* Wilson 1983, 197–198, who, however, seems to give an excessively negative assessment of Eustathius' prolific style (see Pontani 2005, 170 n. 376: "forse troppo severo"); a more balanced judgment is found in Browning 1992, 141–142 (cf. Browning 1995, 85–86).
2 On the problematic reconstruction of the biographic data of Eustathius and the phases of his career, see Cohn 1907, 1452–1453; Browning 1962, 190–193; Wirth 1980; Kazhdan/Franklin 1984, 115–140; Browning 1995, 84–85; Schönauer 2004. For a thematic classification of Eustathius' works, see Browning 1962, 186–190. It is difficult to establish a firm chronology within the overall body of his works because the cross-references that can be found in them sometimes give contradictory indications. This leads to the impression that "revisions were continually being made or even that all the main works were in preparation concurrently": Wilson 1983, 197–198 (cf. van der Valk 1971, cxxxvi–cxxxix; van der Valk 1976, xci–xciii; Pontani 2000, 13–14).
3 On the debate about the existence of a patriarchal academy and an imperial university, see Pontani 1995, esp. 318–321, with the reference bibliography.
4 Browning 1962, 192; Browning 1992, 141; Browning 1995, 84. The main source on Eustathius' activity in Constantinople is the *Funeral Oration* by Euthymios Malakes (*PG* 136.764).

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states, is to go through the whole of the *Iliad*, drawing attention to what is useful for the reader. But, he continues, in no way does he propose to address his work to the experts, who undoubtedly already have profound knowledge of the material he has collected. Rather, what he seeks to do is to address himself to those who are at the beginning of their studies or who need to refresh their memory[5].

Eustathius also makes it clear that his text will not go back over all the insights that have been acquired on Homer: instead, he hopes to put forward elements that will make it easier for the readers to approach the poet and to be able to reuse and imitate him in their own rhetorical compositions[6]. The *Commentary* can be utilised, according to its author's explicit declaration, either by reading it together with the *Iliad* or as an independent text. Furthermore, the *Commentary* does not present itself as a unitary fabric: on the contrary, it appears as a sequence of isolated explanations, each one clearly demarcated and distinct from the others[7]. This structure is made clearly visible by means of a series of expressions of didactic nature[8], which highlight the transition to a new topic, or also by the conjunction ὅτι, which signals the introduction of data derived from a different source and thus underscores the change of subject matter. Internal cohesion is assured by a series of references to elements already mentioned earlier in the work, which warn the reader that he should consult another passage of the *Commentary* in order to find out more on the same topic[9].

Thus, the work in question does not have the nature of a school textbook: rather, it is a sort of Companion, where readers can search for further details on individual elements about which they need to acquire information[10]. That the *Commentary* was indeed intended for this kind of use is suggested by the presence of a series of annotations in the margins of the autograph manuscript, which constitute a sort of index and were designed to make the work more consultable, by making it easier for readers to locate the specific points they wished

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5 Eust. *in Il.* 2.18–23; cf. Wilson 1983, 198; Browning 1992, 141–142; Browning 1995, 85–86. A translation of the first part of the Eustathian proem can be found in Herington 1969.

6 Eust. *in Il.* 2.23–39. For an appraisal of Eustathius' insistence on the utilitarian element, in the context of Byzantine mentality, see Cesaretti 1991, 223; cf. also Kolovou 2012, 161–162; Cullhed 2014, 18*–21*. On the links with the sphere of rhetoric, see above all Nünlist 2012.

7 Eust. *in Il.* 2.39–46. This is also pointed out in the proem to the *Commentary on the Odyssey* (1380.11–13): see Pontani 2000, 41.

8 *E.g.* ὅρα ("see" [in the sense of "cf."]), ἰστέον ὅτι ("it should be realised that"), σημείωσαι ("notice [that]"), ζητητέον ("it is necessary to investigate"), etc.

9 Cf. Kolovou 2012, 158–159.

10 Thus Browning 1992, 141–142; Browning 1995, 85–86: cf. Kolovou 2012, 161–162.

to look up[11]. In fact, its nature as a discontinuous text is already revealed in the very title, Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδα, i.e. "Digressions on the *Iliad* of Homer". More specifically, as shown in the fundamental study by Kambylis, the term παρεκβολαί indicates both the "excerpts" from an author and the comments on such excerpts[12]. Eustathius' work is made up as a series of annotations on individual passages of the *Iliad*, which are ordered according to a sequence that follows the unfolding story of the poem, but it is not immune to the author's marked tendency to move from one subject to another by association of ideas[13].

Eustathius created his "reference book" by selecting and gathering together a range of materials that he considered to be significant in connection with the Homeric text. In assembling his excerpts, he drew on the most disparate *auctoritates* of the earlier eras[14]. Thus readers were able to find in a single book a great mass of information which would have otherwise been scattered throughout innumerable works and would have been extremely difficult to have available all together.

The operation carried out by Eustathius ties in well with Byzantine cultural inclinations[15] and presupposes, as rightly pointed out by Hartmut Erbse[16], the possibility of having a richly stocked library close at hand, as well as of being able to rely on a very good memory. But that is not all: the knowledge built up by the ancient writers was not only made accessible, but it was also illustrated in frequent additional explanatory notes drawn up by Eustathius himself.

11 Browning 1992, 142; Browning 1995, 86. On the pair of codices that represent the witness of the work that is almost unanimously considered as an autograph of Eustathius, Laurentianus Plut. LIX 2 and 3 (= L), see van der Valk 1971, ix–xxii; van der Valk 1976, ix–x; Cullhed 2012, esp. 445–447 and Cullhed 2014, esp. 8*–9*. On the marginal annotations of L, see van der Valk 1971, xii–xiv, esp. xiii: "Omnes hae annotationes ad usum lectorum codicis erant adiectae, ut locum quem quis consultare vellet, sine magno incommodo inveniret. [...] quod Martini [...] iam opinatus erat, omnibus indiciis confirmatur: additamenta scilicet ab Eustathio ipso postea fuisse adiecta". The margins of L contain another type of annotations, i.e. real additions to the content of the commentary, which have been written by Eustathius as well, probably at a later moment and drawing materials from a different library: van der Valk 1971, xiii and xvi–xvii; van der Valk 1974, xlii; Cullhed 2012, 446–447.

12 Kambylis 1991, 14–18; see also van der Valk 1971, lix and n. 2; Kolovou 2012, 151–153 and Kolovou, this volume.

13 Browning 1995, 85.

14 Cf. Wilson 1983, 200: "for anyone anxious to have a full collection of ancient criticism of the greatest Greek poet, Eustathius put all that was required into a single reference book". Cf. also Browning 1992, 142–143 and Browning 1995, 85.

15 For an overview of this aspect, with discussion of various different positions, see Pontani 1995, 328–351, with the mention of Maas 1952[2], 490.

16 Erbse 1950, 1, followed by Hunger 1978, 64.

These notes aimed at clarifying and exemplifying the meanings of the texts in question, or at highlighting connections with his own age[17]. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that Eustathius was addressing a 12th century public, who needed further explanations concerning the linguistic or historical aspects to supplement the information he found in his sources.

The manner in which Eustathius' commentary presents the material often results in an inextricable tangle of data deriving from different sources, which are sometimes difficult to identify[18]. In fact Eustathius' work, far from being the creature of a merely mechanical compilator, was that of an erudite scholar who, perhaps wishing to appear even more erudite[19], sometimes offered no mention, or barely a generic mention, of the source from which he was drawing his material; at times he quoted an *auctoritas* to whom he actually had no access but whom he found cited in an intermediate text that he carefully avoided mentioning[20]; in some cases he gave misleading indications[21], or enriched the observations taken from other authors by adding his own considerations, occasionally thereby distorting the meaning. Van der Valk's edition (1971–1987) provides a detailed *apparatus fontium* for each passage and contains an in-depth study of the sources used by Eustathius[22]. It seems clear that in a number of cases Eustathius was able to draw on a textual tradition that was less deteriorated than the one we can rely on today[23]. The texts available to him included a vast range of lexico-

17 For examples that illustrate the generally recurrent sequence in Eustathius' mode of presentation, see Hunger 1978, 65: excerpt from an ancient source, paraphrase of the excerpt in question, mostly with an emphasis on the stylistic-rhetorical aspects but occasionally (also) with the assertion of ethical judgments as well as a series of details held to be worthy of mention, with explanations of a linguistic or factual nature intermingled in a jumbled way, without any apparent structuring or subdivision.

18 To put it in the words of van der Valk himself, "often he [*scil.* Eustathius] consults different sources and concocts a mixture in which the original elements can hardly be recognised" (van der Valk 1963–1964, I 14): cf. Erbse 1950, 1 and van der Valk 1971, xlviii.

19 Van der Valk 1971, xlviii: "Docti [...] commentatores vel auctores, sicut Eustathius, doctiores videri cupiebant"; cf. *e.g.* van der Valk 1963–1964, I 3–4, 17–18.

20 Van der Valk 1971, xlviii; cf. van der Valk 1963–1964, I 5 n. 21.

21 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 13, with the reference to Erbse 1950 in n. 48

22 Van der Valk 1971, lix–cxiii; van der Valk 1976, xlii–lxxvi.

23 For example, he had available an exemplar of Strabo without the lacuna of book VII, a complete version of the lexicon of Herennius Philo, a fuller copy of Stephanus' *Ethnika*, he was familiar with Arrian's *Bithyniaka*, which are lost today, etc.: cf. Wilson 1983, 199. It is unsatisfactory merely to state (Wilson, *ibid.*) that "in general Eustathius repeats or paraphrases information that we already possess in the collections of the scholia on Homer or in some other author whom we can still read. He does not have very much of his own to add, and he is not an acute textual critic".

graphic and grammatical works, the major poets of the classical and Hellenistic age we still read today, the main scholiographic *corpora* (or the constitutive parts of such *corpora*), the historiographers, some orators and philosophers, and the ubiquitous Strabo, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Athenaeus[24].

2 The scholia

In this paper my attention will focus on Eustathius' treatment of the material that had come down to him from the philological-exegetic work of the ancient grammarians on the *Iliad*, and which had eventually found its way into a corresponding *corpus* of scholia. Scholars agree that Eustathius had access to all the categories of scholia known to us today, and it is generally believed that he read them in a richer version than the one that has come down to us in the margins of the manuscripts[25]. It has been demonstrated that he made use of 1) the so-called "exegetical" scholia, which he is believed to have derived from an exemplar similar to the Townleianus manuscript[26], 2) the D-scholia, which by their very nature were a fundamental resource for the explanation of words or for paraphrases of Homeric expressions, as well as for the presentation of episodes from mythical history, and 3) a manuscript he defined as a commentary "by Apion and Herodorus", which has been recognized as a close relative of ms. Venetus A[27].

24 In addition to the *Praefationes* of van der Valk's edition cited above (n. 22), see Cohn 1907, 1460–1486; Erbse 1950, 1–22; Hunger 1978, 65–66; Wilson 1983, 199. In particular for the use of Stephanus' *Ethnika* in Eustathius' works see Billerbeck 2015.

25 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 3–28, 86–106, esp. 88; van der Valk 1971, lx–lxiv. On this topic, see also Cohn 1907, 1460–1469; Howald 1929; Erbse 1950, 1–2; Erbse 1953; Erbse 1960, 153; Coletta 1983; Pontani 2005, 173–178 (specifically with regard to the commentary on the *Odyssey*). Further details *infra*, n. 27.

26 London, British Museum, Burney 86 (11th cent.).

27 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. 454 (822) (10th cent.). According to van der Valk 1963–1964, I 1–69 (cf. van der Valk 1971, LXI), the codex of Apion and Herodorus used by Eustathius had an ancestor in common with Venetus A; so already Erbse 1960, 121–173. On the other hand, in the view of Mazzucchi 2012 (442–447), the work of Apion and Herodorus was one of the two antigraphs used by the copyist of Venetus A. According to Howald 1929, who disagreed with the vision which predominated at that time (the general picture is given in Cohn 1907, 1460), Eustathius used only the commentary of Apion and Herodorus (so already Cohn 1907, 1463–1464, who argued that the manuscript used by Eustathius must have been similar to the model of the Genavensis gr. 44), in which Eustathius would have found the scholia deriving from the *Viermännerkommentar* (see immediately *infra*, in the text), the exegetical and the D-scholia al-

The denomination provided by Eustathius is problematic, as Apion and Herodorus are for us unknown figures. To date, it has not been possible to ascribe them with certainty to any historical-cultural context, although it can be hypothesized that their work may bear some relation to the ὑπόμνημα Ἰλιάδος which the *Etymologicum Genuinum* mentions on several occasions as one of its sources[28]. According to van der Valk, the title quoted by Eustathius should be connected to the reference made by Hesychius, in the preface of his *Lexicon*, to collections of *Lexeis* of Aristarchus, Apion and Heliodorus. Thus, according to this interpretation, Apion and Heliodorus (not Herodorus) should be identified, respectively, with the glossographer of Oasis and the commentator of the *Odyssey* (both 1st cent. CE). Marchinus van der Valk conjectured that Eustathius, faced with an anonymous commentary and seeking to enhance its importance, decided to associate it with the names of two esteemed Homeric lexicographers, though in doing so he made a small mistake in the name of the second one[29].

A few years ago this hypothesis was judged as unreliable by Carlo Maria Mazzucchi, who put forward the view that Eustathius should not be credited with inventing an attribution of authorship for the commentary in question. Rather, Mazzucchi suggests, Eustathius is quite likely to have found the work already ascribed to the mysterious couple (irrespective of whether the names were real or pseudonyms). Mazzucchi further maintains that a prosopographical investigation supports placing the two figures within the framework of a Christian Neoplatonic school of Alexandria in the times of John Philoponus (6th cent.). However, the mystery seems unlikely to find an incontrovertible solution: accordingly, the denomination "Apion and Herodorus", with its abbreviated version ApH, seems set to continue to fulfil its function as a conventional label, the exact meaning of which is hard to determine. Nor are there any clear-cut data on the format of the work Eustathius claims to have used as his source; was it still a separate commentary or was it already digested "like a frame" around the Homeric text? The latter option is often taken to be unquestionable[30], al-

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ready all collected together. The demonstration that Eustathius also used other collections of scholia is due to Erbse 1953. For a review of the situation see Pontani 2005, 173.

28 Erbse 1960, 128–131; Alpers 1991, 252–257; Pontani 2005, 148; Mazzucchi 2012, 441–442. There is considerably less agreement with regard to the view that this was the work referred to in connection with the renovation and recovery, including graphic restoration, of ancient and ruined texts of Homer, which Cometas (9th cent.) proudly attributes to himself in several epigrams (*AP* 15.36, 37, 38, 40): Alpers 1991, 252–257; Alpers 2013, 69–72; see also Pontani 2005, 143 (with additional bibliography at n. 297), 148 and Mazzucchi 2012, 442 n. 143.

29 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 27–28. See also Cohn 1907, 1464–1465.

30 Cf. Pontani 2005, 143, 148. This opinion is also shared by van der Valk 1963–1964, I 25–29 and Alpers 1991, 253–254.

though as early as in Erbse, and more recently in Mazzucchi, it has been argued that the way in which Eustathius refers to the work of Apion and Herodorus seems to tilt the scales in favour of an autonomous text rather than a marginal commentary[31].

What does seem clear, however, is that Eustathius found in this source materials that we generally classify as traceable to the *Viermännerkommentar*[32]. The *Viermännerkommentar* is a compilation of four philological-grammatical treatises which go back to the early imperial age, respectively by Aristonicus (*On signs*), Didymus (*On the diorthosis of Aristarchus*), Herodian (*Prosody of the Iliad*) and Nicanor (*On punctuation*)[33]. As is well-known, it is through this route that the acquisitions of the erudites of the Hellenistic age, concerning the interpretation and constitution of the text of the Homeric poem, eventually found their way into the scholia of Venetus A.

If, as has been argued, the codex from which Eustathius obtained this type of material was a close relative of Venetus A, it is conceivable that, like Venetus A, at the end of each Iliadic book it should display a subscription mentioning the four treatises that had been the source for the mass of material (or at least part of the material) that accompanied the text of the poem. Even if this were the case, it would hardly be surprising that Eustathius did not explicitly associate each of the annotations with one or other of the four authors, because the subscription at the end of each book would not have made it possible to pin down the authorship of each individual annotation[34]. Instead, Eustathius opted for collective indications, such as the aforementioned "Apion and Herodorus", which he quotes

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31 Erbse 1953, 23–24; Mazzucchi 2012, 441–447.

32 The term is now customary, even though Erbse himself (1969, XII) defined it as a "verb*um* haud satis memorabil*e*". In addition to *excerpta* from VMK, the ApH used by Eustathius must have contained, according to Erbse 1953, 21–22, a good quantity of D-scholia, but none (or only a very small quantity) of the exegetical scholia.

33 Nothing more is known about this work than the information provided by the subscriptions of Venetus A, nor is it clear who created it or when. According to Lehrs 1882^3, 31–32, followed by Ludwich 1884, 78–82, a time range that outdates Herodian's lifetime by too long a period cannot be taken into consideration; van der Valk 1963–1964, I 107, recently followed by Dickey 2007, 19, was in favour of a dating within the 4th century. In contrast, Erbse 1969, xlv–xlviii had gone as far as Late Antiquity (5th–6th cent.). For greater detail, cf. Pagani 2014, esp. 46–47.

34 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 27; van der Valk 1971, lxi. For Cohn 1907, 1461 Eustathius' silence should instead be taken as a symptom of the absence of subscriptions in the exemplar he called "Apion and Herodorus".

about sixty times[35], or οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι, "the more precise ones"[36], an expression which, as we shall see, requires some further investigation.

Other formulations pointing to Eustathius' use of various types of scholiastic material include οἱ παλαιοί ("the ancient ones", which, however, is very generic and could refer to different sources such as the lexicographic tradition or even other material)[37], οἱ σχολιασταί / ὁ σχολιαστής, or τὰ σχόλια (at times specified as παλαιά), οἱ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ὑπομνηματισταί ("the commentators of Homer"), τὰ παλαιὰ ὑπομνήματα ("the ancient commentaries"), οἱ Ὁμηρίδαι (with the same meaning as the previous phrase), or other variants[38]. In many other cases, the acquisition of material from the scholia is not reported in any detail, and it is, at best, accompanied by a statement that the passage in question was not obtained at first hand, expressed by the insertion of the verb φασί ("they say").

Among the many possible examples, we shall now present just a few in order to corroborate the general picture we have outlined. We shall of course refrain from going into the details of the individual problems of Homeric philology raised by each passage: rather, our aim is to offer a rapid overview of Eustathius' *modus operandi.*[39]

2.1 Apion and Herodorus

As far as the quotations from Apion and Herodorus are concerned, I will mention three passages that have been studied in relation to the question of whether the work thus named by Eustathius was an independent continuous commentary or a collection of marginal scholia. In the first passage, which pertains to *Il.* 1.20 (*in Il.* 28.2–7, text 1), Eustathius invokes the above-mentioned pair in connection with a particular reading and interpretation of a phrase of Chryses' speech to the Achaeans. In mentioning the two authors' work, Eustathius states that "a book by them on the Homeric poems is transmitted" (ὧν βιβλίον εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου φέρεται)[40]. The scholia concerning this point consist only of two very short

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35 Cf. Erbse 1953, 21–22; van der Valk 1963–1964, I 1 and n. 2; Mazzucchi 2012, 442–443. They are cited independently of one another in a handful of cases: see Cohn 1907, 1460; Mazzucchi 2012, 443 and nn. 154–155.

36 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 10–11.

37 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 8 and n. 31, with an addendum on p. 603; van der Valk 1976, xli.

38 Van der Valk 1971, xli–xlii; cf. Cohn 1907, 1460.

39 The texts discussed are collected all together, and numbered, at the end of this paper.

40 According to Eustathius, the text he refers to as Apion and Herodorus handed down a different version of *Il.* 1.20: παῖδα δέ μοι λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι, with both verbs in the

notes, both traceable to Aristonicus (*Sch. Il.* 1.20a[1] and a[2]). As these notes treat the problem differently from Eustathius, it was surmised by Erbse, followed also by van der Valk, that here Eustathius had access to a scholion, possibly of Nicanor, which has not come down to us[41].

In the second passage, connected to *Il.* 1.59 (*in Il.* 47.13–25, text 2), Eustathius speaks of the "commentaries by Apion and Herodorus on Homer" (ἐν τοῖς Ἀπίωνος καὶ Ἡροδώρου εἰς τὸν Ὅμηρον ὑπομνήμασι) as a source of information concerning the mythic events preceding the expedition against Troy narrated in the *Iliad*[42], as well as the internal chronology of the events in question[43]. Eustathius, who concludes by saying that these accounts present numerous contradictions, seems to have gleaned the information from several scholia to different Iliadic passages[44] (*Sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 9.668a, *Sch. ex. Il.* 9.668b, 24.765a[1], b). Eustathius' statement that he derived this material from the "*hypomnemata* of Apion and Herodorus", when the information in question can be found mainly in exegetical scholia of the manuscripts of group b and in T, is explained by van der Valk[45] either as a mistaken attribution due to memory failure on the part of Eustathius, or as a deliberate distortion by means of which Eustathius aimed to bolster the importance of the material he was presenting[46]. However, the problem can perhaps be somewhat reduced in the light of the fact that at least part of

infinitive, postulating that they were governed by the verb δοῖεν of l. 18: "as far as you are concerned, let the gods permit you [...] to release to me my daughter and to accept the ransom"). The participle ἁζόμενοι "venerating" of l. 21 would thus represent a case of hyperbaton and would refer to "Atreides and Achaeans" of l. 17. The explanation given by Aristonicus in *Sch. Il.* 1.20a[1] and a[2] refers only to δέχεσθαι, which is interpreted as an infinitive with the meaning of an imperative.

41 Erbse 1969, 15, *app. ad loc.*; van der Valk 1971, 45, *app. ad loc.*

42 There is a mention of the first expedition of the Greeks, who had wrongly landed in Mysia only to be chased away by Telephus, and then of the events involving Achilles on Skyros, the birth of Neoptolemos, and Odysseus' clash with Philomeleides on Lesbos.

43 The opportunity for the digression is given by Achilles' statement in *Il.* 1.59, according to which the Greeks will have to return home from Troy, "driven back" (παλιμπλαγχθέντας), a verb which some took to mean "driven away again", precisely as an allusion to the first Greek expedition, i.e. to a mythic tradition which was regarded as a creation of the so-called *neoteroi* poets and was therefore considered unknown to Homer. Cf. Eust. on *Il.* 1.59 (*in Il.* 46.36–44); *Sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 1.59c; *Sch. ex. Il.* 1.59d; *Sch. D Il.* 1.59e.

44 The episode of Philomeleides is the only one for which it is not possible to find an antecedent in any of our scholia: cf. van der Valk 1963–1964, I 25 and n. 88; van der Valk 1976, 76, *ad loc.*

45 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 25.

46 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 25. However, this is not the only case in which exegetical material of bT is attributed by Eustathius to Apion and Herodorus: see Cohn 1907, 1461–1462.

these data also appear in Venetus A, and one may therefore surmise that they may also have been present in the ApH used by Eustathius, since this is considered to be related to A. Thus, his “extensive” attribution of the entire block of information to ApH becomes even more easily justifiable.

The formulations used here by Eustathius, who in speaking of ApH talks about a “book” and a “commentary”, have led to the assumption that the two passages may support the view that ApH did not consist of a series of marginal scholia, but was rather an independent text[47]. However, van der Valk[48] has set the two above mentioned passages against a third one (on *Il.* 22.74 [*in Il.* 1257.53–56], text 3), in which Apion and Herodorus are mentioned in connection with their “scholia on Π” (ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸ π σχολίοις). This is another case in which Eustathius comments on a Homeric passage using scholia to a different passage. Here the problem concerns the gender and accent pattern of a word, and the explanation quoted by Eustathius comes from a scholion traceable back to Herodian (*Sch.* Hrd. *Il.* 16.548a)[49]. Part of the material has also been incorporated into the exegetical scholia of T (*Sch. ex. Il.* 16.548b^1) and, in a very concise form, into the b family (16.548b^2), as well as into the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (AB, *s. v.* κατακρῆθεν). According to van der Valk, the fact that here Eustathius identifies the work of Apion and Herodorus as “scholia” testifies to the true nature of the work in question as an array of marginal annotations. The contrasting formulations we noted earlier are explained by van der Valk through the conjecture that, since they appear on the first two occasions in which the work is cited by Eustathius, they merely had the function of bolstering the importance of the work itself, by defining it as a “book” and a “commentary”. However, while it can be conceded that in the age of Eustathius the term σχόλιον communicated, as it does to us today, the idea of material arranged like a frame around a main text – though this was not the case in earlier periods, at least until the 9th century[50] – the Eustathian terminology, as we will see, is so far from being univocal that great difficulty is encountered in drawing any definitive conclusion[51].

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47 Erbse 1953, 23; Mazzucchi 2012, 442–443, who also adds a series of examples in which Apion and Herodorus are introduced by Eustathius as *personae loquentes:* see the discussion *supra*, 84.
48 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 25.
49 What is at stake is the word κάρα (“head”) in *Il.* 22.74, which Homer is said to have known only as a neuter noun accented on the penultimate syllable, but of which existed as well the form καρή, a feminine oxytone. The discussion of the scholion that can be traced back to Herodian concerns the accent pattern of the adverbial form κρῆθεν in *Il.* 16.548 (“from the head right down to the feet”).
50 See Montana 2010, esp. 185–192 and Montana 2014, esp. 24–34.

2.2 The more precise ones

As for the expression of praise οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι, "the more precise ones", which is not uncommon in ancient erudite literature, in this form or in similar ones[52], in Eustathius, according to van der Valk, it is basically equivalent to the indication "Apion and Herodorus"[53]. In the commentary on *Il.* 6.197–199 (*in Il.* 636.28–29, text 4) Eustathius ascribes to the ἀκριβέστεροι a mythographic observation on the different genealogy of Sarpedon in Homer as compared to that presupposed by more recent poets[54]. It seems fairly clear that the source for this remark resides in a scholion that can be read in manuscript A, traceable back to Aristonicus, one of the "four men" (*Sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 6.199).

The indication οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι can likewise be traced back to a scholion by Aristonicus in the Eustathian passage on *Il.* 9.378 (*in Il.* 757.49, text 5), where the subject matter is a phonetic phenomenon connected with the explanation of the

51 Somewhat strained, in my view, is Erbse's explanation (1953, 23 with n. 1) of the contradictory expressions of Eustathius: according to him, the word σχόλιον could be used to refer to the individual explanations of a commentary.

52 Οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι can be found in the scholia to Aristophanes, Euripides (with the addition τῶν ἱστοριογράφων), Aratus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Lycophron (οἱ ἀ. τῶν ἱστορικῶν and ἄλλοι ἀκριβέστατοι ἱστορικοὶ συγγραφεῖς τε γεωγράφοι), whereas οἱ ἀκριβέστατοι τῶν παλαιῶν is in the scholia to Hesiod, ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις τῶν ἀντιγράφων in the scholia to Aeschylus, ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις again in the scholia to Aristophanes.

53 See van der Valk 1963–1964, I 11, who effectively says: "Thus he refers by this term (*sc.* οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι) to VMK or at least to the Commentary which contained it, a fact which might be expected". There is a notable difference between speaking of VMK material and referring to the commentary in which Eustathius read this text, namely, as far as one can tell, "Apion and Herodorus". If, as has been said, ApH was probably a relative of Venetus A, then the array of exegetic material it contained is unlikely to have been only of the VMK type. Although it is obvious that Eustathius was capable of referring to the commentary that he consulted as a material object, it is hardly plausible that he succeeded in (or even that he was at all interested in) distinguishing which class of scholia each of the annotations he used actually belonged to (cf. the correct observation by van der Valk 1963–1964, I 27; van der Valk 1971, lxi [cf. *supra*, 85 and n. 34] on the fact that Eustathius would not have been able to draw any advantage from subscriptions declaring the provenance of the content of the scholia, even if the subscriptions had been present in the codex from which he drew his material, as they are in Venetus A).

54 In Homer, Sarpedon is not the son of Europa nor is he the brother of Minos (as *e.g.* in Hesiod fr. 141.14 M.-W.): this fact is also clarified by the relative chronology (καὶ γὰρ οἱ χρόνοι εὔδηλοι) that emerges from *Il.* 13.449–454 (I draw the indication of the parallel passage from Erbse *ad loc.*).

meaning of a word[55]. At this point, however, the question becomes more complicated, since the same observation can also be found in the D-scholion *ad loc.*, which is not in manuscript A. Here the formulation given by Eustathius seems to present possible parallels with both sources. But in any case, since the analogies with Aristonicus (*Sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 9.378b) are more substantial[56], the most likely conclusion is that the label οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι alludes to the Aristonicus scholion, although it cannot be ruled out that Eustathius also used the D-scholion (*Sch.* D *Il.* 9.378 van Thiel).

But let us now turn our attention to a case that seems to be in contrast with the above picture, whereas in actual fact it turns out not to be conclusive.

In his commentary on *Il.* 14.382 (*in Il.* 992.43, text 6), Eustathius attributes to the ἀκριβέστεροι a variant that is attested in the D-scholia and in a part of the manuscript tradition of the *Iliad*, instead of ascribing to the ἀκριβέστεροι the rival reading which, according to the relevant scholia as edited by Erbse, Didymus attributed to Aristarchus (*Sch.* Did. *Il.* 14.382d[1] and d[2])[57]. The passage has been the object of considerable debate, because the two alternative readings differ by no more than one letter; furthermore, in the scholion of the inner margin of Venetus A (d[1] in Erbse's edition) the letter is not as clearly legible as claimed by Erbse himself[58]. This would leave us with the attestation in the scholion of the

55 The item involved is καρός in *Il.* 9.378: the passage commented on here is Achilles' response to the embassy, in which, among other things, the hero rejects the gifts he is offered by Agamemnon and says: ἐχθρὰ δέ μοι τοῦ δῶρα, τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ ("his gifts are hateful to me, I consider him as if he were a louse"). The point is whether to interpret καρός as if it corresponded, with an abbreviation of the vowel, to κηρός, and thus had the meaning of "death".

56 Aristonicus asserts that the word "is abbreviated" (συνέσταλται) and Eustathius speaks of "abbreviation" (συστολῇ); both present the change from η to α, while the D-scholion presents the situation from the opposite point of view, saying that "some change the α to η". However, it is the D-scholion (and not – as far as we know – Aristonicus) that makes explicit the connection with death of the spelling with η, κηρός, which we also read in Eustathius.

57 The passage in question is found in the episode of the distribution of weapons by the Achaean chieftains during the deceit of Zeus: *Il.* 14.382 states: ἐσθλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔδυνε, χέρεια δὲ χείρονι δόσκεν ("the strong man put on the strong ones [*sc.* weapons], the less good ones he gave to the less good man"). The variant δόσκον for δόσκεν ("they gave" for "he gave") is documented as the lemma of *Sch.* D *Il.* 14.382 (which glosses the verb with a more prosaic ἐδίδουν) and is attested in some manuscripts, among which Lond. Bibl. Brit. Burney 86 (T), Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.2.7, *post correcturam*, Genav. gr. 44, likewise *post correcturam* (a more extensive list can be found in Allen 1931, III 56), as well as in P.Morgan = P.Amh. inv. G 202 (4th cent. AD; LDAB 2120; MP[3] 00870).

58 A check on the digital photograph of the folio 188r of the ms. Venetus A (the entire manuscript is visible in high resolution digital photographs published under a Creative Commons License, at the web address <www.homermultitext.org>, thanks to a project set up by the Center

Townleianus (d²), but it has been pointed out that the lemmata in this codex are sometimes unreliable[59]. Accordingly, it cannot be excluded that the reading Eustathius attributes to the ἀκριβέστεροι may have been none other than the one espoused by Aristarchus, rather than the rival reading[60].

After arguing in favour of this position, in line with the approach of Arthur Ludwich, van der Valk in his edition of the Παρεκβολαί eventually bowed to the authority of Erbse, suggesting that Eustathius could have made a material error and that an over-hasty reading of the scholia could have led him into a mix-up between two variants that were so similar to each other[61]. Be that as it may, this particular case would not contrast with van der Valk's overall view of the interpretation of the ἀκριβέστεροι in Eustathius.

The case of the next example (on *Il.* 6.21 [*in Il.* 623.13–19], text 7) is quite different. Here Eustathius outlines the content of a mythographical narration, drawing first and foremost on the exegetical scholion present in manuscript T and classified as 35b by Erbse. He then introduces a different explanation, which he traces back to the ἀκριβέστεροι. The best parallel for the latter explanation is represented by another exegetical scholion present in manuscript T and in the b family (35a in Erbse's edition), and only in a less substantial way by a D-scholion that can be read in various manuscripts, among which A[62]. Thus,

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for Hellenic Studies of Harvard University) suggests that at the very least the reading should be considered uncertain: in actual fact the reading δόσκον not only cannot be ruled out, but it would seem to be preferable to δόσκεν.

59 See van der Valk 1963–1964, II 151 n. 307. A check on the folio of ms. T which contains this scholion (f. 154r), also available in a digital online version (British Library Digitised Manuscripts, <www.bl.uk/manuscripts>), shows that the termination of the verb is replaced here by a sign of abbreviation, that is systematically used for -ον: accordingly van Thiel 2014, II 504 prints δόσκον as a lemma.

60 A more detailed study on the subject can be found in Pagani 2016.

61 Van der Valk 1963–1964, II 151 with n. 307, basing his argument on Ludwich 1884, 378–379, championed the reading δόσκον in the scholion of the inner margin of Venetus A, and also maintained that the lemmata of the Townleianus were unreliable; van der Valk 1979, 663, *app. ad loc.* was more inclined to maintain the view that there had been a mistake on the part of Eustathius, following Erbse 1974, 655, *app. ad loc.* (see also Erbse 1953, 32).

62 The problem concerns the city of Pedasos, mentioned in *Il.* 6.21: Eustathius opens his discussion by stating that it is a city in the vicinity of Halicarnassus and it takes its name from Pegasus, because the inhabitants, according to the myth, had promised Bellerophon that they would grant him whatever part of the region the horse Pegasus would succeed in demarcating by racing around it during a single night. This is the part that corresponds to the exegetical scholion 35b. However, according to the ἀκριβέστεροι, the poet is referring here to a different Pedasos, located in Troas and formerly called Μονηνία. The city was captured by Achilles when the hero's hesitation about laying a relentless siege to the city was overcome thanks to a message

the expression οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι would appear to be referring here to the exegetical scholia of bT[63].

Once again we note that the terminology Eustathius uses to quote his sources can serve to detect some trends, but it is not usable for schematic and mechanical classifications. It would thus appear more prudent to assume that Eustathius used the term ἀκριβέστεροι to refer to his source whenever he felt that the particular source in question was better than others, and that such a circumstance most likely concerned the commentary by Apion and Herodorus, to which he generally awarded great importance.

2.3 The ancients

The term which is both most generic and most extensively used by Eusthasius to indicate his sources of exegetic-philological material is οἱ παλαιοί. The passage which treats *Il.* 1.47 (*in Il.* 40.38–39, text 8) quotes the interpretation given by "all the ancients" with regard to the image of Apollo shooting arrows against the Achaeans in book 1 of the *Iliad*. This interpretation has a parallel, although somewhat approximate, in the description found in a D-scholion (*Sch.* D *Il.* 1.50 van Thiel)[64].

In another case (on *Il.* 1.463 [*in Il.* 135.38–40], text 9), Eustathius invokes the παλαιοί as a source for the information according to which the inhabitants of

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that a young maiden of the city – who had fallen in love with him – sent to him written on an apple: the message revealed him that the besieged inhabitants of the city had no water left and consequently they would soon have to surrender. This is the part that corresponds to the exegetical scholion 35a. The same ἱστορία is told, with a formulation that is further removed from that of Eustathius and does not mention the ancient name of the city, in the D-scholion.

63 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 10 (cf. van der Valk 1976, 237, *app. ad loc.*), on the other hand, believes that this case provides a confirmation of his theory. If we interpret his theory by assuming that Eustathius uses the term οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι to indicate the commentary in which the VMK material was contained (i.e. ApH) rather than the VMK material itself (cf. the statements in this regard *supra*, n. 53), then the confirmation in this passage could be sought in the congruence between what Eustathius identifies as the opinion of the ἀκριβέστεροι and the note in the D-scholion: in fact, this note is contained in Venetus A, and therefore one might presume that it was also present in its relative ApH; however, as stated earlier, the closest parallel for the passage Eustathius assigns to the ἀκριβέστεροι is still the exegetical scholia of bT and not the D-scholion.

64 The image was taken to be a poetic description of the plague that afflicts the Achaeans' encampment. In effect, the D-scholion specifies that the identification of Apollo as the cause of the pestilence is linked to the fact that he is the sun god, given that every outbreak of the pestilence arises as a result of heat exhalation.

Cuma used a specific piece of equipment during their sacrifice. It may be surmised that Eustathius drew this particular item of information from the corresponding exegetical scholion[65].

In Eustathius' commentary on *Il.* 13.28 (*in Il.* 918.44–45, text 10) the situation is more complex, as the παλαιοί are mentioned with approval because they oppose an explanation concerning certain morphological aspects of a word, whereas the parallel explanation that we read in the exegetical scholia (*Sch. ex. Il.* 13.28a[1], a[2]) merely quotes the two competing hypotheses, without taking a position[66]. It is only in the scholion of Aristonicus (*Sch.* Ariston. *Il.* 13.28b) that one finds a preference which is consistent with that of Eustathius, although it is formulated in an inverse manner[67]. It seems plausible to assume that Eustathius derived his material partly from the exegetical scholia (where he found the alternative between the two explanations) and partly from the scholion of Aristonicus (where he found the version approved by the Aristarchean doctrine).

As mentioned earlier, the epithet παλαιοί is so generic that it lends itself to indiscriminate use even more easily than the others. Innumerable examples could be given, but it is sufficient to mention two of them, where this term is used concomitantly with observations that derive from the *Etymologicum Magnum* and not from scholiographic material (respectively the passage on *Il.* 5.271 [*in Il.* 547.2–3], text 11, and on *Il.* 9.5 [*in Il.* 732.25], text 12).

65 During the sacrifice for the restitution of Chryseis to her father, it is said that the young people held in their hands five-pronged forks called πεμπώβολα (*Il.* 1.463): the exegetical scholion informs us that this type of tool was used only by the inhabitants of Cuma, whereas all the others had three-pronged forks.

66 Therefore a number of different hypotheses have been put forward, suggesting that what Eustathius read was a *plenior* version of our scholia (thus in Erbse 1974, 404, *app. ad loc.*), or, with a more contorted line of reasoning, that there existed a scholion of Herodian on the topic, from which both the exegetical scholion and Eustathius drew some material, but through a different selection of the information (van der Valk 1979, 434, *app. ad loc.*). The problem concerns the genitive κευθμῶν of *Il.* 13.28, which is said to derive from a nominative κευθμός, or, alternatively, to be the result of a syncope of κευθμώνων. Eustathius disapproved of the latter solution and, he asserted, so did the παλαιοί from whom he drew his material.

67 Aristonicus points out that the nominative from which this form derives is κευθμός, thus implicitly excluding the other possibility, namely that it should arise by syncope from κευθμώνων.

2.4 Homeric / ancient scholiasts

As far as more specific terms are concerned, one finds in Eustathius the expressions σχολιασταί and σχόλια[68]: thus, in the passage which comments on *Il.* 2.758 (*in Il.* 337.43–45, text 13) Eustathius invokes the Ὁμηρικοὶ σχολιασταί for the identification of a rhetorical figure in a Homeric expression, and for the mention of a Demosthenic parallel[69]. Here the Eustathian model can be recognised in a D-scholion, where, however, there is no trace of the reference to Demosthenes. It is likely that the reference has gone lost in the redaction of the D-scholion that has come down to us[70].

Elsewhere, Eustathius speaks of παλαιοὶ σχολιασταί, as in his note on *Il.* 15.137 (*in Il.* 1009.24–25, text 14), where he documents the specific meaning of a verb by referring back to what had been said by the exegetical scholia (*Sch. ex. Il.* 15.137a^1, a^2), and by adding an observation of his own: namely, he points out that in a line of the previous book, where the same verb appears in a more generic meaning, the παλαιοὶ σχολιασταί could perhaps have spoken of an improper use[71].

2.5 Ancient scholia

Eustathius refers to his source as σχόλια, for example in his notes on *Il.* 5.487 (*in Il.* 574.21–25, text 15), where he discusses the accent and aspiration of a word, although the connection with the exegetical scholion *ad loc.* (5.487a) seems loose. In fact, the scholion in question reproduces a highly condensed version of Herodian's doctrine concerning the issue under consideration, as can be inferred from a scholion of Herodian to *Il.* 18.487 and from two passages taken, respectively, from the Ps.-Arcadius' epitome of the *Katholike prosodia* (31.4–8) and from the *Etymologicum Magnum* (183.35–184.7), which represent the closest par-

68 As for the meaning of such terms in antiquity, cf. above 88 and n. 50.
69 A paronomasia can be detected in the sequence Πρόθοος θοός ("swift Prothoos") of *Il.* 2.758. The comparison is made with Demosth. 19.137, where the paronomasia is Ἀμφίπολιν πόλιν.
70 Thus van der Valk 1976, 528, *app. ad loc.*
71 What is involved is the verb μάρπτω, the true meaning of which is identified as "to grasp with one's hands", since an etymological connection is set up with μάρη, a word that is attested (only in Pindar) in the acceptation of "hand". In *Il.* 14.228 the verb appears in the pericope οὐδὲ χθόνα μάρπτε ποδοῖιν ("nor with his feet did he touch the ground"), a context to which the meaning identified etymologically does not lend itself and which therefore prompted Eustathius to make his remark.

allels to the passage of Eustathius[72]. It is therefore possible, as was hypothesised by Erbse and van der Valk, that Eustathius read a more extensive scholion of Herodian to the Iliadic line commented on here, and that the scholion in question was later lost (or replaced by the short version available to us).

In the passage discussing *Il.* 15.680 (*in Il.* 1037.56–59, text 16) we find a declaration of the sources that shows a careful and precise attention which is otherwise rare. Here, with regard to a Homeric metaphor concerning a rider who performs acrobatic stunts by jumping from one horse to another in a group of four galloping steeds, Eustathius claims to have found a statement ἐν παλαιοῖς σχολίοις according to which a certain Demetrius, on whose identity he gives no further information, not only made a remark about the ancient custom of watching performances of this kind, but also indicated that similar contests were still organized in Rome in his day. Eustathius then adds a reference to his own time, as he sometimes does elsewhere, noting that it was not uncommon among his contemporaries to see someone performing the feat described by Homer, albeit with two horses only[73]. A comparison with the exegetical scholion *ad loc.* (*Sch. ex. Il.* 15.683–684) reveals that the Demetrius generically mentioned by Eustathius was the grammarian nicknamed Gonypesus, known from two other mentions

72 With regard to the word ἀψῖσιν in *Il.* 5.487, Eustathius states that according to the scholia the nominative of this word does not have an accent on the final syllable (thus ἅψις), either in view of the Aeolic accent or as an analogical creation from the future tense of the corresponding verb (ἅπτω); he also draws attention to the comparison with Hesiod, who in *Op.* 426 mentions a τρισπίθαμον ἅψιν. Furthermore, the fact that the initial α is not aspirated is unexpected because the verb from which the noun allegedly derives is indeed aspirated; on the other hand, the same peculiar feature also occurs with ἅλυσις, albeit inversely (although ἅλυσις has a privative α, which should by definition be smooth, it is commonly pronounced with aspiration). The scholion *ad loc.* says that ἀψῖσιν must have a smooth breathing, that it is a special case and that when it is not accented on the final syllable, then there is a change both in the breathing and the quantity. The Herodian scholion to *Il.* 18.487 deals with the same issue, but in relation to the word ἅμαξαν, invoking once more, as an inverse parallel, the case of ἅλυσις. Finally, in the epitome of the Ps.-Arcadius (31.4–8) and in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (183.35–184.7), it is stated that nouns in -ις constructed from futures that are not accented on the final syllable, have no accent on the final syllable. A series of examples are given, to which is added, as a separate case, the question of ἅψω – ἅψις: here what is proposed (only in the *Etym. Magnum*) is the same Hesiodic example as in Eustathius (although the citation is more extensive). The part of Herodian's *General Prosody* containing this doctrine (in *GG* III/II 86.12–19) has been reconstructed by Lentz using, among other things, the passage from Eustathius as a source, and therefore it cannot be invoked here for a comparison; see also *infra*, n. 76.

73 Cf. van der Valk 1979, 785, *app. ad loc.* ("procul dubio Byzantii rem vidit") and, in general, on Eustathius' references to circumstances of his own day, van der Valk 1976, lxxxix. A collection of all the *excerpta* from Eustathius' works concerning the life of the people (λαογραφία) of his time can be found in Koukoules 1950.

in the Iliadic scholia, and that the statement according to which acrobatic stunts of this kind could be seen in Rome “still today” cannot be safely attributed to Gonypesus, because it could have been an addition by the scholiast himself[74].

2.6 (Homeric) commentators / ancient commentaries

Exploiting the terminological alternation that we have by now seen more than once, Eustathius sometimes also uses the expressions ὑπομνηματισταί and ὑπομνήματα to refer to the scholia. The first example of this type (on *Il.* 5.557 [*in Il.* 582.15–17], text 17) once again proposes a problem of accentuation, quoting a rule (κανών) and pointing out a special case that represents an exception: this is attributed to οἱ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ὑπομνηματισταί[75]. Here the closest parallel is with a scholion by Herodian transmitted only by the codex *Genavensis* (*Sch.* Hrd. *Il.* 5.557), which proves to be congruent with another scholion, again originating from Herodian, pertaining to a different Iliadic passage (*Sch.* Hrd. *Il.* 12.148a[1])[76]. What these texts suggest is that Eustathius must have ascribed to the “commentators of Homer” (i.e., in this case, Herodian) the entire treatment of the question.

In the passage on *Il.* 10.335 (*in Il.* 809.56–62, text 18), Eustathius explains a Homeric adjective first of all from the point of view of the meaning, describing the animal with whose name the adjective is connected, and then from the point of view of the morphology, finally returning to the identification and characteristics of the animal quoted at the beginning[77]. As is made very clear by the

74 Cf. Erbse 1975, 142, *app. ad loc.:* “At Eust. in hoc errare vid., quod putat Demetrium tale quid Romae vidisse; verba enim καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιοῦσί τινες ipsius scholiastae (an Epaphroditi?) sunt, non Demetrii”.

75 The word σταθμός, which appears in *Il.* 5.557, follows the rule according to which nouns ending in -μος that have a θ before the μ are accented as oxytones: κρῆθμος is a special case that constitutes an exception to this rule.

76 Cf. Erbse 1960, 202–203; Erbse 1971, 80, *app. ad loc.* Once again, it is best not to use the passage of Herodian’s *General Prosody* that contains this κανών (in *GG* III/I 166.24–167.2 Lentz), because it was reconstructed by Lentz on the basis of, amongst other sources, precisely the passage from Eustathius: cf. *supra*, n. 72.

77 In *Il.* 10.335 it is stated that Dolon puts on a helmet made of marten fur (κρατὶ ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην): the adjective κτίδεος is connected to the noun ἴκτις, which indicated the marten, with regard to which Eustathius says that it is similar to a smaller Maltese dog, that it feeds on birds, preys on beehives, has genitals similar to a bone and heals those who are afflicted by a disease which causes a urination disorder (στραγγουρία). The poet used the adjective without the initial ι: while it must be conceded that in the line in question this reading could be doubtful, because it could perhaps be read as ἐπ’ ἰκτιδέην, with elision of the preposition, this is not the case fur-

twofold reference to the ὑπομνηματισταί, the whole of the passage can be seen as a skilful *collage* of several scholia: first come the exegetical scholia of the b family and of T, in which, however, Eustathius neglects to mention Aristotle as the *auctoritas* for the description of the animal (*Sch. ex. Il.* 10.335c^1 and c^2); second comes the scholion of Aristonicus in Venetus A, which may be compared with that of Herodian (respectively 335b and 335a); and, finally, a D-scholion.

In the following example (on *Il.* 23.88 [*in Il.* 1289.50], text 19), Eustathius indicates the παλαιὰ ὑπομνήματα as the source of a textual variant[78]. The model he probably used can be identified in a scholion by Didymus that has come down to us both in Venetus A and in the Townleianus, with just a few differences (*Sch.* Did. *Il.* 23.88a^1 and a^2 respectively). According to van der Valk, the mention of the παλαιὰ ὑπομνήματα may plausibly reflect a desire on the part of Eustathius to flaunt his erudition and to give the impression of having direct access to the ancient editions that were witnesses of the variant[79]. I would argue, however, that the Eustathian passage does not warrant this assumption. Rather, Eustathius correctly declares his source, namely the scholia, resorting to one of the different formulations that characterize his variety of expressions, and he clearly states that the variant in question is handed down by the source he cites. In my view, it cannot be excluded that Eustathius may not have realized that the Didymean phrase αἱ πλείους τῶν κατὰ ἄνδρα was referring to the ancient Homeric editions that were identified by the name of a scholar or a possessor[80]. We do know that Eustathius was aware of the existence of a number of ancient ἐκδόσεις, because he sometimes cites a few of these through the intermediary of the scholia[81]. However, it is conceivable that the expression in this passage

ther on, in *Il.* 10.458, where the word occurs in an unequivocal position: ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην κυνέην. Finally, Eustathius once again states that the marten is held by some to be a cunning animal, similar to the weasel, albeit bigger and more furry, and that others believe it to be specifically a weasel that lives in the wild.

78 The question concerns the second hemistich of *Il.* 23.88, where there is a mention of the variants ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς and ἀστραγάλῃσιν ἐρίσσας, the second of which is said to correspond to the Ionian use of the name ἀστραγάλη in the feminine.

79 Van der Valk 1987, 690, *app. ad loc.:* "Commentator, qui eruditionem ostendere mavult, monet se rem repperisse ἐν παλαιοῖς ὑπομνήμασι [...]. Quibus verbis nonnumquam quidem utitur, sed in nostro loco spectat ad Schol. verba (αἱ πλείους) τῶν κατὰ ἄνδρα. Recte enim perspexit eas editiones, quas adiisse simulat, esse veteres".

80 On the ancient *ekdoseis* of Homer, see Haslam 1997, 69–74 and Pagani/Perrone 2012, with bibliography.

81 In Eust. *in Il.* 6.41–44 one finds a mention of several ancient versions of the Homeric texts, here called διορθώσεις (on the alternation of the two terms, see Pagani/Perrone 2012), among which that of Pisistratus, the so-called ἀπὸ νάρθηκος (the copy which, according to the tradition, was revised by Aristotle, who then gave it to Alexander the Great as a gift), that of Marseille

struck him as particularly cryptic: accordingly, being conscious that he was dealing with a textual question, he may have proceeded to reformulate the phrase in a way that he found more congenial: οἱ πλείους [...] γράφουσι.

2.7 Ancient *Homeridai*

Finally, we will mention a term which Eustathius seems to employ, at least sometimes, in a peculiar sense: οἱ Ὁμηρίδαι. This term usually indicated the alleged descendants from Homer, or, in a wider sense, admirers or imitators of the poet, but in Eustathius on some occasions it designates readers, scholars or commentators of the poet[82] and, in a couple of cases, specifically the ancient scholia.

In the context of a discussion on the spelling of a Homeric word (on *Il.* 20.11–12 [*in Il.* 1193.27–29], text 20), Eustathius puts forward, purely as a hypothetical conjecture, the possibility that someone who delights in disputes might come up with a different textual structure of the line, in order to support one of the two rival spellings. In such a case, the proponent would clash with the παλαιοὶ Ὁμηρίδαι, who explicitly supported the other spelling. The scholion of Didymus written in the inner margin of Venetus A *ad loc.* (*Sch.* Did. *Il.* 20.12b) is an excellent candidate that could represent the source from which Eustathius drew this remark[83].

(Μασσαλιωτική) and that of Sinop (Σινωπική); in *in Il.* 106.36–38 one finds another mention of the Μασσαλιωτική and the Σινωπική, specifically stated as known via the scholia (κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς: cf. *Sch.* Did. *Il.* 1.298c[1] and c[2]); in *in Il.* 366.12–13 the works cited are the Μασσαλιωτική and the ἔκδοσις of a certain Euripides (on whom see Pagani 2006), once again with the support of the scholia (ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις, but the *Sch.* Did. *Il.* 2.865 that has come down to us does not represent a satisfactory parallel, and in fact it has been suggested that Eustathius may have read a fuller version: Erbse 1969, 349, *app. ad loc.*; van der Valk 1971, 577, *app. ad loc.*); *in Il.* 1334.5–6 once again presents the reference to the Μασσαλιωτική, presented as known via the scholia (κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς: cf. *Sch.* Did. *Il.* 23.870 – 1a[1] and a[2]), and with the specific remark that there had existed many Homeric ἐκδόσεις (πολλῶν ἐκδόσεων Ὁμηρικῶν γενομένων); a generic reference to the reading of "a different *ekdosis*" (ἑτεροίας ἐκδόσεως γραφή) can be found in *in Il.* 722.58–62, with a mention of Heraclides of Miletus (fr. 16 Cohn).

82 Van der Valk 1963–1964, I 575 n. 84; van der Valk 1976, 390, *app. ad* Eust. on *Il.* 7.58–61 (*in Il.* 662.60). I owe to Aglae Pizzone the suggestion that Eustathius was well aware of the performative nature of the *Homeridai* (as far as the members of the guild of singers are meant with this name), for which cf. Ferrari 2010 (esp. 26–30) and Sbardella 2012.

83 In *Il.* 20.12 (Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσιν) it is pointed out that Homer wrote ἰδυίῃσι and not εἰδυίῃσι. The proposal of the hypothetical *provocateurs* reported by Eustathius is ποίησ᾽ εἰδυίῃσι, with replacement of the dactylic sequence -ησεν ἰ- by the spondaic sequence -ησ᾽ εἰ-. The scholion of Didymus points out not only that ἰδυίῃσι should be written with ι (rather

3 Conclusion

Many similar examples could be given, but I trust that the array presented here will suffice to give an idea not only of the way Eustathius made use of the sources in which he found philological and exegetical material, but also of the problems that arise in studying this topic. In the first place, it clearly emerges that Eustathius developed a particular form of doxography: instead of copying down all the available pieces of information one after the other, he re-worked them and thereby created a version of his own, carefully choosing what he wanted to take into consideration and digesting it. As a result, any attempt at demarcating the various parts is never a trivial operation. To this should be added the fact that in many cases he does not declare that a given observation is derived from the scholia, and even the more specific references display his general propensity to record his sources in a non-systematic manner. Thus, he used manifold expressions, which sometimes seem to be in contradiction with one another. However, this is true mainly if they are interpreted according to the meanings that have become the normal practice in the history of modern studies. Consider for instance the case of σχόλια and ὑπομνήματα: for us, today, these nouns indicate quite different forms of text, whereas Eustathius seems to use them more or less interchangeably. In other words, we should not attribute to Eustathian terminology a technical and well-defined value. Indeed, not only was he prompted by the aspiration to display his erudition, but the desire to vary his mode of expression undoubtedly also played an important role: consequently, the different formulations should to a large extent be taken merely as synonyms[84].

We should also take into consideration that the structure of the scholia as we know them today allows us to gain no more than a general idea of what Eustathius may genuinely have been looking at. For instance, we have no certainty about the content and form of what he calls "the commentary of Apion and Herodorus". On the basis of the information he himself provides, it has been established that it was a codex related to our Venetus A, but we do not know exactly what it contained and what its overall setup was. Some of the apparent inconsistencies we find in Eustathius could depend to some extent on this lack of alignment between the structure of the scholiastic material to which he had access and the state in which it has come down to us.

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than with ει) but also that ποίησε should be written in full (and not with final elision). Cf. Ludwich 1884, 450; Erbse 1977, 5, *app. ad loc.*

84 On the relevance of this aspect in relation to the search for Eustathius' sources, see Cohn 1907, 1462–1463.

In short, in Eustathius we see the figure of an erudite keen to put his erudition on show, but we can say he was quite justified. He went to the trouble of consulting material that represented the heritage of the best philology of the Hellenistic era, and we should not be surprised that he constantly wished to put this merit of his work on display. It cannot be ruled out that this approach may have led him, as already suspected by van der Valk, to some pretentious formulations, where more attention is paid to the scenographic effect than to the rigorous approach desired by present-day *Quellenforschung*. On the other hand, as we know from his own programmatic pages at the opening of the *Commentary*, the work was aiming primarily not at the creation of a taxonomy of the utilized sources but rather at the establishment of a reference point and a support for readers of the *Iliad*. And as far as this goal is concerned, we may genuinely say, inversely paraphrasing an assessment made by Wilson, that Eustathius does indeed pass the test[85].

Texts

Apion and Herodorus:

(1) Eust. on *Il.* 1.20 (*in Il.* 28.2–7): ὅτι τὸ "παῖδα δέ μοι λύσατε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθε, ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱόν" Ἀπίων καὶ Ἡρόδωρος, ὧν βιβλίον εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου φέρεται, διδόασι καὶ ἀπαρεμφάτως γράφεσθαι· "παῖδα δέ μοι λῦσαί τε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι" λαμβανομένου, φασίν, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τοῦ δοῖεν, ἵνα λέγῃ, ὅτι δοῖεν θεοὶ τήν τε παῖδα λῦσαι καὶ τὰ δῶρα λαβεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἁζόμενοι καθ' ὑπερβατόν φασιν· Ἀτρεῖδαι καὶ Ἀχαιοί, ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱόν.

Sch. Ariston. *Il.* 1.20a[1]: [...] τὸ δὲ δέχεσθαι ἀντὶ προστακτικοῦ ἀπαρέμφατον. **b**(B)**T**
a[2]: {δέχθαι ἄποινα} ἀπαρέμφατον ἀντὶ προστακτικοῦ. **A**[int]

(2) Eust. on *Il.* 1.59 (*in Il.* 47.13–25): ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Ἀπίωνος καὶ Ἡροδώρου εἰς τὸν Ὅμηρον ὑπομνήμασι γενναῖος ἀγὼν κεῖται τὸ ἐκ δευτέρου τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατεῦσαι τῇ Μυσίᾳ τὰ πρῶτα προσβαλόντας καὶ ἀπωσθέντας ὑπὸ Τηλέφου. τόποι δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης κατασκευῆς ἄλλοι τε καὶ οὗτοι. Ἀχιλλεύς, φασί, τὴν Σκῦρον ἑλὼν καὶ ληϊσάμενος γυναῖκας ἐκεῖθεν τὴν Ἶφιν μὲν τῷ Πατρό-

85 Wilson 1983, 198: "Anyone who fills several pages with the exegesis of the first line of a poem must be very sure of the quality and relevance of what he has to say, and Eustathius simply does not pass the test".

κλῳ δίδωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ τοῦ Λυκομήδους Δηϊδαμείᾳ συγγίνεται, ἀφ' ἧς Νεοπτόλεμος, ὁ ὕστερον συμμαχήσας τοῖς Ἕλλησι. δῆλον οὖν, φασίν, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μάχῃ τὴν Σκῦρον ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπόρθησεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον δέκα ἔτεσιν εἷλε τὴν Σκῦρον, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ δεκαέτης που τοῖς Ἕλλησι συνεμάχησεν ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος. ἔτι δὲ ὑπονοεῖται, φασί, τῷ Φιλομηλείδῃ τῷ Λεσβίῳ πεπαλαικέναι Ὀδυσσεύς, ὡς ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ λέγεται, κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον πλοῦν, ἡνίκα ἐπεξενοῦντο Λεσβίοις οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐχ' ὅτε Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπολιόρκει αὐτοὺς ὡς πολέμαρχος. καὶ ὅτε δέ, φασίν, ἡ Πηνελόπη ἐρεῖ, ὅτι "ἤδη μοι τόδε εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν, ἐξ οὗ Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰς Τροίαν ἔβη", ἔστιν ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι τὴν πρώτην δεκαετίαν ὧδε κἀκεῖ πλανώμενοι ἀνάλωσαν Ἕλληνες. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως, ἔχοντα πολλὰς ἀντιλογίας.

Sch. Ariston. *Il.* 9.668a: Σκῦρον ἑλών: ὅτι διὰ τούτων καὶ τὴν Σκῦρον πεπολιορκημένην ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων παραδίδωσιν. **A**
Sch. ex. Il. 9.668b: Σκῦρον ἑλών: οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι ἐκεῖ τὸν παρθενῶνά φασιν, ἔνθα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐν παρθένου σχήματι τῇ Δηιδαμείᾳ †κατακλίνουσιν†, ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ἡρωϊκῶς πανοπλίαν αὐτὸν ἐνδύσας εἰς τὴν Σκῦρον ἀπεβίβασεν οὐ παρθένων, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν διαπραξόμενον ἔργα, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα δωρεῖται τοῖς συμμάχοις. εἷλε δὲ τὴν Σκῦρον, ὅτε εἰς Αὐλίδα ἐστρατολόγουν διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐκεῖ Δόλοπας ἀποστάντας τῆς Πηλέως ἀρχῆς· "ἔπλεον εἰς Σκῦρον Δολοπηΐδα" (fr. epic. auctoris ignoti). τότε δὲ καὶ τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ἐπαιδοποιήσατο. εἴκοσι δὲ ἔτη ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς παρασκευῆς τοῦ πολέμου, ὥστε δύναται ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ὀκτωκαιδεκαέτης στρατεύειν. **T**
Sch. ex. Il. 24.765a[1]: ⟨τόδε⟩ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστί: δέκα γὰρ ἔτη ἐστρατολόγουν, "καμέτην δέ μοι ἵπποι / λαὸν ἀγειρούσῃ" (*Il.* 4.27–28)· καὶ γὰρ ἤκουον τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν Τρώων· "καὶ γὰρ Τρῶάς φασι μαχητὰς ⟨ἔμμεναι ἄνδρας⟩" (*Od.* 18.261)· καὶ πλοῦτον, "καὶ σέ, γέρον, τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὄλβιον εἶναι" (*Il.* 14.543). τὰ δὲ δέκα ταῦτα ἔτη παρεχείμαζον· ὅθεν πού φησιν "ἐεικοστῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ⟨/οἴκαδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι⟩" (*Od.* 2.175–176), ἴσως Ἁλιθέρσου τῇ ὑστέρᾳ παραχειμάσει τοῦτο εἰπόντος. διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν μόγις ἐστράτευον, ὡς Ὀδυσσεύς, οἱ δὲ παρῃτοῦντο, ὡς Ἐχέπωλος (cf. *Il.* 23.296–299), οἵ τε Ἀτρεῖδαι δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐπρέσβευον (cf. *Od.* 24.114–119), τῇ δὲ τοὺς περὶ Νέστορα ἔπεμπον (cf. *Il.* 11.769–770). γεγένηται οὖν ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος περὶ τὴν πρώτην ἔξοδον ὡς εἶναι αὐτὸν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐνιαυτῶν (cf. *Il.* 19.326–327), ⟨***⟩ Τηλέμαχος Πεισίστρατος Μεγαπένθης (cf. *Od.* 4.11), Ὀρέστης. παρεχείμαζον οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις καὶ θέρους εἰς Αὐλίδα ἀφικνοῦντο. καὶ τότε ἴσως καὶ Σκῦρον ἑλὼν Νεοπτόλεμον ἐποίησεν Ἀχιλλεύς. **T**
b: ἄλλως· εἰκοστὸν ἔτος: ψευδές· οὐ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος δύναται εἶναι, ἐξ οὗ εἰς τὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν Ἑλένη, εἴγε δεκαετὴς μὲν ἡ τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴ ὁμολογεῖται γεγονέναι, εἰκοστῷ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐνιαυτῷ εἰς τὴν Ἰθάκην ἐπανελήλυθε, **Ab**(BCE[4]) **T** πολὺν ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ ἐνδιατρίψας χρόνον. **AT** ῥητέον δὲ ὅτι δέκα ἔτη ἐστρατο-

λόγουν χειμάζοντες ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις καὶ θέρους εἰς Αὐλίδα ἀφικνούμενοι, νῦν δὲ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς Ἑλένης. **Ab**(BCE^4)**T** ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀδυσσέως τὰ δέκα ἔτη τῆς στρατολογίας οὐκ ἀριθμητέον. **Ab**(BE^4)**T**

(3) Eust. on *Il.* 22.74 (*in Il.* 1257.53–56): Ἡρόδωρος δὲ καὶ Ἀπίων ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸ πι σχολίοις λέγουσιν καὶ ὀξυτόνως εὑρίσκεσθαι καρή καὶ θηλυκῶς. ὅθεν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ “Τρῶας δὲ κατακρῆθεν λάβε πένθος”, καὶ τὸ παρ’ Ἡσιόδῳ “ἀποκρῆθεν βλεφάρων”. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐπίσταται, φασίν, ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ καρή ὀξυνόμενον θηλυκόν, ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλας παραλόγους φωνὰς ἐπίσταται ἀγνοῶν τὰς πρωτοθέτους λέξεις αὐτῶν.

Sch. Hrd. *Il.* 16.548a: κατὰ κρῆθεν: Ἀρίσταρχος δισύλλαβον ἐκδέχεται τὴν λέξιν καὶ προπερισπᾷ, ὑγιῶς πάνυ. καὶ οὐκ ἐπίσταται ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ καρή ὀξυνόμενον θηλυκόν, ἀλλ’ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες. καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλας παραλόγους φωνὰς ἐπίσταται, ἀγνοῶν τὰς πρωτοθέτους αὐτῶν λέξεις. τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ παρὰ τὸ καρή ὀξυνόμενον καρῆθεν ἐστὶ καὶ κρῆθεν ἐν συγκοπῇ; τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἡσίοδος (*Scut*. 7) οὕτως ἐξεδέξατο, εἰπὼν τὸ “⟨τῆς⟩ καὶ ἀπὸ κρῆθεν βλεφάρων”. **A**
cf. *Sch. ex. Il.* 16.548b^1: κατὰ κρῆθεν: ἀπὸ τοῦ καρή ὀξυνομένου, ὅπερ ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς οὐκ οἶδεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες, καρῆθεν ἦν τὸ ἀνάλογον καὶ κατὰ συγκοπὴν κρῆθεν. δύναται καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρητος καρήτοθεν κάρηθεν κρῆθεν. Ἡσίοδος (*Scut*. 7)· “τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρῆθεν”. τινὲς “⟨κατ’⟩ ἄκρηθεν”, ἐπεί φησι “μέγα κῦμα κατ’ ἄκρης” (*Od*. 5.313), “ὤλετο πᾶσα κατ’ ἄκρης” (*Il.* 13.722). **T**
b^2: †κάρα† καρῆθεν τὸ ἀνάλογον καὶ κατὰ συγκοπὴν κρῆθεν, καὶ μετὰ τῆς προθέσεως †κατακρῆθεν. **b**(BCE^3E^4)
EGen. (AB), *s. v.* κατακρῆθεν: παρὰ τὸ ὀξυνόμενον γίνεται καρῆθεν καὶ κατὰ συγκοπὴν “κρῆθεν”. τοῦτο καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἐξεδέξατο εἰπών· “καὶ ἀπὸ κρῆθεν βλεφάρων”.

The more precise ones:

(4) Eust. on *Il.* 6.197–199 (*in Il.* 636.28–29): οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι Εὐρώπης καὶ Διὸς υἱὸν Σαρπηδόνα λέγοντες καὶ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦντες τοῦ Μίνωος ἄλλον ἐκεῖνον Σαρπηδόνα γενεαλογοῦσι παλαιότερον, ὥς φασιν οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι.

Sch. Ariston. *Il.* 6.199: ἡ δ’ ἔτεκ’ ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα: ὅτι καθ’ Ὅμηρον Σαρπηδὼν υἱὸς Εὐρώπης οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ’ ἀδελφὸς Μίνωος, ὡς οἱ νεώτεροι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ χρόνοι εὔδηλοι. **A**

(5) Eust. on *Il.* 9.378 (*in Il.* 757.49): οἱ δὲ ἀκριβέστεροι τὸ "καρός" ἀντὶ τοῦ κηρός καὶ θανάτου φασὶ συστολῇ τοῦ η εἰς α.

Sch. Ariston. *Il.* 9.378b: τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ: ὅτι συνέσταλται Ἰακῶς ἐν καρός ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν κηρός· **A**
cf. *Sch.* D *Il.* 9.378 (van Thiel): ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ· [...] τινὲς μετατρέπουσιν τὸ α εἰς η, ἵν' ᾖ κατὰ κηρός, ἀκούοντες κατὰ θανάτου. ZYQ.

(6) Eust. on *Il.* 14.382 (*in Il.* 992.43): τὸ δὲ "χείρονι δόσκε" δόσκον γράφουσιν οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι, τουτέστιν ἐδίδουν οἱ βασιλεῖς.

Sch. Did. *Il.* 14.382d^1: ⟨δόσκεν:⟩ οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος δόσκεν. **A**^{int}
d^2: δόσκεν: οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος. ἔν τισι δὲ "δῶκε". **T**

(7) Eust. on *Il.* 6.21 (*in Il.* 623.13–19): ὅτι ἡ μὲν πρὸς Καρίᾳ καὶ Ἁλικαρνασῷ Πήδασος ἀπὸ Πηγάσου τοῦ ἵππου, ὥς φασι, καλεῖται, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ περιεγράφη. ὑπέσχοντο γὰρ οἱ ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῷ Βελλεροφόντῃ χώραν δώσειν, ἣν ἵππος νυχθημέρῳ περιτροχάσει. διὸ καὶ χάραγμα ἵππου ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Πήδασος Τρωϊκὴ ὀχυρωτάτη, ἡ πάλαι Μονηνία, ἧς ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τοὺς ἀκριβεστέρους μεμνῆσθαι δοκεῖ ὁ ποιητής. ἣν πολιορκῶν Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ δι' ὀχυρότητα μέλλων ἄπρακτος ὑποχωρεῖν εἶλεν ἄλλως ἐκ προδοσίας. παρθένος γὰρ ἔσω τειχῶν οὖσα καὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐρασθεῖσα ἐπέρριψε μῆλον, ἐν ᾧ ἔγραψε τάδε "μὴ σπεῦδ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, πρὶν Μονηνίαν ἕλῃς. ὕδωρ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστι, διψῶσι κακῶς". ὁ δ' ἐπιμείνας εἷλε τὴν πόλιν σπανίζουσαν ὕδατος.

Sch. ex. Il. 6.35a: Πήδασον αἰπεινήν: ταύτην τὴν Πήδασον πρότερον μὲν Μονηνίαν φασὶ καλεῖσθαι. Ἀχιλλέως δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ πολιορκοῦντος, εἶτα μέλλοντος ἀναχωρεῖν †πεισιδίκη† παρθένος τις ἐρασθεῖσα αὐτοῦ ἐν μήλῳ ἔγραψεν· "μὴ σπεῦδ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, πρὶν Μονηνίαν ἕλῃς· / ὕδωρ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστι. †διψῶσι† κακῶς". ὁ δὲ περιμείνας ὑπέταξε τὴν πόλιν **b**(BCE^{3}E^4)**T** καὶ Πήδασον ὠνόμασε διὰ τὴν παρθένον. **b**(BCE^{3}E^4)
b: Πήδασον: τὴν πρὸς Καρίᾳ καὶ Ἁλικαρνασ⟨σ⟩ῷ, ἣν ἀπὸ Πηγάσου καλοῦσιν· ὑπέσχοντο γὰρ δώσειν αὐτῷ χώραν, ἣν ὁ ἵππος νυχθημέρῳ περιτροχάσει· διὸ καὶ χάραγμα τοῦ ἵππου ἔχουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Τρῳάς, ἣν ἅμα Λυρνησ⟨σ⟩ῷ καταλέγει (*sc. Il.* 20.92). **T**
Sch. D *Il.* 6.35 (van Thiel): Πήδασον αἰπεινήν, Φύλακον δ' ἕλε Λήϊτος ἥρως: Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν πολέμων πορθῶν τὰς περιοίκους πόλεις τῆς Ἰλίου ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν πάλαι Κολώνειαν, νυνὶ δὲ Πήδασον καλουμένην. ἀπεγνωκότος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς τέλος πολιορκίαν καὶ μέλλοντος ἀναχωρεῖν, φασὶ παρθένον ἐντὸς οὖσαν τοῦ τείχους ἐρασθῆναι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ λαβοῦσαν μῆλον ἐπιγράψαι καὶ ῥίψαι

εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἦν δὲ οὕτως ἐπιγεγραμμένον· μὴ σπεῦδε, Ἀχιλλεῦ, ἕως ἂν Κολώνειαν ἕλῃς· ὕδωρ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστι, διψῶσι κακῶς. τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλέα οὕτως ἐπιμείναντα ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐνδείᾳ. ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ †ἀσκητής. ZYQXRA

The ancients:

(8) Eust. on *Il.* 1.47 (*in Il.* 40.38–39): ὅτι γὰρ λοιμώδης νόσος ἦν ἡ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοξεία κατὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ὅτι τοῦ τοιούτου κακοῦ αὐτὸς αἴτιος, πάντες οἱ παλαιοί φασι.

Sch. D *Il.* 1.50 (van Thiel): ἀργούς: […] οἱ δὲ ἀληθέστερον καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον λέγοντες φασὶν ὅτι ἅπας μὲν λοιμὸς ἀπὸ ἐκφλογώσεως γίνεται, γῆθεν ἀναφερόμενος ἐξ ἀναθυμιάσεως. διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα φασὶν αἴτιον, ἐπεὶ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶναι λέγεται τῷ ἡλίῳ τῷ καταφλέγοντι τὴν γῆν. ZYQAR

(9) Eust. on *Il.* 1.463 (*in Il.* 135.38–40): ἐν δὲ τῷ “νέοι δὲ παρ’ αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσί” φασὶν οἱ παλαιοί, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τρισὶν ἔπειρον ὀβελοῖς, οἳ λέγοιντο ἂν τριώβολα· μόνοι δὲ οἱ Κυμαῖοι – Αἰολικὸν δὲ οὗτοι ἔθνος – πεμπωβόλοις ἐχρῶντο.

Sch. ex. Il. 1.463: πεμπώβολα: […] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τρισὶν ὀβελοῖς πείρειν, Κυμαίους δέ φασι πέντε. **b**(BCE[3])**T**

(10) Eust. on *Il.* 13.28 (*in Il.* 918.44–45): τὸ δὲ “κευθμῶν” ἀπὸ εὐθείας ἐστὶ τῆς ὁ κευθμός, ὡς δρυμός, σταθμός, βαθμός. τοὺς δὲ εἰπόντας αὐτὸ συγκεκόφθαι ἐκ τοῦ κευθμώνων εὖ ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἀποδέχονται οἱ παλαιοί.

Sch. ex. Il. 13.28a[1]: πάντοθεν ἐκ κευθμῶν: οἱ μὲν συγκοπήν, οἱ δὲ ὁ κευθμός (ὡς †τευθμός†), Ἰακῶς, ὡς βαθύλειμος βαθυλείμων. **T**
a[2]: τὸ δὲ κευθμῶν οἱ μὲν συγκοπήν φασιν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι κευθμῶν Ἰακῶς εἴρηται. **b** (BCE[3]E[4])
Sch. Ariston. *Il.* 13.28b: ἐκ κευθμῶν οὐδ’ ἠγνοίησαν: […] καὶ ὅτι κευθμῶν εἴρηκεν· ἡ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστιν κευθμὸς ὡς “αὐλός” (χ 18). **A**

(11) Eust. on *Il.* 5.271 (*in Il.* 547.2–3): τῆς δὲ φάτνης πρωτόθετον τὸ φαγεῖν ἢ τὸ πάσασθαι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, ὅ ἐστι γεύσασθαι. ὅθεν καὶ φατνωτόν, φασί, τὸ σανιδωτόν, καὶ φατνώματα, σανιδώματα στέγης διάγλυφα […].

EM 789.15–19: φάτνη: παρὰ τὸ φαγεῖν φάγνη καὶ φάτνη. δύναται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸ πατῶ, τὸ ἐσθίω, ὡς τὸ πάσασθαι, πάτνη καὶ φάτνη.

(12) Eust. on *Il.* 9.5 (*in Il.* 732.25): [...] εἰπεῖν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, ὁ ἐρώμενος διὰ τὸ οἷον πνεῖσθαι διὰ φιλίαν, διὸ καὶ εἴσπνιλος ὁ αὐτὸς παρὰ Λάκωσι.

EM 43.30–35: Ἀΐτης: ὁ ἐρώμενος· παρὰ τὸ ἄειν, ὅ ἐστι πνέειν· ὁ εἰσπνέων τὸν ἔρωτα τῷ ἐραστῇ. φασὶ γὰρ γίνεσθαι τὸν ἔρωτα ἐκ τοῦ εἰσπνεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς μορφῆς τοῦ ἐρωμένου. ὅθεν καὶ εἰσπνήλας καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐραστὰς παρὰ Λάκωσιν.

Homeric / ancient scholiasts:

(13) Eust. on *Il.* 2.758 (*in Il.* 337.43–45): οἱ δὲ ῥήτορες καὶ παρονομασίαν τὸ τοιοῦτον σχῆμα (*sc.* Πρόθοος θοός) καλοῦσιν, ὡς οἱ Ὁμηρικοὶ Σχολιασταί φασι, προφέροντες εἰς ὁμοιότητα καὶ τὸ Δημοσθενικόν· "πρῶτον μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν, πόλιν ἡμετέραν".

Sch. D Il. 2.758 (van Thiel): Πρόθοος θοός: τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα παρονομασία καλεῖται. ZQ

(14) Eust. on *Il.* 15.137 (*in Il.* 1009.24–25): τὸ δὲ "μάρπτειν" οἱ παλαιοὶ Σχολιασταὶ κυριολεκτεῖσθαί φασιν ἐπὶ τοῦ χερσὶ συλλαμβάνειν. μάρη γάρ, φασίν, αἱ χεῖρες, ὅθεν καὶ εὐμαρές, τὸ εὐχερές, καὶ μάρνασθαι τὸ διὰ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι. οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἐν τῷ "οὐδὲ χθόνα μάρπτε ποδοῖϊν" εἴποιεν ἂν ἴσως παραχρηστικῶς ῥηθῆναι τὸ μάρπτειν.

Sch. ex. Il. 15.137a^{1}: μάρψει δ' ἑξείης, ὅς τ' αἴτιος ὅς τε καὶ οὐκί: [...] τὸ δὲ μάρψει κυρίως τὸ χερσὶ συλλήψεται· μάρη γὰρ αἱ χεῖρες, ἔνθεν καὶ εὐμαρής. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἁπλῶς τὸ καταλαβεῖν· καὶ "μάρνασθαι" (*Il.* 9.317, al.) τὸ διὰ χειρῶν μάχεσθαι. **T** a^{2}: κυρίως χερσὶ συλλήψεται· μάρη γὰρ ἡ χεὶρ κατὰ Πίνδαρον (fr. 310 Sn.), ὅθεν καὶ εὐμαρές. δηλοῖ δὲ ἁπλῶς καὶ τὸ καταλαμβάνειν· καὶ "μάρνασθαι" δὲ τὸ διὰ χειρῶν μάχεσθαι. [...] **b**(BCE^{3}E^{4})

Ancient scholia:

(15) Eust. on *Il.* 5.487 (*in Il.* 574.21–25): φασὶ δὲ τὰ Σχόλια δέον εἶναι βαρύνεσθαι τὴν εὐθεῖαν τοῦ ἀψῖσιν, ἵνα λέγηται ἄψις ἢ ὡς Αἰολικόν, καθὰ καὶ Ἡσίοδος τρισπίθαμον ἄψιν φησίν, ἢ καὶ ἀναλόγως ὡς ἀπὸ μέλλοντος ὄν, καθάπερ τὸ μέμψις

καὶ ὄψις, ὥστε εἶναι τὴν δοτικὴν τῶν πληθυντικῶν ἄψισι προπαροξυτόνως. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὅτι ψιλοῦται τὸ α ἐνταῦθα παραδόξως, καίτοι ἐκ τοῦ ἅπτω γινόμενον, ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὸ ἅλυσις, καίτοι στερητικὸν ἔχον τὸ α, ὅμως καινότερον δασύνεται.

Sch. ex. (?) *Il.* 5.487a: ἀψῖσι: ψιλωτέον τὸ ἀψῖσι **b**(BE[3])**T** εἰς ἰδιότητα. ὅτε δὲ βαρύνεται, συμ⟨μετα⟩βάλλεται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ χρόνος. **T**
Sch. Hrd. *Il.* 18.487: {ἄρκτον θ' ἣν καὶ} Ἄμαξαν: εἰς ἰδιότητα Ἄμαξαν ἐψίλωσαν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ ἡ συναλιφὴ οὕτως εὑρέθη, "τιλλέσθην ἐπ' ἄμαξαν" (*Il.* 24.711) καὶ "αἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀμάξῃσιν" (*Il.* 24.782), ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἅλυσις ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἐδασύνθη εἰς ἰδιότητα. Ἀττικοὶ μέντοι οἱ νεώτεροι τὴν ἅμαξαν δασύνουσιν, ἴσως διὰ τὸν σχηματισμὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ φιληδεῖν τῇ δασείᾳ· ἔνθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ συναλιφὴ διὰ δασέος, καθημαξευμένα. **A**
Ps.-Arcad. *Epit.* Hdn. *Cath. pros.* 31.4–8 Schmidt: τὰ εἰς ις ἐσχηματισμένα ἀπὸ βαρυτόνων μελλόντων ἢ δευτέρου προσώπου τοῦ παθητικοῦ παρακειμένου βαρύνονται· ποιήσω ποίησις, γνώσω γνῶσις, πράξω πρᾶξις, πέφανσαι φάνσις, μεμίανσαι μίανσις. τὸ δὲ ἁψὶς σεσημείωται μακρὸν ἔχον τὸ ι.
EM 183.35–184.7 Gaisf.: σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ τὸ ἐπικαμπὲς ξύλον παρὰ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ, οἷον, "τρισπίθαμον δ' ἅψιν τάμνειν δεκαδώρῳ ἁμάξῃ". γέγονε καὶ αὐτὸ παρὰ τὸ ἅπτω ἅψω ἁψὶς, ἡ ἁπτομένη τῆς γῆς. ὤφειλε δὲ βαρύνεσθαι καὶ συστέλλειν τὸ ἰῶτα· τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις ὀνόματα ἀπὸ μελλόντων γινόμενα καὶ βαρύνεται καὶ συστέλλει τὸ ι, μέμψω, μέμψις· ἕξω, ἕξις· λέξω, λέξις· οὕτως καὶ ἅψω ἅψις ὤφειλεν εἶναι. ὅθεν Ἡσίοδος ἀναλογώτερον εἶπεν ἅψις βαρυτόνως. ἔστιν οὖν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἅψις ἐκτείνει τὸ ι, τούτου χάριν καὶ ὀξύνεται. τὰ γὰρ εἰς ις ὀξύτονα θηλυκὰ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἁπλᾶ ἐκτείνοντα τὸ ι ἐπὶ τέλους ἔχουσι τὸν τόνον· οἷον, κνημὶς, κρηπὶς, σφραγίς· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἁψίς.

(16) Eust. on *Il.* 15.680 (*in Il.* 1037.56–59): <u>ἐν</u> δὲ <u>παλαιοῖς σχολίοις</u> γέγραπται, ὅτι Δημήτριός φησι τεθεωρηκέναι τινὰ μεταβαίνοντα, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς λέγει, κατέχοντα τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως τηροῦντα τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἵππων, καὶ ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦτο γίνεται. καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν δέ τις ἐθεάθη διὰ δύο ἵππων κελητίζων, ὡς δυσχερὲς ὂν τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων.

Sch. ex. Il. 15.683–684: ὁ δ' ⟨ἔμπεδον⟩ ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί / θρῴσκων ⟨ – πέτονται⟩: [...] Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Γονύπεσός ⟨φησι⟩ τεθεωρηκέναι του μεταβαίνοντος, ἀνεμπόδιστον τηροῦντος τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἵππων, κατέχοντος τοὺς χαλινούς. καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιοῦσί τινες. **T**

(Homeric) commentators / ancient commentaries:

(17) Eust. on *Il.* 5.557 (*in Il.* 582.15–17): ὀξύνεται δὲ ὁ σταθμὸς κανόνι τοιούτῳ. τὰ εἰς μος λήγοντα, ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ μ τὸ θ, ὀξύνεται· μηνιθμός, πορθμός, σκαρθμός, ἰσθμός. οὕτω καὶ σταθμός. τὸ κρῆθμος οἱ μὲν τοῦ Ὁμήρου ὑπομνηματισταὶ βαρύνεσθαί φασιν εἰς ἰδιότητα […].

Sch. Hrd. *Il.* 5.557: 〈σταθμούς·〉 τὰ εἰς μος λήγοντα, ἔχοντα πρὸ τοῦ μ τὸ θ, ὀξύνονται· μηνιθμός, πορθμός, σκαρθμός, ἰσθμός. οὕτω καὶ σταθμός. **Ge**
Sch. Hrd. *Il.* 12.148a^{1}: δοχμώ {τ' ἀΐσσοντε}: ὀξυτονητέον· ἔστι γὰρ δυϊκόν. τὸ δὲ δοχμός ὀξύνεται, ἐπεὶ τὰ εἰς μος μετ' ἐπιπλοκῆς τοῦ χ ὀξύνεσθαι θέλει, αὐχμός, ἰωχμός. […] **A**

(18) Eust. on *Il.* 10.335 (*in Il.* 809.56–62): καὶ ὅτι τοῦ ποιητοῦ εἰπόντος "κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην", ὡς ἐρρέθη, "κυνέην", φασὶν οἱ ὑπομνηματισταί, ὅτι ἴκτις ἐστὶ ζῷον ὅμοιον κυνιδίῳ Μελιταίῳ, ὀρνιθοφάγον, τοῖς σμήνεσιν ἐπηρεάζον, ἔχον τὸ αἰδοῖον οἷον ὀστοῦν, καὶ ἰᾶται στραγγουριῶντας. τὸν δὲ Ὅμηρον ἀφελεῖν φασὶ τὸ ι, δέον εἰπεῖν ἰκτιδέην κυνέην. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἐν τῷ "ἐπὶ κτιδέην" ἀμφίβολόν ἐστιν εἴτε μετὰ συναλιφῆς τῆς προθέσεως ῥητέον ἰκτιδέην τετρασυλλάβως εἴτε τρισυλλάβως κτιδέην ἀσυναλείπτως. ὅτε δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ἐρεῖ "τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην κυνέην εἵλετο", τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν διέκρινεν ὁ ποιητὴς φανερῶς γράψας κτιδέην ἐν τρισὶ συλλαβαῖς, ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ ὑπομνηματισταί. οἱ δὲ καὶ πανοῦργον τὴν ἴκτιν τὸ ζῷον ἱστοροῦσι καὶ μεῖζον μὲν γαλῆς καὶ δασύτερον, ἄλλως δὲ παραπλήσιον. οἱ δὲ ἀγρίαν λέγουσιν εἶναι γαλῆν.

Sch. ex. Il. 10.335c^{1}: κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην: οὐ δύναται εἶναι "ἰκτιδέην" τὸ τέλειον· αὐτὸς γάρ φησι "τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην κυνέην" (*Il.* 10.458). Ἀριστοτέλης (cf. *Hist. an.* 612b 10) δέ φησιν· "ἴκτις ζῷον ὅμοιον κυνιδίῳ Μελιταίῳ, ὀρνιθοφάγον, τοῖς σμήνεσιν ἐπηρεάζον. τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον ὀστοῦν καὶ †ἰᾶσθαι στραγγουριῶνας"† ἴσως οὖν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ κατ' ἀφαίρεσίν ἐστι τοῦ ι. **T**
c^{2}: †ἰκτίς† ἐστι κατ' Ἀριστοτέλην ζῶον ὀρνιθοφάγον, ὅμοιον μικρῷ κυνιδίῳ, οὗ τὸ δέρμα φορεῖ. τάχα οὖν ὁ ποιητὴς κατὰ ἀφαίρεσιν αὐτὸ ἐποίησε τοῦ πρώτου ι. **b** (BCE^{3})
Sch. Ariston. *Il.* 10, 335b: κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην: ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀμφίβολον, πότερον κτιδέην ἢ συναλιφὴν ἐκδεκτέον, "ἰκτιδέην". διὰ μέντοι τῶν ἑξῆς ἀναμφισβητήτως κτιδέην λέγει, "τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην κυνέην" (*Il.* 10.458). **A**
Sch. Hrd. *Il.* 10.335a: κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην: […] τὸ δὲ ἑξῆς δεῖ διαστέλλειν κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν κτιδέην, ἀπὸ τοῦ κ ποιουμένους τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἑτέροις φησὶ "τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην" (*Il.* 10.458). **A**

Sch. D *Il.* 10.335 (van Thiel): κτιδέην: ἐξ ἴκτιδος δέρματος πεποιημένην. ἴκτις δὲ ζῷον ὀρνιθοφάγον καὶ πανοῦργον, μεῖζον μὲν γαλῆς, παραπλήσιον δέ, καὶ δασύτερον. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀγρίαν γαλῆν εἶπον. ZYQXAR

(19) Eust. on *Il.* 23.88 (*in Il.* 1289.50): τὸ δὲ "ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισιν". Ἀττικῶς ῥηθὲν εὕρηται καὶ γένους θηλυκοῦ. ἐν γὰρ παλαιοῖς ὑπομνήμασι φέρεται ὅτι οἱ πλείους "ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλῃσι" γράφουσι. καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικὸν ἡ ἀστραγάλη, [...].

Sch. Did. *Il.* 23.88a[1]: ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς: αἱ πλείους τῶν κατὰ ἄνδρα "ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλῃσιν ἐρίσσας". καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικώτερον· "ἀστραγάλαι δ' Ἔρωτός εἰσι⟨ν⟩ / μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοιμοί", Ἀνακρέων (*PMG* fr. 53). **A**
a[2]: {ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς:} αἱ πλείους "ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλῃσιν ἐρίσσας". καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικὸν τὸ ἀστραγάλη. **T**

Ancient *Homeridai:*

(20) Eust. on *Il.* 20.11–12 (*in Il.* 1193.27–29): εἰ δέ τις φίλερις ὢν αἱροῖτο ἐκθλίψας γράψαι "ποίησ' εἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσιν", ἵνα οὕτω σπονδειακῶς γράψῃ αὐτὸς διὰ διφθόγγου τὴν καταρχὴν τοῦ "εἰδυίαις", ἀλλ' οὐ νικήσει τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ὁμηρίδας διὰ τοῦ ι γράφοντας.

Sch. Did. *Il.* 20.12b: ⟨ποίησεν ἰδυίῃσι:⟩ οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ι τὸ ἰδυίῃσι καὶ τέλειον τὸ ποίησε. **A**[int]

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Georgia E. Kolovou

A Technical Approach to the Etymological Remarks of Eustathius in his Commentary on *Iliad* Book 6

The *Parekbolai on the Iliad* and those on the *Odyssey* are works whose peculiarity is evident from the title itself[1]. In these texts Eustathius rewrites the Homeric scholia and other passages and transforms them into a commentary, to which he gives the title *Parekbolai*. Even though the title is traditionally rendered as 'commentary'[2], Eustathius emphasizes that his philological works[3] are not merely systematic expository treatises[4]. A brief lexicographical research on the verb παρεκβάλλω may prove useful to shed light on this particular use of the term.

First of all, according to the *LSJ*, the word παρεκβάλλω literally means 'to throw out at the side'. This definition follows the etymological interpretation of the verb παρὰ- ἐκ- βάλλω, and the term in this literal meaning is found in geometrical texts (Eustratius of Nicaea)[5], in historiography (Nicephorus Gregoras)[6], in the scholia on Euripides[7] and in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius[8]. However, this meaning is far removed from the use of the word in Eustathius: for the latter,

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2 On the issue of *Parekbolai*, see Cullhed 2014, 1–24.

3 The most important of his philological works is his commentary on Homer: ed. van der Valk 1971–1987 and Stallbaum 1825–1826. He also wrote a commentary on Dionysius Periegeta (ed. Müller 1861) and the introduction to a commentary on Pindar (ed. Kambylis 1991b; for the translation of this proem see Negri 2000).

4 Eust. *in Il.* 3.3–4; *in Od.* 1380.10–11; *in Pind.* 38.4.

5 Eustrat. *in Arist. Anal. Post.* 245.22 Hayduck: ἡ ἐκτὸς γωνία τοῦ τριγώνου δυσὶ ταῖς ἐντὸς καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίου ἴση ἐστί, καὶ αὖθις τοῦ τριγώνου αἱ τρεῖς γωνίαι δυσὶν ὀρθαῖς ἴσαι εἰσίν, ἐὰν τοῦ τριγώνου τὰς τρεῖς παρεκβάλῃς πλευράς, ἑκάστη τῶν ἐκτὸς γωνιῶν δυσὶ ταῖς ἐντὸς καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίου ἴση ἐστίν ὥστε αἱ ἐκτὸς γωνίαι διπλάσιαι τῶν ἐντὸς ἔσονται.

6 Nic. Greg. *Hist.* 2.848.10–14 Schopen: τὰ τείχη τῶν προτέρων παρεκβαλόντες ὅρων.

7 schol. Eur. Hipp. 237a Cavarzeran: τοῦ εὐθέος δρόμου παρεκβαλλομένων.

8 Epiphan. *Pan.* 3.134.23–26 Holl: Φρόνιμοι παρθένοι, μωραὶ παρθένοι, πλὴν παρθένοι, βασιλείᾳ οὐρανῶν ἀπεικάζονται καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἔγγαμοι. πολλὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἑαυτῷ ἐπισωρεύει, ἵνα δῆθεν παρεκβάλῃ γάμον. 3.440.15–18 Holl: δεῖ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν, ἵνα μὴ παρεκβάλλων τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἃ σάρκα εἴωθεν ἡ γραφὴ καλεῖν, νομισθείη τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς σαρκὸς παρεκβάλλειν.

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we should rather look at the occurrences in grammatical treatises, commentaries and texts of scholarly literature, from which it can be seen that the term παρεκβολή also carries a figurative sense and that in a grammatical and scholarly context it means 'digression'. Consequently, the verb παρεκβάλλω in such texts means 'to make a digression' . This explanation is also confirmed by the occurrences in the scholia on Thucydides[9] and Aratus[10], and in Photius[11].

The word παρεκβολὴ is found in the plural form in the title of two grammatical treatises, whose structure is based on a compilation of extracts from various grammarians: one is by Herodian 'Παρεκβολαὶ ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου ῥηματικοῦ'[12], the other is a later work extracted from the scholia on Dionysius Thrax 'Παρεκβολαὶ σὺν θεῷ διαφόρων γραμματικῶν περὶ γραμματικῆς μεθόδου'[13]. According to Athanasios Kambylis[14], in the former example the preposition ἐκ indicates that the term παρεκβολαὶ means 'extracts from the great Rhematikon', whereas in the second instance the genitive is possessive, and the word παρεκβολαὶ indicates extracts from various grammarians which explain and constitute a commentary on the grammatical handbook, i.e. that of Dionysius Thrax. In other words, in the second example the extracts compose a continuous commentary on the extracts of Dionysius Thrax. Therefore, according to Kambylis, the technical term Παρεκβολαὶ may have two meanings at the same time, 'extract' and 'commentary'.

In effect, Eustathius' Παρεκβολαὶ consist of extracts from commentaries on Homer. For instance, he analyzes and explains the Homeric text by drawing on the collections of ancient scholia, while also constantly enriching these Homeric scholia with extracts, quotations, or notes from other authors such as poets, lexicographers, grammarians, historians, geographers, philosophers and rhetoricians. Moreover, his work is replete with innumerable personal and critical remarks which do not always refer directly to the text of Homer itself. Thus it is a selection and a compilation of extracts of commentaries that constitute a kind of anthology and ultimately compose an autonomous, personal and independent commentary on the Homeric text.

9 schol. Thuc. 1.97.2.3 Hude: ἔγραψα: οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι γέγραπται, εἰ καὶ μήπω εἴρηται μέχρι τούτου ἡ παρεκβολὴ τῆς διηγήσεως τῶν προϋπαρξάντων.

10 schol. Arat. 30–33bis Martin: εἰ ἐτεὸν δή: ἀπιστεῖ τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἄρκτων μύθῳ, παρεκβάσει δὲ ἐνταῦθα χρῆται διήγημα παρεκβαλὼν διὰ τὸ κατ'ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ.

11 Phot. *Bibl.* 94.75a, II.36–37 Henry: Ὡς ἐν παρεκβολῇ δὲ διηγεῖται καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς νησῖδος.

12 Ed. La Roche 1863.

13 schol. Dion. Thr. 442.23 Hilgard.

14 Kambylis 1991, 16 note 35. See on the issue also Pagani and Cesaretti, this volume.

For this reason, a transliteration of the title of Eustathius' work is better than a translation. The attempts to translate the technical term *Parekbolai* as a 'commentary', 'scholia', 'exegesis', 'paraphrase', or more specifically, as a 'compilatory commentary'[15] a 'discursive companion'[16] or 'disquisitions'[17], do not live up to the nature of Eustathius' work, which is based partly on the selection and the arrangement of ancient sources, but also on his personal and critical remarks. Therefore *parekbolai* represent selections from this vast body of information, with the result that Eustathius' own reading and his many personal observations create an innovative and personal meditation on the *Iliad* which cannot be indicated sufficiently by any strictly terminological translation of the word.[18]

Seeking to explain why he composed this particular text, Eustathius states in his Proem that he is writing this huge commentary on Homer not for a rich patron but for his pupils who hold him in high esteem. More precisely, he says :

> … οὐ πρὸς μεγιστάνων τινῶν ἐπετάχθημεν, ὁποῖά τινα πλάττονται οἱ κομψοί, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φίλων ὁμιλητῶν, οἷς ὑπολήψεώς τι χρηστῆς περὶ ἡμῶν ὕπεστιν. ἦν δὲ τὸ φιλικὸν θέλημα διὰ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκπορίσασθαι τὰ χρήσιμα τῷ διεξοδεύοντι, οὐ λέγω ἀνδρὶ λογίῳ, ἐκεῖνον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν τοιούτων εἰκός λανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ νέῳ ἄρτι μανθάνοντι· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ μαθόντι μέν, δεομένῳ δὲ ἀναμνήσεως. [19]

> This book has not been written at the behest of a grandee but at the request of my dear pupils, who hold me in high esteem. It was my aim to go through the *Iliad* and to provide what is useful for the reader. I do not mean for a learned man, for he is likely to know all this, but for a young man who has recently begun his studies, or perhaps one who has completed them but needs to be reminded.[20]

This statement by Eustathius should not be taken literally. It allows him, probably, to be modest and to prompt the indulgence of his students or his readers. However, if one takes into account the size and density of this commentary, as well as the selection and compilation of the scholia, together with the notes, quotations or passages extracted from different sources requiring a very good knowledge of Greek, it is hard to believe that this commentary was written only for his students. There is no doubt that it was addressed to a multiple public, not necessarily consisting only of scholars. Moreover, one may presume that

15 Browning 1975, 25.
16 Browning 1995, 86.
17 Herington 1969, 432–434.
18 Browning 1995, 86.
19 Eust. *in Il.* 3.3–8; for the Proem on the *Odyssey*, see Pontani 2000.
20 Browning 1992, 142.

this passage of Eustathius contains a kind of convention and aims to forestall negative criticism or the suspicion of having written out of vanity or ambition.

His statement should also be interpreted in a pedagogical and educational framework. At the secondary level of education[21], when the curriculum included the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric and philosophy and the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy[22], the main textbook for students' literary education was traditionally Homer's *Iliad*. The Homeric poem was studied at the first stage of secondary education when students learned orthography through the etymology of the words, as well as the rules of declension and conjugation.[23]

In this pedagogical setting, the acquisition of *polymathy* was one of the most important goals[24], and Eustathius reflects the pedagogical practices and ideals of his age[25] by offering a rich variety of different materials to his young students (quotations from ancient poets, extracts from geographical, ethnographical, historiographical and philosophical works, etc.). The polymathy and the acquisition of classical culture define, in a sense, what Eustathius qualifies as 'useful' for his students. It is worth noting that according to the testimony of Michael Choniates, Eustathius did not have only one book at hand for his lessons, but he also collected and drew many things from other books[26].

The high ideals of polymathy are further enhanced by the development of a rhetorical capacity and an excellent knowledge of the Greek language. As Marchinus van der Valk clarifies in his work on the text and the scholia of the *Iliad*[27], the main aim of Eustathius' commentary is rhetorical. In his commentary, Eustathius frequently adopts rhetorical notions and figures, particularly those of Hermogenes[28], also making use of rhetorical methods that are intended to be imitated, as he aims to teach his young readers how to become orators[29]. René

21 For the educational system in Byzantium, see Markopoulos 2008, 785–795; *id.* 2005, 183–200; *id.* 2006, 85–89; Flusin 2006, 97–102.

22 Markopoulos 2008, 788; Morgan 1998, 308–309.

23 Cullhed 2014, 12–13.

24 Vasilikopoulou-Ioannidou 1971.

25 For the pedagogical development and the changes in Byzantine literary culture during the 11th and 12th century, see Kazhdan – Epstein 1985; Kazhdan 1984; Magdalino 2012, 19–36; Agapitos 1998, 170–190.

26 Mich. Chon. *or.* 1.16, p. 287.23–26 Lambros: οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἐν χεροῖν βίβλου μόνης τὸν νοῦν ἀνέπτυσσες ἐν ταῖς ὁσημέραι συναναγνώσεσιν, εἴτε τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας, εἰ ὑπό τι μελαίνοιτο, διελεύκαινες, ἀλλά γε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλὰ ξυνεφόρεις παραμιγνύς.

27 van der Valk 1963, 4 note 20.

28 See Lindberg 1977.

29 van der Valk 1971, xcii; on this issue, see also Wirth 1960.

Nünlist has brilliantly shown how Eustathius achieved this educational goal[30]: the development of rhetorical skill is associated with language proficiency.

Eustathius' glosses recall the entries of lexica because he gives long strings of synonyms, antonyms and derivatives for the Homeric words, which are often taken from Atticist lexica, grammatical treatises, Homeric scholia, but also from proverbs and maxims, and from other texts that come to his mind. He is keenly aware of the process of linguistic and semantic change affecting the Greek language which had taken place between classical antiquity and the 12th century[31]: thus his primary interest was to inspire his students with in-depth knowledge of the linguistic evolution of the Greek language, and above all the etymology of the words, so that they would learn how to make use of the epics in a way characterized by rhetorical ability, ingenuity and polymathy.

Since ancient times, etymology had been considered as a distinctive mode of thinking and speaking[32]. Thus for Eustathius, teaching his young students the etymology of the Homeric words was not only a question of linguistic skill: he aimed above all to inspire them with the intellectual desire to understand how words are composed in Homeric verse and how students could use them in their own rhetorical work. His special interest in the *opheleia* of etymology in the education of young students is confirmed by the testimony of Michael Choniates[33], according to whom his teacher was eager to expose his students, and particularly the beginners, to linguistic questions such as the law of metre and the etymological explanation of nouns, even though such material evidently belonged to later stages of curriculum. As a matter of fact, etymological remarks[34] have a constant and specific presence in Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad:* for example, it can be noted in his technical approach that he sometimes links an etymology to a certain word by expanding it through his personal elucubrations or by inventing it *suo Marte*.

Here we will examine Eustathius' etymological remarks, taking as a sample his commentary on book 6 of the *Iliad* and isolating some etymological remarks

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30 Nünlist 2012, 493–509.

31 Browning 1992, 144.

32 See Sluiter 2015, 896–922.

33 Mich. Chon. *or.* 1.16, p. 288.25–27 Lambros: ἀλλά τις τῶν φοιτώντων πυκτίδα ποιητικὴν ὑπὸ μάλην φέρων, ἐδεῖτο μέτρων μὲν νόμους μυεῖσθαι καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοῦ ἐτύμου τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνάπτυξιν.

34 We have consulted the classical study by Koukoules 1953, particularly the chapter which refers to the etymology of contemporary words of the common language in the works of Eustathius of Thessalonica. Koukoules collected the words of common language attested not only in the commentaries on Homer but also in Eustathius' other works.

on the Homeric terms or on other words of his commentary; we will also present the etymologies attested in the lexica which are prior or contemporary to Eustathius (and probably accessible to him), thereby making a comparison between his remarks and the entries of the lexica[35]. This will allow an attempt to define the etymological criteria he used in order to explain to his students the mechanisms of ord derivation and composition. Even though he based himself on the etymological lexica or on the scholia, the selection and arrangement of this vast body of sources are specific to Eustathius, and his criteria can therefore be investigated *per se*, since they represent the innovative and personal part of his commentary.

Eustathius sometimes indicates the etymological sources he consults, but he does not do so in a consistent manner[36]: the lexica that Eustathius mentions explicitly throughout the whole of his commentary are those of the 2nd-century AD authors Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias, the founders of Attic lexicography[37], both qualified as ῥητορικὰ λεξικά[38] although respectively entitled *Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα* and *Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγή*. Both these lexica exerted a great influence on later lexicographers and survived at least until the 12th century; they are now lost, but a substantial body of fragments can be recovered precisely from the quotations in Eustathius[39]. The archbishop also refers directly to an anonymous rhetorical lexicon[40] and to the *Etymologicum Magnum*[41], which is considered the most important lexicon of the 12th century[42]. However, apart from these declared sources, there are correspondences between Eustathius' etymological explanations and those of the following lexica: the *Etymologicum Genuinum*[43], the *Etymologicum Gudianum*[44], the *Souda*[45], the lexicon of Hesychius[46], the lexicon of Photius[47], and the lexicon of Orion[48].

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35 For the history of the Greek etymological lexica, see Reitzenstein 1964 and Alpers 2001.
36 See on the whole topic van der Valk 1971, lxiv–lxx.
37 Eust. *in Il.* 84.17: Παυσανίας δὲ καὶ Αἴλιος Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις Λεξικοῖς φασιν.
38 Eust. *in Il.* 1160.16: Ἐν δὲ ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ Αἰλίου Διονυσίου φέρεται; 764.14: ἐν ῥητορικοῖς Λεξικοῖς φέρεται.
39 Ed. Erbse 1950.
40 Eust. *in Il.* 799.36: ἐν δὲ ἀνωνύμῳ ῥητορικῷ Λεξικῷ.
41 Eust. *in Il.* 834.46: ὃ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Ἐτυμολογικῷ κεῖται.
42 Ed. Gaisford 1848.
43 Ed. (partial) Lasserre & Livadaras 1976–1992 and Alpers 1969.
44 Ed. de Stefani 1909–1920 (partial) and Sturz 1818.
45 Ed. Adler 1928–1938.
46 Ed. Latte-Hansen-Cunningham 1953–2009.
47 Ed. Theodoridis 1982–2012.
48 Ed. Sturz 1820.

In his commentary on the *Iliad* Eustathius constantly uses the word ἐτυμολογία, to the point that this word can be said to play a dominant role in his text. He often explains the function of this word in his glosses, referring to the ancient etymology of the word or to the first etymology of the term: εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐτυμολογίαν (*in Il.* 233.41), παλαιὰν τόλμαν ἐτυμολογίας (*in Il.* 968.49), and also to the common etymology, probably the current etymology of the words: ἡ κοινὴ ἐτυμολογία (*in Il.* 23.34). Furthermore, he confirms his interpretation of the Homeric text by referring to the etymology of the terms: ὡς ἡ ἐτυμολογία φησί (*in Il.* 764.8), ὡς ἐν ἐτυμολογίας τρόπῳ (*in Il.* 236.15), justifying the fact that some terms present a morphological analogy or a similar meaning on the basis of similarities and analogies of the etymology: καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἐτυμολογίας συγγένειαν (*in Il.* 87.7). He also indicates the different etymologies that can be attributed to a term: οὗ ἐτυμολογίαι διάφοροι (*in Il.* 1357.38). In short, Eustathius gives an objective treatment of the Greek language in his commentary, clearly mentioning that the terms discussed sometimes do not have Greek radicals, or admitting that he cannot indicate or explain the etymology of the term: ἡ δὲ λέξις τῆς ὑποσχέσεως σαφὴς μὲν νοηθῆναι, ὑποδύσκολος δὲ ἐτυμολογηθῆναι (*in Il.* 236.3–4); μὴ ἔχειν Ἑλληνίδα ἐτυμολογίαν (*in Il.* 816.22); μὴ ὑπαγομένας δὲ μεθόδοις ἐτυμολογίας Ἑλληνικῆς (*in Il.* 1163.22); μήποτε ὡς ἐθνικὴ καὶ αὐτὴ λέξις οὐκ ἔγνωσται ἡμῖν, ὅθεν γίνεται (*in Il.* 1163.23).

Indirectly, he also expresses his doubts about the correct etymology of a word by using some typical expressions: φασι (*in Il.* 584.20), οἴονταί τινες (*in Il.* 118.8), οὐκ ἄν τις ἀποφήναιτο στερεῶς (*in Il.* 1051.18), οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς εἰπεῖν (*in Il.* 275.4), τις ἂν εἰδείη (*in Il.* 273.3). He sometimes uses the adverb ἴσως in order to express his doubts concerning the etymology of a word: τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ναυκρατίτου σοφιστοῦ γήθυον κεῖται, ἀπὸ τοῦ γῆθεν ἴσως θύειν, ἤγουν ὁρμᾶσθαι (*in Il.* 1155.19–20).

In his commentary on book 6 of the *Iliad* we distinguish four categories: first of all, the etymologies that are entirely or partly personal, while the rest is based on the ancient lexicographical tradition; secondly, the etymologies derived from the ancient scholia; thirdly, the etymologies attested in the lexica but augmented with personal, more detailed explications; finally, cases in which Eustathius rewrites the etymologies of the lexica, while basing himself on their general sense, and with this in mind, makes a strict selection of elements, explaining them through personal expressions and terms, modifying and abbreviating, giving synonyms, antonyms and supplementary examples.

πτυκτός, -ή, -όν
Eust. *in Il.* 633.4: [Εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πτύσσω πτύξω, ἐξ οὗ τὸ πτυκτόν, ἐκεῖθεν ἐκβολῇ τοῦ ταῦ διὰ εὐφωνίαν γίνεται, ὥσπερ τὸ πυκτίον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βιβλίον, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πυξὶς καὶ τὸ πυξίον, οὐδὲ τοῦτο μακρὰν τοῦ εἰκότος λόγου κεῖται].

Here Eustathius gives his personal etymological explanation for the term πτυκτός (folded). According to this remark, which is not attested in the lexica or in the scholia, he derives the word from the verb πτύσσω ("to fold", πτύξω in the future), and this explanation is obviously correct[49], for this is a verbal adjective (used of a tablet in *Il.* 6.169 γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά). Eustathius enriches this gloss by indicating a derivative noun τὸ πυκτίον (= βιβλίον) with its grammatical explanation (ἐκβολῇ τοῦ ταῦ διὰ εὐφωνίαν γίνεται: i.e. πτυκτός > πτυκτόν > πτυκτίον > πυκτίον), and two other derivative nouns (from the future tense of the verb) πυξίς, πυξίον, "box, wood tablet". In this case we have a gloss by Eustathius which is based on a correct etymological observation[50].

πίναξ
Eust. *in Il.* 633.27: [Πίναξ γάρ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ πινακίσκιον, οὐ μόνον σκεῦος δεξιὸν εἰς τὸ πίνειν κατὰ ἀτρεκὲς ὄνομα εἴποι ἂν ὁ Κίλιξ σοφός, ἤγουν κατὰ ἐτυμολογίαν, ἀφ'οὗ καὶ κρεῶν πίνακες πρὸς ὁμοιότητα…]
Etym. Magnum 672.23–27 Gaisf.: Πίναξ: Ἡ σανίς· πίνακάς τε νεῶν. Καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ σκεῦος λέγεται, ὡς τὸ "κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν". Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὰ σκεύη λέγει · ἐπειδὴ πάλαι ἐπὶ σανίδων ἴσως τὰ κρέα ἐτίθεσαν ὀπτῶντες ἢ κατακόπτοντες.

We have here another personal remark by Eustathius, on the word πίναξ. In general, this term means 'tablet'[51] and it is attested frequently in Athenaeus; Eustathius indicates a twofold use of this word by inventing a personal etymological explanation and by justifying it through the formal similarity between the word πίναξ and the verb πίνειν "to drink". In other words, he understands the word πίναξ as an object, and particularly as a cup serving drinks. It is evident that the scholiast proposes a mistaken etymology because he bases himself on the common beginning πίν-, whereas the etymology of these words is completely dif-

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49 See *DELG*, s.v. πτύσσω, -ομαι.
50 This gloss is found in the marginal additions to the commentary in Eustathius' autograph manuscript (Laur. 59.2–3, on which see e.g. Wilson 1973, 226–228; van der Valk 1971, ix–xvi; Cullhed 2012, 445–461; on graphic peculiarities see Liverani 1999, 2000 and 2001).
51 See *DELG*, s.v. πίναξ.

ferent. In the second part of his gloss he mentions the Homeric expression κρεῶν πίνακες "platters to serve the meat" (*Od.* 1.141; 4.57; 16.49), in order to indicate the second sense of the term, which is correct and confirmed by the lexica and the modern dictionaries.

Ἄξυλος
Eust. *in Il.* 622.3: Διὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγω ἄξω ἐτυμολογοῦσιν αὐτόν, ὡς πάντας εἰς ξενίαν ἄγοντα, ταὐτὸν δ' εἰπεῖν, ξεναγοῦντα καὶ καλοῦντα.
schol. bT *Il.* 6.12 (p. 132.70–71 Erbse): ⟨Ἄξυλον: ⟩ Ἄξυλος γὰρ παρὰ τὸ ἄγειν

In this extract, Eustathius draws from the ancient scholia the etymology of the proper name Ἄξυλος. He rewrites the etymology but clarifies it by transforming the infinitive ἄγειν into the first person of the present and the future ἄγω – ἄξω, in order to better illustrate the etymology from the morphological point of view (ἄγω – ἄξω – Ἄξυλος). He then expands the etymological explanation by adding a clause which explains and analyzes the meaning of the proper name ὡς πάντας εἰς ξενίαν ἄγοντα, ταὐτὸν δ' εἰπεῖν, ξεναγοῦντα καὶ καλοῦντα. The latter two participles, both derived from the verb ἄγω, explain in his eyes the exact meaning of the proper name Ἄξυλος.

ἤκεστος, -η, -ον
Eust. *in Il.* 627.17: Ἠκέστη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ α στερητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ κένσαι, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ κεντῆσαι, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ κεστὸς γίνεται καὶ ὁ πολύκεστος ἱμάς.
Etym. Magnum 432.10–15 Gaisf.: Ἢ κατ' ἔλλειψιν τοῦ α στερητικοῦ, ἵν' ᾖ ἄνηνις, ὁ μηδέπω ζευχθεὶς καὶ ἡνία δεξάμενος. ἠκέστας δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδαμάστους, ἀκεντήτους, ἀκεντρίστους, ἀνοχεύτους. Παρὰ τὸ κέντω βαρύτονον, ὁ μέλλων, κένσω· ὁ παθητικὸς παρακείμενος, κέκεσται· κεστὸς καὶ ἄκεστος· καὶ θηλυκόν, ἀκέστη, ἀκέντητος βοῦς· καὶ τροπῇ, ἠκέστη· ἡ αἰτιατικὴ τῶν πληθυντικῶν, ἠκέστας. Ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κένσω κεστός, ἀποβολῇ τοῦ ν.
Etym. Gudianum, 239.8–10 Sturz: Ἠκέστας, ἀκεντρήστους, ἀδαμάστους, παρὰ τὸ κέντω κένσω, κεστός, ἄκεστος καὶ ἤκεστος, ἠκέστη, καὶ ἠκέστας τοὺς ἀκεντήτους[52].

Here we can see the influence of the lexica on the commentator. He indicates that the term discussed is formed by a privative alpha and the verb κένσαι. If one compares Eustathius' remarks with those of the lexica, it can be noted that he chooses only the useful elements in order to show how this word is com-

52 See also: Orion 70.25 Sturz; Ps-Hdn. *Schem. Hom.* 57.1 Egen.; schol. D *Il.* 6.94.

posed, and then adds a personal remark on the verb from which the term ἠκέστη is derived. More precisely, for the verb κένσαι he gives the synonym κεντῆσαι and two derivative adjectives in order to justify the meaning of the verb: κεστός ("stitched", "embroidered") and πολύκεστος ("well stitched", "well embroidered"). Evidently, these two derivatives justify not only the etymology but also the form of the original term: the adjectives κεστός and πολύκεστος come from the verb κεντέω, which implies that κένσαι can be considered as the second term of the composite word ἤκεστος. In our modern view, this explanation is not acceptable because the term ἤκεστος cannot be composed with a privative alpha, since its lengthening to η would be inexplicable[53]. According to Schwyzer's hypothesis[54] a misunderstanding or *mécoupure* of the expression βοῦν ἤνιν νηκέστην, gave rise to the Homeric ἤνις ἠκέστας.

> τιθήνη
> Eust. *in Il.* 650.19: Γίνεται δὲ ἡ τιθήνη παρὰ τὸ θῶ θήσω, τὸ θηλάζω, ἀναδιπλασιασμῷ δυσφώνῳ καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ δασέος εἰς ψιλὸν διὰ καλλίονα φωνήν.
> *Etym. Magnum* 758.25–26: Τιθήνας. Τροφούς. Παρὰ τὸν τιτθόν (ὃ σημαίνει τὸν μαστόν) γίνεται τιτθήνη· καὶ ἀποβολῇ τοῦ τ τιθήνη. Ἢ παρὰ τὸν θήσω μέλλοντα (τὸ τρέφω) ῥηματικὸν ὄνομα, θήνη· καὶ διπλασιασμῷ τιθήνη.
> Orion, 152.32–35 Sturz: Τιθήνη. παρὰ τὸν τιτθόν, ἀποβολῇ τοῦ ἑνὸς τ. οὕτω Φιλόξενος ἐν τῷ περὶ μονοσυλλάβων ῥημάτων. ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ περὶ τὸν θήσω μέλλοντα, δηλοῦντα τὸ τρέφω. ὄνομα θήνη, καὶ διπλασιασμὸς τιθήνη.

In the above example Eustathius once again follows the same method, but here his grammatical remark concerning the etymology of the word τιθήνη is clear and correct[55]. He draws from the etymology attested in the *Etym. Magnum* and in Orion, choosing only the terms that could help his students or his readers to understand from which verbal root the noun τιθήνη derives. His own grammatical remark justifies both the etymology of the word and also the morphology, as he indicates that the noun τιθήνη derives from the verbal root of θῆσθαι with a redoubling τι- and with loss of aspiration for reasons of euphony.

53 See *DELG*, s.v. ἤκεστος.
54 Schwyzer 1931, 213.
55 See *DELG*, s.v. θηλή and θῆσθαι.

ἔγχος
Eust. *in Il.* 644.36: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ "ἔγχος ἔχε" τρόπος ἐτυμολογίας ἐστὶν ὡς τοῦ ἔγχους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔχειν ὀνομαζομένου.
Etym. Magnum 313.1 Gaisf.: Ἔγχος : Τὸ δόρυ. Παρὰ τὸ ἔχω ἔχος καὶ ἔγχος.
Etym. Gudianum 398.4 Stef.: Ἔγχος· παρὰ τὸ ἔχω ἔχος καὶ ἔγχος.

In this case Eustathius comments on the noun ἔγχος (spear), following the standard etymology of the lexica from ἔχω and adding the idea that the Homeric expression "ἔγχος ἔχε" is in fact an etymological figure because the two terms have the same root[56].

θάλαμος
Eust. *in Il.* 640.7: Θάλαμοι δὲ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ὕστερον αἱ γυναικωνίτιδες, παρὰ δὲ Ὁμήρῳ καὶ οἱ ἁπλῶς ἐνδοτάτω οἶκοι ἀπὸ τοῦ θάλπειν ἐτυμολογούμενοι.
Etym. Magnum 441.13–17 Gaisf.: Θάλαμος : Εἰ μὲν σημαίνει τὸν νέον οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ εἰσέρχεται ἥ τε νύμφη καὶ ὁ νυμφίος, γίνεται παρὰ τὸ θάλλω· δεῖ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ θάλλοντα εἰσιέναι σώματα, τουτέστιν ἀκμάζοντα καὶ μὴ ἀπεσβηκότα· εἰ δὲ σημαίνει τὴν οἰκίαν, γίνεται παρὰ τὸ θάλπω.
Etym. Gudianum 253.27–31 Sturz: Θάλαμος, οἱονεὶ θάλαιμός τις ὤν, παρὰ τὸ θάλπειν, διότι δεῖ θάλλοντα τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσιέναι, καὶ ἀπεσβεβηκότα. καὶ Ἡσίοδος. ὡραῖος δὲ γυναῖκα μὴ ἀπεσβεβηκέναι, ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγηρακέναι.

This is an occasion on which Eustathius makes a distinction between the Homeric use of this word and its meaning in later authors. More precisely, he gives the information that θάλαμοι in later authors means γυναικωνίτιδες "women's apartments", whereas in Homer θάλαμοι are the inner rooms. Eustathius derives the noun from the verb θάλπειν, thereby following the lexical tradition, whose basic criterion is the beginning θάλ-. To date, the true etymology of the noun has not been fully clarified.

56 In modern analyses, no etymology has been found for the word ἔγχος: see *DELG* s.v. ἔγχος.

δέρτρον
Eust. *in Il.* 628.22: καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ δέρω μὲν καὶ τὸ δέρτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δέρμα. πολλὴ δὲ ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἡ κατὰ σημασίαν διαφορά.
Etym. Magnum 257.25 Gaisf.: παρὰ τὸ δέρω, δέρτρον, τὸ δέρμα.
Etym. Gudianum 347.10 Stef.: δέρτρον παρὰ το δέρω, ὡς φέρω φέρτρον.
Orion 47.23 Sturz: Δέρτερον τὸ δέρμα, παρὰ τὸ δέρω, καὶ δέρεσθαι. 45.20–21 Sturz: δέρματα. κατὰ μετάθεσιν τοῦ τ εἰς δ, ὡσπερεὶ τέρμα τοῦ σώματος.

Following the same method, in his commentary on the noun δέρτρον Eustathius derives the noun from the verb δέρω in the meaning of δέρμα. This etymology of the two nouns is attested in the lexica, and he copies it without further explanation or justification. However, he makes a personal remark in order to underline the difference in the meaning of the two derivative nouns which come from the same verb.

δέλτος
Eust. *in Il.* 633.14: Πίνακα δὲ πτυκτόν, ὅ φαμεν ἡμεῖς δέλτον ἤτοι βιβλίον ἢ πιττάκιον. Δέλτον μὲν διὰ τὸ κατὰ σχῆμα τοῦ δέλτα γράμματος καὶ τῶν λεγομένων δελτωτῶν.

My last example is a passage which contains a personal remark on the etymology of the noun δέλτον. The distinctive characteristic of this passage is that Eustathius proposes the etymology indirectly. First of all, he offers a lexicographical commentary by mentioning two contemporary synonyms for the word δέλτον (βιβλίον, πιττάκιον), after which he attempts to define the etymology of the noun by giving a justification for the use of the term δέλτον to refer to the writing tablet: in his view, the definition is based on the form of the letter delta[57].

To sum up, Eustathius proposes personal etymologies, or formulates remarks and hypotheses for words whose etymologies are even now obscure and uncertain. On the one hand, he offers etymological comments (on the Homeric terms or the terms he integrates in his commentary) for which there are no parallels in the lexica or the scholia. On the other, he rewrites the ancient etymologies and expands them with personal *additamenta*. In both cases, Eustathius' intervention shows the original aspect of his commentary on Homer, in which he constantly justifies his explanations according to two fundamental criteria: morphological analysis and literal meaning of the terms.

In fact, Eustathius focuses closely on the morphology of the terms, i.e. he describes the mechanisms of derivation and composition which play a dominant

57 Modern dictionaries disagree: see *DELG*, s.v. δέλτος.

role in the formation of the words[58]. He isolates the lexical morphemes that have a semantic individuality, or the free morphemes which can form words independently, such as the related morphemes which appear only within a word (affixes, endings, radicals, elements of composition etc.), and this allows him to explain the process of composition and the origin of the word, i.e. its etymology. In most cases, the beginning of a word (not identical to what we now regard as its root) represents the main criterion in order to understand, illustrate and justify the etymology of the term, although his conclusions may thus appear unsatisfying to our eyes, as with the noun θάλαμος derived from the verb θάλπειν, δέλτον from δέλτα etc. But in other cases Eustathius also proposes etymologies which are perfectly reasonable within the etymological principles of his age (see e.g. on the words τιθήνη, δέρτρον etc.), and he sometimes uses etymology in order to highlight the modern meaning of the Homeric terms, as was noted in connection noted with the word θάλαμος. He was well aware that the *Iliad* belongs to a remote past, and that the reader must be alert to semantic changes[59].

Finally, Eustathius frequently indicates the etymology of the terms in a brief and elliptical manner, which helps his audience to gain an immediate understanding of the basic elements of word-formation. He then removes all the other elements that could make the etymology of the terms obscure or difficult to understand: ἡ δὲ ἰθύς ἐκ τοῦ ἰθύω ἰθύσω (*in Il.* 626.34), ἐκ τοῦ δέρω μὲν καὶ τὸ δέρτρον (*in Il.* 628.23), θόλος ἐκ τοῦ θέειν ἐτυμολογούμενος (*in Il.* 644.44), τὸ ἰθύνω ἐκ τοῦ ἰθύω (*in Il.* 621.48), ἡ κάπη ἐκ τοῦ κάπτειν (*in Il.* 658.52), ἐκ τοῦ κεῖσθαι παρῆκται τὸ κειμήλιον (*in Il.*, 623.62), ἐκ τοῦ κύω, τὸ φιλῶ, τὸ κῦδος (*in Il.* 658.63), τὸ λάξ, ὡς πολλαχοῦ φαίνεται, ἀπὸ τοῦ λήγω λήξω (*in Il.* 625.23), ἡ δὲ φάτνη παρὰ τὸ φαγεῖν (*in Il.* 658.51), ἐκ τοῦ πάτου δὲ καὶ τὸ πατάσσειν (*in Il.* 637.5).

Taken together, these remarks build up Eustathius' 'etymological dictionary'. The following list isolates the words for which he gives an etymology in his commentary on book 6 of the *Iliad* and categorizes them in the four basic groups mentioned earlier. The extent and the wealth of this dictionary, which covers only one book, demonstrate the Byzantine scholar's great interest in etymology, which he constantly utilizes as a means to explain, clarify, modernize and interpret the Homeric text in the 12th century. By teaching his students etymology, he enables them to understand the mechanisms of derivation, formation and composition of words, and thus of using them in order to enhance their rhetorical eloquence and polymathy.

58 For the historical morphology of the Greek language, see Chantraine 1961.

59 Browning 1995, 86–87.

"Etymological dictionary" of Eustathius in his commentary on book 6 of the *Iliad*.

A)

i) ἀκηδιῶ 624.51
ii) ἀποπατέω-ῶ 636.65
iii) Βουκολίων 623.50
iv) δάειρα 648.32
v) εὐπατέρεια 643.13
vi) ἰθύς 626.34
vii) ἴτυς 628.26
viii) παυστικῶς 625.24
ix) πίναξ 633.28
x) ποδικῶς 625.25
xi) πτυκτός, -ή, -όν 633.6
xii) σεβάζω 632.30

B)

i) ἄλη 636.55
ii) Ἄξυλος 622.3
iii) ἀρεστήρ 660.32
iv) ἄρτος 641.18
v) Ἀστυάναξ 650.56
vi) ἐρυσίπτολις 643.46
vii) κηώεις 642.54
viii) πόρκης 644.45

C)

i) ἀολλίζω 641.62
ii) γράπτις 633.57
iii) δαήρ 648.48
iv) ἤκεστος, -η, -ον 627.17
v) κομίζω 657.39
vi) λαγών 625.17
vii) λύθρον 641.45
viii) πεφυγμένον 657.32
ix) τάλας 622.7
x) τιθήνη 650.19
xi) ψηλαφῶ 644.58

D)

i) ἄγος 647.34
ii) ἀζόκροτος, αἰζόκροτος 648.47
iii) ἀκήδεστος, -η, -ον 624.48
iv) ἀλυσκάζω 654.53
v) ἀμενηνός, -ος, -ον 641.55
vi) ἀπόερσε 646.23
vii) ἆσσον 630.18
xiii) ἔγχος 644.36
xiv) ἦνις 627.16
xv) θάλαμος 640.8
xvi) θόλος 644.44
xvii) ἰθύνω 621.48
xviii) ἱλάσκω 649.17
xix) κάπη 658.51

viii) Βάκχος 629.29
ix) γόος 648.18
x) γράστις 633.47
xi) δέρτρον 628.23
xii) ἐγκύμων 656.58
xx) κειμήλιον 623.61
xxi) κόλπος 655.60
xxii) κῦδος 658.65
xxiii) λάξ 625.24
xxiv) νέμος 636.17

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Baukje van den Berg

Eustathios on Homer's Narrative Art: the Homeric Gods and the Plot of the *Iliad*

In the proem of his *Parekbolai on the Odyssey*, Eustathios describes Homer as 'the most skilful in elaborating and the most plausible in narrating'.[1] He detects Homer's rhetorical and, more specifically, narrative skilfulness especially in the plot of his epics:[2] the particular way in which the poet arranges the events of his plot, the ingenious way in which he twists and turns the plot of his poems, and the inventive way in which he invents the episodes of his narrative make the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the masterpieces that they are. In his Homeric *Parekbolai*, Eustathios meticulously analyses how Homer constructed his well-motivated and well-arranged plot, retracing the decisions the poet made, the effects he was after, and the methods he employed. His goal in doing so is to make his intended readers, writers of rhetorical prose, familiar with Homer's admirable methods and techniques in order to imitate them in their own writings, as Eustathios argues in the proem of the *Parekbolai on the Iliad*.[3]

In this paper I explore an important aspect of Eustathios' analysis of the plot of the *Iliad*, namely the role of the Homeric gods as narrative devices. In Eustathios' view, the gods are an effective means for the poet to develop his narrative in the desired direction. Not only are they crucial to the development of the course of events, but, at times, they also reveal the poet's choices and decisions in the process of composing the *Iliad*. As allegories of the poet's mental faculties – I discuss Zeus as the poet's mind (νοῦς) and Athena as the poet's intelligence (φρόνησις) as the most prominent examples – their deliberations and decisions disclose the poet's deliberations and decisions about potential plot directions (Section 2). In a similar vein, Homer uses divine plans to announce upcoming events, often in the form of rhetorical προεκθέσεις, 'presentations in advance' (Section 3). In striving to display his skilfulness, Homer occasionally jeopardises the plausibility of his plot on purpose, only to immediately save it by means of

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1 Eust. *in Od.* 1379.60 ed. Cullhed 2014: ὁ διασκευάσαι δεινότατος, ὁ διηγήσασθαι πιθανώτατος.
2 Eustathios employs several terms for the arrangement and presentation of narrative material, none of which is a perfect equivalent to modern 'plot'. The most frequently used and closest to the notion of 'plot' are οἰκονομία ('arrangement') and διασκευή ('elaboration'). For reasons of convenience and brevity, I use 'plot' as an umbrella term.
3 Eust. *in Il.* 1.27–30. See Cullhed 2014, 3*–26* for a discussion of Eustathios' *Parekbolai* from a social perspective; see also Nünlist 2012. On the productive aim of the Byzantine study of classical literature, see e.g. Hunger 1969/70; 1981, 35–47.

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divine interventions (Section 4). Eustathios' interpretation of the Homeric gods as narrative devices is inextricably connected to his broader approach towards myth, to which I turn first (Section 1).

1 Eustathios' interpretation of the Homeric gods: myth and allegory

In the proem of the *Parekbolai on the Odyssey* Eustathios argues that Homeric poetry takes historical truth (ἱστορία) as its starting point, to which the poet according to poetic custom adds myths in order to produce pleasure (ἡδονή) and astonishment (ἔκπληξις). The poet remains faithful to the historical facts while adding poetic τερατολογία ('marvel tales'), with the result that fiction (ψεῦδος) and truth are mingled in order for poetry to achieve its aims of teaching and astonishing (ἐκπλήττων) or even enchanting (ψυχαγωγῶν).[4] Myths are thus essential to poetry – Eustathios elsewhere designates them as 'the soul of poetry'[5] – and can be invented completely at the poet's own discretion. Eustathios especially considers tales involving the gods to be mythical; as examples of mythical topics he enumerates 'counsels of gods, their battles, schemes, love affairs, travels, and, in general, manifold acts'.[6] He argues that, notwithstanding their fictional nature, most myths reflect a deeper truth, which ought to be revealed with the correct hermeneutic approach.[7]

The proem of the *Parekbolai on the Iliad* discusses three approaches towards myth that are used by earlier exegetes.[8] A first group of critics 'feel ashamed, as it were, whenever the poet speaks in a human manner' (οἷον αἰσχυνόμενοι, ἐὰν ὁ ποιητὴς ἀνθρωπίνως λαλῇ) and therefore allegorise every element of the epics, whether mythical elements such as the gods or historical such as the Greek her-

4 Eust. *in Od.* 1379.7–41 ed. Cullhed 2014. Pontani 2000, 14–15 traces Eustathios' views back to Polybios and Strabo.

5 Eust. *in Il.* 252.27: ψυχὴ γάρ τις οἷον ὁ μῦθος τῷ τῆς ποιήσεως σώματι δι' ὅλου παρενεσπαρμένος αὐτοῦ ('for myth is a soul, as it were, to the body of poetry, being strewn throughout it').

6 Eust. *in Il.* 11.7–8: θεῶν βουλὰς καὶ πολέμους ἐκείνων καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ ἔρωτας καὶ ἀποδημίας καὶ ὅλως πράξεις παντοίας.

7 Eustathios' conception of myth as a fictional tale reflecting truth (*in Il.* 3.25–26) follows the definition of μῦθος ('fable') in the *progymnasmata*. Aphthonios, for instance, defines μῦθος as 'a fictional discourse reflecting truth' (*Prog.* 1.1 ed. Patillon 2008: Ἔστι δὲ μῦθος λόγος ψευδὴς εἰκονίζων ἀλήθειαν).

8 Eust. *in Il.* 3.13–32. On this passage see also Hunter, this volume.

oes.[9] A second group holds the opposite opinion and allegorises nothing at all, denying that the epics contain any universal knowledge and thus 'pulling down the poet from his elevating height' (κατασπάσαντες τοῦ ἀναγωγικοῦ ὕψους τὸν ποιητήν).[10] Eustathios agrees with a third group, 'the more accurate ⟨critics⟩' (οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι), who hold a middle course between these two extreme approaches: both historical and mythical elements of Homer's narrative should be studied as they are presented. Only after studying the mythical narrative as presented by Homer can one proceed to the interpretation of a possible allegorical meaning, whether by means of natural (φυσικός / κατὰ φύσιν, e.g. Apollo as sun), ethical (ἠθικός / κατὰ ἦθος, e.g. Athena as intelligence), or historical (ἱστορικός / καθ' ἱστορίαν, e.g. Hermes as one of the Myrmidons) allegory.[11] According to Eustathios, the allegorical meaning of a myth is consciously constructed by its author, whether this author is Homer or anonymous authors before him, with the result that allegorical interpretation means the reconstruction of authorial intention.[12]

Eustathios' two-stage approach to myth is reflected in his hermeneutic practice: he commonly distinguishes between the mythical and allegorical meaning of a Homeric scene. This can be illustrated by Eustathios' interpretation of *Iliad* 14.225–228, where Hera, hurrying from Mount Olympos to Hypnos on Lemnos, is said to travel over mountain peaks without her feet touching the ground. Eustathios explains:

> πρέπει δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὕψος τῇ Ἥρᾳ διά τε τὸ χρῆναι οὕτω σεμνότερον αὐτὴν κινεῖσθαι, θεὰν οὖσαν κατὰ τὸν μῦθον, καὶ ὅτι ἀὴρ οὖσα κατὰ ἀλληγορίαν ὑπεραίρεσθαι τῶν ὀρέων καὶ οὐ κάτω διατρίβειν ἐθέλει κατὰ τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν λιμνάζοντα.[13] (Eust. *in Il.* 980.38–40)
>
> Such a height is appropriate for Hera because it is necessary that she moves herself in such a solemn way, being a goddess according to myth, and because, being air according to allegory, she wants to jump over mountains and not waste time below in the stagnant [air] with us.

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9 Eust. *in Il.* 3.13–18.
10 Eust. *in Il.* 3.18–23.
11 Eust. *in Il.* 3.26–32. Apollo = sun: e.g. Eust. *in Il.* 22.26–28; Athena = intelligence: e.g. 83.32–40; Hermes = Myrmidon: 1356.3–6. A more elaborate discussion of Eustathios' allegorical method can be found in Cesaretti 1991, 207–274.
12 On allegory and authorial intention in Eustathios, Tzetzes, and Galenos, see Cullhed 2014, 64*–69*. On another use of allegory in Eustathios, see Pizzone, this volume.
13 The text of Eustathios' *Parekbolai on the Iliad* follows the edition by Van der Valk 1971–1987. Translations are my own.

Eustathios here first addresses Hera's role as a character in the mythical narrative: as a goddess it befits her to move 'solemnly' and travel at such a height. Next, he turns to allegory: Hera's journey over mountain peaks is in line with her allegorical meaning of 'air'.[14] It is mainly the first stage of Eustathios' interpretation of the Homeric gods, that is to say their role as characters in Homer's mythical narrative, that is relevant within the context of this paper.

2 Foregrounding poetic skilfulness: Zeus and Athena as allegories of the poet's mind

In keeping with the literary practice of his time,[15] Eustathios is attentive to self-referential discourse in the Homeric epics and ascribes to the poet a tendency to give insight into his own composition process. While ancient scholiasts occasionally observe a similar tendency on the part of the poet to disclose his poetic deliberations through his characters,[16] Eustathios frequently interprets the gods as vehicles for the poet's thoughts.[17] This phenomenon is particularly manifest in Eustathios' interpretation of the gods as allegories of the poet's mental faculties and rhetorical craft: the Muses represent the poet's knowledge (γνῶσις), Apollo his tuneful craft (ἐμμελὴς τέχνη), Hermes his reason (λόγος), Zeus his mind (νοῦς), and Athena his intelligence (φρόνησις) or rhetorical skilfulness (δεινότης).[18] With examples involving Zeus and Athena, I illustrate how Homer, ac-

14 Eust. *in Il.* 980.38–40. On Hera as air in ancient allegoresis, see Buffière 1956, 106–110.
15 On self-referential discourse in the Komnenian novels, see Roilos 2005, 50–61.
16 See e. g. schol. bT *Il.* 9.30, where the silence of the Greeks upon Agamemnon's suggestion to give up and sail back home is interpreted as doubt on the part of the poet: how should he oppose Agamemnon's speech? Cf. schol. bT *Il.* 23.126b, where the scholiast seems to interpret Achilles' intention to build a funeral mound for Patroklos and himself as the intention of the poet.
17 Richardson (1990, 187–196) interprets Homer's use of the gods in a similar way. In his view, Homer makes the gods vehicles of his plot decisions in order to show that all actions of the characters are determined by the imagination of the narrator.
18 Eustathios' interpretation of the Homeric gods as allegories of the poet's mind is also discussed in Cullhed 2014, 69*–72*. Cullhed demonstrates with an example of Hermes as the author's λόγος in Prodromos' novel *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* that there exist close affinities between Eustathios' *Parekbolai* and the literary practice of the time. The example of Hermes in Prodromos' novel is also discussed in Roilos 2005, 50–56. Tzetzes, too, draws a parallel between the gods and discourse; in his *Allegories of the Odyssey* 1.203–223 he interprets Hermes and Athena as letters, Athena's sandals as the writing of letters, a spear point as the power of writing. Cf.

cording to Eustathios, presents his own deliberations and decisions as the deliberations and decisions of the gods and, thus, purposefully foregrounds the well-thought-out way in which he composed his poem.

2.1 Zeus as the mind of the poet

In his *Parekbolai* on *Iliad* 1.5, where the *Dios boulê* is mentioned for the first time, Eustathios enumerates various earlier allegorical interpretations of Zeus: in mythical terms, Zeus is the father of gods and men; in allegorical terms, he may represent air, aether, sun, heaven, fate, and the soul of the universe, in the shape of providence as well as the human mind.[19] Taking his cue from the common allegory of Zeus as the mind (νοῦς),[20] Eustathios repeatedly argues that Homer uses Zeus to represent his own mind in particular.[21] Such an interpretation entails that Zeus' thoughts represent the thoughts of the poet: when Zeus is pondering how he wants the Trojan War to evolve, we actually see the poet at work, deliberating in which direction he wishes to develop his plot.

Eustathios explains this phenomenon in rather general terms in the *Parekbolai* on *Iliad* 16, when discussing Zeus' thoughts on Sarpedon's fate. Zeus considers two options: should his beloved son be saved from death and carried away from the Trojan battlefield alive or should he fall at the hands of Patroklos? He shares his thoughts with Hera and says:

> ὤ μοι ἐγών, ὅ τέ μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν
> μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο δαμῆναι.
> διχθὰ δέ μοι κραδίη μέμονε φρεσὶν ὁρμαίνοντι,
> ἤ μιν ζωὸν ἐόντα μάχης ἄπο δακρυοέσσης

Allegories of the Odyssey 5.28–109 for a similar interpretation of Hermes and his attributes. On Tzetzes' allegorical method, see Hunger 1954; Cesaretti 1991, 127–204; Goldwyn, forthcoming.

19 Eust. *in Il.* 20.22–25. Various ancient interpretations of Zeus are discussed in Buffière 1956 (*passim*).

20 This allegory is, for instance, found in E. *Tr.* 886 (νοῦς βροτῶν); schol. T *Il.* 14.252 (νοῦς κόσμου); Ps.-Plu. *Vit. Hom.* 114.5 Kindstrand (νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντα ἐπιστάμενος καὶ διέπων τὸ πᾶν). See the commentary by Hillgruber *ad loc.* (1999, 255) for more parallels. Numerous examples from the *Parekbolai* can be listed; see e.g. Eust. *in Il.* 203.19–21 and 681.15–16.

21 Van der Valk points to this phenomenon in his notes on Eust. *in Il.* 435.44, where Eustathios explains Zeus' deliberations at the beginning of *Iliad* 4 as the poet's deliberations on how to renew the battle after the truce in *Iliad* 3. See also *in Il.* 445.20: Zeus, i.e. the mind of the poet, sends Athena to the Trojan battlefield in order to urge Pandaros to break the truce.

θείω ἀναρπάξας Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ,
ἦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χερσὶ Μενοιτιάδαο δαμάσσω.[22] (*Iliad* 16.433–438)

Ah, woe is me, since it is fated that Sarpedon, dearest of men to me, be vanquished by Patroklos, son of Menoitios! And my heart is divided in counsel as I ponder in my thought whether I shall snatch him up while yet he lives and set him far from the tearful war in the rich land of Lycia, or whether I shall let him be vanquished now at the hands of the son of Menoitios.

Eustathios argues that Homer here reveals one of the choices that he faced in composing the *Iliad:* to have Sarpedon killed or not.

Σημείωσαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι Ὁμηρικοὶ ταῦτά εἰσι λογισμοί. Μαθὼν γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, ἴσως ἐξ ἱστορίας τεθάφθαι τὸν Σαρπηδόνα ἐν Λυκίᾳ, σκοπεῖται πῶς ἂν τοῦτο εἴη, καὶ μήποτε ζῶν ἁρπαγεὶς ἐκ τῆς Τρωϊκῆς μάχης θανὼν ἐν τῇ πατρίδῃ τέθαπται, καὶ διακρίνει μὴ τοῦτο γενέσθαι – παρ' ἱστορίαν γάρ –, θανεῖν δὲ ἐνδόξως ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, εἶτα, ὡς ἐρεῖ, νεκρὸν μετακομισθέντα ἐκεῖ ἀπαχθῆναι, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς δηλώσει. Καὶ σημείωσαι ὅτι Ὁμηρικῆς προεκθέσεως εἶδος καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, αἱ τῶν θεῶν βουλαὶ δηλαδὴ περὶ μέλλοντος καὶ μάλιστα αἱ τοῦ Διός. Οὕτω τῇ Θέτιδι κατανεύσαντα τὸν Δία πεποίηκε τιμῆσαι τὸν υἱόν, ὅπερ γενήσεται. οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς δ΄ ῥαψῳδίας προεκτίθεται τὰ ἑξῆς πλασθησόμενα. καὶ προϊὼν δὲ καθίσει τὸ μέγα συνέδριον, προεκθησόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ. καὶ ἐνταῦθα οὖν ὁμοίως προεκτίθεται τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα, μυθικῶς μὲν διὰ τοῦ Διός, ἄλλως δὲ διὰ τοῦ καθ'ἑαυτὸν νοῦ. Ἐν οἷς γὰρ τὸν Δία λέγει ὁρμαίνειν περὶ Σαρπηδόνος, εἰ τόδε ἢ τόδε ποιήσει, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ λέγει. αὐτὸς γὰρ λογίζεται διχθά, εἰ τοιάδε ἢ τοιάδε πλάσεται, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς νοεῖ, ἐπικρίνει ὃ χρὴ ποιῆσαι. πεσόντος γὰρ τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος φρονηματίζεται Πάτροκλος καὶ κροαίνει περαιτέρω καὶ πίπτει. καὶ οὕτως ἐναγωνιωτέρα τε γίνεται ἡ τοῦ λόγου διασκευὴ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς δρόμος καιρὸν ἔχει καὶ τἆλλα. (Eust. *in Il.* 1069.36–47)

Notice also that these lines present Homeric reasoning. For having learned, as is likely, perhaps from history, that Sarpedon was buried in Lycia, he examines how this could happen, and if perhaps he was snatched away from the Trojan battle alive and after his death was buried in his fatherland; and he (sc. the poet) decides that this has not happened – for it is in contradiction with the historical facts – but that he died a glorious death in the battle, and that next, as he will say, the body was transported and taken there, as he himself will show in the following (*Il.* 16.666–683). And notice that also such things, that is to say the plans of the gods about the future and especially those of Zeus, take the shape of a Homeric presentation in advance (προέκθεσις). In the same way he has made Zeus assent to Thetis to honour her son (*Il.* 1.528–530), exactly as it will happen; in the same way in the beginning of book 4 the upcoming inventions are presented in advance (*Il.* 4.1–72). And further on he will set up the great council, in order to present in advance the matters about Achilles (*Il.* 20.20–30). And here, then, in a similar way he presents in advance the matters about Sarpedon, in a mythical way through Zeus, but in another way through his own mind. For when he says that Zeus pondered about Sarpedon, whether he would do this or that,

22 The text of the *Iliad* follows the edition by Monro and Allen 1902–1912. The translation is adapted from Murray 1999.

> he speaks about himself. For he himself reasons in two directions whether he will invent such or such events, and as he himself thinks fit he decides what he should compose. For when Sarpedon has fallen Patroklos becomes presumptuous and goes too far and dies. And in this way the elaboration of the story becomes more exciting[23] and Antilochos' running in the following (*Il.* 17.694–699) happens at the right moment *et cetera*.

This extensive note presents several principles recurrent in Eustathios' interpretation of the Homeric plot, namely the premise that Homer is bound to follow historical truth (see also Section 4), the poet's custom of announcing upcoming events in the form of divine plans (see also Section 3), and the idea that Homer employs the character of Zeus as a vehicle for his own thoughts. Eustathios often looks for the motivations behind Homer's choices and here postulates reasons for the poet to let Sarpedon perish on two different levels: on the one hand, history plays a decisive role. Both Sarpedon's burial in Lycia and his glorious death on the Trojan battlefield are historical facts not to be altered by the poet.[24] On the other hand, Eustathios identifies motivations of a narrative nature: the chosen scenario makes for a more exciting elaboration of the plot (ἐναγωνιωτέρα διασκευή) as it eventually leads to Patroklos' death and Achilles' return to battle, resulting, of course, in the climax of the *Iliad*.

In Eustathios' view, similar motivations prompt the poet's decision to grant Patroklos further successes after killing Sarpedon. Once again, Zeus deliberates on the course of the war and decides as follows:

> ὧδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι
> ὄφρ' ἠῢς θεράπων Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
> ἐξαῦτις Τρῶάς τε καὶ Ἕκτορα χαλκοκορυστὴν
> ὤσαιτο προτὶ ἄστυ, πολέων δ' ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἕλοιτο. (*Iliad* 16.652–655)

> And as he pondered, this thing seemed to him the better, that the powerful attendant of Achilles, Peleus' son, should again drive the Trojans and Hektor, armoured in bronze, toward the city and take the lives of many.

Eustathios explains:

23 With the term διασκευή, Eustathios refers to the particular way in which the poet elaborates the bare facts of his story into a full-blown narrative. Cf. Ps.-Hermog. *Inv.* 3.15 ed. Patillon 2012a; see also Pizzone 2014a. On the semantics of ἐναγώνιος in ancient literary criticism, see Ooms and De Jonge 2013.

24 In antiquity, it was assumed that Sarpedon was buried at Xanthos in Lycia, where the tomb of the hero was identified and a cult was celebrated in his honour. See Keen 1998, 188–192; 208–210.

> σημείωσαι δέ, ὡς καὶ νῦν ὁ τοῦ κατὰ νοῦν ἐκλαμβανομένου Διὸς ἐνδοιασμὸς προέκθεσίς ἐστι ποιητική. ὁ νοῦς γὰρ κἀνταῦθα τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον Μούσης, ἤτοι γνώσεως, σκέπτεται κατὰ μέθοδον δεινότητος τεχνικῶς, πῶς ἂν τὸν λόγον μεταχειρίσηται, καὶ κρίνας προαναφωνεῖ κάλλιον εἶναι μὴ νῦν ἀνελεῖν τὸν Πάτροκλον, ἀλλ' ἐᾶσαι καὶ εἰσέτι ἀριστεῦσαι, ἵνα τῶν νηῶν αὐτὸν πολὺ ἀποσπάσας ἀνέλῃ καὶ οὕτω μηδὲν εἰδότος τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως κρατερὰ περὶ τὸν τοῦ Πατρόκλου νεκρὸν ἀμφίβασις γένηται, καὶ πλασθείη τὰ τῆς περιπετείας ἐναγωνιώτερον. (Eust. *in Il.* 1080.3–8)
>
> Notice that also now the deliberation of Zeus pondering in his mind is a poetical presentation in advance. For here too the mind of the Muse in Homer, i. e. of knowledge, following a method of skilfulness artfully examines how to treat the story, and when he has decided, he announces beforehand that it is better not to kill Patroklos now, but to allow him to be still victorious, in order that he kills him after drawing him off far from the ships, and in this way, when Achilles knows nothing, a fiercer defence of Patroklos' body arises, and the course of events is invented in a more exciting way.[25]

This passage displays many similarities with the Sarpedon passage discussed above: Zeus again is interpreted as the poet's mind, while the Muse, as a daughter of Zeus, stands for the knowledge (γνῶσις) residing in the mind, another example of Eustathios' use of common allegorical interpretations for the mental faculties of the poet.[26] Zeus' decision again takes the form of a προέκθεσις, outlining the upcoming events. As in the passage in which Zeus pondered Sarpedon's fate, Eustathios also here identifies narrative motivations behind the poet's decision: delaying Patroklos' death until he is far from the Achaean ships makes the course of events (περιπέτεια) more exciting (again ἐναγωνιώτερον). Occasionally, Eustathios observes in Zeus' words praise for his own (and Homer's) decision. When Zeus in *Iliad* 24 announces that he wishes to speak 'a wise word' (πυκινὸν ἔπος, *Iliad* 24.75) to Thetis about his decisions regarding the return of Hektor's body, Eustathios states that 'it is clear that Homer praises

25 Eustathios here employs περιπέτεια instead of διασκευή as in the Sarpedon passage above. His usage of περιπέτεια is more general than Aristotle's 'sudden reversal'; in the *Parekbolai* the term refers to the twists and turns of the plot, a sense that also occurs in the scholia (cf. schol. bT *Il.* 1.195–196 and 21.34b with Nünlist 2009, 139, n. 16).

26 An interesting parallel is found in Eust. *in Od.* 1383.43–51 ed. Cullhed, where Eustathios reads Homer's invocation of the Muse/his own knowledge at the beginning of his poems as 'the personal introduction, in which the poet introduces himself as very learned' (τὴν προσωπικὴν σύστασιν καθ' ἣν ὁ ποιητὴς ἑαυτὸν ὡς πάνυ λόγιον συνιστᾷ, *in Od.* 1383.50 ed. Cullhed). Pizzone 2014b, 7 discusses the implications of Eustathios' interpretation: 'Eustathios delivers here a powerful statement about self-authorization. His reading turns Homer into an author independently displaying himself as self-inspired by his own rhetorical prowess.' The allegory of the Muses as knowledge is elaborately discussed by Tzetzes in his *Commentary on Hesiod's Works and Days,* 29.13–30.1 ed. Gaisford 1823 (translation in Pontani 2015, 381).

the Zeus in himself, his mind, for the plausibility of such an invention'.[27] Taken together, then, the examples in this section suggest that Eustathios projects on Homer a conscious desire to give insight into his composition process and showcase the skill involved, a suggestion that is corroborated by his interpretation of Athena as Homeric intelligence.

2.2 Athena as the poet's intelligence

Deliberations such as those of Zeus on the fates of Sarpedon and Patroklos are a means for the poet not only to reveal the choices he made in constructing his plot, but also to hint at alternative directions in which he could have developed the narrative. He could have snatched Sarpedon away from the Trojan battlefield alive, but decided that it was better not to do so on historical as well as narrative grounds. Eustathios expresses this idea more explicitly in his *Parekbolai* on *Iliad* 15. Disregarding Zeus' warnings not to interfere in the Trojan War, Ares, crazed with grief, expresses the intention to avenge the death of his son Askalaphos (*Iliad* 15.115–118), who has been killed by Deïphobos (*Iliad* 13.516–520), and makes preparations to go to battle. The situation threatens to escalate, until Athena speaks up and brings Ares back to his senses, dissuading him from going to Troy (*Iliad* 15.121–141). Eustathios' interpretation of Athena's intervention is an interesting example of how the gods and their allegorical meanings function at various levels in Eustathios' analysis of the Homeric plot, or, rather, in Homer's construction of the Iliadic plot *as reconstructed by Eustathios*.

In line with his two-stage approach, Eustathios explains Athena's intervention in mythical as well as allegorical terms. On a mythical level, it is better that Ares not interfere in battle as it is not necessary that the Greeks have both Ares and Athena as their allies. In Eustathios' view, Homer purposefully invents this scene to demonstrate the fickleness of Ares' character – how can it not be a sign of fickleness to decide, on the spur of the moment, to betray one's allies and support their enemies? – and, in allegorical terms, the changeability of war.[28] Athena, representing the rational or intellectual part of the human mind, has the

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27 Eust. *in Il.* 1340.13: δῆλον δὲ ὡς τὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ Δία νοῦν Ὅμηρος ἐπαινεῖ διὰ τὸ πιθανὸν τῆς τοιαύτης πλάσεως. Similarly, Zeus/Homer, according to Eustathios, is very content with the decision to send a dream to Agamemnon in *Iliad* 1, when pondering how to honour Achilles (Eust. *in Il.* 164.26–27 on *Iliad* 2.5).

28 Here the allegory of fickle Ares as changeable war is implied, whereas it is discussed elsewhere in more explicit terms. See e.g. Eust. *in Il.* 72.25–27; 612.16–18; 1008.58–1009.1. On Ares as allegory of war in earlier allegoresis, see Buffière 1956, 297–298.

power to prevail over its irrational impulses, here represented by Ares. It seems therefore that, in Eustathios' conception, the mythical and allegorical level of the narrative are closely connected: there is a one-to-one correspondence between myth and allegory, making the rational Athena the obvious candidate to reason with the irrational Ares.[29]

In addition to these mythical and allegorical interpretations, Eustathios interprets Athena as the poet's skilfulness in developing a well-constructed plot. Taking his cue from the common allegory of Athena as intelligence (φρόνησις),[30] he interprets the goddess as the poet's intelligence specifically, which he explains as a synonym of Homer's δεινότης, 'skilfulness'.[31] In rhetorical theory, skilfulness was considered the highest rhetorical virtue; witness, for instance, Hermogenes' definition of δεινότης as 'the right use of all the aforementioned types of style and their opposites together with whatever else makes up the body of discourse.'[32] For Eustathios, skilfulness is the ability to make the best choices so as to develop a well-motivated and well-constructed plot. We can see this ability of Homer at work through Athena, for instance in the episode with Ares, as Eustathios explains:

> εἰπεῖν δὲ ἄλλως ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ πᾶν, ἐνέφηνε μὲν Ὅμηρος, ὡς καὶ ἐνταῦθα δύναται μυθικῇ τερατολογίᾳ μεστῶσαι τὴν ποίησιν, ἐθεώρησε δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ μεθοδικῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔξω καιροῦ τοῦτο εἶναι, οἷα ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς μέλλων τοιαῦτά τινα διασκευάσασθαι κατὰ τὸ ἀρκοῦν. (Eust. *in Il.* 1009.4–6)

> And to put the whole matter differently in a concise manner, Homer indicated that also here he could fill his poem with mythical marvel tales, but considered through the methodical

29 In a similar vein, Eustathios argues that Diomedes is able to wound Aphrodite and Ares, representing irrational emotions according to ethical allegory, but not Apollo, who is allegorised as fate (Eust. *in Il.* 570.46–571.9 on *Iliad* 5.433–446). An elaborate discussion of Eustathios' ideas on the close correspondence between allegorical meaning and mythical narrative and its importance for the plausibility of the plot lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

30 See Buffière 1956, 279–289.

31 Eustathios glosses φρόνησις as δεινότης for instance in *in Il.* 663.4–6, quoted in Section 3 below. Cf. the *Prolegomena to Hermogenes' On Types of Style* by John Sikeliotes, who draws a parallel between the types of style and moral virtues and places skilfulness next to intelligence (400.17–18 ed. Rabe 1931; Sikeliotes' analogy is discussed in Roilos 2005, 144). Occasionally, Eustathios qualifies δεινότης by the adjective μεθοδική, 'methodical', for instance in Eust. *in Il.* 506.6–12, another interesting example of Athena as the poet's φρόνησις / δεινότης (see Cullhed 2014, 71* for translation and discussion).

32 Hermog. *Id.* 2.9.1 ed. Patillon 2012b: χρῆσις ὀρθὴ πάντων τῶν τε προειρημένων εἰδῶν τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι δι' ὧν ἑτέρων σῶμα λόγου γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. On δεινότης in ancient literary criticism, see Voit 1934. For Eustathios' use of Hermogenes' *On Types of Style* in the *Parekbolai on the Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, see Lindberg 1977.

> Athena in him that this was untimely, because he is about to elaborate such things sufficiently in what follows.

Through his poetic skill, his ability to compose a well-constructed plot – Eustathios here speaks of the 'methodical Athena' – Homer realises that it is better not to invent a mythical episode about Ares interfering in battle and Zeus punishing Ares for disregarding his warnings. There will be ample opportunity for such marvellous tales later on, Eustathios explains, the reference most likely being to *Iliad* 20, where Zeus allows the gods to interfere in the war at their own discretion, with a fierce battle as the result. Without the intention to actually carry through this scenario, Homer hints at an alternative direction in which he could have developed his plot; for a moment, we indeed expect Ares to go to battle, with all its consequences.

3 Divine plans and the well-motivated plot

In the above quoted passage on Zeus' deliberations about Sarpedon (see section 2.1), Eustathios points to the phenomenon of προέκθεσις, arguing that the plans of the gods and those of Zeus in particular are presented in the form of this rhetorical technique. In Pseudo-Hermogenes' *On the Method of Skilfulness*, a section is devoted to προέκθεσις, where it is defined as 'to state something at the beginning about the main points concerning which one is going to argue or teach,'[33] a definition that closely corresponds to Eustathios' use of the term. In the case of Sarpedon, the προέκθεσις is found in Hera's response to Zeus' deliberations. She strongly opposes the idea that the hero be saved: what if the other gods would also interfere in the battle and save their offspring, Achilles included? She suggests Zeus act as follows:

> ἀλλ' εἴ τοι φίλος ἐστί, τεὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ,
> ἤτοι μέν μιν ἔασον ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ
> χέρσ' ὕπο Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο δαμῆναι·
> αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ τόν γε λίπῃ ψυχή τε καὶ αἰών,
> πέμπειν μιν θάνατόν τε φέρειν καὶ νήδυμον ὕπνον
> είς ὅ κε δὴ Λυκίης εὐρείης δῆμον ἵκωνται,
> ἔνθά ἑ ταρχύσουσι κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε
> τύμβῳ τε στήλῃ τε· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων. (*Iliad* 16.450–458)

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33 Ps.-Hermog. *Meth.* 12.1 ed. Patillon 2014: [τ]ὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ τι λέγειν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων περὶ ὧν τις μέλλει κατασκευάζειν ἢ διδάσκειν. Similar definitions are found in Quint. 9.2.106 and Anon. Seg. 11.

> But if he is dear to you and your heart is grieved, then allow him to be vanquished in the mighty combat at the hands of Patroklos, son of Menoitios; but when his soul and life have left him, send Death and sweet Sleep to carry him away until they come to the land of wide Lycia; and there will his brothers and his kinspeople give him burial with mound and pillar; for this is the privilege of the dead.

Zeus assents to Hera's suggestion, and indeed the plot evolves in just this way. In Eustathios' view, the προέκθεσις is thus a means for the poet to give the inquisitive listener an appetizer for the upcoming events, often with the effect of reassuring the typically pro-Greek listener that victory, ultimately, will belong to the Greeks.[34]

In the passage on Sarpedon, Eustathios mentions three other examples of divine plans presented in the form of προεκθέσεις, namely Hera's suggestion on how to renew the battle after the duel between Menelaos and Paris in *Iliad* 4 (vv. 62–65), Zeus' decision to allow the gods to interfere in battle in *Iliad* 20 (vv. 20–30), and Zeus' assent to Thetis to restore the honour of her son Achilles in *Iliad* 1 (vv. 528–530). The mention of the latter is particularly interesting since it ties in with Eustathios' ideas on the centrality of Achilles in the Iliadic plot and the importance of the *Dios boulê* for the course of events. A brief excursion to Eustathios' interpretation of the proem of the *Iliad*, where Achilles' wrath and the *Dios boulê* are mentioned for the first time, is therefore warranted.

In his *Parekbolai* on *Iliad* 1.5 (Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή, 'and the plan of Zeus was fulfilled'), Eustathios refers to a debate among earlier exegetes about the motives underlying Zeus' plan: why did the father of gods and men wish to bestow much misery upon the Greeks, sending many of them to the realm of Hades? Some people, Eustathios explains, hold the opinion that it was Zeus' intention to relieve the earth from overpopulation; others contend that Achilles' honour was his main motivation.[35] Eustathios adheres to the latter interpretation and, throughout the *Parekbolai on the Iliad*, repeatedly underscores that Zeus is

34 See e.g. Eust. *in Il.* 1113.20–24 on *Iliad* 17.443–455, where Zeus, addressing Achilles' horses, announces that the Trojans will not be successful much longer, but that the tide of battle will turn at the end of the day. Cf. *in Il.* 839.15–17 (on *Iliad* 11.185–195), where Eustathios explains that Homer included a προέκθεσις in the words of Zeus to entertain his inquisitive listeners, who are eager to know what will happen. Eustathios' notion of προέκθεσις thus overlaps to a large extent with the 'table of content' speeches of modern narratology (see De Jong 2001, 15).

35 Eust. *in Il.* 20.13–21. As a supporter of the first option Eustathios mentions Euripides (*Or.* 1639–1642); both explanations are mentioned in schol. D *Il.* 1.5; the scholion refers to the Cypria, where the idea of overpopulation is implied at the beginning of the poem (Bernabé fr. 1 with app. test.). For an interpretation of the *Dios boulê* as aiming to enforce the *condition humaine*, see Murnaghan 1997.

minded to restore Achilles' honour,[36] and that his plan must be fulfilled no matter what. Furthermore, the plan of Zeus rather than the wrath of Achilles causes the Greeks to suffer great losses. Without a divine plan supporting it, Eustathios argues, Achilles' wrath could not have had disastrous consequences of the epic extent to which the *Iliad* testifies.[37]

This last observation ties in with Eustathios' general notion of Homer as φιλαχιλλεύς ('fond of Achilles'): in his view, Homer intends to clear Achilles of any blame for the Greek misery by means of the *Dios boulê*. The poet indicates that the Trojan War evolved according to a divine plan or, allegorically speaking, as fate has decreed.[38] In an extensive note at the outset of the *Parekbolai* on *Iliad* 1, Eustathios explains how the Iliadic plot in fact revolves around Achilles: the poem starts with Achilles' wrath, it mentions the hero numerous times during his absence lest the audience forget him, it ends with Hektor's funeral because the poet cannot bear to relate the unworthy death of his beloved Achilles, *et cetera*.[39] Like Zeus, then, the poet considers Achilles and his honour of paramount importance. With Zeus' plan aiming at Achilles' honour and the poet's plot revolving around the hero, it seems only a small step to equate the plan of Zeus (i.e. fate) with the poetic plan of Homer, especially when we take into account the idea of Zeus as the mind of the poet (see Section 2.1). Eustathios, however, nowhere explicitly draws the parallel between the *Dios boulê* and the poetical plan.[40]

Nevertheless, the plan of Zeus determines to a large extent how the plot of the *Iliad* is developed and at the same time motivates the course of events. In other words, the poet lends plausibility to his plot by making the events happen according to Zeus' plan. Eustathios thus often draws attention to the divine mo-

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36 See especially Eust. *in Il.* 164.1–3 and 694.39. The plan has reached perfection with Hector's death: Eust. *in Il.* 1296.24–25.

37 Eust. *in Il.* 20.5–8.

38 Eust. *in Il.* 20.9–11. The allegory of Zeus as fate (whether εἱμαρμένη or μοῖρα) is frequently found in the *Parekbolai*. See e.g. *in Il.* 435.27–36; see also *in Il.* 724.13–16, where Eustathios argues that the plan of Zeus = the decree of fate. The allegorical interpretation of Zeus as fate is also found in schol. D *Il.* 1.5.

39 Eust. *in Il.* 14.26–44. Numerous times throughout the *Parekbolai* Eustathios' draws attention to Homer's desire to mention Achilles; see e.g. Eust. *in Il.* 503.21–23; 654.23–24. On Homer as φιλαχιλλεύς see also Hunter, this volume.

40 In modern Homeric scholarship, this parallel is drawn, for instance, in Eberhard 1923. He argues that "dieser Plan des Zeus [...] ist offenbar der Plan des Dichters. Er enthält die vom Dichter konstruierten Grundlinien des ganzen Epos und ist bestimmend und ausschlaggebend für den Verlauf der Handlung. Homer aber begründet diesen Plan ausdrücklich mit dem 'Schicksal' [...]. In diesem Schicksal konzentriert sich demnach die poetische Idee" (pp. 37–38).

tivation underlying certain events: Patroklos must fall before besieging the Trojan wall, since a successful *teichomachia* without Achilles does not tally with the plan of Zeus; the Greek commanders need to leave the battlefield in *Iliad* 11 in order that Hektor is victorious according to the plan of Zeus, *et cetera*.[41] Plans of the other gods can have a similar motivating function, as Eustathios' interpretation of the agreement between Apollo and Athena at the beginning of *Iliad* 7 illustrates. He explains that Homer, searching for a more novel (καινότερον) yet plausible way (πιθανῶς) to end the day of fighting, invents the duel between Hektor and Aias and the plan of Athena and Apollo as its motivation, which he outlines, as usual, in a προέκθεσις (*Iliad* 7.36–42).[42] Eustathios reconstructs the poetic process as follows:

> Τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ ὁ ποιητὴς ἑαυτὸν ἐρεθίζει πρὸς ζήτησιν τοῦ πῶς ἂν παύσῃ τὴν μάχην τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας, καὶ νοεῖ καλὸν εἶναι τὸ διὰ μονομαχίας αὐτὴν λῦσαι. Διὸ εἴη ἂν Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν ἡ παρ' αὐτῷ δεινότης ἤτοι φρόνησις, Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμμελὴς τέχνη καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν μουσικὴ καὶ ἀπῳδὸν μηδὲν ἔχουσα. (Eust. *in Il.* 663.4–6)
>
> In reality, the poet challenges himself to examine how to end the battle of the first day, and comes to the conclusion that it is good to end it with a duel. Therefore his skilfulness or intelligence could be Athena, Apollo his tuneful and, so to speak, musical craft, that has nothing that is out of tune.

In the gods, Eustathios again sees the mind of the poet at work, who employs divine characters as effective poetic devices for creating a well-motivated and plausible plot.

4 Plausibility at risk: divine interventions and alternative narrative directions

In the previous sections we have already encountered several times the notion of plausibility (πιθανότης), which the rhetorical handbooks by, for instance, Ailios Theon and Aphthonios list among the key virtues of narrative, whether historical or fictional.[43] Implementing rhetorical theory, Eustathios starts from the assump-

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41 On the impossibility to besiege the wall of Troy without Achilles: Eust. *in Il.* 689.56–62; on the withdrawal of the Greek commanders: Eust. *in Il.* 849.49–51.

42 Eust. *in Il.* 662.8–17; 662.63–663.1.

43 Theon lists the virtues of narrative in *Prog.* 79.20–32, and discusses plausibility in *Prog.* 76.34–77.10 ed. Patillon–Bolognesi 1997. Aphthonios' list of narrative virtues can be found in *Prog.* 2.4 ed. Patillon 2008. Interesting is also the discussion by John of Sardis in his

tion that Homer constantly strives to imbue his narrative with plausibility, for instance by providing the course of events with divine motivation (see Section 3), which is only one of the many Homeric techniques to achieve this goal. Relevant to the present inquiry into the narrative role of the Homeric gods is also Eustathios' idea that Homer at times purposefully jeopardises the plausibility of his plot. This is by no means a negative evaluation, but rather a sign of true excellence. Ancient literary criticism commonly held that sublimity can only be achieved by taking risks, even if this means that, occasionally, mistakes are made.[44] An author who always plays it safe, who is afraid to take risks, will never write sublime works, as for instance Pseudo-Longinos argues in his treatise *On the Sublime*.[45] Pseudo-Hermogenes, whose rhetorical treatises greatly influenced Byzantine rhetoric, also repeatedly refers to daring in positive terms, provided that it remains within the boundaries of plausibility.[46]

Eustathios' notion of Homeric daring must be evaluated in equally positive terms: by deliberately creating a problematic situation (ἀπορία) or bringing his plot into difficulty (e.g. τὸ δυσχερές) or danger (e.g κίνδυνος, τὸ κινδυνῶδες) Homer challenges himself to find a solution and maintain the plausibility of his narrative, while at the same time raising the listeners' attention.[47] Generally speaking, Eustathios identifies two situations that threaten the plausibility of the plot: on the one hand, the principle that Homeric poetry is bound to follow historical fact entails that plausibility is destroyed if the plot includes events that do not tally with or even contradict historical truth; on the other hand, the premise that the narrative world should be internally plausible renders impossible, improbable, or inappropriate elements problematic. As an excellent narrative poet, Homer is able to play with the boundaries of plausibility without ever crossing them. He frequently employs the gods in their mythical meaning, that is to say, as characters in the narrative, to keep his plot on a plausible course in deliberately created difficulties.

As a result of the poet's obligation to follow historical truth, certain potentially interesting narrative paths are blocked, as Eustathios argues for instance in his *Parekbolai* on *Iliad* 5. The encounter between Aineias and Diomedes in bat-

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Commentary on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata 23.16–24.22 ed. Rabe 1928. The Homeric scholia, too, study the plausibility of the Homeric narrative. See Nünlist 2009, Chapter 1 (*passim*), Chapter 8; Meijering 1987, 201–203.

44 The topic is explored in De Jonge 2012. See especially pages 283–285 and 293–297.

45 Ps.-Longin. 33.2. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 13.

46 See e. g. Ps.-Hermog. *Inv.* 3.10.1–3 Patillon (2012a).

47 Eust. *in Il.* 1199.54–1200.1 on *Iliad* 20, where Aineias meets Achilles in battle and would have been killed had not the gods prevented it by warning Aineias.

tle seems to lead inevitably to the unhistorical event of Aineias' death, until Aphrodite enters the scene (5.311–317). Eustathios points to the poetic technique underlying this scene:

> Ὅτι ἐὰν ὑπὸ ἱστορίας ἐβοηθεῖτο, εἶχεν ἂν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐνταῦθα τὸν Αἰνείαν ὑπὸ τῷ Διομήδῃ ἀνελεῖν. διό φησι "καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο" καὶ ἑξῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τοῦτο ἱστορούμενον – καὶ γὰρ καθ' ἱστορίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τροίας περίεστιν ὁ Αἰνείας – ῥίπτει μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα εἰς κίνδυνον, ἐξαιρεῖται δὲ αὖθις μεθόδῳ ποιητικῇ δι' ἐπεισοδίου θείων προσώπων, τοῦ τε Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, περὶ ἧς καὶ τερατεύεται ὅσα βούλεται. (Eust. *in Il.* 550.28–33)

> If he had been assisted by historical truth, the poet could have killed Aineias at this point in the story at the hands of Diomedes. Therefore he says "and now he would have perished" (*Iliad* 5.311) *et cetera*. But because this is not historically recorded – for according to history Aineias is still alive after the capture of Troy – he brings him into danger here and frees him again through a poetic method that consists of an intervention of divine characters, Apollo and Aphrodite, about whom he tells marvels as many as he wants.

Homer is aware of the 'historical' fact that Aineias was alive after the capture of Troy – his mantic powers even allow him to be familiar with Aineias' role in Roman history, as Eustathios argues elsewhere[48] – and therefore invents Aphrodite's intervention to save her son from death. In Eustathios' view, the poet at times deliberately creates 'dangerous situations' like Aineias' imminent doom, only to solve the problem by inventing divine interventions. This solution is a *poetic* method, a Homeric custom foreshadowing the *deus ex machina* of ancient tragedy,[49] as mythical elements are an exclusively poetic characteristic. For especially in the mythical marvels, beyond the restrictions of historical truth, Homer has complete freedom to invent whatever he wishes. Such deliberately created difficulties, then, are a means for the poet to suggest what alternative course his narrative could have taken: he makes his audience believe, if only for a moment, that he could have let Aineias perish at the hands of Diomedes.[50]

Of a less far-reaching nature are difficulties involving the appropriateness or probability of events or narrative details. Throughout the *Parekbolai*, Eustathios repeatedly raises questions like 'how is it possible that Diomedes recognises Aphrodite and Ares in *Iliad* 5' or 'how can Odysseus mount horses (plural) in

48 Eust. *in Il.* 1209.6–9.

49 Eust. *in Il.* 195.41–196.1 on *Iliad* 2.155–168 where Athena is sent to the Greek encampment to prevent the army from going home; *in Il.* 426.2–19 on *Iliad* 3.373–381 where Aphrodite saves Paris from perishing in the duel with Menelaos.

50 Modern narratology refers to such situations as *if not*-situations (De Jong 1987, 68–81) or reversal passages, 'misdirecting' the expectations of the listener (Morrison 1992).

Iliad 10.513, when Diomedes already has mounted the other horse of the span stolen from king Rhesos?', for which he, of course, always finds a solution.[51] Interestingly, Eustathios' projects a similar problem-and-solution pattern on Homer, as his discussion of *Iliad* 14 illustrates. The narrative runs the risk of becoming implausible or even ridiculous when Zeus proposes Hera to make love out in the open air on Mount Ida (*Iliad* 14.341–343). Homer expresses the difficulty of this situation through Hera, thereupon providing a solution through Zeus:

> Ὅτι δεξιῶς ἀπορήσας, ὡς ἐρρέθη, διὰ τῆς Ἥρας ὁ ποιητὴς εὐπλαστίας χάριν καὶ πιθανότητος, πῶς ἂν ἔοι τάδε γελοῖα ὄντα καὶ οὐδὲ σεμνά, λύει τὸ ἄπορον διὰ τοῦ Διός, εἰπόντος "Ἥρη, μήτε θεῶν τό γε δείδιθι μήτε τιν' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεσθαι· τοῖόν τοι ἐγὼ νέφος" καὶ ἑξῆς, ὡς αὐτίκα εἰρήσεται. (Eust. *in Il.* 990.41–43)
>
> For the sake of good inventing and plausibility the poet cleverly raises a difficulty, as was said (*in Il.* 989.60–64), through Hera, namely how these things could happen, being ridiculous and not at all solemn, and he solves the difficulty through Zeus, saying: "Hera, fear not in this that any god or man will see, with such a cloud will I" *et cetera* (*Iliad* 14.341–345), as will be discussed presently (*in Il.* 990.45–51).

The poet is aware of the potential implausibility of the divine lovemaking scene and himself points to the problematic aspect of the situation: what if the other gods would see them? In Zeus' answer, he immediately provides the solution that he has thought out to maintain plausibility. A skilful narrative poet like Homer thus pushes the boundaries of plausibility, yet never crosses the line, solving potential problems before he is in real trouble.

Conclusion

For Eustathios, the mythical gods are essential to the Homeric epics as narrative masterpieces. Placing them firmly within the mythical narrative world of the *Iliad*, Eustathios does not feel compelled to excuse Homer for their presence, nor to explain them away. Above all, Homer is a skilful rhetorician and a plausible narrative poet, who has complete freedom to invent events at his own discretion and develop his narrative as he wishes, especially in its mythical episodes. We can therefore discern Homer's skilful methods and techniques not

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51 Diomedes: Eust. *in Il.* 529.44–530.8 on *Iliad* 5.127–128 (solution in mythical terms: because Athena took away the mist from his eyes; solution in allegorical terms: because an experienced commander like Diomedes easily recognises those who fight in an irrational rage like Ares, and those who fight in a divine and superhuman manner); Rhesos' horses: Eust. *in Il.* 821.2–5 (perhaps it is a question of formulation, or perhaps there were four horses).

least in the poetic τερατολογία ('marvel tales'). According to Eustathios, the poet employs the plans of the gods, often outlined in a προέκθεσις, to provide his course of events with divine motivation, a technique conducive to plausibility. As a self-confident narrator, Homer daringly pushes the boundaries of plausibility without ever crossing them. Moreover, he foregrounds his well-motivated authorial choices and skilful composition process through the characters of the gods.

Eustathios' image of Homer as author, Homeric poetry as fictional narrative, and the Homeric gods as (allegorical) narrative devices is inextricably connected to the twelfth-century intellectual and literary context of the *Parekbolai*. Komnenian Byzantium saw a renewed interest in Homeric epic and allegorical interpretation, for reasons of rhetorical virtuosity rather than religious apology, as well as a revival of fictional genres like the ancient novel. To stay with the example of the novel, Komnenian novelists employ the mythical gods in a manner that displays many similarities with their role in Homeric epic as interpreted by Eustathios: they are characters in a fictional narrative world and, at times, have a self-referential allegorical meaning, referring to the author and his own discourse. Thus, Eustathios' interpretation of Homeric poetry is more than a monument of classical philology. As a document of their time, the *Parekbolai* reflect contemporary ideas on narrative and fiction, and may therefore provide us with valuable clues for studying and understanding Byzantine fiction and narrative,[52] which is found in texts across various genres and has only recently started to be studied for its literary merit.[53]

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52 On Byzantine fiction and narrative see e.g. Burke 2006; Nilsson 2014; Roilos 2014.
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René Nünlist

Was Eustathius Afraid of the Blank Page?

Eustathius was a very prolific writer. His commentaries on the Homeric epics alone fill several thousand pages in modern editions. Each of the two commentaries is six to seven times longer than the respective epic itself.[1] Read against this backdrop, the title of this paper may seem ludicrous. How could Eustathius possibly be said to be afraid of the blank page? True, were it not for those passages in which Eustathius appears to express a concern for whether an author has sufficient material to talk about. In fact, both prefaces to his Homeric commentaries address this issue, that is, the problem is dealt with in places that are both prominent and of programmatic relevance. In each case he argues that there is a noticeable difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. To Eustathius' mind, the *Odyssey* is characterised by a certain dearth of suitable narrative material.

In the preface to his commentary on the *Iliad*, the relevant section comes towards the end in a general comparison of the two epics (*in Il.* 4.44 ff. = 1.7.4 ff. van der Valk). First, Eustathius essentially follows the much-discussed view of Aristotle (*Po.* 1459b13) and Pseudo-Longinus (*subl.* 9.15) when he asserts that, whereas the *Iliad* is characterised by more dignity (σεμνοτέρα) and by the sublime (ὕψος) and is thus "more heroic" (ἡρωϊκωτέρα), the *Odyssey* is ἠθική. What exactly this is supposed to mean is by no means clear, but this intriguing question must be left aside in the present context.[2] Eustathius continues his general comparison of the two Homeric epics with a second point:

> (1) καὶ ὅτι τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν ἰσχὺν οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔστι καταμαθεῖν, ὅσον ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσείᾳ. ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ πολλαὶ ἀφορμαὶ εἰς ῥητορείας δαψίλειαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ γλισχρότατος καὶ πάντῃ ὀλιγόϋλος ὁ τοῦ βιβλίου σκοπός. καὶ ὅμως ἐξήρκεσεν ὁ ποιητὴς βίβλον καὶ ἐκείνην τηλικήνδε καὶ τοιαύτην διασκευάσασθαι παραδεικνύων, ὅτι παμπλούσιός ἐστι καὶ πάνυ φιλότιμος ἔν τε πολυαφόρμοις καὶ ἐν μὴ τοιαύταις γραφαῖς. ὅθεν ἐκεῖνο μὲν τὸ βιβλίον ἀπὸ ἑνὸς προσώπου τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ὠνόμασεν ὑποδηλῶν τὸ ὀλίγον τῆς τοῦ γράφειν

1 The exact figures are: 820,814 words for the commentary on the *Iliad* (compared to the *Iliad*'s 115,477 words: factor 7.1), 566,007 words for the commentary on the *Odyssey* (compared to the *Odyssey*'s 87,765 words: factor 6.4). To compare, all of Plato is just over 600,000 words. Presumably, the commentary on the *Odyssey* is somewhat shorter because Eustathius declares to leave out the questions that are adequately dealt with in his commentary on the *Iliad* (*in Od.* 1380.13–14 = p. 10.17–18 Cullhed).

2 Possible answers can be found in e. g. Russell 1964, 99; Bühler 1964, 47–52, 75–76; Mazzucchi 1992, 183–184; see also Pontani 2000, 27.

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ὕλης, ὡς μόνα δῆθεν λέξων τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, εἰ καὶ ἄλλως κατὰ μέθοδον οἰκείαν καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ παρενέπλεξε. ταύτην δὲ τὴν βίβλον συλληπτικώτερον Ἰλιάδα ἐκάλεσε κτλ. (Eust. *in Il.* 4.46–5.8 = 1.7.7–16 van der Valk)

⟨It must be said at the outset⟩ also that the Homeric force (ἰσχύς) is not detectable in the same way in the *Iliad* as in the *Odyssey*. For here (i.e., in the *Iliad*) there are many starting-points (ἀφορμαί) for rhetorical abundance, whereas there (i.e., in the *Odyssey*) the object of the book is very scanty (γλισχρότατος) and altogether lacking in material (πάντῃ ὀλιγόϋλος). The poet (i.e., Homer) was nevertheless strong enough to lay out that other book (i.e., the *Odyssey*) in such a size and quality, thereby showing that he is resourceful and fully competitive both in works that provide many starting-points (i.e., such as the *Iliad*) and in works that do not (i.e., such as the *Odyssey*). Therefore, he named that other book after a single character, Odysseus, thereby implying the relative lack of narrative material (τὸ ὀλίγον τῆς τοῦ γράφειν ὕλης), as if he was going to speak exclusively about the events around Odysseus, even though he also inserted (παρενέπλεξε) many other things in accordance with his typical approach. On the other hand, he gave the present book the more comprehensive title '*Iliad*' etc.[3]

Several points made here recur in the relevant section of the preface to the *Odyssey* (1379.40 ff. = p. 6.10 ff. Cullhed). Eustathius first repeats the notion that the *Odyssey* shows more ἦθος than the *Iliad*. It also contains deep insights while superficially having the appearance of simplicity (cf. n. 4). And:

(2) ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πάνυ γλίσχρα τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἄσπορα καὶ ὀλιγόϋλα. καὶ εἰ μὴ ὁ ποιητὴς ἐξεύρισκεν, οἷος αὐτός, μηχανὰς πλατυσμοῦ τῇ ποιήσει ἄλλοτε ἄλλας, οἷον τὸν τοῦ Τηλεμάχου πλοῦν, τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Φαίαξι μακρὰν ἀδολεσχίαν, τὰ παρὰ τῷ Εὐμαίῳ λαμπρὰ ψεύσματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ἐν στενῷ κομιδῇ ἔκειτο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς κατὰ ποίησιν διασκευῆς κτλ. (Eust. *in Od.* 1379.42–46 = p. 6.13–18 Cullhed).

Note that the subject-matter in this book (i.e., in the *Odyssey*) is totally scanty (πάνυ γλίσχρα) and barren (ἄσπορα) and lacking in material (ὀλιγόϋλα). And if the poet had not – characteristically – found means of expanding (πλατυσμός) his poem here and there, for instance, the voyage of Telemachus, the long conversation with the Phaeacians, the brilliant lying tales with Eumaeus, and so on, the rhetorical elaboration of his poem would have been in a shortage altogether etc.

The general similarity of the two passages is obvious and pointed out by van der Valk (1971), Pontani (2000) and Cullhed (2014) in their notes (*ad locc.*). In passage (2), the expression ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ implies the differentation between the two Homeric poems that text (1) makes explicit. Terminologically, both passages express the *Odyssey*'s lack of suitable narrative material, among other things, by means of the adjectives γλίσχρος and ὀλιγόϋλος. Of these, the former

3 Unless indicated otherwise, the translations are mine. They generally aim for literalness. This seems the best way to cope with Eustathius' sentences, which tend to be long and complex.

means something like 'scanty, poor, meagre'.[4] The latter term ὀλιγόϋλος means 'short in material' and is in all likelihood Eustathius' own coinage. A TLG search reveals that the word is attested in Eustathius alone, and the total is a mere five matches, two of which are included above in texts (1) and (2).[5] The hypothesis that ὀλιγόϋλος was coined by Eustathius himself receives further support from the following argument. When looking at his vocabulary in general, one easily detects a penchant for compounds with ὀλιγο-. The total of such compounds in Eustathius amounts to forty-two. More importantly, there are at least twelve words which are not attested outside of his works (based on TLG searches and the *LBG*). These are: ὀλιγόδακρυς (*hapax*), ὀλιγοκερδής (*hapax*), ὀλιγόκληρος (*hapax*), ὀλιγοκύμαντος (*hapax*), ὀλιγολαλέω[6], ὀλιγόμυθος[7], ὀλιγοστάδιος, ὀλιγοσχιδής (*hapax*), ὀλιγοτρεφής (*hapax*), ὀλιγοϋπνέω[8], ὀλιγοχρηστία (*hapax*), and, of course, ὀλιγόϋλος itself.[9] There can be no doubt that he is very fond of such words.[10] A similar penchant can also be seen in his semantic explanations, where he likes glossing the privative α with ὀλιγο-. For instance, ὀλιγόκληρος in the list above glosses ἄκληρος, or the name of the Ἄβιοι is explained as ὀλιγόβιοι.[11] In spite of the fact that Eustathius is fond of these compounds and probably coined several of them himself, it does remain remarkable that he did so in one case in order to give expression to the dearth of narrative material, a phenomenon that he considers characteristic of the *Odyssey*.

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4 Although γλίσχρος can have the meaning 'sticky' (i. e., difficult: LSJ s.v. B I), to render the present attestation with "quite difficult to deal with" (Cullhed 2014, 7) is unlikely to be right because the immediate context declares that the *Odyssey* is "sweeter and simpler" (γλυκυτέρα τε καὶ ἀφελεστέρα) than the *Iliad* and characterised by "apparent (or superficial) simplicity" (ἐν ἐπιπολαζούσῃ ἁπλότητι). See also the Italian translation by Pontani, "assai esile" (2000, 10, and the relevant note p. 28).

5 The remaining three are *in Il.* 272.9 (1.416.25 van der Valk, = text 7), *in Od.* 1851.49, *de emendanda vita monachica* 42.14; see Pontani (2000, 28).

6 The verb is unique to Eustathius (*hapax*, *in Il.* 1278.12 = 4.646.23 van der Valk), the adjective ὀλιγόλαλος is attested in a few other Byzantine texts (see *LBG* s.v.).

7 The adjective is a *hapax* (Eust. *in Pind.* 34.1 Kambylis), so is the noun ὀλιγομυθία, attested in Democritus (VS 68 B 274 D-K).

8 The verb is again unique to Eustathius, nominal forms are attested in Appian (*Iber.* 312), Galen (10.538.2 Kühn), Iamblichus (*VP* 3.13, 16.69) and Eustathius himself (*in Il.* 791.10 = 3.21.30 van der Valk; *in Od.* 1648.48; 1789.19).

9 The list does not comprise words that are not unique to Eustathius but poorly attested outside of his works (e.g. ὀλιγόδουλος, ὀλιγοεργής, ὀλιγοκίνδυνος, ὀλιγομήκης, ὀλιγόπους, ὀλιγόπυρος).

10 The same conclusion was reached by Pontani (2000, 28) based on two such compounds, ὀλιγοσχιδής and ὀλιγομήκης (the latter is actually attested in Photius ι 249).

11 ἄκληρος: Eust. *in Od.* 1695.37; Ἄβιοι: *in Il.* 916.16 (= 3.425.26–27 van der Valk).

The other term, γλίσχρος, is well attested from the 5th century BC onwards. It is, however, difficult to come up with parallels for what in Eustathius appears to refer specifically to the scantiness of narrative material. When the adjective is put to use by ancient writers to describe literary art and its products, it tends to criticise the text or author in question for petty or pedantic arguments and not specifically to address the lack of narrative material.[12] Perhaps the best parallel comes from a late antique commentary which contrasts γλίσχρος and ὕλη. The fact that this is a commentary on Hermogenes may well be relevant (see below):

> (3) τὸ μὲν γὰρ γλίσχρον καὶ εὐτελὲς τῆς ἀμφιβολίας εἰκότως τελευταῖον ἂν εἴη, τὸ δὲ πλείονα ἔχειν ὕλην τὸν συλλογισμὸν καὶ τὴν ἀντινομίαν ἀπῄτει αὐτὰ πρῶτα ῥηθῆναι κτλ. (Sopater *in Hermog. status* 5.196.29 Walz).
>
> The scanty (γλίσχρον) and cheap 〈character〉 of the ambiguity would naturally come at the end (sc. of Hermogenes' account). On the other hand, the fact that the syllogism and the conflict of laws contain more material (ὕλην) required them to be mentioned at the beginning etc.

Even though the commentary clearly addresses the question to what extent something is worth talking about, γλίσχρος is not a purely quantitative category here and keeps its negative undertones, as the juxtaposition with εὐτελής demonstrates. Elsewhere, Sopater does describe a speech in defence more neutrally as βραχεῖα and γλίσχρα (5.72.6 Walz).[13] In Eustathius' commentaries, at any rate, γλίσχρος as a literary term is largely free of negative connotations and simply refers to the scantiness of narrative material and the exiguousness of the account.[14]

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12 E. g. Plut. *aud. poet.* 31e, *aud.* 43a, Luc. *Bis acc.* 34. In all three cases, γλίσχρος is combined with a word for 'small', λεπτός in Lucian, μικρός in Plutarch (for the combination see also Dem. *Aristocr.* 208, Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 52, Plut. *Cic.* 3.7, *Galba* 16.2 etc.). Hunter and Russell 2011, 178 (on Plut. *aud. poet.* 31e) rightly see γλίσχρος as being said "of someone given to pedantic problems". The translation should therefore not be "sticky, difficult" (which describes γλίσχρος as a quality mostly of liquids, cf. n. 4) but "petty(-minded), pedantic" (cf. Passow s.v.: "kleinlich").

13 Cf. also Max. Tyr. 21.5: αἰσθάνομαι γάρ τοι ἐμαυτοῦ γλίσχρως τὸ πρᾶγμα διελομένου καὶ δεομένου εἰκόνος ("for I realize I am drawing a subtle distinction here and need to give you an illustration" [Trapp]), where γλίσχρος appears to include quantitative connotations (hence perhaps "slender" instead of "subtle"?).

14 Cf. van der Valk 1976, lxxx; further examples of this usage can be found in text (7), *in Od.* 1914.8 (the subject-matter of the scene in which Odysseus strings the bow is meagre, with the well-known simile of the singer testing his lyre adding grandeur) and *in Dion. Per.* 205.4 Müller (cf. n. 39). When applied to characters, however, γλίσχρος does carry the notion of stinginess (e. g. *in Il.* 806.44–45 = 3.74.1–3 van der Valk, with his note).

The preface to the *Odyssey* (2) uses a third term, ἄσπορος. Not only does this term not occur in the preface to the *Iliad* (1), its meaning in text (2) is striking because there seems to be no parallel for this figurative usage, let alone a parallel for a *text* that is considered ἄσπορος. The adjective itself is attested once more in Eustathius, where, however, the meaning is unquestionably literal, as seems to be the case with all other attestations of the word.[15] It is therefore possible that Eustathius pioneered the figurative meaning, and the question arises what his rationale was and how exactly the word should be understood. In this connection, a possibility should be mentioned that, upon closer examination, turns out to be a red herring. When looking through the TLG matches of ἄσπορος, one is likely to be struck by how frequently it refers to the virgin birth of Mary, a usage that the clergyman Eustathius must have been familiar with.[16] It is, however, difficult to see how this should provide the key to passage (2), where the adjective forms a triad with γλίσχρος and ὀλιγόϋλος. In light of this, it seems more likely that the subject-matter of the *Odyssey* is compared to a barren field, which makes it particularly difficult for the poet to reap enough to compose a suitable poem. Homer, however, rises to the task and manages to write an *Odyssey* that beats the odds in that he cleverly finds the tricks (μηχαναί) that are necessary. According to the preface to the *Iliad* (1), this is indicative of his force (ἰσχύς). As van der Valk notes on that passage, Eustathius agrees with John Tzetzes that, contrary to the view prevalent in ancient scholarhsip, pride of place should actually go to the *Odyssey*.[17]

Homer solves the fundamental problem of the *Odyssey* by inserting material that is foreign to its main story (ἕτερα πολλά).[18] The preface to the *Odyssey* (2) mentions three examples, Telemachus' voyage, and the conversations with the Phaeacians and Eumaeus respectively. As to the first example, Telemachus' trip to Pylos and Sparta, Cullhed (*ad loc.*) compares an Odyssean scholion that goes back to Porphyry:

> (4) καὶ νῦν δὲ λεκτέον ὡς ὑπόθεσιν αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν ἀποδημίαν Τηλεμάχου) πεποίηκεν ὁ ποιητὴς ποικιλίας λόγων καὶ ἐξαλλαγῆς ἰδεῶν, ἵνα μὴ μονότροπος ᾖ τῆς ποιήσεως ὁ τρόπος (sch. Hom. *Od.* 1.284c Porph., ed. Pontani).

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15 The passage is Eust. *in Il.* 1041.61 = 3.796.4 van der Valk, based on sch. AT *Il.* 16.4*a ex.*, and describes a place where nothing grows.

16 E.g. Origenes, *Schol. in Lucam*, *PG* 17.321.20; Gregory of Nyssa (?), *Ad imaginem Dei*, *PG* 44.1336.5; Gregory Nazianzen (?), *Christus patiens* 512.

17 Van der Valk (1971, *ad loc.*): *etiam Tzetzes Odysseam Iliadi anteponit*, cf. Tz. *Exeg. Il.* 27.23–28 Hermann.

18 Readers of Gérard Genette may well be reminded of his term "heterodiegetic" (analepsis) (1972 = 1980: 50).

> Here again (sc. in addition to sch. Hom. *Od.* 1.93b Porph.) one must say that the poet has made it (sc. Telemachus' trip) an excuse for the variety of the account and the alteration of form, lest the mode of his poem be uniform.

The parallel is apt, but the differences must not be overlooked. For Porphyry, the narrative purpose of Telemachus' trip is ποικιλία λόγων and ἐξαλλαγὴ ἰδεῶν, that is, avoidance of uniformity and, by implication, boredom, whereas for Eustathius it is a matter of finding suitable material to expand a slim poem. He says so on at least three more occasions. First, in a note on Athena's speech in *Odyssey* 1.82–95 in which she develops the idea of Telemachus' trip to the assembled gods, Eustathius gives a whole list of its narrative purposes. The list mentions, among other things, the following goals: the trip contributes "to the expansion and elaboration of the poem" (εἰς πλατυσμὸν τῆς τε ποιήσεως καὶ εἰς διασκευήν, *in Od.* 1393.50 = p. 106.14 Cullhed) and "to the providing of much narrative material" (εἰς πορισμὸν συχνῆς ἱστορίας, *in Od.* 1393.51 = p. 106.15 C.). Second, he notes that Athena's miraculous exit in book 3 must not take place in a desert place, but among men that are noteworthy, who "will give the poet material that is worth talking about" (ὕλην ἀξίαν λόγου τῷ ποιητῇ δώσουσι, *in Od.* 1471.49). Third, his commentary on book 4 argues that "Telemachus' trip to Sparta is a supply of stories" (ἱστοριῶν χορηγία τῷ ποιητῇ γέγονεν ὁ τοῦ Τηλεμάχου εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην πλοῦς, *in Od.* 1483.14). A few lines later, Eustathius does count the trip among the many ποικίλματα that "the Homeric Muse wove into the poem's garment" (πολλὰ ποικίλματα ἡ Ὁμηρικὴ Μοῦσα τῷ τῆς ποιήσεως ταύτης πέπλῳ ἐνέπασ⟨σ⟩εν, *in Od.* 1483.17–18). So, I do not mean to argue that he completely differs from Porphyry in text (4). The point is that, by addressing the supply of suitable narrative material, he adds a dimension that is not present in Porphyry's discussion.[19]

For the topic of this paper, the crucial terms in these notes are πλατυσμός, χορηγία, πορισμός and ὕλη. Two of them are already known from the two prefaces (texts 1 and 2): the adjective ὀλιγόϋλος obviously presupposes the word ὕλη, which is then expressly mentioned in the second part of text (1). And the preface to the *Odyssey* (2) speaks of the πλατυσμός. The two terms are again combined in Eustathius' description of what a proem is supposed to achieve:

> (5) ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι εἰπὼν "μυρία Ἀχαιοῖς ἔθηκεν ἄλγεα" (≈ *Il.* 1.2) καὶ "πολλὰς ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προίαψεν" (*Il.* 1.3) ἐνέφηνε τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς, ὡς ἐν προεκθέσεως λόγῳ, ὡς

19 Note also that the very next sentence after text (2) speaks about "broadening the narrow path" (τὴν στενὴν ἀτραπὸν … εὐρύναι, *in Od.* 1379.46, p. 6.19 Cullhed), which forms the obvious counterpart to ἐν στενῷ at the end of text (2) (Pontani 2000, 29).

> ἔσται αὐτῷ ὕλη τοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως πλατυσμοῦ τὰ μυρία ἄλγεα καὶ ὁ τῶν πολλῶν θάνατος, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ “μάλα πολλὰ πλάγχθη” (*Od.* 1.1–2) καὶ “πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα” (≈ *Od.* 1.3) τὸν τρόπον προεκτίθεται δι’ οὗ τὴν ποίησιν πλατυνεῖ· ἡ γὰρ πολύπλανος τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως περίοδος πλάτος τῇ ποιήσει ἐνδαψιλεύσεται (Eust. *in Od.* 1382.20–23 = p. 24.13–18 Cullhed).
>
> N.b. just as in the *Iliad*, by saying ‘put pains thousandfold upon the Achaians’ and ‘hurled in their multitudes to the house of Hades strong souls of heroes’, he (i.e., Homer) showed his audience, in accordance to the principle of an exhibition in advance (προέκθεσις), that the countless pains and the death of many will be for him the material to expand his poem, here (sc. in the *Odyssey*) too he equally exhibits in advance by means of ‘was driven far journeys’ and ‘many were they whose cities he saw’ how he will expand his poem. For the many wanderings of Odysseus’ journey will provide the poem with abundant material to expand on.

The opening lines of both epics have the function of what in rhetorical terminology is called a προέκθεσις: they briefly set out in advance what the subsequent narrative is going to be about.[20] These points are thus the material (ὕλη) that will undergo an expansion (πλατυσμός) by the poet.[21] Needless to say, the points raised by the proem and then expanded in the subsequent narrative refer to the core of the text in question.[22] Conceptually and terminologically, Eustathius’ description clearly depends on ancient rhetorical handbooks. A good candidate is Hermogenes, whose influence on Eustathius is well documented.[23] There is, however, a small but important difference. Hermogenes’ own writings have a great deal to say on the topic of expansion, but they do so by means of the verb πλατύνω, whereas the noun πλατυσμός is not attested in his oeuvre.[24]

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20 On προέκθεσις in ancient literary criticism see Nünlist 2009, 35.

21 The commentary on the opening lines of the *Iliad* is very similar, the main difference being that instead of προέκθεσις Eustathius uses the comparable term προοικονομία: ταῦτα (sc. *Il.* 1.2–3) δὲ προοικονομίαι εἰσὶ τοῦ πλατυσμοῦ τῆς Ἰλιάδος· τὰ γὰρ μυρία ἄλγεα καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ θάνατοι πολλὴν πάντως γραφῆς ὕλην δώσουσι τῷ ποιητῇ (Eust. *in Il.* 16.7–8 = 1.26.10–12 van der Valk: “These lines [sc. *Il.* 1.2–3] prepare in advance the *Iliad*’s expansion. For the countless pains and the numerous deaths will give the poet abundant material to write on”). Instances of προέκθεσις or προοικονομία can of course occur later in the poem: *in Od.* 1393.20, 1394.11, 1410.1, etc.

22 *Pace* Pontani, who argues that Eustathius uses the term πλατυσμός “per indicare l’amplificazione … ottenuta per lo più attraverso digressioni o aggiunte estranee alla linea principale della narrazione” (2000, 29). He seems to follow van der Valk (1976: xxxiv with n. 3), whose emphasis on the πλατυσμός’ recreative effect on the reader is equally onesided.

23 See van der Valk (1971, 1976: *passim*; cf. Keizer 1995: Index IV s.v.).

24 For the verb πλατύνω in Hermogenes see e.g. *progymn.* 3 (p. 7.16–17 Rabe), *inv.* 2.1 (p. 109.2 R.), 2.4 (p. 115.3 R.), 2.7 (p. 119.23, 120.3, 121.3 R.). Several passages are dealing with the expansion of the narrative.

The noun does occur, however, in late antique commentaries on Hermogenes.[25] So it seems likely that Eustathius again draws on these commentaries, just as has been suggested for passage (3).

Both the noun πλατυσμός and the verb πλατύνω recur in the remainder of Eustathius' commentaries. For example, in a note on *Odyssey* 15 (*in Od.* 1785.48 ff.), he argues that, after describing Telemachus' departure from Pylos, Homer could have continued immediately with the arrival on the shore of Ithaca, that is, skip *Od.* 15.301–495. But Homer did not want to proceed in this way because, among other things, by means of the scenes with Eumaeus he provides himself with the expansion of the narrative (πορίζεται … πλατυσμὸν διηγήσεως, *in Od.* 1785.51). Needless to say, this is the third example that is already mentioned in text (2). And the verb πορίζεται is of course cognate with πορισμός.

This leaves us with χορηγία, for which there are immediate parallels in Eustathius.[26] For instance, a note on *Odyssey* 11 argues that Homer has Odysseus descend to the Underworld with a view to a greater supply of material to write on (πρὸς χορηγίαν γραφῆς πλείονα, *in Od.* 1666.14). This note also demonstrates that the remark "and so on" (καὶ τὰ ἄλλα) in text (2) must be taken at face value. There are more examples of Odyssean expansion than the three mentioned there. Another parallel for χορηγία comes from the commentary on the Iliadic scene with Helen and Priam on the walls of Troy, the so-called τειχοσκοπία in book 3. It is said to be a "well-timed supply of stories" (εἰς ἱστοριῶν χορηγίαν εὔκαιρον, *in Il.* 391.30 = 1.617.2 van der Valk) for Homer, no doubt because Helen and Antenor report many things about major Greek heroes. Three pages later, Eustathius comes back to the same issue:

> (6) οἰκονομεῖ δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς ἐνταῦθα τὴν αὐτῆς (sc. Ἑλένης) εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἔξοδον πολλὰ ἱστορήσων, ὡς εἴρηται, δι' αὐτῆς, τὰ μὲν Εὐρωπαῖα, τὰ δὲ ἐξ Ἀσίας, ὡς φανήσεται. ὃ μιμησάμενος Εὐριπίδης ποιεῖ ἄλλως ἐν Φοινίσσαις τὸν παρ' αὐτῷ πλαττόμενον πρεσβύτην διδάσκοντα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους πολλὰ τῶν ἔξω τὴν βασιλικὴν νεάνιδα (Eust. *in Il.* 394.10–13 = 1.620.7–11 van der Valk).

25 τί δέ ἐστι, φησί (sc. Ἑρμογένης), διήγησις; οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πλατυσμὸς τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὑποθέσεως· πῶς δὲ πλατύνεται, ἐγώ, φησὶν Ἑρμογένης, διδάξω. ἐκθήσομαι γὰρ τοὺς τρόπους σαφῶς, δι' ὧν πλατυνεῖς τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρᾶγμα κτλ. (Anon. *in Hermog. inv.* 7.722.26 Walz: "What is narrative (i.e., the narrative section of a speech)?, Hermogenes asks. Nothing else but the expansion of the underlying subject-matter. How to expand, I shall instruct you, says Hermogenes. I shall clearly put forth the means by which you will expand the underlying subject etc.").
26 Before Eustathius see e.g. [Dion. Hal.] *rhet.* 11.3 (p. 377.11 U.-R.), Max. Tyr. 1.7 (= line 223 Trapp).

At this point the poet inserts into his plot her (sc. Helen's) walk to the wall in order to report many things by means of it – as mentioned before –, some European, some Asiatic, as will become clear in due course. Euripides imitated this and, in particular in his *Phoenician Women*, has the old man, his own invention, tell the princess (i.e., Antigone) from the wall the many things that are happening outside (sc. of Thebes).

This note triggers two additional points. First, Eustathius argues that the narrative strategy of the τειχοσκοπία was a model for Euripides, who imitated it, especially in his *Phoenician Women*. This is an obvious reference to the scene in which Antigone and the Servant are standing on the walls of Thebes with the latter describing the leaders of the attacking army (103–201). Eustathius' note is commenting on an Iliadic passage and discusses Euripides. Clearly, the potential problem of insufficient narrative material is not restricted to the *Odyssey* specifically. Second, the note does not contain any of the characteristic terms that have been discussed so far. The fact that the concept 'supply of narrative material' is nevertheless at stake here is made clear by means of the cross-reference to the former passage (ὡς εἴρηται) and the circumlocution "in order to report many things" (πολλὰ ἱστορήσων). But the note itself addresses the issue without actually using any of the key terms. The same holds true, incidentally, for the commentary on the Nekyia. There too we find another note (in addition to the one mentioned above: 1666.14) that deals with the supply problem without using any of the key terms.[27] Findings like these are a healthy reminder that relevant material may go unnoticed if one focuses too narrowly on TLG searches alone.

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Eustathius does not restrict the supply problem to the *Odyssey*. In fact, one particular passage in the *Iliad* triggers a note that is not so very different from the two prefaces quoted at the beginning of this paper (texts 1 and 2). The passage in question is none other than the Catalogue of ships in *Iliad* 2, which ancient scholars dubbed Βοιωτία. The relevant note reads as follows:

(7) ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι, ἐπεὶ ὕπτιον τὸ τῆς Ὁμηρικῆς Βοιωτίας βιβλίον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ γλίσχρον, οὗ μόνος οὗτος σκοπὸς "ἀρχοὺς νηῶν ἐρεῖν νῆάς τε προπάσας" (≈ *Il.* 2.493), παρεμπλέκει καὶ μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ ἕτερα ὁ ποιητής· δι' ὧν καὶ τὸ μονοειδὲς ἐξαιρεῖ τῆς ἀφηγηματικῆς πραγματείας καὶ πλατύνει τὸ ὀλιγόϋλον καὶ τὴν ὑπτιότητα τοῦ λόγου μεταποιεῖ πρὸς γοργότητα (Eust. *in Il.* 272.5–9 = 1.416.21–25 van der Valk).

N.b. since the book of the Homeric Boeotia (i.e., the Catalogue of ships), whose goal is merely 'to tell the lords of the ships and the ships numbers', is supine and, in addition, also meagre, the poet inserts myths and stories and eulogies and other things. In so

27 *in Od.* 1665.24: Odysseus' descent μέθοδός ἐστι τῶν ἐφεξῆς δηλωθησομένων μύθων τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν ("is a means of producing the subsequent myths and stories").

> doing, he also eliminates the uniformity of the purely narrative account, he expands the shortage in material and he transforms the supineness into vigour.

The – as it were – quantitative aspect of the note will require little comment, since the terms γλίσχρος, παρεμπλέκω, πλατύνω and ὀλιγόϋλος will be familiar by now. Like the *Odyssey*, the Catalogue of ships suffers from a certain dearth of narrative material that needs to be supplemented by "other things" (ἕτερα). At the same time, there is also a qualitative side to the note, in that the Catalogue is said to be at risk of being uniform and therefore monotonous and boring, not least because it is purely narrative (ἀφηγηματικός), that is, contains no speeches which would add a dramatic element.[28] The insertions not only expand the narrative material, they also eliminate the risk of monotony and boredom. The relevant term here is ὑπτιότης, which, together with γοργότης, already forms a pair of opposing terms in Hermogenes (*id.* 2.1, p. 312.7–8 Rabe). Eustathius adopts them and is inclined to see ὑπτιότης as characteristic of the narrator-text, as opposed to speech. He returns to the problem on several occasions (van der Valk 1976, xxxiii with nn. 8–9).

Eustathius' commentary on the Catalogue (7) combines two aspects: avoidance of monotony and supply of narrative material. A similar combination recurs in a note on Dione's speech of consolation from *Iliad* 5. Her daughter Aphrodite has been wounded by a mortal, Diomedes, and Dione tries to console her by listing other gods who suffered a similar plight: Ares by the Aloeadae, Hera and Hades each by Heracles (*Il.* 5.385–404). Another good example, Eustathius suggests, would have been Dionysus, who was chased by Lycurgus, a story that Diomedes will mention later in his famous encounter with Glaucus (*Il.* 6.130–140). Eustathius recognises that the parallel is not exact because, unlike the other three victims, Dionysus is not wounded:

> (8) διὸ καὶ διαστήσας ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ τοιοῦτον παράδειγμα ἐπάγει αὐτὸ ὕστερον, ἅμα καὶ γραφῆς εὐπορίαν ἑαυτῷ οὕτω τεχνώμενος καὶ διαφόροις ἐπίτηδες μερίζων τόποις τὰ ὅμοια νοήματα (Eust. *in Il.* 559.42–45 = 2.96.14–17 van der Valk).
>
> The poet therefore sets apart the paradigm (sc. of Lycurgus) and transfers it to a later point, and at the same time he provides himself with a good supply of things to write on and purposely distributes similar thoughts over various places.

By postponing the story to that later occasion, Homer achieves two things: he provides himself with a supply of narrative material (γραφῆς εὐπορία) and he

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28 On ἀφηγηματικός/διηγηματικός in ancient scholarship see Nünlist 2009, ch. 3 (with lit.).

distributes similar ideas over multiple passages, thereby avoiding uniformity.[29] The scholia already give expression to the idea that poets sometimes 'keep things in store' for later.[30] Eustathius may well have taken his cue from such notes, but he expressly brings out the point that such a postponement provides the poet with a supply of narrative material. In other words, poets not only need to make sure that they do not run out of suitable material, they also need to consider how to make the best use of it.[31]

But what if there is really nothing to say on a particular topic? To be sure, Eustathius does not put the question in these terms. There is, however, at least one note that is best read against this backdrop. It is triggered by the last of the twenty-nine Greek contingents that are mentioned in the Catalogue of ships:

> (9) Μαγνήτων δ' ἦρχε Πρόθοος Τενθρηδόνος υἱός,
> οἳ περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον
> ναίεσκον· τῶν μὲν Πρόθοος θοὸς ἡγεμόνευε,
> τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἕποντο (*Il.* 2.756–759).
>
> Prothoös son of Tenthredon was leader of the Magnesians, those who dwelt about Peneios and leaf-trembling Pelion. Of these Prothoös the swift-footed was leader. Following along with him were forty black ships (Lattimore).

The mere four lines make this one of the shortest entries of the Catalogue, a part of the poem that Eustathius generally felt to be a particular challenge (text 7). This entry contains virtually nothing beyond the three elements that are mandatory and address the following questions: (i) The name of the people and their leader, (ii) their territory, (iii) the size of their fleet. The only point that sticks out here is a curious repetition. Line 758 repeats the name of the leader and produces something of a jingle together with the subsequent epithet: Πρόθοος θοός. Eustathius recognises the rhetorical figure ἐπαναστροφή and justifies its presence in the following way:

29 The point about the distribution has an obvious similarity to those notes in which Eustathius adopts the Aristarchean notion that the telling of a story can be distributed over multiple places; cf. van der Valk 1976, xxxvi with n. 8. For Aristarchus' view see Nünlist 2009, 171 with n. 6.
30 The Greek term is ταμιεύομαι; cf. text (11) and Nünlist 2009, 49–51.
31 In a way, this is the governing principle that implicitly underlies the numerous notes on οἰκονομία from Hellenistic times onwards. On οἰκονομία in ancient literary criticism see Nünlist 2009, chapter 1 (with lit.).

(10) ἐπετηδεύσατο δὲ τὸ ῥηθέν, ὡς ἄν, ἐπεὶ μηδέν τι ἔχει περὶ Προθόου εἰπεῖν ἐφελκυστικὸν ἀκοῆς, γαργαλίσῃ αὐτὴν ἄλλως περικαλλεῖ σχήματι ἐπαναστροφῆς κτλ. (Eust. *in Il.* 337.39–40 = 1.527.32–528.2 van der Valk).

He (i.e., Homer) deliberately set out the account in this way, so that, since he has nothing to say on Prothous that would attract the ear (sc. of the audience), he tickles it in a different way by means of the very beautiful figure *epanastrophê* etc.

The gap created by the lack of narrative material that might attract an audience is filled by a nice rhetorical figure. Put more bluntly, literary rhetoric camouflages the dearth of narrative material.

Is the preceding argument enough to answer the question raised by the title in the affirmative, namely that Eustathius himself was indeed afraid of the blank page? Probably not. But one should not deny either that it is a concern of his that recurs both with noticeable frequency and in programmatically important sections of his work. In this connection it is worth reminding ourselves that the purpose set out in the preface to the *Iliad* ought to be taken seriously. There he explains that an important goal of the commentary is to give general instructions to would-be orators (or prose writers) and to provide them with practical examples that can be copied, imitated, adapted, etc.[32] Read against this backdrop, it is at least remarkable that Eustathius repeatedly addresses the question of how Homer copes with the potential problem of insufficient narrative material. If the greatest poet of all times was facing this problem, the target audience of the commentaries better take it seriously too. Even though Eustathius does not seem to make this point explicitly, it is impossible to miss the implication.

The frequency and prominence of Eustathius' notes on the subject of insufficient narrative material also raises the question about possible models or precursors. Irrespective of the specific question, Homer's omnipresence in ancient writings always makes it difficult to produce a comprehensive collection of relevant passages or the like. This said, one witness has so far been identified that points in a similar direction as Eustathius' notes on the *Odyssey*'s narrative shortage.[33] A T-scholion on the *Iliad*'s final line reads as follows:

(11) Μενεκράτης φησὶν αἰσθόμενον ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθενείας τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίως δύνασθαι φράζειν σιωπῆσαι τὰ μεθ' Ἕκτορα. καλῶς δὲ ἐταμιεύσατο τὰ λοιπὰ ἑαυτῷ τῶν διηγη-

32 Eust. *in Il.* 2.22–35 (= 1.3.7–22 van der Valk), with van der Valk 1971, xcii–c; Id. 1976, li–lxx; Nünlist 2012.

33 The relevant scholion (text 11) spearheads a list of passages in Bühler 1964, 46–47, but their common denominator is that the *Odyssey* 'fills the gaps' left by the *Iliad*. Text (11) is the only one that expressly refers to the *Odyssey*' shortage in narrative material. Bühler's example nr. 8 (= sch. *Od.* 4.69b Pontani) comes close.

> μάτων (Polak, ζητημάτων cod.) εἰς τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν· μικρὰ γὰρ ἦν ἡ ὑπόθεσις περὶ τῆς οἰκίας Ὀδυσσέως μόνον· τὰ γὰρ λείψανα ἐκεῖ ἃ μὲν Ὀδυσσεύς (*Od.* 9.39–12.453), ἃ δὲ Νέστωρ (*Od.* 3.98–312) καὶ Μενέλαος (*Od.* 4.342–568), ἃ δὲ Δημόδοκος κιθαρίζων (*Od.* 8.73–82, 8.499–520) φασίν. (sch. T *Il.* 24.804a ex.).
>
> Menecrates says that the poet, feeling his own weakness and his inability to give a comparable account, passed the events after Hector (i.e., after his funeral) over in silence. On the contrary, he nicely kept in store for himself the remainder of the stories for the *Odyssey*. For a story dealing with the events in Odysseus' house alone would have been small. The things left out there (sc. in the *Iliad*) are the subject of the narrations by Odysseus, Nestor, Menelaos and Demodocus, accompanied by the lyre.

Heath is no doubt right when he argues that the second part of the scholion (starting with καλῶς δὲ ἐταμιεύσατο) undermines Menecrates' view. Whereas Menecrates apparently expected the *Iliad* to continue and felt its premature end to be in need of an explanation, the second part actually "gives good literary reasons for ending the *Iliad* with the burial of Hector".[34] In fact, it looks as if that part actually intends to refute Menecrates' view and replace it by an alternative explanation.[35] At any rate, the second part of the note gives expression to the view that the events around Odysseus' house (that is, the events on Ithaca) would have been too small a subject-matter for a full epic poem. In the *Iliad* Homer therefore left out a number of things – chronologically they fall into the gap between the primary stories of the two epics – and saw to it that several Odyssean characters reported them in the first half of the poem. Given his deep familiarity with Homeric scholia, it is conceivable that Eustathius took his cue from this note. In so doing, he transformed a short *aperçu* into a fairly extensive discussion of how to cope with the problem of insufficient material.[36]

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34 Heath 1998, 205. He therefore concludes that the question of Menecrates' identity is better left open (206). The point about Homer's weakness recurs in Pseudo-Longinus *subl.* 9.11–15, as does the idea of the material 'left over' (λείψανα); see Hefermehl 1906, who formed the long-time *communis opinio* (challenged by Heath) that the entire T-scholion reports the view of Menecrates of Nysa, a pupil of Aristarchus, whom he identified as the source of Pseudo-Longinus in the passage mentioned above (accepted, e.g., by Russell 1964, 95–96; Bühler 1964, 44).
35 The notion of a poet who feels unable to give an equally strong account is incompatible with that of a poet who deliberately postpones it to another poem; similarly Heath 1998, 205.
36 The notion that the *Odyssey* complements the *Iliad* by means of actorial analepses occurs towards the end of Eustathius' introduction to the *Odyssey* (1380.6–10 = p. 10.6–13 Cullhed, with Pontani 2000, 40), but no reference is made there to the *Odyssey*'s lack of narrative material (cf. n. 33). The culinary metaphor – the things left out by the *Iliad* make for a 'savoury dish' (καρύκευμα) in the *Odyssey* – may be owed to Aeschylus' well-known statement that his tragedies were "slices of Homer's great meals" (τεμάχη ... τῶν Ὁμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων:

In this connection, another aspect of the question is worth addressing. The preceding argument might give rise to the expectation that, to Eustathius' mind, the poet of the *Odyssey* is wont to expand his material whenever he can. This, however, is not the case. More than once Eustathius argues that Homer could have amplified the poem in the relevant passage but decided against it. A good example refers to the end of Odysseus' report about his descent to the Underworld. In these lines (*Od.* 11.630–635) he says that he might have seen older heroes such as Peirithous and Theseus, but the sight of masses of dead men caused him to flee to the Upperworld. Eustathius comments:

> (12) ὅτι ἐμφαίνων ὁ ποιητὴς πολλὰ μὲν ἔτι ἔχειν διηγήσασθαι περὶ παλαιῶν ἡρώων, οἷον καὶ τὰ κατὰ Θησέα καὶ Πειρίθοον, περιττὸν δὲ κρίνειν ἐμβραδύνειν τοῖς κάτω, ὃς καὶ Πατρόκλου καὶ Ἀντιλόχου πρὸ βραχέων μνησθεὶς (cf. *Od.* 11.468) οὐδὲν ἱστόρησε περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐπιπολὺ παρατείνῃ τὸ ἐπεισόδιον, φησὶ κτλ. (Eust. *in Od.* 1704.15–17).
>
> N.b. while the poet implies that, on the one hand, he would have more to narrate about old heroes, such as the stories around Theseus and Peirithous, but, on the other, considers it superfluous to linger with the people in the Underworld, – just as he mentioned Patroclus and Antilochus shortly before, but said nothing about them, lest he excessively stretch the episode (i. e., the Nekyia) – he says: (followed by a quotation of the relevant lines, *Od.* 11.630–633).

We have seen before that Eustathius considers the Nekyia an expansion of the *Odyssey*'s narrative material. There is, however, a limit to such expansions, as Homer himself seems to acknowledge when he (or rather, Odysseus) briefly mentions Theseus and Peirithous without actually telling their story. Similar points are made elsewhere.[37] Of these, the following is particularly worth singling out because it establishes a remarkable connection. The note in question comes from the commentary on *Odyssey* 8. The blind singer Demodocus has been asked by the disguised Odysseus to sing, as it were, a 'Sack of Troy' (*Od.* 8.492–495). As is well known, the Homeric text gives no more than a comparatively short summary of this song (8.500–520) and does not actually quote it. Eustathius explains:

Athen. 8.347e = *test.* 112a Radt), quoted by Eustathius himself (*in Il.* 1298.56 = 4.721.15–16 van der Valk = *test.* 112b Radt).

37 E. g. *in Od.* 1689.15–16: the παράλειψις in *Od.* 11.328 hints at the fact that there would be more to say; *in Od.* 1779.22: Homer does not report what happened in Sparta after Telemachus' departure, even though he could have expanded his poem (πλατύνειν ... τὴν ποίησιν).

(13) ἐνέφῃνε γοῦν ὁ ποιητὴς ἔχειν ἐκ τούτων ὕλην πολλὴν ποιήσεως, δι’ ἧς καὶ ὅλον ἂν ἀπαρτισθείη βιβλίον, ὁποῖα ἐπραγματεύσαντο οἱ τὴν Τρωϊκὴν ἅλωσιν γράψαι πραγματευσάμενοι, ὧν καὶ ὁ Τρυφιόδωρος (Eust. *in Od.* 1607.58–60).

The poet at any rate indicated that these (sc. the summary sentences such as *Od.* 8.514 and 516) would give him enough poetic material to complete even a whole book, in the way that authors of ‘The Sack of Troy’ have done, among them Tryphiodorus.

So far, the note resembles the one on the end of the Nekyia (12): by summarising Demodocus’ song, Homer lets it transpire that there would be much more to say. The truly remarkable part can be found in the preceding sentence:

(14) σημείωσαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὸ συνοπτικὸν τῆς γραφῆς εἶδος καὶ τὸ ὡς εἰπεῖν παρεκβολικὸν πρῶτος Ὅμηρος ἐνταῦθα ὑπέδειξε. Δημόδοκος μὲν γὰρ πλατεῖαν ἐκθέσθαι δοκεῖ ἀοιδήν, Ὅμηρος δέ, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ παρεκβολῆς, τὴν μακρὰν ῥῆσιν εἰς βραχυτέραν συνελεῖν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ (followed by the quotation of *Od.* 8.514 and 516) (Eust. *in Od.* 1607.48–53).

Note too that Homer was here the first to introduce the synoptic type of writing and the so-to-speak ‘parekbolic’ (sc. type of writing). For Demodocus, on the one hand, seems to have produced an expanded song, Homer, on the other, comparable to the style of a *parekbolê*, 〈seems〉 to cut the long speech to become shorter, as is clear from (quotation of *Od.* 8.514 and 516).

This is one of Eustathius’ more convoluted notes, but the gist is clear. Homer is the πρῶτος εὑρετής of the summarising synopsis (τὸ συνοπτικὸν τῆς γραφῆς εἶδος), which is also what the author of a παρεκβολή does. The term παρεκβολή (or παρεκβολαί), in turn, is of course the label that Eustathius attached to his own work, a label that is so difficult to translate.[38] The summary of Demodocus’ long song shows that it would have contained enough material substantially to expand the poem or even to write a separate one. The same summarising activity makes Homer a remote ancestor, nay the inventor, of what Eustathius himself claims to do in his works. At the end of this little tour, there is the remarkable discovery that when Homer decides against the expansion of narrative material and is content with a succinct summary of Demodocus’ song he as it were ‘invents’ what a commentator like Eustathius does. This said, one cannot help noticing that Eustathius’ own παρεκβολαί are in fact considerably longer than the Homeric epics (cf. n. 1). How is this size compatible with the notion of an ‘ex-

38 In his analysis of the term, Cullhed 2014, 24*–6* emphatically argues against rendering it with ‘commentary’. While it is true that no modern term easily lends itself to catching both aspects, excerpt and commentary (Kambylis 1991, 14–15), it is not really satisfactory simply to leave παρεκβολή untranslated. Besides, there is also the problem mentioned at the end of the paragraph.

cerpt' or 'summary'? A partial answer can perhaps be found in the introductory letter to the commentary on Dionysius Periegetes. There Eustathius explains why he considers it necessary to supply material in addition to what the geographer himself provides, which in itself would not be enough.[39] The question remains, however, whether it is appropriate to extend this assessment to Homer. It seems unlikely that Eustathius felt the Homeric epics were equally in need of expansion as Dionysius' treatise.[40] In any case, the passage from the introductory letter to that treatise further aggravates the problem of how to render παρεκβολή in a modern language. But these questions are ὕλη for another paper.

The main point of the present paper has been to demonstrate that Eustathius regularly and prominently addresses the potential problem of insufficient narrative material and how it can be overcome. Not the least important reason for doing so is his goal to instruct would-be orators and prose writers, whom he identifies as his target audience in the preface to his commentary on the *Iliad*. They can learn from the greatest pagan author of all times how to proceed in case they are afraid of the blank page.

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39 Eust. *in Dion. Per.* 204.34 ff Müller, esp. εἴ που δέ τι καὶ προσεπιτεθεῖσθαι χρή, ἐπιτιθέντες καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ οὕτω τὸ λεπτὸν τῆς ἱστορίας ὡς οἷον εἰπεῖν συμμέτρως παχύνοντες καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ὑποκείμενον ἠρέμα μεγεθύνοντες (p. 205.12–16: "… and if something needed to be added, doing so and thus so to speak fittingly fattening the slim story and tacitly increasing the small subject-matter"). A few lines before (205.4) Eustathius uses the term γλίσχρος to describe the same problem.

40 The commentary on the *Odyssey*, for instance, is meant for those who do not have time to engage "more leisurely with the poem's breadth" (τῷ τῆς ποιήσεως πλάτει σχολαίτερον, *in Od.* 1380.13 = p. 10.16–17 Cullhed). While this sentence acknowledges the *Odyssey*'s size, it still faces the paradox that the commentary is 6.4 times longer than the epic. The commentary on the *Iliad* is characterised by a similar paradox (Kambylis 1991, 17, 18).

Kambylis, A. (1991), *Eustathios über Pindars Epinikiendichtung. Ein Kapitel der klassischen Philologie in Byzanz*. Hamburg.
Keizer, H.M. (1995), *Indices in Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarios ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*. Leiden.
Mazzucchi, C.M. (1992) *Dionisio Longino. Del Sublime*. Milan.
Nünlist, R. (2009), *The Ancient Critic at Work. Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*. Cambridge.
Nünlist, R. (2012), "Homer as a blueprint for speechwriters: Eustathius' commentaries and Rhetoric", in: *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 52, 493–509.
Pontani, F. (2000), "Il proemio al *commento all'Odissea* di Eustazio di Tessalonica", in: *Bollettino dei Classici* s. III, 21, 5–58.
Russell, D.A. (1964), *'Longinus'. On the Sublime*. Oxford.
van der Valk, M. (1971, 1976), *Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes ad fidem codicis Laurentiani editi*. Vols. 1–2. Leiden.

Paolo Cesaretti

In my end is my beginning: Eustathios' Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν ἰαμβικὸν κανόνα τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς. At the origins of Byzantine philology

There is a special flavour in presenting for the first time here, in Thessaloniki, during an international conference on Eustathios, the critical edition of an Eustathian text. Not only because Thessaloniki has been the seat of Eustathios as an archbishop, but especially because the text I am dealing with was at all evidence composed by Eustathios *here*[1]. Last, but not least, because the editor of the text – in cooperation with Silvia Ronchey – is myself. So this conference, apart from the general merit of being the first international meeting of Eustathian studies after the one which took place here in Thessaloniki in 1988 (on that occasion, Eustathios was proclaimed a saint[2]), also boasts the very specific merit – at least to my eyes – of allowing Silvia Ronchey and myself to present almost 'just in time' the critical edition of Eustathios' *Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν ἰαμβικὸν κανόνα τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς*[3] which the publisher printed and bound at end 2014.

Our two presentations are therefore devoted to the text usually known as *Exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem*, whose *editio princeps* by Angelo Mai appeared in 1841 in his *Spicilegium Romanum*, volume V 2. It was later reprinted in vol. 136 of *Patrologia Graeca* (1865), supplemented with a Latin translation[4]. Our critical edition of the text is now available in volume 10 of the series "Supplementa Byzantina", supervised by Athanasios Kambylis, *emeritus* at Hamburg University. He deserves to be mentioned here not only for his studies about Eustathios (first of all his edition and studies of Eustathios' *Prooemium to Pindar*[5]) but also for his relentless support to an editorial *Eustathios-Renaissance:* he has been involved not only in our edition but also in the recent critical editions of

1 Cesaretti 2014, 28*, 69*–72* (especially 71*), 145*–147*, 154*–156*.

2 Kontakis 1989.

3 Cesaretti – Ronchey 2014.

4 *Domini Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Commentarius in Hymnum Pentecostalem S. Iohannis Damasceni*, in Mai 1841, 161–383 (= *PG* 136, 1865, coll. 504–754). See Ronchey 2014, 290*–298*.

5 Kambylis 1991a, 1991b.

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Eustathian texts edited by Peter Wirth[6], Sonja Schönauer[7], Karin Metzler[8], Foteine Kolovou[9].

In my end is my beginning is the final line of *East Coker* by Thomas Stearns Eliot (1888–1965), the second (1940) in his *Four Quartets* (published 1944)[10]. I have chosen these words as a motto for my presentation, *inter alia*, because I need to start from an *end*. In fact, I wish to underline that our *Exegesis* can and perhaps must be considered Eustathios' swan-song, since it certainly is the last exegetical text Eustathios wrote during his lifetime and possibly is his last work in all respects[11].

Our *Exegesis* in its *prooemium* refers to the sack of Thessaloniki in 1185[12], which is a *terminus ante quem non* for the text. Now, the account of Thessaloniki's sack by the Normans of Sicily had kept Eustathios engaged for some time in writing his *De capta Thessalonica*[13]. Furthermore, the text of our *Exegesis* refers to the fact that Eustathios was writing on a glorious summer day – and this day might hardly refer to any summer before 1186[14]. In a further passage, Eustathios writes an eulogy of Venice and especially of its polity[15], and it is implausible that Eustathios, the author of many orations of political scope, an intellectual who was well aware of the cultural and political milieu around him[16], might have written these words in an unsafe political context. After the ill-fated events of 1171 under Manuel 1st Komnenos, a chrysobull by Isaac 2nd in 1187[17] is the first evidence of the resumption of regular diplomatic relationships between Byzantium and Venice[18].

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6 Wirth 2000.
7 Schönauer 2006.
8 Metzler 2006a, 2006b.
9 Kolovou 2006.
10 This line alludes to the first line of the poem, *In my beginning is my end*, in a sort of *Ringkomposition bouleversée*. These words reuse as well the ancient motto *En ma fin est mon commencement* – a favourite with Mary Stuart (1542–1587). I have always found interesting that Eliot, praiser of Tudor England and Queen Elizabeth 1st (see Cooper 1995, 9–10, *al.*), did such homage to Mary, whose fate at the time of Elizabeth does not need comment.
11 See Cesaretti 2014, 69*–72*, especially 71*–72*; Ronchey 2014, 220* and n. 179, 262*–263*.
12 Eust. *Exeg. Prooem*. 191–193. See Cesaretti 2014, 70*.
13 See again Cesaretti 2014, 70* and n. 377.
14 Eust. *Exeg*. 89, 13–14.
15 Eust. *Exeg*. 210, 13–20. See Cesaretti 1988; Cesaretti 2014, 163*–164*.
16 See Stone 2001, 2003; Cesaretti 2014, 10*–12*.
17 Dölger – Wirth 1995, 292–294 (nos. 1577–1578).
18 For a late oration of Eustathios about the international situation at the time of Emperor Isaac 2nd see Cesaretti 2014, 28* and n. 152.

Moreover, our *Exegesis* presents a crop of information about personal names in Pisa[19], and this further element might be evaluated in the light of Eustathios' awareness of the international situation. Therefore, the composition date could be moved after February 1192, date of chrysobull with privileges for Pisa[20]. To this general picture offered by the text itself new elements have been added by the study of the manuscript tradition of the text, on which Ronchey's Introduction to our critical edition has shed light[21]. Especially important for our purposes is a manuscript which was preserved at the Escorial (Scorialensis Λ.II.11 = Σ in our critical edition) and went lost, burnt in the 1671 fire. Before that date some registers and inventories were made, by scholars like Nicolaus Turrianus (last quarter of 16th century), David Colvill (between 1617 and 1627) and others. From these inventories we get evidence *inter alia* of the following:

1) the lost manuscript was entirely dedicated to late works by Eustathios;
2) our *Exegesis* was in their number;
3) in the series of Eustathian works carried by the manuscript, our *Exegesis* was mentioned in the last position.

On a closer examination, it turns out that the works preserved in the manuscript on the basis of the above mentioned registers *could* have been arranged according to a chronological order. If a chronological order was kept in the manuscript and our text was the last one, the inference that our *Exegesis* was not only Eustathios' last commentary, but his very last work, becomes necessary.

We know that Eustathios had written his other commentaries to literary texts not 'here' in Thessaloniki but during his years in Constantinople, possibly within the context of the so-called 'Patriarchal School'. His appointment as a Metropolitan in Thessaloniki marked a *caesura* in his production[22]. To his Constantinopolitan years – apart from largely hypothetical works on Oppian and others – we must refer his scattered scholia to Aristophanes, his studies on Pindar (even though it has been assumed that he might have reworked on the Theban lyric much later[23]), his commentary on Dionysios Periegetes, and obviously and above all his commentaries on Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The Homeric poems, as it has been often shown, have been the constant focus of his hermeneutical activity: he went over annotating them until a very late stage in his life, possibly until his late years in Thessaloniki (as the so-called *additamenta mar-*

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19 Eust. *Exeg. Prooem.* 131–136; see Cesaretti 2014, 164*–167*.
20 Dölger – Wirth 1995, 306–308 (no. 1607).
21 Ronchey 2014, 187*–311*, especially 253*–272*. See also Ronchey, this volume.
22 Cesaretti 2014, 18*–30*, especially 22*.
23 Schönauer 2000, 240.

ginalia in his 'autographs' show[24]). But there is no sign that he might have begun any other commentary to any other literary text until he worked on this *Exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem* in his late and perhaps last years. So the inner evidence of our *Exegesis* combined with elements deriving from the manuscript tradition (or better, from its remaining traces) show a remarkable consistency, allowing us to put forward the hypothesis that this *Exegesis* can really be Eustathios' swan-song in his literary activity as a whole.

This consideration neither implies nor assumes that the author of the text lacks force. Old men often have unsuspected reserves of intellectual energies[25]. The author proves here as vivid and even polemical as ever[26]. To stick to a zoological paradigm, and in accordance with a famous proverb, he is still the lion who can be recognized from his claw. *Ἐκ τῶν ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα*[27].

One more consideration could be added. In writing his work for a 'spiritual brother' who had asked him to give his interpretation of the Pentecostal hymn (in all likelihood with the aim of explaining it to an audience of students) and in facing for the first time this specific tradition of commentaries, Eustathios wrote his *Exegesis* not only as his personal swan-song but also as a swan-song for that genre of interpretations of Christian texts as a whole. In fact, the collapse of high Byzantine education which followed year 1204 and the sack of Constantinople (his *Exegesis* might have been written only 10 years earlier) influenced the production and transmission of that sort of 'philological' production on liturgical texts (more about this below). This collapse affected the manuscript tradition of his text as well[28].

This much as far as the *end* is concerned. Now let us come to the *beginning* and to the first and most natural question, namely Eustathios, the Byzantine commentator on classical texts *par excellence*, as a commentator on a liturgical text (may I remind here incidentally that the hymn he commented on in the

24 See f.i. van der Valk 1971, xiii–xv, cxl-cxli; Kazhdan 1984, 133 ("productive scholar"); Cullhed 2014, 5*–9*, etc.
25 In order to stick to the cultural tradition of the 20th century one might refer f.i. to the musician Richard Strauss (1864–1949) who composed his late masterpieces, *Metamorphosen* (1945) and *Vier letzte Lieder* (1946–1948) in his eighties. As an example of senile productivity in literature see the case of William Butler Yeats (1865–1939).
26 See Cesaretti 2014, 124*–126* (about Eust. *Exeg.* 31.1–50.33).
27 Although fond of proverbs (see Tosi, this volume), Eustathios does not seem to produce any mention of this famous *paroimia* (Diogenianus 5.15, in Leutsch-Schneidewin 1839, vol. 1, 252, 4–5). But it was used by his pupil Michael Choniates in order to characterize his master in a passage of his *Monody for Eustathios* (Lambros 1879, 1.288.1). See Karathanasis 1936, 111.
28 See Ronchey 2014, especially 279*–280*.

late 12th century is still part of the Orthodox liturgy for Pentecost at the beginning of the 21st century).

This *Exegesis* is far from being Eustathios' late *début* as a commentator on Christian texts. As a matter of fact, some biblical and liturgical passages[29] had already been the object of his attention in a series of orations, whose intent – in any case – did not coincide with that of our *Exegesis:* those works had primarily a paraenetical and pastoral scope, while our *Exegesis*, although not devoid of edifying purposes[30], is first of all (as its title shows) a philological and literary commentary[31]. At the very beginning of the text, its *Prooemium* is efficient under this point of view in characterizing his work as (Eust. *Exeg. Prooem.* 7–8) ἐξήγησις εἴτ' οὖν διευκρίνησις ὕμνου μελῳδικοῦ τοῦ σήμερον ᾀδομένου τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ Πνεύματι.

The paradigm of the noun ἐξήγησις and the verb ἐξηγέομαι is consistent in the text, not only in connection with the hymn that makes the object of his analysis but also when Eustathios refers to his predecessors in commenting on the liturgical hymns[32]. See passages like Eust. *Exeg. Prooem.* 17–20, where the Pentecostal hymn is assimilated to εἰκόνα [...] οὐ μὴν κατηξιωμένην καί τινος περιάπτου κάλλους τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐξηγήσεως. οὕτω γὰρ αἰτιολογεῖν παρίσταταί μοι τὸ τῶν ἐξηγησαμένων ἀπερίστροφον ἐπὶ τοιῷδε καλῷ, or Eust. *Exeg. Prooem.* 326–329 ὁ ἀοίδιμος ἐν σοφοῖς Θεόδωρος ὁ Πρόδρομος [...] κανόνας ἱεροὺς ἐξηγησάμενος. [...] ὁ ἐξηγηθησόμενος μελῳδικὸς κανὼν ἔχει [...] ἀκροστιχίδα.

The Pentecostal hymn, object of this treatment but neglected by some previous commentators (f.i. Theodoros Prodromos), is subject to an analysis addressed in the first instance to a public of students, whose level of knowledge is declared in passages like the following:

> Eust. *Exeg.* 8.1–2 εἴ τι χρὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐγκυκλίου παιδεύσεως ὁμιλοῦσι παραθεῖναί τι σφίσι φίλον
> Eust. *Exeg.* 114.13 τοσοῦτον δὲ ῥητέον ἐν στενῷ πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τοῖς ἀπὸ εἰσαγωγῆς
> Eust. *Exeg.* 167.1 καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ οὕτω τεθείσθω τοῖς ἁπλουστέροις,

29 See f.i. Schönauer 2006, 16*, texts nos. 40, 41, 42 in her *corpus Eustathianum*, where "theologisch-moralische Reden und Schriften" (section c) are put together in pp. 16*–22*.
30 Metropolitan bishop as he was, he would not abstain from his edifying mission even when commenting on classical texts. See van der Valk 1976, lxxxix–xc.
31 This is said *pace* Browning 1962, 189 (ascription of our *Exegesis* to Eustathios' "theological and pastoral and paraenetical texts"). Silvia Ronchey and I have insisted throughout the years that Eustathios' *Exegesis* must be read as a philological work: see Cesaretti 2014, 19* with n. 89.
32 Full list of occurrences in my *Vocabularium technicum*, in Cesaretti – Ronchey 2014, 299, *s. vv.*

not too distant from his Homeric commentaries [33].

Are these two elements – an audience of students as the main addressee[34] and an attitude towards commenting the text and its implications rather than exploiting it for pastoral purposes – enough to mark the real *beginning* of something 'new'? Not really. As already said, Eustathios had had predecessors who had commented on liturgical texts addressing themselves mainly to a students' audience. Others, like Theodoros Prodromos mentioned by Eustathios (see above) had been ἐξηγησάμενοι, and especially one had been ἐξηγητής (Eust. *Exeg. Acrost*. 53; § 107.10; 196.10), i.e. Gregorios Pardos, at all evidence before his appointment as metropolitan bishop of Corinth[35]. Gregorios had been the one commentator who had devoted a specific *Werkchen* to the same hymn on which Eustathios comments. This corpus of texts is poorly edited, but the commentary that Gregorios of Corinth devoted to the same iambic Pentecostal canon on which Eustathios later commented has been properly edited by Fausto Montana[36].

This said, and after acknowledging that a general outline at the moment can be only sketched[37], some general trends of 12th-century Byzantine literature are recognizable in these commentaries. I can mention the following:

1) Individualization: far from the "impersonality" of previous Byzantine literature, especially Theodoros Prodromos and Eustathios give information about themselves; they also try to capture the specific quality of the poet on whom they comment;
2) Monumentalization: suffice it to point out that Eustathios' *Exegesis* is twenty-five times superior in size to the one composed by Gregorios of Corinth[38]; as for Theodoros Prodromos, his comments are in general three times more expanded than those by Gregorios[39];
3) Increasing role of the prooemium with its rhetorical elaboration (absent in Gregorios; a short, sophisticated prooemium appears in Theodoros Prodromos; in Eustathios' *Exegesis*, the prooemium can be read as a *Werkchen* in

33 van der Valk 1971, l.
34 Detailed analysis about the multi-layered audience envisaged by Eustathios for his *Exegesis* in Cesaretti 2014, 117*–127* (122*–123* about students).
35 See Cesaretti 2014, 58* and n. 316. Montana 1995, lx–lxi and n. 103 put forward the hypothesis that Gregorios' exegetical corpus was the result of a "formazione non sistematica".
36 Montana 1995.
37 See Cesaretti 2014, 48*–69*.
38 See Cesaretti 2014, 104*.
39 *Ibidem*; also Montana 1995, lii–liii.

its own right; note that it is even more convoluted than his other prooemia devoted to classical authors[40]);

4) Alternation of plain commentary and occasional digressions, especially in Eustathios with his centripetal and centrifugal trends, typical of his style[41].

The real *new* thing – and the reason why Eustathios' swan-song becomes a *beginning* – is that in his *Exegesis* Eustathios shows a specific, authorial intuition. Since he presents new and useful connections of pre-existing elements, one would be tempted to call him "creative" if the term were not suspicious, first and foremost in Byzantine terms[42]. The innovation consists in the fact that Eustathios 'fuses' into his *Exegesis* two exegetical traditions that had remained separated up to his time[43], that is:

- From the previous tradition of the commentaries to the hymns, especially from Gregorios and Theodoros, to whom he refers even *ad verbum*[44], he derives – apart from the key-word *Exegesis* – the fact that the poetic and liturgical text is not only discussed (even though on a lesser scale than in his Homeric *Parekbolai*) but also produced (which did not happen in his Homeric commentaries).
- From his Homeric *Parekbolai*, he derives the general structure of the commentary, even in the graphic arrangement of his material[45]: also, in our *Exegesis* an expanded rhetorical prooemium is followed by an extensive discussion of the poetic text with philological approach and stylistic

40 Cesaretti 2014, 66*, 85*–94*, 105*–106*.

41 Cesaretti 2014, 111*, 149*, 163*.

42 Δημιουργία is a predicate of God, beyond human reach: see Eust. *Exeg*. 41.13–14; 43.1–9, with critical apparatus *ad locc*. Incidentally I may remark here that, although the scientist J.-H. Poincaré (1854–1912) is often credited with a standard definition of 'creativity', this specific word does not appear in his texts. The French word *créativité*, instead, is a rather recent 'calque' from the English *creativity*, which entered the intellectual vocabulary in the second half of the 19th century. See Poincaré 1908, 43–63 (*L'invention mathématique:* 48) "Inventer, cela consiste précisément à ne pas construire les combinaisons inutiles et à construire celles qui sont utiles et qui ne sont qu'une infime minorité. Inventer, c'est discerner, c'est choisir". Εὕρεσις, διάκρισις, προαίρεσις …

43 We might put this in parallel with the 'contamination of genres' underlined by Agapitos 1998.

44 Open quotations of Gregorios' work in Eust. *Exeg. Acrost*. 53–54; § 107.9–11; 196.8–11; 223.10–11; 228.6–8. See apparatus critical ad locc. and Cesaretti 2014, 61*–62* with n. 332. Open quotation of Theodoros Prodromos in Eust. *Exeg. Prooem*. 1–4, see critical apparatus; Ronchey 1991, 153, 155; Cesaretti, 2014, 67* with notes 361 and 62, 131*–132*, 162*.

45 Cesaretti 2014, 108*–117*; Ronchey 2014, 284*–287*.

considerations, quotation of passages from other authors, centrifugal sections with digressions, etc.

Notwithstanding the similarities with his Homeric commentaries in terms of the 'internal' features of the text, the presence of the term *Exegesis*, and even Eustathios' insistence on it, deserve one additional word. Since the previous commentators on Christian liturgical hymns like Gregorios and Theodoros had used that term[46], Eustathios might have simply decided to 'inscribe' his *Exegesis* in the same genre. But other factors could be considered. For instance the Christian resonance of the term *Exegesis* connected with the patristic tradition of commenting and interpreting the Bible well before the various ἐξηγηταί had begun to comment on Christian liturgical hymns (they could have indeed been influenced by the pre-existing tradition)[47]. Furthermore, firstly biblical commentaries, at a later stage commentaries on the hymns, both produced comments of the texts at issue along with the texts themselves, as it happens with the Pentecostal iambic canon in Eustathios' *Exegesis*. The availability of the full poetic text which is the subject of the commentary (plus in this case the Christian resonance) seems in my eyes to mark a difference and to explain why in this case Eustathios chose the term *Exegesis* instead of *Parekbolai*.

This impression is strengthened if we compare the *Exegesis of Homer's Iliad* by Ioannes Tzetzes with the *Parekbolai on Homer's Iliad and Odyssey* by Eustathios. The two texts have been written in the same place (Constantinople) during the same century (the 12th) and have been devoted to a similar audience of students[48]. Their structure, with their challenging prooemia, is similar, and the treatment of the poetic text simply reflects the differences between the individual and literary characters of the authors. But it is only Ioannes Tzeztes in his *Exegesis* who produces the Homeric text; in this way, Tzetzes could be considered as an 'editor' of the Homeric text much in the same way Eustathios is an 'editor' of the Pentecostal hymn, as will be stated below.

Perhaps the Eustathian *Parekbolai*, whether preserved (Dionysios Periegetes, Homer) or lost (Pindar), should be protected from the assumption that they show a desultory treatment of the poetical text they explain, as it has often been ar-

46 See f.i. Gregorios in Montana 1995, 6.12–13; 8.3,11; 42.1; Theodoros Prodromos in Stevenson – Pitra 1888, 1.3, *al.*

47 See *KL*, vol. 4 (1886), coll. 1080–1121, especially 1110–1112; *LThK*, vol. 3 (1959), coll. 1273–1274, 1278–1282; Lampe 1961, 496, *s.v.* ἐξηγέομαι B); *GLNT*, vol. 4 (1968), coll. 12–14 *s.v.* ἐξηγέομαι (technical usage of the verb in relation to things divine), etc.

48 *Exegesis of the Iliad* by Ioannes Tzetzes composed before 1143: see Papathomopoulos 2007, p. 19*. Students as envisaged audience of Tzetzes' *Exegesis:* see f.i. Cesaretti 1991, 129–134.

gued[49]. A certain understatement from the author's side should not be excluded, all the more so because in his *Parekbolai* he does not produce the text on which he comments. The case is different with his *Exegesis*, especially if one considers its implied, specifically Christian resonance[50]. It is needless to underline here the role of Origenes (in his Ἐξηγητικά) in connecting *Textkritik* and interpretation of θεῖαι γραφαί.

At this point, *il va sans dire* that our *Exegesis* is not less philological than Eustathios' Homeric commentaries. On the contrary, it is quintessentially philological for at least two reasons.

In ecdotic terms, our *Exegesis* presents, strophe after strophe, the text of the Pentecostal hymn with the discussion of the *variae lectiones* that Eustathios had derived from the manuscript tradition, as well as of his *emendationes ope ingenii*. As Fausto Montana[51], Silvia Ronchey, and myself have written in several occasions, the commentators on the liturgical hymns were at one and same time critical editors of those very hymns. Amongst them, no one is more critical than Eustathios in this *Exegesis*[52].

The second reason is of an hermeneutical character and it is strictly connected with the 12th century attention for individualization. Let us cast a glance at the title and subtitles of our critical edition, thought over by us on the basis of the manuscript tradition:

Exeg. Tit. Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν ἰαμβικὸν κανόνα τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς
Exeg. Inscr. Προοίμιον εἰς τὸν ἐξηγηθησόμενον ἰαμβικὸν κανόνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πνεύματος
Exeg. Inscr. Alt. Ἀρχὴ τῆς τοῦ εἰρημένου κανόνος ἐξηγήσεως
Exeg. Addit. Marg. post finem τέλος τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τοῦ κανόνος

The name of the author of the Pentecostal canon which makes the object of the commentary, remains unsaid – but this must not be taken as a 'minus'. On the

49 This technical term was studied by van der Valk 1971, lix; Id. 1976, xxxvi; see remarks by Kambylis 1991b, 14–18; Pontani 2000, 41; Cullhed 2014, 24*–26*; Pagani and Kolovou, this volume.
50 One further example: the commentary of Cosmas of Jerusalem, whoever he was, to the poems of Gregory the Theologian, is labeled in its title as Συναγωγὴ καὶ ἐξήγησις (Lozza 2000, p. 63). The Italian critical editor remarks that "Cosma premette quasi sempre alla sua esegesi la citazione dei lemmi gregoriani", therefore his commentary is important for "coloro che si sono occupati della tradizione testuale del Nazianzeno" (Lozza 2000, p. 31).
51 Montana 1995, xlv and n. 38.
52 Cesaretti 2014, 61* and nn. 331–332, 73*–82* ("Eustazio editore del testo"); Ronchey 2014, 300*–301*.

contrary this matches Eustathios' approach to the issue. While supporting a different attribution, he knew a sort of *vulgata* ascribing the hymn to St. Ioannes the Damascene. Eventually, he feigned to accept the usual attribution only for a sort of *raison d'Église*. Now, the point is not to discuss here who the author of this text 'really' is but to refer to Eustathios' attributional practice. His predecessors in the field of the commentaries to the hymns, especially Theodoros, had moved some first steps towards a characterization of the qualities of the liturgical poets: Eustathios, however, writes under this purpose a real chapter in the history of literary criticism when he withdraws the text from the authorship of Ioannes the Damascene and ascribes it to a Ioannes "Arklas"[53]. His stylistic approach is not unworthy of Photios' *Bibliotheke* and his text is in direct relation with ancient masters of style like Dionysios of Halikarnassos.

Now, what is this fusion of hermeneutical and ecdotical care? It is nothing but philological practice. This *Exegesis* can therefore be seen as an example of Byzantine philology *ante litteram*. Even better: this *Exegesis*, Eustathios' swan-song, can be read as the first step towards a philological reading of a Byzantine literary text. In this sense Eustathios' *Exegesis*, while marking the end of his career marks also a new beginning.

It is an irony of history that this *Exegesis* is not even mentioned in Nigel Wilson's study on the *Scholars of Byzantium*. Perhaps the idea that scholarship and philological expertise were practiced on a complicated Christian hymn of debated authorship could appear incongruous to the British scholar, whose pages devoted to Eustathios lack any sympathy for our commentator[54].

Furthermore, the whole Byzantine tradition of commentaries to liturgical hymns challenges the judgment uttered by an authority in Byzantine studies, namely that "each generation of writers did not build upon the experience and ideas of the previous generation, but rather stood in a constant relation to their distant models"[55]. It is enough to cast a glance at the cross-references, sometimes even polemical, between Theodoros Prodromos and Gregorios of Corinth in the first place, and secondly between Eustathios, Theodoros and Gregorios, in order to understand that this statement should at least be more nuanced[56].

A final parallel: The Archaeological Museum here in Thessaloniki keeps the 266 fragments of the "Derveni papyrus", the extraordinary document (dated

53 See *status quaestionis* in Cesaretti 2014, 83*–103*.
54 Wilson 1983, 196–204.
55 Mango 1980, 241.
56 See Demetrakopoulos 1979; Cesaretti 2014, 45 * and n. 239, 61*–62* and n. 332, 65* and nn. 349–350, 82*, 162* and nn. 848–854, 176* and n. 933.

ca. 340–320 BC[57]) which places us at one and the same time not only in front of the most ancient preserved Greek papyrus (and therefore the starting point of our 'papyrology'[58]), but also of what has been considered to be the first act of ancient Greek philology [59]. In fact, the text witnessed by the papyrus ("near the turn of the fifth century BC"[60]) comments on a previous "enigmatic" religious hymn[61], connected with Orphic traditions. Therefore, one and the same text (and document), discovered some kilometers away from Thessaloniki, contains sacred poetry and its exegesis.

A text interpreting a cryptic hymn[62] connected with a religious ritual (the Pentecost) was written here in Thessaloniki about 825 years ago by Eustathios: his *Exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem*. That was the *end* of his career as a commentator of texts. At the same time, it can be read as the *beginning* of Byzantine philology on Byzantine texts, as distinct from Byzantine scholarship on classical texts.

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57 See the *editio princeps* of the text by Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou 2006, 9. Amongst a wide bibliography I simply refer to this 'official' edition and a recent volume of 'open questions', i.e. Papadopoulou – Muellner 2014.

58 And also "the oldest European book in our possession", Papadopoulou 2014, ix.

59 See Pfeiffer 1968, 139 and n. 1; Turner 1980, 205; Lamedica 1990; Lamedica 1992, 329 ("edizione commentata", in agreement with Franco Montanari), *etc.*

60 Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou 2006, 10.

61 See col. VII 4–5 (Kouremenos – Parássoglou – Tsantsanoglou 2006, 75) where the commented poem (πόησις) is judged to be ξένη and αἰνιγματώδης.

62 Not only as far as its authorship is concerned but also in its style: remarks in Cesaretti 2014, especially 172*–186*. See also Sarris, this volume.

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Silvia Ronchey

Eustathios at Prodromos Petra? Some Remarks on the Manuscript Tradition of the *Exegesis in Canonem Iambicum Pentecostalem*

During my research into the history of the manuscript tradition of the *Exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem*[1], two features emerged with a high degree of likelihood: the relationship of the work with the monastery of Prodromos Petra at Constantinople; and the relationship of Eustathios himself with that same monastery during his tenure as professor in the Polis – the latter hypothesis had already been advanced by Ernst Gamillscheg[2]. The connection of the *Exegesis* with Prodromos Petra is witnessed by the history of the manuscript tradition[3], which was most likely limited to a single Constantinopolitan διδασκαλεῖον, where it served the benefit of the élite and of the learned *entourage*, thus being preserved until a later period, as is revealed by the two main manuscripts that transmit the text of the work[4]: Vat. Gr. 1409 [5] and Alex. Bibl. Patr. 62[6].

Both were produced within a scholarly circle in Constantinople at the end of the 13th century[7], in the years immediately following the coronation of Andronikos II Palaiologos, at the time when, with the end of the Latin occupation, the *revival* of Prodromos Petra began, and activity in its *scriptorium* started up again at full speed[8]. The fact that they were used for research and élite instruction is shown by the almost constant flow of corrections and *additamenta* of *aliae manus* datable between the 14th and 16th centuries[9]. Both manuscripts remained in Constantinople until after the Ottoman conquest, in a sort of reservoir

1 Ronchey 2014.
2 Gamillscheg 1979, 107–111.
3 Ronchey 2014, esp. 209*–218*; 220*–229*; 233*; 240*–241*.
4 An autoptic description of both manuscripts in Ronchey 2014, 189*–195* and 201*–207*; cf. also the *stemma codicum,* ibid. 289*, and below, Figure 1.
5 An updated bibliography in Ronchey 2014, 200*.
6 An updated bibliography *ibid*., 209*.
7 *Ibid*., 196*–197*; Pignani 1978a, 211.
8 Ronchey 2014, 225*–226*; on the *revival* of Prodromos Petra and of its *scriptorium* under Andronikos II Palaiologos see esp. De Gregorio 2001, 139–149, esp. 141 n. 80; Bianconi 2008, 534–535; cf. also Cataldi Palau 2008a, 203.
9 Ronchey 2014, 192*–194*; 204*–206*; see below, figures 2 and 3.

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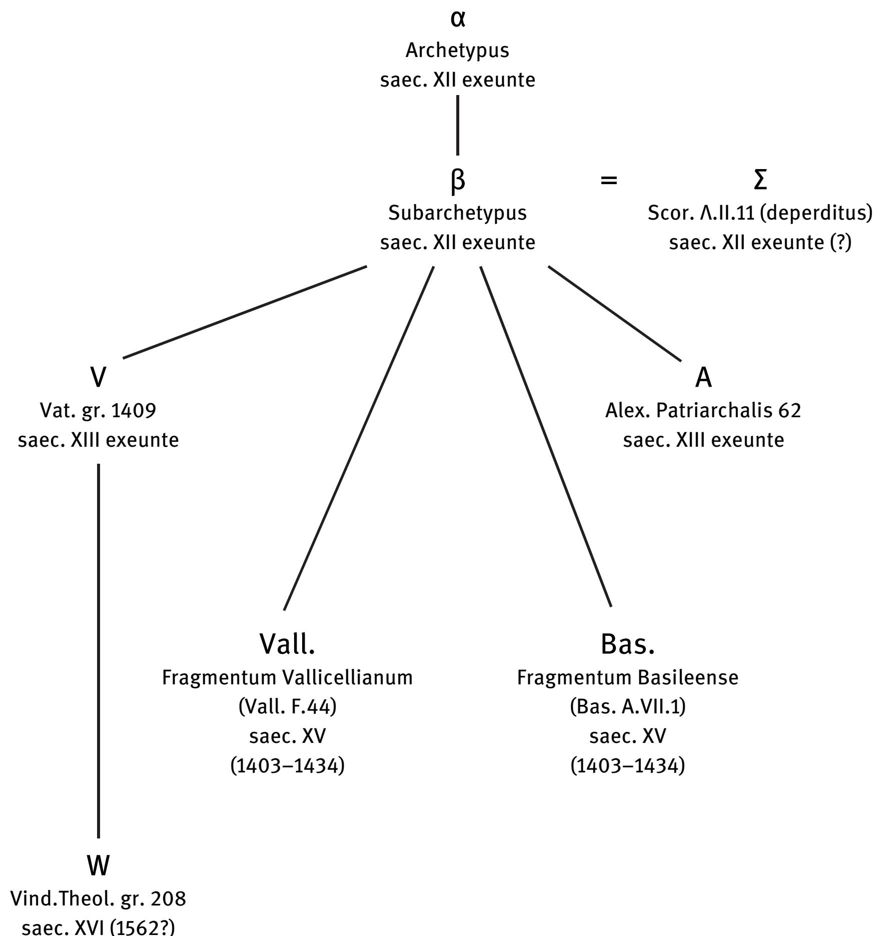

Fig. 1: *Stemma codicum*

of book learning still available to scholars within the patriarchal quarter: it was on this heritage that the circle of the Malaxoi brothers drew for their activity of study, transcription and commercialisation of manuscripts, that continued until at least the 1560s[10]. At least a residual part of the library of Prodromos Petra, adjacent to the outer enclosure of the Pammakaristos (where at the time the Patri-

10 Ronchey 2014, 242*–248*, with nn. 273–307; on the Malaxoi brothers and their circle see esp. De Gregorio 1995, 100 and 122; Id. 1996, 190–192; 231–235; Id. 2000, 327, n. 1; Schreiner 2001, 207; on the relation between the Malaxoi and Busbecq see von Martels 1989, 406–423; De Gregorio 1991, 10–11; Hunger – Kresten – Hannick 1984, pp. 22–23 and 159–161.

archal See was located), must have flowed into this last Constantinopolitan reservoir[11].

In fact, another witness of the *Exegesis*, Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 208, *descriptus* of the Vatican, copied for Ghislain Auger de Busbecq by a scribe of the Malaxoi circle[12], dates from the 1560s[13]. The Vienna manuscript, perhaps along with its antigraphon, left the Polis in 1562, with the shipment of Busbecq's books bound for Venice[14]. A short while later, the Alex. Bibl. Patr. 62 left Constantinople: its handwritten dedication to the Patriarch (and booklover) Cyril Loukaris shows that it was taken to Alexandria at the beginning of the 17th century[15].

Various chronological clues would suggest dating the archetype α, possibly in Eustathios' hand, to the 1190s[16]. There is, therefore, only one century between Eustathios' exemplar and the two oldest witnesses, but a very eventful one: with the Fourth Crusade and the Latin domination of Constantinople between 1204 and 1261, the monasteries that made up the "branches" – according to Robert Browning's expression – of the network of the so-called Patriarchal School, stopped their teaching activities and hid their book collections. Byzantine cultural activities moved to the Empire of Nicaea, and underwent significant transformations.

The Latins occupied the Prodromos Petra Monastery. The late onset and general scarcity of the manuscript tradition of Eustathios' commentary, which – as its content and intended audience suggest – was originally aimed for advanced teaching at the so-called Patriarchal School of Constantinople at the end of the 12th century (a teaching that the sudden catastrophe of 1204 brought to a halt, or at least was deeply changed in its nature and structure), can be ascribed to these circumstances, and to the general eclipse, if not decline, of Constantinople's scholastic institutions at the time[17].

A first positive clue that the Constantinopolitan διδασκαλεῖον within which the manuscript tradition of the *Exegesis* was confined, might have been that of

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11 Ronchey 2014, 242*–248* and 250*–252*, with sources and bibliographical references in the footnotes; on the location of Prodromos Petra cf. also Barsanti 2001, 225; Ead. 2013, 487–490; Mondrain 2000, 227–240; Ead. 2010.

12 Hunger-Lackner-Hannick 1992, 31–33; Bick 1920, n° 121. A specimen of the handwriting of this otherwise unknown scribe George below, see Figure 4.

13 An autoptic description of the Vienna manuscript, with an updated bibliography, in Ronchey 2014, 239*–242*.

14 *Ibid.*, 250*–252*, with bibliographical references in the footnotes.

15 *Ibid.*, 207*–209*, with footnotes.

16 *Ibid.*, 262*–263*; 284*–287*.

17 *Ibid.*, 268*.

Prodromos Petra is supplied by the fragmentary tradition of the text. In fact, two 15th century manuscripts, both from Prodromos Petra, preserve some fragments of the work on their flyleaves[18]. These are the Vallicellianus F 44[19] and the Basileensis A.VII.1[20] (see Figures 5 and 6).

The first is a palimpsest parchment manuscript written by George Baiophoros, active at Prodromos Petra until the mid-1430s: the *scriptio superior* of this manuscript, containing the Περὶ σχεδῶν by Manuel Moschopoulos, is certainly identifiable with Baiophoros' handwriting[21]; the manuscript then passed from Constantinople to Florence, perhaps through Janos Laskaris[22]. The fragment of Eustathios' commentary that can be still read on the back of the palimpsest's front flyleaf belongs to the same hand. The fragments preserved in the Basileensis are also written in Baiophoros' hand, and they are to be found on the palimpsest's front fly-leaf, a parchment sheet which Baiophoros placed before the bombycine bulk of the manuscript when he restored it (through a characteristic pink binding) and sold it to John Stojkovich[23]. The bulk of the 12th-century manuscript was also produced in the Prodromos Petra *scriptorium*. Its scribe belonged to the Choniates family, as we may infer from the metrical *subscriptio*[24]. Ernst Gamillscheg has suggested that this was Michael Choniates, Eustathios' pupil, and that the same Choniates brought to Prodromos Petra the lost manuscript containing the *Exegesis*, on which Baiophoros would draw two and a half centuries later[25].

However, while this identification is belied both by the handwriting and by Michael Choniates' biography[26], Gamillscheg's insight that a manuscript containing Eustathios' commentary must have been available at Prodromos Petra since the end of the 12th century, and that Baiophoros took the fragments of the flyleaves of the Vallicellianus and the Basileensis manuscripts from this exemplar, is supported by further evidence.

Textual criticism (see Fig. 1) has definitively revealed a sub-archetype β between archetype α and the main manuscripts – the Vatican and the Alexandrine:

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18 *Ibid.*, 212*–214*; 228*–229*; 232*; Gamillscheg 1979, 111.
19 Ronchey 2014, 231*–239*.
20 *Ibid.*, 209*–231*.
21 Gamillscheg 1977, 216 and 220; Id. 1979, 104 and esp. 111; Id. 1981, 285 and 287; Ronchey 2014, 231*–233*, with more references.
22 Ronchey 2014, 238*, esp. nn. 257–258.
23 *Ibid.*, 229*–230; Gamillscheg 1979, 111; Id. 1981, 283; Cataldi Palau 2008c, 226–227; Ead. 2008d, 235–280.
24 F. 155v, see Ronchey 2014, 219*–220, n. 177.
25 Gamillscheg 1979, 107–111.
26 Ronchey 2014, 220* n. 179, with references.

the textual interrelations between the two manuscripts indicate not α but a copy of α as the antigraphon they were both copied from, at the end of the 13th century. Exemplar β was most likely written before the Latin occupation of Constantinople in 1204, when no one could foresee such a rash decline in the kind of Constantinopolitan instruction for which Eustathios' commentary had been conceived.[27]

The existence of exemplar β, posited by textual criticism, confirms the hypothesis, independently put forth by Gamillscheg, that a manuscript of the *Exegesis* was available at Prodromos Petra from the end of the 12th century, that is, when the bulk of the Basileensis manuscript came to be copied by a scribe named Choniates. It seems reasonable to ask ourselves right away if this exemplar β might not be part of what Peter Wirth has called *mittelalterliche authorisierte Eustathiosedition,* intended by Eustathios himself in old age, and physically compiled by his disciples shortly before (and/or shortly after) his death[28].

The dating and content of β seem to coincide with those of another known, but now lost, manuscript of Eustathios' commentary: the *deperditus* Scorialensis Λ.II.11, a manuscript belonging to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza: we know that it was kept, from 1576 on, in the library of the Escorial, and that it went lost in the fire of 1671[29]. From the descriptions compiled by Nicolaus Turrianus (see Fig. 7) and others between the 16th and 17th centuries[30], we know that it contained a collection of Eustathios' late works – in addition to the *Exegesis*, thirteen works not otherwise attested and, therefore, definitively lost –, and that it was an ancient in-folio on parchment of excellent quality (*bonissimus*). I will not provide here further data on this fascinating ghost. I will only add that its *pinax*, transcribed by Turrianus, shows the correct double title of Eustathios' commentary, and that a comparison of the titles of the Vatican and the Alexandrine manuscripts confirms the thesis that we are dealing precisely with the antigraphon used by the scribes of the two main manuscripts, and then later by Baiophoros[31] (see Fig. 1).

If this is true, the *deperditus* Scorialensis, which I call Σ in the *stemma codicum,* is the same as β and the exemplar Σ/β was at Prodromos Petra from the end of the 12th century until at least the mid-15th century – in reality, probably up until

27 *Ibid.*, 221* n. 182; 226* n. 200; 279*–280*.
28 *Ibid.*, 228*–229*; Wirth 1972.
29 Ronchey 2014, 267*–269*. See also Cesaretti, this volume.
30 *Ibid.*, 253*–265*, with bibliography.
31 *Ibid.*, 265*–269*.

the first decades of the 16th century, when it was acquired by Mendoza, possibly for the Council of Trent[32].

As we all know, the most famous institution of the Prodromos Petra monastery (see Fig. 8) after its re-foundation in the 11th century was, along with its *scriptorium*, the μουσεῖον, later known (though not in the 12th century) as the καθολικὸν μουσεῖον[33].

The first known official mention of the καθολικὸν μουσεῖον of Prodromos Petra still remains that of Francesco Filelfo[34]. Of the approximately ten διδασκαλεῖα that most likely existed in Constantinople during the Middle Byzantine Age, some are called μουσεῖα in the sources, though perhaps the term has just a rhetorical and not an institutional function[35]: for instance, the μουσεῖον of Alexios Moseles (10th c.), the μουσεῖον τῆς νομοθετικῆς (11th c.), the μουσεῖα νόμων καὶ ἀρχεῖα Θέμιδος (12th c.)[36]. Apart from the mention of the μουσεῖον τῆς νομοθετικῆς in Michael Attaleiates[37], the usage of μουσεῖον as a synonym of διδασκαλεῖον is surely attested in Byzantine literature only since the 13th century, in the *Lexicon* of the Pseudo-Zonaras: Μουσεῖον· σχολεῖον[38]. It subsequently occurs in Ephraem's verse chronicle: καὶ γραμματικῶν ἀπέταξεν αὖ πάλιν / μουσεῖον εἰς παίδευσιν ὀρφανῶν νέων οὐκ εὐπόρων[39], and in Nikephoros Gregoras: ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀσφαλείας μουσεῖον ἐπαιδαγώγησε... εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας μουσεῖον παιδαγωγούμενον[40]. In the 15th century, the term becomes current, in reference to Prodromos Petra's καθολικὸν μουσεῖον, but also, for example, to the μουσεῖον τῶν Στουδιτῶν[41]; Michael Apostolis uses it in his letters in a technical sense[42]. We have a further example of its usage in relation to university in a passage by Frankiskos Skouphos, the Cretan scholar active in Venice in the 17th century, who employed it about the University of Padua: ἐσπούδασε ... εἰς τὸ περίφημον μουσεῖον τοῦ Παταβίου[43].

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32 *Ibid.*, 269*–272*; on the Council and the manuscripts of Turrianus and Darmarios, see also 199* with nn. 65–67.
33 Ronchey 2014, 222*–223*, with bibliography.
34 Gamillscheg 1977, 225–226; Fuchs 1926, 71–72.
35 Browning 1962, 171–178; Ronchey 2014, 224* n. 195.
36 Fuchs 1926, 21; 25; 27.
37 Mich. Attal. *Hist.*, p. 21.27 Bekker.
38 Ps.-Zon. *Lex.*, 1372.3 Tittmann.
39 Ephr. Aen. *Hist. Chron.* V. 3653, p. 135 Lampridis.
40 Nic. Greg. *Hist.*, I, p. 448.18 Schopen; III, p. 402.13; see also I, p. 476.11.
41 Fuchs 1926, 74.
42 Legrand 1885, 233–259, esp. *Ep.* 28.13.
43 *Ep.* 57.12; see Manoussacas 1998, 191–347; on Skouphos, see Sandys 1908, 354.

As Eustathios makes clear from the first lines of the proem, he was asked to compose the *Exegesis* by an anonymous ἀδελφός, a "confrere" and colleague, most likely younger than him[44], who needed it for advanced rhetorical and ecclesiastical instruction – the education reserved for the future members of the upper ranks of the Constantinopolitan clergy, and partly based on the exegesis of liturgical canons, in particular the canons belonging to the *corpus* of Cosmas and John. This exegesis was a well-established practice in the 12th century in the "branches"[45] of the network of more or less institutionalized διδασκαλεῖα, or scholarly circles, known as the Patriarchal School of Constantinople[46].

Now, the best description of the characteristics of this instruction is provided, if only indirectly, precisely by Eustathios himself in his *Exegesis*. In his commentary on the heirmos of the first ode, where Moses, shrouded in darkness, receives the tablets of the law, Eustathios plays on the name Μωσῆς and the word μουσεῖον, describing, in commenting on the use of the verb ἐρρητόρευσεν applied to Moses by the author of the canon, the particular relationship between Θεός and ἄνθρωπος, established in the Biblical episode, as *a relation of rhetorical instruction:* [...] ὅσα καὶ περὶ μουσεῖον θεῖον αὐτὸ ἢ διδασκαλεῖον, Θεὸς μὲν ἐλάλει ἐξάρχων καὶ ἔγραφε, Μωσῆς δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖθεν μεταλαμβάνων ἐρρητόρευσεν[47].

The pun, in which Eustathios overtly uses the word μουσεῖον as a synonym of διδασκαλεῖον, provides, on the one hand, one of the first known occurrences of the term μουσεῖον in the Byzantine language as the specific designation of a university teaching centre; on the other hand, it allows him to illustrate metaphorically the teaching method of that διδασκαλεῖον or those διδασκαλεῖα in Constantinople in which advanced lessons were taught, intended for the future members of the high clergy, but attended also by a learned public often linked to the court – the same lessons that Eustathios himself had given, though in the area of ancient Greek classics, before being elected archbishop of Thessaloniki.

The teacher ἐλάλει ἐξάρχων καὶ ἔγραφε: and, in effect, Eustathios based his teaching on a written text. The pupil ἐρρητόρευσε τὰ ἐκεῖθεν μεταλαμβάνων: and this was to be the task of the pupils, who did not "repeat" but rather "elaborated the material rhetorically", in view of the ecclesiastical oratory expected of them, or perhaps in the more technical sense of *rhetoreia*.

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44 Eust. *Exeg. Prooem.* 1; see also 58; Cesaretti 2014, 120*–122*; Ronchey 2014, 223*.
45 Browning 1962, 171.
46 Cesaretti 2014, 8*; 10*; Ronchey 2014, 196* nn. 53–55; 223*–224*, with bibliography. On the *Patriarchatsschule* (Fuchs 1926), see Magdalino 1993, 325–331, with references; Schreiner 2009, 137–138.
47 Eust. *Exeg.* 3.13–15; Ronchey 2014, 224*.

In *Exeg.* 3.13–15, Eustathios' reference to the μουσεῖον and to the particular type of instruction carried out there, on top of providing us with an early occurrence of this term in the technical sense of διδασκαλεῖον, makes us consider how lessons were taught in 12th-century Constantinople in the advanced ecclesiastical institutions that were connected to the so-called Patriarchal School, or, at least, how Eustathios taught his lessons, here equating himself ironically with God[48].

We may and probably should read here an allusion to the teaching context the *Exegesis* was aimed at: Eustathios' words seem to suggest that what was taught within a διδασκαλεῖον/μουσεῖον was that same technical-rhetorical wisdom, based on the act of commenting on the canons of Cosmas and John, for which the anonymous ἀδελφός had commissioned him the *Exegesis*[49].

We find a symmetrical identification of Eustathios with Moses on Mount Sinai in the funeral monody dedicated to him by Michael Choniates. It is difficult to imagine that this should be a coincidence, and we wonder if we should not read in the monody an allusion to the image introduced by Eustathios, and perhaps already earlier used by him, with just as much irony, as a *topos* during his oral lessons[50].

It would be prudent to observe that neither Eustathios' presence at the monastery nor any teaching by him or by any of his disciples is documented at Prodromos Petra in the course of the 12th century[51]. However, a less than superficial knowledge of the milieu of this monastery on the part of Eustathios is apparent in a famous passage of the *De emendanda vita monachica*. Here Eustathios lampoons the speedy procurement on the part of the monastery of luxury foodstuffs and, in particular, of "black and red" caviar for the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos[52]. This is the absolutely first mention of Prodromos Petra found in literary sources[53]. Certainly, we are well advised to note that the information in itself, though well suitable to attest to Eustathios' or his circle's first-hand familiarity with Prodromos Petra, exudes obvious sarcasm on the lavish way of life at the monastery[54]. However, knowing Eustathios and his irony, this does not necessarily mean he entertained a bad memory of Prodromos Petra. On the contrary, it

48 *Ibid.*, 224*–225*.
49 *Ibid.* 225* n. 198.
50 Ronchey 2014, 225* n. 196: see Mich. Chon. *Mon. Eust. Thess.* 283–306 Lampros (= *PG* 140.337–362); on the monody, see Cesaretti 2014, 15* n. 64.
51 Ronchey 2014, 221*–222* with n. 187; Cesaretti 2014, 10*; 18*; 23*–25*.
52 Eust. *Vit. Monach.* 66.78–80 Metzler; Janin 1969[2], 422; Gamillscheg 1979, 111; Id. 1981, 291.
53 Cataldi Palau 2008a, 197–198; Ead. 2008b, 210.
54 Ronchey 2014, 222* n. 186.

could indicate his affection even for a kind of monastic life that surely had to be "emended", but definitely not forgotten.

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Fig. 2: Vaticanus graecus 1409, f. 65r. Copyright of the Vatican Library.

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Fig. 4: Vindobonensis Theologicus graecus 208 Nessel (298 Lambeck), f. 144v. Copyright of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien.

Fig. 5: Vallicellianus F 44 (graecus 94), binding, front cover. Copyright of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome.

Fig. 6: Basileensis A.VII.1, f. Ir. Copyright of the Universitätsbibliothek, Basel.

Προοίμιον είς
τὸν ἐξηγησάμενον [*sic*]
ἰαμβικὸν κανόνα
τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ
ἁγιωτάτου πνεύματος,
οὗ προοιμίου
πρὸς τῷ τέλει κεῖται
καὶ ἡ κατ' ἐκεῖνον
ἀκροστιχίς ‖
Ἀρχὴ τῆς τοῦ
εἰρημένου κανόνος
ἐξηγήσεως,
ἤχου μὲν ὄντος δου,
τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ᾠδικοὺς
μουσικωτάτου,
καὶ χοροποιοῦ,
μεμελισμένου δὲ
πρὸς εἱρμοὺς
τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους,
οἷς δηλαδὴ καὶ
ἀκολούθως καὶ τὰ
ὑφ' ἑκάστῳ συνείροντα
[*sic*] τροπάρια ¶

Fig. 7: *pinax* of the *deperditus* Scorialensis Λ.II.11 (Σ/β), transcribed by N. Turrianus.

Fig. 8: Istanbul, the ruins of what remains of the so-called *Boğdan Sarayi*, enclosed in a tire shop at Draman Caddesi 32.

Filippomaria Pontani

“Captain of Homer’s guard”: the reception of Eustathius in Modern Europe

1 Eustathius from Politian to Politi (1489–1730)

In the fantastic battle between ancient and modern authors envisaged by the French scholar François de Callières in 1688 (a story that inspired Jonathan Swift’s *Battle of the Books*, published twelve years later), Eustathius of Thessalonica plays a conspicuous role[1]. Initially enrolled among the orators (and thus on the far left wing of the ancients’ army), he soon switches to the middlefield upon the request of the old and blind Homer, who desperately needs a lieutenant, and thus implores Demosthenes to let the archbishop, however ideologically hostile to war, cross over to the infantry of the poets and help him out in this bloodless fight[2]. Once proclaimed captain of Homer’s guard, Eustathius starts a thorough examination of the troops, consisting of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and engages in a firm defence of the Shield of Achilles against the attacks of the moderns; shortly after, however, he discovers to his dismay a worrying hole in the ranks of the *Iliad*, corresponding to the description of Aphrodite’s *kestos*, “la ceinture de Venus”, which has been stolen overnight by the modern poets Voiture and Sarrasin disguised as Greeks – very painful news for poor Homer, who believed *Iliad* 14 to be among the highlights of his entire poetical output[3].

Callières’ parody of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* is subtler and less absurd than it may appear at first glance: when Homer greets Eustathius as the worthiest defender of his person and works[4], this reflects a *communis opinio* grounded in the wide success of the *Parekbolai* to Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* since their *editio princeps* published in Rome in 1542–1550 – a success that will only be properly appreciated by whoever writes a proper history of the art of commenting Homer, perhaps one of the most urgent *desiderata* of contempo-

1 Callières 1688. See Hepp 1968, 553; Santangelo 1984, 370–371; Levine 1991, 129–132. See fig. 1.
2 Callières 1688, 112: “il pria Demosthenes de lui envoyer *Eustatius*, fameux Auteur Grec, qui a fait de si beaux Commentaires sur l’Iliade et sur l’Odissée”.
3 Callières 1688, 193–194.
4 Callières 1688, 112–113: “c’est vous, mon cher Eustatius… qui m’avez si genereusement et si dignement défendu contre tous mes Ennemis, je vous remets encore le soin de ma Personne et de tous mes Ouvrages, et je vous prie d’accepter l’emploi que je vous offre de Capitaine de mes Gardes”.

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rary reception studies[5]. For the time being, suffice it to recall here some historical elements, along with the judgment of the late Philip Ford, who believed that the Roman edition represented "incontestablement, l'événement le plus important dans l'édition de textes homériques de cette période"[6].

Even well before 1542, the first Western scholar to teach Homer in the original language at university level (*Odyssey* books 1–2), namely Angelo Poliziano, resorted to Eustathius in order to explain matters of grammar and etymology, and above all to retrieve lexical definitions of difficult terms. From Politian's "zibaldone" preserved in Par. gr. 3069 (to be dated between 1487 and 1491) we see that the Italian humanist, while paying attention to the scholia and to the large heritage of Byzantine lexica, vastly employed Eustathius (whose work he could read in ms. Laur. 59.6) both for minute explanations and for the references to ancient authors such as Athenaeus or Strabo[7]. Demetrius Chalcondylas, Politian's colleague at Florence in the years 1475–1491, also annotated a manuscript of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 81) by penning in the margins a large selection of Eustathian notes: Chalcondylas, as is well-known, marked the history of Western philology as the *editor princeps* of Homer in 1488[8]. A few years later, the Cretan philologist Marcus Musurus chose Eustathius as the basis for his lectures on the *Odyssey* in Padua (1507–1508), and it was precisely from these *excerpta* that his fellow-countryman Arsenius Apostolis arranged a bulky but extremely well-thought selection of ancient commentaries to Homer, which unfortunately never reached the press[9].

That the most outstanding Hellenists of the Italian Renaissance (namely those who could read and appreciate such an impervious text in the original) showed a deep familiarity with Eustathius, should not ring as a surprise: this was *a priori* likely on account not only of Eustathius' relevance to the interpretation of Homer's text, but also of the incredible wealth of information of all kinds scattered in the archbishop's commentaries. At the other end of the story, this success numbered among the primary reasons that prompted the Roman publishers to embark, despite all sorts of technical and financial hard-

5 Latacz 2000, 15 deals in three lines with *Homer-Kommentierung* from the 1488 *editio princeps* to Ameis-Hentze, and openly states (p. 2 note 1) that he is concerned exclusively with "das Philologische".
6 Ford 2007, 111.
7 Silvano 2010, lxxix–xciv on the issue of sources. See also Pontani 2005b, 7 and 24 for Politian's excerpts from Eustathius in an annotated ms. of the *Iliad*.
8 Pontani 2005, 388–394.
9 I am referring to the incunable Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana I, 50, and to ms. Vat. gr. 1321 respectively: see Pontani 2005, 481–509 and Ferreri 2014, 558–560.

ships, on such an ambitious and expensive project as the complete edition of the *Parekbolai*.[10]

The Roman edition made an even greater difference in the other European countries: true, the French Guillaume Budé had filled in the margins of his *editio princeps* of the Homeric poems with a mixed bag of ancient scholia and Eustathian excerpts, the latter certainly derived from manuscript sources[11]; but Budé was, in this respect as in many others, definitely an exception. No hint to the *Parekbolai* appears in the running commentaries to selected Homeric books published in the Franco-German world of the early 16th century, from Melchior Wolmar (Paris 1523), to Joachim Camerarius (Strasburg 1538–1540) down to Johannes Hartung (Frankfurt 1539)[12]. The latter, in particular (1505–1579), is an interesting case in point, for while still unaware of Eustathius in his *Prolegomena* to *Odyssey* 1–3, he did use the *Parekbolai* when discussing matters of Homeric philology in his *Locorum decuriae* (1559); and the epigram appended to Hartung’s image in Reusner’s *Icones* represents to my knowledge the first attempt for a scholar to claim a parity with Eustathius: “As much as Homer owes to Eustathius, so much does he owe to me: I shall not recall the rest, old lady rumour will talk.”[13] We shall see that this sort of “contest” with Eustathius will be picked up by an even greater scholar over two centuries later.

Soon reprinted by Froben in Basle in 1559–1560[14] (it is on a copy of this edition that Isaac Casaubon will pen his marginal notes[15]), and abridged for the readers’ comfort as early as 1558 by Adriaan de Jonge in Basle[16], Eustathius’ commentaries became vital tools for all modern exegetes, especially in France. Eustathian allegories, when transplanted to the particularly fertile soil of late Renaissance Europe[17], influenced significantly the work and the teaching of Jean Dorat[18] – a somewhat surprising outcome since allegory was not among the archbishop’s favourite approaches, especially as far as the *Iliad* was concerned.

10 Liverani 2002; Cullhed 2014, *112–114; Pontani 2000, 42–44.

11 Pontani 2007, 390–410. The notes are now fully edited and discusses by Morantin 2013.

12 Ford 2007, 70–74; Pontani 2007, 384–385.

13 “Eustathio quantum, tantum mihi debet Homerus: / Caetera ne memorem, fama loquetur anus”: the portrait with the Latin epigram was edited by Reusner 1587, 368.

14 A copious *index verborum* was added to this reprint of the Roman edition by Sebastian Guldenbeck: Pontani 2000, 42 note 24.

15 London, British Library C.76.h.4 (a book that still awaits proper study).

16 Iunius 1558; see van Miert 2011, esp. 109–111.

17 I am referring chiefly to the ideas of Luther and Zwingli, as well as to Konrad Gessner’s editions of ancient allegorical works and to Natale Conti’s *Mythologiae:* see Pontani 2007, 386–389.

18 Ford 2007, 213–227; Ford 2007b; Ford 2000.

But the mechanism of Eustathius' penetration in full-fledged 16th-century commentaries on Homer is a promising topic, which still awaits a proper assessment. Eustathius inspired the little-known 16th-century Greek humanist Christophoros Kondoleon in two of his Homeric treatises, the *Ἐκλογὴ παρὰ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν ἐπῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου στρατηγοῦ καὶ στρατιώτου*, and an untitled treatise on the heroes' αὐτουργία, not devoid of some references to the ethos of the author's contemporaries[19]. A nice study by Tania Demetriou reveals how massively Eustathius' commentaries contributed to the scanty exegetical notes appended by Hubert von Giffen to his 1572 edition and Latin translation of the poems[20], and especially the hitherto unacknowledged, but absolutely essential, role of Gerrit Falkenburg in the genesis of this book: it thus becomes clear that Falkenburg was among the first scholars to explore ancient authors (and Eustathius in particular) in an attempt to collect erudite evidence but also to advance critical discourse on the text of Homer[21].

More evidently, Eustathius is mentioned by name no less than 406 times (and no doubt many more times does he appear *incognito*) in the 1583 Homeric edition prepared by the French poet Jean de Sponde, a masterpiece of French scholarship that can well be regarded as the first attempt to a running commentary to Homer in the *Neuzeit*. Sponde's achievement (published when the author was 26 years old!), replete with a lot of erudition and many intelligent original observations, embraces systematic references to quotations of or allusions to Homer in other ancient authors, and is definitely less committed to philological, lexical and grammatical issues – some of the latter were to be relegated to a wide-ranging *Lexicon Homericum* that eventually never saw the light[22]. By its very conception, and by its size and ambition, Sponde's edition had to become the obvious modern counterpart to Eustathius' *Parekbolai*, and could rival with its Byzantine predecessor[23]: as opposed to what Dorat had done, Sponde refused all sorts of allegorical reading, and marked a clear-cut distinction between pagan and Christian "theology", although he did not refrain from spelling out some of the moral lessons to be drawn from Homer.

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19 Pontani forthcoming; Piasentin-Pontani forthcoming.

20 Giphanius 1572.

21 See Demetriou 2015.

22 See Ford 2007, 155–163 (for the text, Sponde followed Henri Estienne's edition). Deloince-Louette 2001, esp. 62–67 on the presence of Eustathius.

23 Deloince-Louette 2000b, 118–120 and 124–127 on agreements and occasional disagreements with Eustathius (though of course on p. 126 note 23 the Eustathius displaying "une préférence pour Virgile" is the character of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, not our archbishop).

The moment when Eustathius became most *à la page*, perhaps even more so than in his own days, is beyond doubt 17th-century France, the age when ancient epic came back in fashion, and in a sheer neo-classical key the world of Homer was regarded as a background against which to read the contemporary *siècle de Louis le Grand*[24]. It is a plausible guess that king Louis XIV went so far as to issue a national competition for the study and translation of the *Parekbolai*, thus stirring the interest of a series of civil servants and scholars:[25] the results of this activity are still to be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and do not cease to impress for their ambition. I refer e. g. to the *Extraict des choses les plus remarcables qui se trouvent dans les poetes grecs, et dans leurs scholiastes, et premierement dans Homere et dans Eustathius* by the Guascon scholar Pierre de Marcassus (1584–1664), a bulky anthology of passages from Eustathius in translation, with a special focus on issues of customs, morality, and on ancient sources commenting Homer; I also refer to the *Extraict moral et politique du texte d'Homère et d'Eustathius*, a work emphatically dedicated by a civil servant from Auvergne, Jean Tinerel de Bellérophon (1598–1661), to the powerful and learned minister Pierre Séguier, and consisting of a running commentary on Homer and his world, along the lines of Eustathius' *Parekbolai* but embracing also quotations from different sources, from the Bible to Plutarch to Basil of Caesarea[26].

These books are all the more impressive as to our day no complete translation of Eustathius exists, with the only exception of the legendary Latin version by the Spanyard Vicente Mariner (1619–1623)[27]. It is clear, as observed by Noémi Hepp, that this interest did not proceed from archaeological curiosity, but from the wish to find in Eustathius the most eloquent and most authoritative key to draw from Homer some lessons of moral and behaviour[28]. In the annotations to the *Iliad* of none less than Jean Racine (dated to the years 1663–1666), we can see that the great French playwright owes a lot to Eustathius in terms of moralistic and stylistic observations, but also in matters that could be regarded as

24 Simonsuuri 1979, 12–15.

25 Andres 1822, 121. On the earlier attempt by the Spanyard Immanuel Martí, see Andres 1822, 112–121.

26 Marcassus is preserved in mss. BNF, Coisl. 182–183, Tinerel in mss. Coisl. 396–400: see Hepp 1968, 97–98; Pontani 2000, 56–57.

27 Preserved in Matr. lat. 9859–9862, see Andres 1822, 107–112; Pontani 2000, 57 and Cullhed 2014, *115.

28 Hepp 1968, 126.

strictly pertaining to the theatrical aspect of the epic[29]: for instance, when Racine notes on *Iliad* 3.427 that

> Hélène lui parle (à Paris) en détournant les yeux ailleurs, parce qu'elle le veut quereller, et qu'elle sent bien qu'elle sera amoureuse si elle le regarde[30],

this observation turns out to derive directly from the archbishop's text, without the mediation of Sponde's commentary[31].

However, the phenomenon of *Eustathiomania* was not confined to the boundaries of the Hexagon: Postel's 1700 edition of *Iliad* book 14 (precisely the same book mentioned in Callières' narrative), while containing a large amount of original notes that display a surprising erudition and competence in all domains of ancient literature and lore, also embraced a complete translation of Eustathius' commentary on that book, introduced by a sincere praise of the archbishop and of his activity as a collector of previous exegesis to Homer[32]. In his translation (pp. 20–142), Postel arranged the material according to the strict order of the lines, but he also made a point of not proceeding to cuts or abridgments even of the most arid grammatical observations.

Finally, an even more ambitious task was the Latin translation of Eustathius' commentaries "revus sur les manuscrits et éclaircis par la distinction des citations d'avec le texte, par la vérification de ces citations et par des notes" by the French scholar Claude Capperonnier, started in the early 1700s and still pre-

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29 Hepp 1968, 372–393. Racine's earlier (1661–1662) *Remarques sur l'Odyssée* (on books 1–10; Racine 1952, 721–800), being still unaware of Eustathius' *Parekbolai*, are less rich and tasteful than those to the *Iliad* (Racine 1952, 709–721).

30 Racine 1952, 715 on *Il*. 3.427. But all of Racine's notes to book 3 are full of psychological observations.

31 See Eust. *in Il*. 432.5–7, largely reworking the ancient scholia in a very original note, and including an ancient proverb with a verbal paronomasia: ἰστέον δέ, ὡς ἡ Ἑλένη κλίνει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πάλιν, ὡς εἴρηται, οὐ μόνον ἀκκιζομένη ἢ θυμουμένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκκλίνουσα τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἔρωτα· οἶδε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν τίκτεσθαι τὸ ἐρᾶν. This passage of Eustathius also impressed Marcassus (ms. BNF, Coisl. 182, ff. 81–82; see above note 26). Sponde 1583, 61 is more committed to explaining – even in opposition to Eustathius – Helen's innocence and moral excellence.

32 Postel 1700, b1 r-v: "Dieser Eustathius ist ein vornehmer geistlicher, und sehr gelahrter Mann gewesen, hat etwan vor acht oder neunhundert Jahren gelebet... er sahe schon zu seiner Zeit, daß die Ausläger dieses grossen Poeten und ihre darüber verfärtigte Schrifften anfingen dünne zu werden, wegen Kostbarkeit des Abschreibens, daher entschloß er sich aus allen denen, die damahls noch in grosser Menge vorhanden waren, einen Auszug zu machen. Daraus denn diese köstliche Erklährung entstanden, die wir noch zu seinem unsterblichem Ruhm, und größtem Nutzen deren die ihn lesen, besitzen".

served in manuscript form[33]. While covering only books 1–6 of the *Iliad*, and despite its still relatively raw state, this Herculean labour shows a remarkable amount of critical work, for not only all passages quoted by the archbishop (both Homeric and other) are identified and sometimes discussed in the notes, but references to parallel or relevant passages either within the *Parekbolai* or in other sources (from Strabo to Hermogenes, from Varro to Horace) are also often provided.

Capperonnier's work was interrupted possibly because of the concurrent project inaugurated in the 1720s by a Florentine Jesuit named Alessandro Politi, who attended for years to an annotated translation of Eustathius *In Iliadem*, availing himself of the help of the famous Hellenist and translator Anton Maria Salvini – their three voluminous *in-folio*s, however, did not reach beyond book 5[34]. Politi's edition deserves praise both for its remarkably learned apparatus of notes to Eustathius (the only such work to appear in print before van der Valk), and for the high consideration bestowed on the *Parekbolai* as a treasure of hidden wisdom that could change the Western perception of the entire Greek world[35]. Above all, Eustathius is viewed here from the outset as the most important and by far the best of all previous Homeric critics – a key feature in the *Nachleben* of this author[36], and an idea already current in René Rapin's 1664 *Comparaison des Poèmes d'Homère et Virgile*, where Eustathius is put on a par with Servius[37]. The continuation of Politi's work by the obscure Roman priest Leopoldo Sebastiani (second half of the 18th century), albeit a remarkable feat of erudition in both philological and exegetical terms, did not go beyond the manuscript form, and covered only books 6, 7 and 8 of the *Iliad*[38].

33 Paris, BNF, NAL 2074–2076: see Hepp 1968, 578–579.

34 Politi 1730–1735.

35 Politi 1730 (I), c. a I v: "occulto hoc ac latente thesauro, nondum opes omnes Graeciae esse cum Latinis communicatas: quem thesaurum si in oculis conspectuque gentis nostrae exponeremus, Graeciam ipsam totam esse in Latium commigraturam".

36 See also Politi 1730 (I), c. +3 v: "Eustathius, Archiepiscopus Thessalonicensis, qui tum propter admirabilem variae eruditionis copiam, tum propter accuratum et acre in rebus omnibus iudicium, tum propter Operis amplitudinem et granditatem, superioribus Criticis universis est longissime anteponendus. Hic enim, omnibus in unum coactis Graeciae Scriptoribus, quod quisque opportune atque apposite ad Homerum scripsisse et adnotasse visus esset, summa diligentia summoque judicio excerpsit, et ex maximis seculorum omnium ingeniis excellentissima quaeque ac praeclarissima libavit".

37 Rapin 1664, 164: "les plus celebres et les plus exacts Commentateurs de ces deux grands hommes".

38 Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana P 258–260: see Lucà 1988, 662 and 669–670. Andres 1822, 126–127.

2 Aesthetics and ethics: Dacier and Pope

2a Aesthetics

The above sketch of Eustathius' role in early modern Homeric scholarhip intended to fulfil a twofold purpose: on the one hand, to give a context that might shed light on his prominent role in Callières' parody; more importantly, to introduce what I regard as the most remarkable presence of our archbishop in Western culture, namely the massive use of his *Parekbolai* in the footnotes to two landmark editions of the Homeric poems, the French one by Anne Dacier (1699–1708, then 1711–1716)[39], and the English one by Alexander Pope (1715–1726)[40] – the latter also growing out of the increasing English interest in Homer fostered by the translations of Chapman, Hobbes and Dryden, and by Bentley's discovery of the digamma[41].

It should be remarked at the outset that Dacier's and Pope's (together with Sponde's 1583 edition) represent the only full-scale running commentaries to Homer printed in the West before the 19th century: it is no chance that they often draw on, interact and sometimes conflict with each other in their selection of topics and in their interpretive lines; the complex relationship between them would merit a study of its own[42]. On the other hand, focusing on these commentaries alone does not imply disregarding the importance of at least two almost contemporary achievements: Joshua Barnes' 1711 Cambridge edition centers essentially on textual criticism and on the erudite search for ancient readings and scholia (for which it offered a conspicuous amount of fresh material), whereas Samuel Clarke's 1729 *Iliad*, in itself a masterpiece acknowledged as such by the first coryphaeus of the "modern" *Homerkommentierung*,[43] is overtly indebted to its predecessors, but also chiefly oriented (particularly from book 5 onwards) towards the establishment of a reliable text – the numerous references to Eustathius crop up precisely in that perspective.

Dacier and Pope can thus legitimately claim for their editions the status of reference works, for the good reason that they are the only scholars (after Sponde) to have perused and elaborated every word of Eustathius' commentaries, no matter if through direct personal study, as in the case of the French

39 Dacier 1711–1716.
40 Pope 1993.
41 Simonsuuri 1979, 15.
42 See already Foulon 2010.
43 Heyne 1802, I, xxiii.

lady, or – as in the case of Pope, to whom biographers deny a thorough competence in Greek – through the work of obscure translators (Thomas Parnell, William Broome, John Jortin): the latter were charged with the task of making sense of Eustathius' difficult language, chiefly in such notes as "concern the beauties or art of the author – none geographical, historical or grammatical – unless some occur very important to the sense"[44].

Dacier and Pope also owe their prominence in this context to the attitude towards the text they are interpreting: both consider Homer, although from different angles, less as a masterpiece of ancient literature to be revered and set in a distant past than as a text open to inquiries and analyses bearing on the present day[45]. Dacier is sometimes baffling in this respect, e. g. when she praises Telemachus for invoking her mother as "μῆτερ", a practice at odds with the modern habit of calling one's parents by the vocative "Monsieur, Madame"; or when she comments on Penelope's anxiety about her son's departure at the end of *Odyssey* book 4, by a lapidary: "Tous les temps se ressemblent"[46]. Pope's approach, especially in the *Iliad*, is less optimistic and Homerolatric than Dacier's, especially in terms of aesthetic and moral assessment, which also explains the criticism levelled by the English translator at his French predecessor despite his immense (and sometimes undeclared) debt towards her; however, the quarrel between the two does not rest upon a real ideological basis, and eventually a more balanced attitude surfaces in both scholars' notes to the *Odyssey*.[47]

Dacier's use of Homer is of course to be understood in the frame of the then raging *querelle des anciens et des modernes*, which affected the evaluation of Greek archaic epic along two different parameters, the aesthetical and the ethical one[48]. On the aesthetical niveau, Dacier's declared purpose was to show Homer's skill in handling his material: she wished not only to facilitate the pleasure of reading the poems "as a novel", but also to propose them as a model of style

44 See Levine 1991, 197.

45 Patzek 1999, 164: "avec sa précision philologique elle [*scil.* Madame Dacier] se rend bien compte de la différence des moeurs homériques; mais à ses yeux, traduire signifie transposer dans sa propre langue, dans sa propre culture".

46 Dacier 1716, I, 105 and 112 respectively. The latter statement has a flavour of La Bruyère's "Les hommes n'ont point changé selon le coeur et selon les passions, ils sont encore tels qu'ils étaient alors et qu'ils sont marqués de Théophraste", an idea fiercely opposed by the moderns such as Saint-Evremond, La Motte and Fontenelle (Simonsuuri 1979, 20–22).

47 Foulon 2010. See also Simonsuuri 1979, 57–64.

48 Simonsuuri 1979, 19–20 speaks about the *literary critical* problem and the *creative-educational* problem, both linked to the *cultural* problem of the debt owed by contemporary arts and sciences to antiquity (the latter issue, however pivotal, was of course less compatible with Eustathius' main interests).

and writing, provided the poet's text was preserved from distortions and disfigurements such as La Motte's[49]:

> mon dessein n'est pas seulement d'expliquer le texte d'Homere, pour donner le vain plaisir de lire en nostre langue les avantures d'Ulysse comme on lit un Roman, mais aussi d'expliquer l'artifice du Poëme Epique, et l'adresse du Poëte dans la conduite de ses sujets.[50]

A famous case in point is the description of Alcinous' gardens in *Odyssey* book 7, which was contrasted during the *Querelle* with the grander and more magniloquent descriptions of Louis XIII's and XIV's royal gardens. Callières' *Histoire* tackles precisely this issue by letting Eustathius defend the simplicity of Homer's description and utter a maxim of art criticism, endowed with a wider aesthetic meaning that reaches well beyond the controversy on ancient epic.

> Nous sçaurons bien – lui répondit Eustatius – faire les distinctions nécessaires entre la grandeur de leur Maître et la capacité de ses Ouvriers, et leur faire connoître que le tableau d'un païsage où il n'y a que des cabanes, peut surpasser en beauté par l'excellence du Peintre le tableau des plus magnifiques Palais fait par une main moins sçavante.[51]

This is why Madame Dacier intersperses the notes to *Odyssey* book 7 with several polemical notes against Charles Perrault, the foremost "modern" polemist and the author of the *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* (1692) and of the *Siècle de Louis le Grand* (1687). Dacier retorts against Perrault that Homer "est un grand peintre, et il peint toujours", that his descriptions are charming and perfectly appropriate to the reality he is describing, and finally that

> Il n'y a rien en effet de plus admirable que ces jardins d'Alcinoüs tels qu'Homere les descrit, et j'ay toujours admiré le mauvais sens d'un Ecrivain moderne, qui pour mettre nostre siecle au dessus du siecle d'Homere, a osé préférer nos magnifiques, mais steriles jardins, à ces jardins où la Nature toujours feconde prodiguoit en toute saison toutes ses richesses[52].

49 Simonsuuri 1979, 49–56.
50 Dacier 1716, I, 51.
51 Callières 1688, 115.
52 Dacier 1716, I, 560; 563; 566–567. The attack is addressed against the mockery of Homer's description in Perrault 1693, 168 and 182.

2b Ethics: an old issue

It is apparent from Dacier's words that Homer's aesthetical praise (to which Alexander Pope will contribute new arguments, directed against Rapin and other critics, and partly relying on Eustathius' remark that Homer "suits his Poetry to the things he relates"[53]) cannot be separated from the ethical message conveyed by Homer: the idea of simplicity and sobriety is in this respect perhaps the most important one to be discussed. The (idealised presentation of the) simplicity of ancient artworks – as opposed to the luxurious production designed for the French king in the frame of his propagandistic agenda – is matched by the (idealised presentation of the) simplicity of Homeric *ethos*, as it emerges from the behaviour of all characters.

What stands out in Dacier's exegetical approach – along with a general distaste for every sort of philological or textual controversy[54] – is the constant need to show that the praiseworthy *moeurs* of the Homeric heroes are not the sign of an "archaic" and "barbarian" civilisation with no access to refinement and education, but rather the effect of a moral niveau that was distinctly higher than ours. Indeed, the entire epic poem is "un discours en vers, inventé pour former les moeurs par des instructions déguisées sous l'allegorie d'une action generale et des plus grands personnages".[55] This was also, to a certain extent, the idea of Pope, who argued that "it would be endless to observe every moral passage in the *Odyssey*, the whole of it being but one lesson of Morality"[56].

This approach will be systematised in the lengthy Homeric *excursus* in book II of Charles Rollin's *Traité des études* (1726–1728), a milestone in 18th-century pedagogical and philosophical thought[57]. By presenting Homer as the purest prototype of the good old times[58], Rollin compares the description of Homeric palaces and royal families with those known from the Old Testament and from the history of the Roman Republic, joining all these paradigms under the heading of simplicity and modesty:

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53 Pope 1993, IX, 239 and 242. See Rapin 1664, 95–96.
54 Hepp 1968, 635.
55 Dacier 1716, I, xii.
56 Pope 1993, IX, 32.
57 Touchefeu 1999.
58 Rollin 1726, 377: "Telles étoient les moeurs de ces temps héroïques, de ces heureux temps, où l'on ne connoissoit ni le luxe, ni la mollesse, et où l'on ne faisait consister la gloire que dans le travail et dans la vertu, et la honte que dans la paresse et dans le vice".

> La simplicité et la modestie étoient l'heureux caractère de ces premiers siècles. Leurs palais n'étaient point remplis d'une troupe inutile de domestiques, de valets, et d'officiers capables d'y introduire toutes sortes de vices par leur orgueil et leur fainéantise.[59]

This idea of Homer's simplicity, to which we shall come back presently, was also very dear to an author who had in fact refused the Homeric model on the literary niveau and preferred to center his most important novel on the adventures of an Homeric character re-told in a Virgilian key: I am referring to Fénelon, who as early as 1714 wrote to the "Académie":

> Cette simplicité des moeurs semble ramener l'âge d'or… Les vains préjugés de notre temps avilissent de telles beautés: mais nos défauts ne diminuent point le vrai prix d'une vie si raisonnable et si naturelle.[60]

It should be stressed that Dacier (and later Rollin) were by no means stating the obvious: the idea of Perrault (and in a certain sense of Voltaire, who also criticised Dacier's work) was that "les Princes de ce temps-là ressembloient bien aux paysans de ce temps-cy"[61], and that therefore the level of technological and cultural development – not an alleged ethical superiority – was the sole responsible for the remarkable differences between the behaviour of the Homeric heroes and that of contemporary noblemen. Indeed, some critics (e.g. Houdart de la Motte, who went so far as to change conspicuously the very wording of the *Iliad* in his translation[62]) were convinced that the progress of mankind gave modern writers many advantages over Homer[63]. Now, this opposition (quite crucial in assessing the entire sense of Homer's work) unconsciously follows in the footsteps of a perfectly analogous controversy that marked ancient Homeric exegesis.

Part of the Alexandrian critics, and above all their *chef-de-file* Aristarchus of Samothrace, regarded the Homeric customs, and chiefly the heroes' simplicity and αὐτουργία, precisely as a sign of the *archaische Kulturstufe*, and thus the

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59 Rollin 1726, 376.

60 Fénelon 1970 (1714), 79. See Fraigneau 2005, 320; Hepp 1968, 600.

61 Perrault 1693, 68 (le Chevalier); see also 93 (l'Abbé): "A l'égard des moeurs, il y en a de particulières au temps où il a écrit, et il y en a qui sont de tous les temps. A l'égard des premieres, quoyqu'elles semblent ridicules par rapport à celles du temps où nous sommes; comme de voir des Héros qui font eux-mesmes leur cuisine, et des Princesses qui vont laver la lesive, il pourroit y avoir de l'injustice à les reprendre". See A. Grafton in Wolf 1988, 9; Simonsuuri 1979, 23–26 and 37–45. On Voltaire's stance, also critical of Dacier albeit in a different spirit, see Patzek 1999, 165–167 and Simonsuuri 1979, 65–73.

62 See Simonsuuri 1979, 48–52.

63 See Canfora 1997, 93–95.

mark of an underdeveloped civilisation, much in the way Perrault did[64]. The late Martin Schmidt, whose essay remains the reference work on this topic, has shown that this idea – somewhat disparaging for the ἡρωϊκὸς βίος, and ultimately going back to Thucydides’ approach in the *archaiologia*[65] – partly affected also the so-called “bT-scholia”; the latter often sought specific justifications for kings and heroes doing manual jobs, since they regarded this practice as unworthy of their status, in full compliance with the habits of their times, whether Hellenistic or imperial[66]. Schmidt further stressed how closely this interpretation went along with the idea of Homer being a trustworthy witness of his own age, *qua* different from ours – a note by Porphyry expresses this idea in the clearest of manners[67], although it ought to be remarked that Porphyry was in fact an admirer of the ethical superiority of ancient times[68].

Other ancient commentators, however, chose a different stance, and identified Homer with the true paradigm of ethical propriety, the *summa* of good moral behaviour to be imitated in the present age. This was the case e. g. for Myrtilus, one of the talking characters of Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae* (1.8e–11b), who argued that Homer aimed to encourage moderation and σωφροσύνη by giving the heroes a simple, self-sufficient way of life[69] – the examples are chosen particularly from their eating habits. It is doubtful whether or not this passage depends on a mysterious Dioscorides (probably not the pupil of Isocrates, maybe a certain Dioscurides of Tarsus of the 1st century BCE) who wrote a treatise *Customs in Homer* (περὶ τῶν παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ νόμων) representing Stoic stances[70]; be that as it may, we definitely have here someone arguing that Homer has purposefully made the “lives of all his characters frugal and simple”, and more or less indirectly extolling the moral value of this behaviour in opposition to that of his own

64 See esp. the A scholium to *Il.* 3.261–262a, where Aristarchus (Aristonicus) exclaims ὅτι οἱ ἥρωες πάντες ἔμπειροι καὶ αὐτουργοί, when commenting on Priam driving the chariot himself.
65 Schmidt 1976, 161. See on this entire topic also Cullhed, this volume.
66 Schmidt 1976, 159–173. See also the pathbreaking study (not too strongly marred by the usual philo-aristarchean bias) by Roemer 1924, 185–199.
67 Porph. *qu. Il.* 3.281 (p. 61.12–13 Schrader): ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς μιμητὴς ὢν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐποίει, οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα. See Roemer 1924, 187.
68 See Roemer 1924, 198–199.
69 Athen. 1.8e: ὅτι Ὅμηρος ὁρῶν τὴν σωφροσύνην οἰκειοτάτην ἀρετὴν οὖσαν τοῖς νέοις καὶ πρώτην… βουλόμενος ἐμφῦσαι αὐτὴν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐφεξῆς, ἵνα τὴν σχολὴν καὶ τὸν ζῆλον ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις ἀναλίσκωσι καὶ ὦσιν εὐεργετικοὶ καὶ κοινωνικοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εὐτελῆ κατεσκεύασε πᾶσι τὸν βίον καὶ αὐτάρκη.
70 This is what has been argued by scholars on the basis of the quotation in *Suid.* ο 251 Adler: see FGrH 594F*8 = Diosc. fr. 1 Weber; see also Schmidt 1976, 16–19 (who is very cautious about the identification of this scholar) and particularly 163–164. *Contra* Heath 2000.

times. What matters to us here is that Eustathius of Thessalonica seems to be so aware of this line of interpretation as to imply or refer to it several times throughout his *Parekbolai:* perhaps the most conspicuous *locus* is his own note to *Iliad* 3.261[71], where he picks up and amplifies Aristonicus' doctrine, but the long list of parallel passages in van der Valk's apparatus shows how frequently the archbishop referred to this topic, with several of his notes ringing a note of nostalgia for a lost, paradigmatic world.

This interpretive *Spaltung* in ancient exegesis was important, and its re-surfacing in such a different cultural context as modern Europe is not fortuitous. Before the discovery of the ancient scholia to the *Iliad*, Eustathius played a decisive role of mediation in this respect, for in the frame of a moralistic reading of Homer a selective perusal of the *Parekbolai* could yield precious insights. This is already the case in Marcassus' and Tinerel's aforementioned 17th-century manuscript works[72]; but Dacier, while sometimes disparaging the archbishop as a pedantic investigator of *nugae*[73], more often avails herself directly or indirectly of Eustathius when commenting on *Realien* and matters of ethics or style[74]. Dacier did not intend to by-pass Eustathius, she rather attempted to go beyond Eustathius by implementing an essentially similar approach: this almost sounds like a timid response to Jean Leclerc, who complained in 1707 about the inadequacies of present-day Homeric exegesis[75], perhaps unconsciously repeating a dissatisfaction already uttered by Sponde in his judgment about his ancient predecessors[76].

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71 Eust. *in Il.* 413.14–16: ἰστέον δὲ καὶ ὅτι αὐτοδιάκονοι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ Ὁμηρικοὶ βασιλεῖς. οὕτω γοῦν ἐνταῦθα Πρίαμος ἡνιοχεῖ, Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ τάμνει, ἤτοι θύει, τὰ ὅρκια [*Il.* 3.271], καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ τάμνει κρέα [*Il.* 9.206]. See Roemer 1924, 195 and Schmidt 1976, 160 note 3.

72 See above note 25: Marcassus' *Odyssey* in ms. Coisl. 183 is particularly instructive in this repect.

73 "ce n'est pas un fort grand critique; il s'amuse longuement à des minuties; il court après de vaines applications, et il ne remonte jamais à la vraie source des idées de ce grand poète… On peut se servir très utilement de ses Comentaires pourvu qu'on s'en serve avec choix. J'en ai tiré plusieurs remarques qui doivent lui faire honneur et qui ne me paraissent pas inutiles" (Dacier 1711, I (*Préface de l'Iliade*), lxxviii – lxxix); see Hepp 1968, 636 note 35.

74 Hepp 1968, 647: "Bien qu'elle ait émis un jugement assez sévère sur Eustathe, elle reste rivée à lui, elle semble ignorer que depuis lui ont coulé plusieurs siècles au cours desquels les exigences de l'esprit ont pu changer".

75 See Hepp 1968, 564: "Je sais que nous avons Eustathe, mais on sait qu'il y a dans ses vastes commentaires bien plus de minuties grammaticales et de subtilités inutiles que de fine critique et de matières agréables".

76 Sponde 1583, 36 (on Didymus and Eustathius): "sed neuter mihi satis in hoc Poeta laborasse videbatur, quod ut plurimum in verbis enucleandis Grammatice versentur, aut in fabularum narrationibus fusius et ad fastidium exponendis, quod ipsum praestitit in suis Commentariis Came-

3 Heroes and dogs

Two examples – both taken from the *Odyssey*, which is by all standards the more "moral" poem – will clarify this situation. At the beginning of book 2 Telemachus proceeds to the assembly of the Ithacans with no other escort than two dogs: *Od.* 2.11 οὐκ οἶος, ἅμα τῷ γε δύω κύνες ἀργοὶ ἕποντο. The ancient scholia observe that this might depend on the simplicity of ancient life, or on the innate disposition of the animal to follow his master:

> schol. (Ariston.) DEGHM[a] *Od.* 2.11b τοῦτό τινες πρὸς τὸν ἄγροικον τῶν παλαιῶν βίον. ἢ ὡς φιλακόλουθον τὸ ζῶον ἕπεται, οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ.

Eustathius, on the other hand, expands on the ancient exegesis by pasting in one and the same note several ancient scholia, but he ultimately resorts to much the same explanation.

> Eust. *in Od.* 1430.47–52 (p. 352.17–24 Cullhed) οὐ μόνον ὅτι φιλακόλουθον τὸ ζῷον καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ δεσπόταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει ὁ εὐγενὴς νεανίας ἑτεροίους ἀκολούθους διὰ τὴν τῶν μνηστήρων ἐπιβουλὴν δι᾽ ἣν μεμόνωται… ἔτι ἀκολουθοῦσι τῷ Τηλεμάχῳ κύνες καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀγροικικώτερον τοῦ ἡρωϊκοῦ βίου, καὶ ὡς κυνηγῷ δὲ καθ᾽ ὁμοίαν τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδευσιν….
>
> not only because this animal is a trusty companion, especially to its master, but also because the noble young man did not have other followers due to the scheming of the suitors, which had rendered him lonely… Moreover, dogs follow Telemachus because of the rusticity of heroic life, and also because he is a hunter, cultivating the same habits as his father… (transl. Cullhed)

Let us now turn to the modern commentators. Politian finds Eustathius' note particularly interesting, and reproduces it at length, in his usual mixture of Greek original and Latin paraphrase (p. 214.49 – 215.75 Silvano). The key point of his annotation to the Homeric passage lies in the manifold motivations for the appearance of the two dogs, whereby the "ethical" one is prominent:

> Angelus Politianus, *in Hom. Od.* 2.11 (p. 214.49–54 Silvano) "animal φιλακόλουθον domini. et Telemachus μεμόνωται propter procos: non ergo habet alios pedissequos… sequuntur eum etiam διὰ τὸ ἀγροικικώτερον τοῦ ἡρωϊκοῦ βίου, et ut venatori qualis erat pater, qui Argum canem amabat".

rarius, non altius assurgens quam vulgus Grammaticorum. Itaque aliquid amplius desiderari ad veram in tam gravi autore commentandi rationem animadvertebam".

Hubertus Giphanius (probably under the impulse of Falkenburg's notes) is the first to venture a comparison with other ancient authors, in what turns out to be one of the nine notes to the entire book 2:

> Vetere instituto, heroës canibus comitantibus procedere solent etiam in concionem: de quo Pollux Virgil. lib. 8 de Euandro *Nec non et gemini custodes limine abacto, etc. gressumque canes comitantur herilem.* [*Aen.* 8.461–462][77]

Jean de Sponde, who obviously had no knowledge of Politian, reacts in a longer note to the "veterum Regum simplicitas", and follows more closely in Eustathius' footsteps when enumerating the possible reasons for the presence of the two dogs (their fidelity, an ancient custom, the tradition of hunting in Odysseus' family etc.):

> Sed illa fuit veterum Regum simplicitas, ut nulla comitatus pompa incedant, nisi in bello… Forsan et hoc in adeundis concionibus magis observatum fuit. Eustathius vero dicit, hoc esse testimonio, procorum opera Telemachum omni esse hominum comitatu destitutum. Caeterum canes solebant heroës ad conciones comitari… putat tamen Eustathius, potuisse etiam ipsos esse venaticos, quod eodem studio venationis ac pater Telemachus teneretur.[78]

Madame Dacier's comment picks up her predecessors' notes, including the reference to Virgil and above all the Eustathian idea of the *simplicitas regum*, while transposing it to a more distinctly polemical tone, and retorting against the contemporary critics of Homer's primitive world (a prince being escorted by dogs!) not only an aesthetical judgment about Homer's poetry, but also the reference to a *locus* of the Old Testament that matches perfectly the *ethos* implied by the world of Ithaca.

> Il seroit bon que ces grands critiques se souvinssent que la Poësie est comme la Peinture, qui tire de grandes beautez des coutumes les plus simples. Et que non seulement dans la Poësie, mais dans la Prose mesme, on prend plaisir à voir relever les moindres choses qui marquent les usages des anciens temps. Ce qu'Homere dit icy de Telemaque n'est pas different de ce que la sainte Escriture nous dit de Tobie, cent cinquante ans ou environ après Homere, *Profectus est autem Tobias, et canis secutus est eum*, Tob. 6.1 Virgile n'a pas dédaigné la mesme circonstance, car dans le liv. 8 en parlant d'Evandre, il dit: *Necnon et gemini custodes limine ab alto / Procedunt, gressumque canes comitantur herilem.* Et c'est ce que les plus grands Peintres ont imité.[79]

77 Giphanius 1572, c. Ggg IV r.
78 Sponde 1583, 17.
79 Dacier 1716, 152–153. See on this passage Mercier 1995, 190–191.

In this respect, Dacier goes further than Eustathius himself: the archbishop had been criticised by some for making hardly any reference to the Holy Writ in his commentaries on Homer – a reproach countered by Alessandro Politi in the preface to his Latin translation[80]. In fact, Dacier (and to a lesser extent Pope)[81] did believe in the possibility of a comparison between Homeric passages and similar Biblical *loci*, and proved ready to point to them on every given occasion.

Alexander Pope, who repeatedly acknowledges his debt to Madame Dacier and to Eustathius in particular, also picks up and discusses Dacier’s and Eustathius’ notes on Telemachus’ dogs and the simplicity of ancient Princes[82], but then turns it into a subtle aesthetic remark on the opportunity of considering the poems within their historical context (this recalls Porphyry’s aforementioned warning against anachronisms, augmented by an occurrence of the famous motto *Ut pictura poësis*):

> Poetry, observes Dacier, is like Painting, which draws the greatest beauties from the simplest customs… the Poet, as well as the Painter, is obliged to follow the customs of the age of which he writes, or paints: a modern dress would ill become *Achilles* or *Ulysses*, such a conduct would be condemned as an absurdity in painting, and ought to be so in poetry[83].

This is a nice sample of the slightly more “historicising” perspective adopted by Pope in his commentary[84], although no stern separation or unbridgeable gap between the ancients and us is implied, especially if one considers the feats of Ulysses:

> We can bring the sufferings of Ulysses in some degree home to our selves, and make his condition our own; but what private person can ever be in the circumstances of Agamemnon or Achilles?[85].

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80 Politi 1730, c. c2 r-v.
81 See Foulon 2010, 175–176.
82 Pope 1993, 60: “But such was the simplicity of ancient Princes, that except in war they had rarely any attendants or equipage. And we may be confident, *Homer* copies after the custom of the time, unless we can be so absurd as to suppose, he would feign low circumstances unnecessarily, thro’ a want of judgment”.
83 Pope 1993, 61.
84 Levine 1991, 209. See also Pope 1993, 90: “If we form our images of persons and actions in antient times, from the images of persons and actions in modern ages, we shall fall into great mistakes”.
85 Pope 1993, 79.

4 Nausicaa’s laundry

My other example is the famous scene of Nausicaa doing the laundry in *Odyssey* book 6. No scholium to that book tackles directly the issue of the propriety, or indeed the plausibility, of a scene where a princess devotes her time and efforts to such down-to-earth occupations. But the issue is framed against the broader background of the heroes’ αὐτουργία – indeed it was dealt with in such a context by Porphyry[86]:

> schol. DH(O) (Porph.) *Od.* 1.332 (p. 172.81–85 Pont.): τό τ᾽ αὐτουργεῖν ἐλευθέριον μάλιστα εἶναι ἐδόκει τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πλυνοὺς μὴ ὄνειδος εἶναι τὰς τῶν βασιλέων ἀπιέναι θυγατέρας καὶ εἰς ὑδροφορίαν καί τινας τοιαύτας ⟨ὡς⟩ ἰσοδουλικὰς τὸ νῦν ἀποβεβλημένας διακονίας.
>
> personal labour seemed to the ancients absolutely worthy of a freeman, so that it was no shame for the daughters of kings to go to the washing pits and fetch water and perform similar services, which today are looked upon as fit for slaves.

> schol. E (Porph.) *Od.* 3.411a (p. 145.36–40 Pont.): φασὶν οὖν ὅτι ἁπλοϊκῶς καὶ ἀκενοδόξως τότε διέκειντο καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔπαρσιν. ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ θυγατέρες τῶν τοιούτων βασιλέων μετὰ οἰκείων χειρῶν ἔπλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια. ὥστε οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰς ἀτιμίαν τὸ οὕτω ποιεῖν διὰ τὴν ἁπλότητα.
>
> They say that at that time their life was plain and without conceit or ambition: elsewhere, the daughters of such kings even washed the clothes with their own hands: it was clearly not dishonourable for them to act like that, due to their simplicity.

Eustathius makes two observations on the passage of book 6: first of all, he remarks that Nausicaa’s entire behaviour is an instance of the ἡρωϊκὴ ἀφέλεια καὶ ἁπλότης. Secondly, he insists on the fact that the very nature of the garments – without any gold or similar luxury – is a proof of the modesty of the heroic age.

> Eust. *in Od.* 1549.59–60 (on *Od.* 6.74): καὶ ποιήσει οὕτως ἡ Ναυσικάα διδοῦσα ἑαυτὴν εἰς ὑπερτερίαν εὐτελῆ κατὰ ἡρωϊκὴν ἀφέλειαν καὶ ἁπλότητα, δι᾽ ἣν καὶ ψυχρολουτεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς. καὶ φέρει ἐκ θαλάμου ἐσθῆτα φαεινήν, καὶ κατατίθησιν ἐπ᾽ ἀπήνης, καὶ μάστιγα καὶ ἡνίον λαβοῦσα μαστίζει τὰς ἡμιόνους. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπανιέναι ζεύξασα τὰς ἡμιόνους, πτύσσει τὰ εἵματα.

86 See Roemer 1924, 195 and Schmidt 1976, 161 note 8, claiming that this idea was ultimately Aristarchean. It should be noted that this passage of the long excerpt from Porphyry’s *Quaestiones Homericae* to *Od.* 1.332 does not belong to Dicaearchus (for the correct delimitation of his fragment see fr. 95 Mirhády).

> And Nausicaa will act in this way, placing herself on a humble cart, according to the same heroic simplicity, by virtue of which in another passage she will also bathe in cold water. And she brings from the bedroom a shining robe and deposes it on the cart, then, taking hold of the whip and the reins she whips the mules. And when they come back from the river, she harnesses the mules and folds the garments.

> Eust. *in Od.* 1550.36–39 δήλη δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἡ ἡρωϊκὴ ἀφέλεια καὶ εὐτέλεια. εἵματα γὰρ φοροῦσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς πλυνόμενα καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ποταμῷ, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ χρυσὸς ἐνταῦθα ἤ τι ἕτερον ἀπρόσιτον ὕδατι· ἀλλ' ἔχαιρον καθαρὰ φοροῦντες νεόπλυτα.

> In such passages the heroic simplicity and humbleness are manifest, for kings wear robes that are washed – and not only washed, but in a river! – and that do not have any gold or other material that does not stand water: they were happy wearing clean, newly washed robes.

This issue is conspicuously absent from Sponde's commentary, but it soon became one of the *pièces de résistance* of the Ancien Régime scholars, whose reaction was either scandal or admiration. Jean Tinerel de Bellérophon, on the basis of the Nausicaa episode, devoted part of his notes to the fact that "Les princes du temps d'Homere vivoient fort frugalement"[87]. The αὐτουργία of eminent men was a quality praised even by Jean Racine when commenting on Ulysses building his own raft: "il n'est point messéant à un grand homme de savoir faire les plus petites choses"[88]. That precisely Nausicaa should be a paradigm of simplicity in a perspective perfectly compatible with Christendom, was made clear by Charles Rollin[89], but already by Madame Dacier's commentary, which clearly drew on Eustathius, adding the Biblical example of Sarah, perhaps in the wake of the section about virtuous women in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis*[90].

> C'est selon cette coutume, reste précieux de l'âge d'or, et que nous voyons si bien pratiquée dans l'Escriture sainte, que Nausicaa va elle-mesme laver ses robes avec ses amies et ses femmes. J'ai oüi dire qu'encore aujourd'huy dans quelque Province du Royaume les filles de condition assistent elles-mesmes à ces fonctions du menage, et qu'elles se font une espece de feste de ces jours-là. Nous serions bienheureux de conserver encore dans leur entier des moeurs si simples et si sages, et avec lesquelles on ne ruineroit point sa maison…

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87 See above note 25: ms. Coisl. 397, ff. 44r-v (and 47r-v).

88 Racine 1952, 760.

89 Rollin 1726, 329–330.

90 *Strom.* 4.19.123.1: ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γυνὴ Σάρρα ἡ μακαρία αὐτὴ τοὺς ἐγκρυφίας παρεσκεύασε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις [Gen 18.6–7], καὶ βασιλικαὶ κόραι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τὰ πρόβατα ἔνεμον [*Gen.* 29.6; *Exod.* 2.16], ὅθεν καὶ ἡ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ Ναυσικάα ἐπὶ τοὺς πλυνοὺς ᾔει.

> Eustathe fait remarquer encore icy une simplicité, une modestie et une propreté de ces temps-là, toutes ces robes sont sans or et peuvent toutes estre lavées[91].

On this issue of the ancient Hellenes' shocking habits, Pope follows in Dacier's footsteps[92], by replying to the critics of Homer that

> such Critics form their idea of ancient, from modern greatness: It wou'd be now a meanness to describe a person of Quality thus employ'd, because custom has made it the work of persons of low condition: It would be now thought dishonourable for a Lady of high station to attend the flocks; yet we find in the most ancient history extant that the daughters of Laban and Jethoro, persons of power and distinction, were so employ'd, without any dishonour to their quality. In short, these passages are to be look'd upon as exact pictures of the old World, and consequently as valuable remains of Antiquity[93].

This is the "historical" explanation of the primitive customs of those early times; but then Pope goes on to quote Eustathius about the

> modesty and simplicity of these early times, when the whole dress of a King and his family (who reign'd over a people that delighted in dress) is without gold: for we see Nausicaa carries with her all the habits that were used at the greatest solemnities; which had they been wrought with gold could not have been washed.[94]

Pope often insists on heroic simplicity, and he regularly does so in the footsteps of Eustathius: e. g. about the furniture of Nestor's palace in book 3[95], or when Telemachus goes to sleep at the end of book 1:

> The simplicity of these Heroic times is remarkable; an old woman is the only attendant upon the son of a King: She lights him to his apartment, takes care of his cloaths, and hangs them up at the side of his bed. Greatness then consisted not in shew, but in the mind: this conduct proceeded not from the meanness of poverty, but from the simplicity of manners[96].

We can thus see that Eustathius' notes, as vehicle of the ancient debate on Homer's morality, sometimes stir and open up interpretive perspectives that have a

91 Dacier 1716, 502.
92 Foulon 2010, 167.
93 Pope 1993, 206.
94 Pope 1993, 209.
95 Pope 1993, 88: "It is the remark of Eustathius, that Pisistratus the son of a King does not seat these strangers upon purple Tapestry, or any other costly furniture, but upon the Skins of beasts, that had nothing to recommend them but their softness".
96 Pope 1993, 57.

great deal to say about the modern reception of the epics. The influence of the *Parekbolai*, both as representatives of ancient exegesis and as a reading of Homer in their own right, is momentous, and concurs to shaping the debate about the "moral Homer" between the 17th and the 18th century. It is perhaps not by chance that precisely the simplicity of Alcinous' gardens and the episode of Nausicaa doing the laundry are evoked in a pivotal passage of Fénelon's *Lettre à l'Académie* (1714)[97] and in a crucial moment of J.J. Rousseau's novel *Émile* (1762). In the latter, it is through Sophie's reaction to the story of Nausicaa (told by the narrator), as well as through her promptness to act as an *alter ego* of the Phaeacian princess, that the Odyssean intertext of the entire book comes to the surface; the moral and paedagogical model represented by Homer thus becomes a foil for Rousseau's own representation of countenance and love.

> La fille voudrait savoir ce que c'est qu'Alcinoüs, et la mère le demande. Alcinoüs – leur dis-je – était un roi de Corcyre, dont le jardin, décrit par Homère, est critiqué par les gens de goût, comme trop simple et trop peu paré. Cet Alcinoüs avait une fille aimable... Le père... prend la parole, et dit que la jeune princesse allait elle-même laver le linge à la rivière. Croyez-vous, poursuit-il, qu'elle eût dédaigné de toucher aux serviettes sales, en disant qu'elles sentaient le graillon?[98]

5 Eustathius damnatus

The praise of Eustathius sounds very remote to our ears. Many contemporary scholars ignore or overlook the role of the *Parekbolai* in the reception and interpretation of Homer; in recent years, no less an authority than Hartmut Erbse uttered the harshest of verdicts on the archbishop's lack of method and of consequential reasoning[99]. The rationale for the trajectory that leads from the Eustathiomania of the *âge classique* to contemporary skepticism is in fact rather straightforward, and may be sketched as the outcome of several concurring elements. First of all, the primitivistic approach: Vico's new, disparaging consider-

97 Fénelon 1970 (1714), 138: "Homère n'a-t-il pas dépeint avec grâce l'isle de Calypso et les jardins d'Alcinoüs, sans y mettre ni marbre ni dorure? Les occupations de Nausicaa ne sont-elles pas plus estimables que le jeu et que les intrigues des femmes de notre temps? Nos pères en auraient rougi, et on ose mépriser Homère pour n'avoir pas peint par avance ces moeurs monstrueuses, pendant que le monde étoit encore assez heureux pour les ignorer!".

98 Rousseau 1966 (1762), book V, 534. See Patzek 1999, 168–170. Perrin 1999. Touchefeu 1995, 186–188.

99 Erbse 1965, 927, quoted with approval by Latacz 2000, 14.

ation of the Homeric world as the age of uncivilised "bestioni", marked by their "costume immanissimo" and a fierce and uneducated pride (*Scienza nuova*, 1744), slowly replaced the subtle charm of heroic simplicity – which, as we have seen, had played such a relevant role for Homer's partisans during the *Querelle*[100].

Moreover, the erudite and pedantic side of Eustathius fell the victim of the new Romantic sensibility: the consideration of Homer, after Winckelmann, as an "ursprünglicher Genie", as an "original genius" (to quote Robert Wood), as a genuine and isolated representative of a world of popular songs and beliefs, as the most immediate and faithful literary transposition of a primitive world[101], entailed two consequences for Romantic poets:

– the allergy for all sorts of moralistic reading (as early as 1779, Johann Heinrich Voss stressed that the poet's words had above all a sensory meaning[102]);
– the distaste for all the erudition that encumbered and impaired a direct and first-hand, emotional fruition of the poems; this is the definitive verdict about Homeric philology given by that heir of John Keats, Matthew Arnold, in 1861:

> Rather will the poetry of Homer make us forget his philology, than his philology make us forget his poetry. It may even be affirmed that every one who reads Homer perpetually for the sake of enjoying his poetry… comes at last to form a perfectly clear sense in his own mind for every important word in Homer, such as ἀδινός, or ἠλίβατος, whatever the scholar's doubts about the word may be.[103]

But even more importantly, the decisive element for the dethronement of Eustathius from the *pantheon* of Greek philology was the rise of *Alterthumswissenschaft*. The surfacing of new manuscript material changed dramatically the priorities of scholars, drawing them away from the perusal and interpretation of the *Parekbolai* and into the analysis of the sophisticated rhetoric of Hellenistic and imperial scholia[104]. The practice of reconstructing lost exegesis from new manuscript material and through a fresh look at the indirect tradition was particularly valued by Valckenaer (1747) and his successors, and it obviously came to its

100 See Lehnus 2012, 112–114, with further bibliography. Rotta 1999. Simonsuuri 1979, 77–98.
101 See e.g. Simonsuuri 1979, 99–142; Häntszchel 1977, 1–15. Lehnus 2012.
102 Voss 1779, 169: "Eustath und die Scholiasten irren am gewöhnlichsten da, wo sie Worte erklären, die bei Homer bloß sinnliche Begriffe hatten, und nachmals moralische annahmen".
103 Arnold 1903 (1861), 280.
104 See Pontani 2006, 203–210.

acme with the publication of the Venetian *scholia vetera* to the *Iliad* by Villoison, and their subsequent use in F.A. Wolf's *Prolegomena*[105].

It is no chance that the removal of Eustathius from the foreground of Homeric exegesis is overtly declared in the very first words of Villoison's momentous preface to his *Iliad* (1788):

> Quod olim in Graecia confecit Eustathius, idem ego nuper Venetiis, quo, ante meam in Germaniam et Graeciam profectionem, a Christianissimo Rege missus fueram, tentavi. Scilicet varias antiquissimorum Criticorum in Iliadem observationes huc usque ineditas, nec non editione dignissimas, descripsi, selegi, collegi, et secundum Homericorum versuum ordinem ac seriem disposui atque digessi, Arsenii, Monembasiae Archiepiscopi, qui Scholia in Euripidem primus edidit, exemplum sequutus[106].

Wolf's *Prolegomena* refined and completed this vilification of Eustathius:

> At ille, qui in Homero nihil praeter pulchrum poëtam mirabatur, priscorum eius fatorum minus curiosus, et rhetoricos potius quam criticos interpretes sectatus, omnino ab hac parte non tantam, quanta vulgo fruitur, laudem meruit, plurimam debet iacturae doctiorum Scholiorum.[107]

It is with Wolf that Eustathius becomes forever a mere indirect source for alien opinions, and a mere repository of ancient readings:

> At in Eustathio non Eustathii opiniones quaerimus, sed vetustiorum litteratorum, quorum Scholia ante oculos habebat. Ex his autem Scholiis eum ubique et in iis versibus maxime, ubi rem non obiter tractat, alia omnia referre, paullo mox viderimus.[108]

This "murder" of Eustathius, partly proceeding from scholars who ignored much about Byzantine culture (and for instance believed Eustathius to be a contempo-

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105 Pontani 2006, 211–218.
106 Villoison 1788, i.
107 Wolf 1795, pp. 12–13 Peppmüller. Transl. in Wolf 1988, 54 (I.5): "He admired in Homer only the beauty of the poetry, taking little interest in the early portion of his afterlife and following rhetorical rather than critical commentators. On this side of things he deserves less praise than he commonly enjoys, and owes a vast amount to the loss of the more learned scholia".
108 Wolf 1795, p. 58 Pepp. Transl. in Wolf 1988, 94 (I.18): "But we seek in Eustathius not the opinions of Eustathius but those of earlier grammarians, whose scholia he had before his eyes. And we will see a little later that he reports everything else from these scholia, both in general and above all on those verses where he treats a subject not in passing". See, in the same spirit, Wilamowitz 2006 (a lecture of 1887), 137: "Für uns ist seine Weisheit nichts Massgebendes… Sein Commentar ist eine sehr respectable Leistung, wenn schon die eines Compilators".

rary and friend of Michael Psellus[109]), will entail the quick disappearance of the archbishop from the most influential commentaries of the 19th century such as those by Heyne, Nitzsch and Ameis-Hentze, where he is evoked but sporadically as a complement to the ancient scholia. Nor will the very trend of attention to ancient exegesis and its transmission last long: comparative grammar and linguistics, structural and narratological analysis, and other modern tools soon moved the scholars' gaze away from the heritage of ancient exegesis altogether: "After Heyne, Homeric study took a different course"[110].

It is of course true that much of the material offered by Eustathius is derivative, and perhaps even superfluous for readers who have access to the ancient scholia. However, the overarching interpretation of Homer given by the archbishop of Thessalonica, while consisting of a series of single, detailed interpretations, did respond to a wider image of the poet, in which the moral (and to a lesser extent religious) issue played a certain role. With the triumph of scholia, not only was Eustathius ushered into forgetfulness, but also a certain image of Homer was superseded and relegated into a more or less distant past: the demands of "close reading" and philological interpretation were definitively severed from the issues of contemporary aesthetics and ethics. Homer left the battlefield in order to enter the museum, and Eustathius stopped being the captain of his guard in order to become one of his old and wrinkled keepers – the smartest one being Aristarchus, or actually a fragmented, if fascinating image of Alexandrian criticism[111].

Perhaps the last intellectual who celebrated Eustathius in a meaningful way was another Greek scholar, Adamantios Koraes, who embarked on the ambitious project of an annotated edition of the *Iliad* (based on the text established by Wolf), which eventually covered only books 1–4[112]. While convinced that the Byzantine Empire had been a dark age for every sort of learning, Koraes celebrated Homer as "the common educator of the Greek *genos*" (viewing him and his poems as the sources for every moral rectitude and the cornerstone for the education of the young), and Eustathius as the champion of the humanistic attitude that was ready to blossom once more on Greek soil, had not the Latin (1204) and then the Turkish conquest (1453) forestalled its ripeness, interrupting periods of compelling intellectual evolution (Koraes' appeal to patience and confidence re-

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109 Wolf 1988, 36; but the same is true for Politi 1730, c. c i *recto*.

110 Allen 1931, 267.

111 The same image that, one century before Wolf, had seduced Pierre Bayle into adorning his *Dictionnaire* with a long article devoted to the philologist of Samothrace: see on this Canfora 1997, 103.

112 Paschalis 2010. See Hunter, this volume.

lied on the certainty that τὸ δὶς ἐμποδισθὲν δὲν εἶναι φόβος νὰ ἐμποδισθῇ καὶ τρίτον)[113]. It is for this reason that in 1806 Koraes envisaged a new edition of Eustathius, which eventually aborted because of the printer’s withdrawal[114]. Nonetheless, his opinion was that the Greek people should celebrate Eustathius in the *espace public:*

> Ὁ σοφὸς καὶ χρήσιμος οὗτος ἱεράρχης, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον τὸ γένος, ὅταν ἀναλάβῃ, χρεωστεῖ νὰ ἀνεγείρῃ εἰκόνας….[115].

Perhaps a good suggestion for the Δῆμος Θεσσαλονίκης?

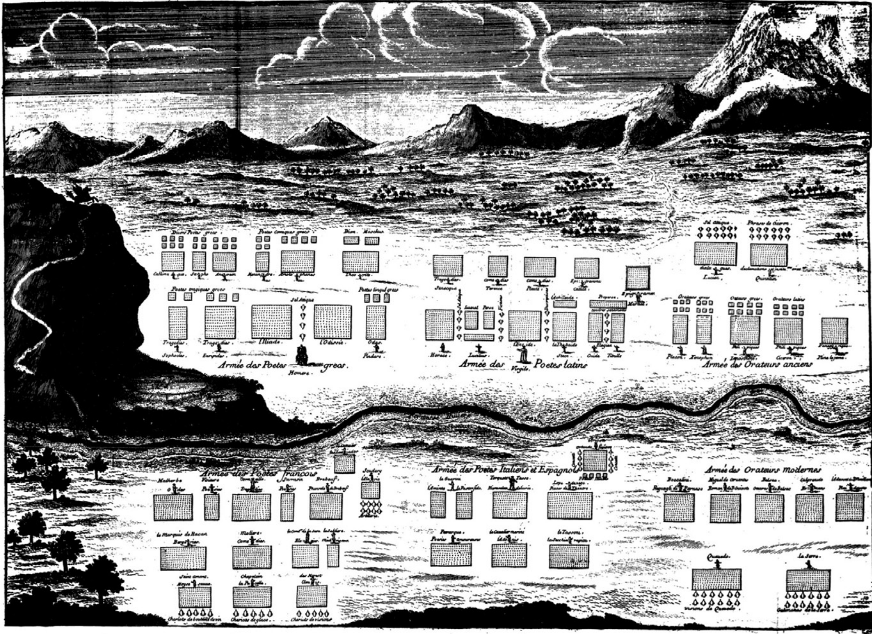

Fig. 1: F. de Callières, *Histoire poétique de la guerre nouvellement déclarée…*, Amsterdam 1688, table before the frontispice

113 Korais 1988 (1811), 128–131, esp. 130–131 note 1.
114 Paschalis 2010, 114–119.
115 Korais 1988 (1811), 38.

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II. Eustathios’ style

Renzo Tosi

Proverbs in Eustathius: Some Examples

Eustathius of Thessalonica often quotes proverbs in his works[1]. He uses them both in the *Opuscula* and in his letters, and of course he explains many of them in his *Parekbolai* to Homer. Neither M. van der Valk (1971, cxii) nor W. Bühler (1987, 300 f) have been able to identify one single paroemiographic source for these quotations. I think Bühler is right when he asserts that it is not possible to pinpoint a consistent derivation, and that Eustathius rather took the proverbs from several different sources: "multa manifesto ex certis auctoribus, quorum apud eum assiduus usus est, imprimis ex Athenaeo, Strabone, Stephano Byzantio, prompsit, alia viro litteris imbuto ex ipsis poetis, non ex paroemiographis praesto erant, magis ad Zenobium pertinent, quod Eustathius magnum numerum proverbiorum ex Pausaniae atticistae lexico sumpsit". We can probably assume the existence, among these sources, of a paroemiographical collection. Eustathius quotes the paroemiographers, in a somewhat indefinite manner, in the *Parekbolai* to *Il.* 2.595 (*in Il.* 282.2–5 = 1.460.26–29 van der Valk)

> Ἄμυρίς τις εὕρηται δίχα τοῦ θ ἐν ταῖς τῶν παροιμιῶν ἀναγραφαῖς εἴτε μουσικὸς εἴτε καὶ ἑτεροῖος. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ παροιμίᾳ τῇ λεγούσῃ "Θάμυρις μαίνεται" τινὲς Ἄμυριν ἔγραψαν δίχα τοῦ ἐν ἀρχαῖς θῆτα,

and in those to *Il.* 8.330–331 (*in Il.* 715.58–62 = 2.590.16–18 van der Valk)

> ὁ δὲ ῥηθεὶς Ὁμηρικὸς λόγος προσφυής ποτε παρῳδηθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἁπλῶς φιλικὴν ἐπικουρίαν, ἐφ' οἷς οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸ παροιμιῶδες "γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον", ὥς φασιν οἱ τὰς παροιμίας ἀναγραψάμενοι[2].

It is impossible to define what kind of paroemiographical text was originally used by Eustathius. In my opinion, the two plural terms ἀναγραψάμενοι and ἀναγραφαῖς are generic and do not necessarily indicate a plurality of paroemiographical texts. The use of the verb ἀναγράφειν, however, seems to suggest a

1 A fairly complete list was made by E. Kurtz (see *CPG Suppl.* 307–321) as an *Anhang* of Crusius-Cohn.

2 These three proverbs are attested in the paroemiographers: as for Θάμυρις μαίνεται cf. Zenob. 4.27, Diogen. 5.19, Apost. 8.78; as for Ἄμυρις μαίνεται Diogen. 3.26, Macar. 1.95, Apost. 2.60; as for γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον Zenob. 3.2, Diogen. 3.78, Greg. Cypr. 2.96, Apost. 6.59.

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technical text[3]. Moreover, Eustathius' explanations of proverbs are often different from those of the extant paroemiographers. All the paroemiographers, for instance, explain the above-mentioned γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον by ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοὺς μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ἀγαπώντων, "it is said about those who love themselves more than the others". In contrast, in the Iliadic passage discussed by Eustathius, the behaviour of Ajax protecting his wounded brother is rather a symbol of φιλικὴ ἐπικουρία.

It is possible that the explanations were added by Eustathius himself, but it is also possible that he copied them from a source unknown to us. Rupprecht 1949, 1775, following Hotop 1888, 293–295, conjectured that this source was a collection prepared for the schools of rhetoric. It would be a similar case to the well-known fifth Athos-collection, which "aus dem Schulbetrieb der zweiten Sophistik stammt". According to Rupprecht, the main clue in this direction would be the author's interest for the "Doppeldeutigkeit mancher Sprichwörter". In reality, Hotop detected two different characteristics of Eustathius' alleged source. The first one – the "congregatio complurium proverbiorum" – also features in the first part of the fifth Athos-collection[4]; in contrast, the second characteristic – the interest in the double meaning, literal and metaphoric, of the proverbs – is peculiar to Eustathius. It is however very difficult and often impossible to identify such sources. Lexicographical and paroemiographical repertoires were very important in the Byzantine Age and it is clear that their tradition is 'open': the goal of the scribes of technical texts of this kind was not to copy their source accurately word by word, but rather to create a functional tool. This allowed them to insert new elements which in their opinion were useful, and eliminate material they found useless. Each manuscript has its own identity, and often the difference between the manuscripts of the same work and its different redactions is very small[5]. Therefore, it is hard to identify exact sources, and this is true in particular for Eustathius, because – as Bühler notices – "explicationes proverbiorum non ad verbum ex exemplaribus suis – quaequae fuerunt – descripsit, sed suis verbis reddidit, insuper varias concinnans, quasdam de suo addens". In this paper, I will consider some examples: in the first part I discuss some passages taken from the letters and the *Opuscula*; in the second part I consider different types of quotations in the *Parekbolai*. My aim is to illustrate not only the

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3 This verb also introduces, for example, quotations of the ἔμμετροι παροιμίαι of Aristophanes of Byzantium, cf. frr. 358, 359, 360 Slater.

4 See in particular Bühler 1987, 48 f; Spyridonidou-Skarsouli 1995, 9–12.

5 Recently, Gerlach 2008 pinpointed the concept of *Konzeptionalität:* each copyist of such works selected the material not in a casual way, but according to a specific mastermind. See also Tosi 2013.

relationship with the extant paroemiographers, but also the function of proverbs in these Eustathian texts.

1.1. In the *Epistola ad Thessalonicenses* (165.54 Tafel[6]) Eustathius analyses different types of falsity, among them fake weeping: ψευδόμεθα τὸ κλαίειν ὅτε καὶ κροκοδελίζομεν ἐφ'οἷς μὴ ἔχομεν κατεσθίειν ὁλοκλήρως τοὺς ἀδελφούς "we simulate weeping when we act like crocodiles, not being able to eat up our brothers completely". The verb κροκοδελίζω "I have the same behavior as a crocodile" hints at a proverbial expression, κροκοδείλου δάκρυα, that is attested in a homily by the 4th-century bishop Asterius on fasting[7], and in Mazaris' 15th-century *Journey to Hades* (3.130 Boissonade); this proverb is now alive and well-known in most European languages[8]. Eustathius explains the crocodile's behaviour with the following sentence: this animal has the habit of weeping when it eats a man, not because it feels pity or its victim, but because it has eaten the whole body and feels that the head is fleshless and less tasty. Admittedly this explanation is hardly original: essentially the same is to be read in the aforementioned passage by Asterius. In the paroemiographic collections, the explanation of this proverb is attested in a more ludicrous form (the warmth of tears shaves the head and the crocodile can eat it). In actual fact, the proverb is ignored by the ancient paroemiographers: it appears as an addition in ms. Par. gr. 3071 (f. 45^v, ll. 16–23) of the so-called *Zenobius vulgatus*, and it is added to the collection by Michael Apostolis (10.17 Leutsch-Schneidewin)[9]. The proverb and its explanation clearly belonged to a list of *topoi* used by both Asterius and Eustathius, and this source was quite different from that of Zenobius' interpolator, and of Apostolis.

1.2. In another case, Eustathius refers to a proverb not attested in earlier authors, and merely states that ἐξ ἀγορᾶς παροιμία λαλεῖ, i.e. that the expression is vernacular. In letter 45 (124.80–85 Kolovou) he affirms that he does not want to 'rise up' any further (οὐ θέλομεν ὑψοῦσθαι): he has risen simply as far

6 It was not edited by Foteini Kolovou, because it is not a true letter, but "eine theologische Schrift" (p. 80, n. 1).

7 *Homilies* 14.15.3 Datema τοὺς Νειλῴους κροκοδείλους μιμεῖσθαι, οὕς φασι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐπιθρηνεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἔφαγον καὶ δακρύειν τὸν φόνον, οὐ μετάνοιαν τῶν γενομένων λαμβάνοντας – πῶς γὰρ τὰ ἄλογα θηρία καὶ ἔνυδρα; – , ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄσαρκον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τῆς κεφαλῆς ὀδυρομένους ὡς εἰς βρῶσιν οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον; (reported by Photius, *Bibl.* 271 [503a13]).

8 *Lacrime di coccodrillo* indicates hypocrisy and falsehood and is used by many Italian authors (cf. *GDLI* III.245): one of the *Adagia* of Erasmus (2.4.60) is devoted to the expression *Crocodili lacrima*.

9 The proverb is attested also by Nicephorus Gregoras (*Hist.* 9.10.7), without explanation. Cf. Bühler 1987, 98; Röhrich 1973, 545 f.

as an ant can rise. The ant – Eustathius continues – must be careful, because if it rises too high it risks dying: the vernacular proverb warns “woe to the ant that has risen on wings” (οὐαὶ μύρμηκι πτεροῖς ἀρθέντι), for this unfortunate ant might face the same fate of another, more famous animal, namely the frog that swelled up and died in the attempt to grow as big as an ox[10]. The vernacular proverb gives a special vividness to the sentence: as a result, the comparison with the winged ant is crucial to Eustathius' argument. It is remarkable that Eustathius wants to stress the vernacular (as opposed to literary) origin of this proverb: the expression ἐξ ἀγορᾶς is still used with this meaning in *Epist*. 44 (121.12 Kolovou) to qualify the proverb μὴ θαμίζειν ἐς φίλου, which does not occur elsewhere. This is one of the many instances in which Eustathius introduces popular culture in his works, as Phaidon Koukoules has shown extensively in his studies[11]. M. van der Valk (1971, cxii) assumes that in the *Parekbolai* as well Eustathius may have drawn proverbs “ex usu quotidiano”: it is therefore interesting that he uses the introductory form ἐξ ἀγορᾶς with this meaning only in these two letters, and never in his commentaries, orations or theological treatises.

1.3. A passage of *Ad stylitam quendam Thessalonicensem* (61–62 [192.83–96 Tafel]) is extremely significant in this respect[12]. Eustathius deals here with ‘symbolic’ expressions, based on images that bear a moral or spiritual value. As a matter of fact, these expressions are traditional and proverbial: καρδίαν μὴ ἐσθίειν ‘do not eat your heart’ warns against indulging too deeply in grief, whereas μαχαίρᾳ πῦρ μὴ σκαλεύειν (‘do not stir up fire with a sword’) and μὴ λευκὸν οἰκοτραφεῖν ἀλέκτορα (‘do not raise a white cock in your house’) warn against provoking angry persons and triggering their rage. In particular, the first proverb is very frequent in ancient and modern European literature[13], and was used by several authors, and its origins can be traced back as far as Homer (*Il*. 24.129) and Hesiod (*Op*. 741–744)[14]; the second proverb became a Pythagoric precept (58C6 D.-K.)[15], that was finally added to the paroemiographic collection by Ar-

10 It is the protagonist of a fable of Phaedrus (1.24); cf. also, *e.g.*, Hor. *Sat*. 2.3.314–320; Petr. *Satyr.* 74.13; Mart. 10.79.9. The same story also occurs in the fables of La Fontaine (1.3).

11 See in particular Koukoules 1948–1955, VI.352–378, where the scholar detects three types of proverbs in Eustathius' texts: the ancient ones that were no longer used in his time, literary proverbs and those current in vernacular usage.

12 See also Stratigopoulos, this volume.

13 The same metaphor occurs in English, while the Italian equivalent is *rodersi il fegato*.

14 See also *Mantissa prov.* 2.10.

15 Attested by Diog Laert. 8.18; Athen. 10.452d (via the peripatetic philosopher Demetrios of Byzantium, *FHG* 2.624); Porph. *Vita Plot*. 42; several passages of Plutarch, and Lucian. *Ver. Hist*. 2.28.

senius (11.5a). As for μαχαίρᾳ πῦρ μὴ σκαλεύειν, its Latin equivalent *ignem gladio scrutare* (or *ne fodias*, as Jerome, *ep. adv. Ruf.* 3.39 puts it) is also widely attested, appearing first in Horace (*Sat.* 2.3.275) and then in medieval and modern texts; it is also to be found frequently in inscriptions on fireplaces[16].

What Eustathius argues in the oration is that it would be absurd to abide by the literal meaning of such expressions: all people naturally understand their moral value (συμβολικὸς ἦν ποτε λόγος· ὁ δὲ τότε ἀκούων αὐτό τε οὕτως ἐποίει, ἀπείχετο γὰρ τοῦ καρδιοφαγεῖν, "it was a symbolic speech; the audience at the time understood it: of course they refrained from eating a heart"). Proverbs, as Eustathius emphasizes, typically have the fundamental characteristic of conveying a message through a metaphorical reading of a concrete vivid image. This text confirms the hypothesis of Hotop (see above), which was centered only on the *Parekbolai*, and it shows that Eustathius used the same collection for his *Opuscula*. For instance, Eustathius quotes here three proverbs connected by a symbolic meaning and two synonyms. The observations concerning symbols are closely linked to the issue of the double meaning of proverbs, and in this context he demonstrates that sometimes the literal meaning is simply absurd.

1.4. In many cases the endeavour to detect Eustathius' source is pointless because the author is not interested in the proverb itself, but rather quotes it only in order to add a shade of stylistic liveliness. Thus, in the *Oratio praeparatoria in sanctam quadragesimam* (23 = 6.86 Tafel) he writes πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ναυαγῆσαι ('to be wrecked in front of the harbour') as a rhetorical *flos*, and in letter 7.259–261 Kolovou he says that a gift must not be δύσδωρον (a bad gift), adding ἐχθροῖς γὰρ ἡ παροιμία τὴν τοιαύτην λέξιν ἐπέῤῥιψεν "according to the proverb, the adjective δύσδωρον refers to enemies". He is hinting here at a frequent *topos*, namely that gifts given by enemies are ill-fated; the most famous, oxymoric expression, ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κοὐκ ὀνήσιμα, was regarded as a proverb on account of its occurrence in Soph. *Ai.* 665[17]. In *Or. super Ps. XLVIII*, 18 (11.92

16 On the medieval and modern occurences of the Horatian expression see Tosi 2010, no. 775. In Italy people say *Non tagliare il fuoco col ferro*, in Germany *Wer in Feuer bläst, dem stieben die Funken in die Augen*. For other modern European proverbs cf. Arthaber 1927, no. 552.

17 In Eur. *Med.* 618 Medea says that the gifts of a bad man never bring advantages, and this commonplace was inherited by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.2.8.5 f; Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 38; Theoph. Symoc. *Hist.* 7.15.11, and recorded by the paroemiographers (Zenob. vulg. 4.4; Diogen. 4.82a; Greg. Cypr. 2.15; Apost. 8.23; *Suda* α 519, 1144, ε 4029). Similar expressions are attested by *Menand. Monost.* 239 and 451 Pernigotti, as well as in other paroemiographical collections (*App. Prov.* 2.94, Macar. 4.27). In Latin literature, cf. Sidon. Apoll. *Ep.* 5.13.4; Guill. Tyr. *Hist.*, *PL* 201.654b, but of course above all Verg. *Aen.* 2.49 *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* In the *Old Testament*, *Prov.* 27.6 calls attention to the concept that the wounds given by a friend are better than

Tafel) Eustathius does not discuss the proverb πλίνθον πλύνεις (you wash a brick), a traditional image for a useless action[18], yet the proverb appears within the following moralistic argument: eating properly is necessary, eating too much is harmful, just like washing away the dirt is necessary, whereas washing a brick is stupid.

2. Of course the situation in the *Commentaries to Homer* is completely different. The *Parekbolai* are a true encyclopedia, where the Homeric passages are often mere starting points and the author enriches his text with all available elements – amongst them, sometimes, also proverbs and their interpretation.

2.1. Athenaeus, a very important source for Eustathius, quotes in 2.37 f a passage of Philochorus the historian (*FGrHist* 328F170): Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν ὅτι οἱ πίνοντες οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοὺς ἐμφανίζουσιν οἵτινές εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ἀνακαλύπτουσι παρρησίαν ἄγοντες. ὅθεν “οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια” [Alc. fr. 366 Voigt] λέγεται καὶ “ἀνδρὸς δ’ ⟨οἶνος⟩ ἔδειξε νόον” [Theogn. 500] καὶ τὸ νικητήριον ἐν Διονύσου τρίπους. καὶ γὰρ “ἐκ τρίποδος” λέγειν φαμὲν τοὺς ἀληθεύοντας· δεῖ δὲ νοεῖν τρίποδα τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν κρατῆρα. ἦν γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον δύο γένη τριπόδων, οὓς καλεῖσθαι λέβητας συνέβαινεν ἀμφοτέρους· ἐμπυριβήτης ὁ καὶ λοετροχόος. Αἰσχύλος· “τὸν μὲν τρίπους ἐδέξατ’ οἰκεῖος λέβης / αἰεὶ φυλάσσων τὴν ὑπὲρ πυρὸς στάσιν” [fr. 1 R.]. ὁ δ’ ἕτερος κρατὴρ καλούμενος. Ὅμηρος “ἕπτ’ ἀπύρους τρίποδας” [*Il.* 9.122]. ἐν τούτοις δὲ τὸν οἶνον ἐκίρνων· καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας [οἰκεῖος] τρίπους. διὸ Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν οἰκεῖος διὰ τὴν ἐκ μαντικῆς ἀλήθειαν, Διονύσου δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐν μέθῃ.

Philochorus’ starting point is the frankness and honesty of the drunk man: he quotes as traditional (λέγεται) two famous expressions that bind together wine and sincerity, namely οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια by Alcaeus and ἀνδρὸς δ’ ⟨οἶνος⟩ ἔδειξε νόον by Theognis[19]. The first one in particular was perceived as traditional and was soon quoted as proverbial, just as is the case here in Athenaeus. However, this is not exactly the case of a *geflügeltes Wort*, a sentence from

the kiss given by an enemy. Erasm. *Adag.* 1.3.5 explains *Hostium munera non munera*; with regard to the modern occurrences see Tosi 2010, nr. 2210.

18 *Laterem lavare* indicates an illogical and impossible action: for classical and medieval occurrences see Otto 1890, no. 922; Sutphen 1901, 177; Szelinski 1903–1904, 239; Tosi 2010, no. 1920. Donatus, commenting on Ter. *Phorm.* 186, quotes the Greek πλίνθον πλύνειν, recorded by the paroemiographers (Zenob. vulg. 6.48; Diogen. 7.50; Diogen. Vind. 3.52; Greg. Cypr. 3.39; Greg. Cypr. M. 4.86; Apost. 14.32). *Laterem lavas* is explained by Erasmus in *Adag.* 1.4.48. In German, *Dem Ziegelstein die Röte abwaschen wollen* is still alive and well.

19 Cf. also Aesch. fr. 393 Radt, attested by Athen. 10.427 f.

a renowned author that later becomes proverbial: the association between wine and sincerity was proverbial well beyond Alcaeus, and the expression (just as in many other cases) became a standard formulation for the *topos* providing the basis for the Latin *In vino veritas*[20].

Philochorus further explains the expression ἐκ τρίποδος λέγειν, which means "to say the truth", and quotes two passages, one by Aeschylus and one by Homer, in order to demonstrate that τρίπους can indicate a κρατήρ. However, when discussing *Il.* 9.122, Eustathius (*in Il.* 740.10 [2.672.15–21 van der Valk]) cites Athenaeus' passage and changes the order of the elements, because Homer, the author here at issue, must be the first one to be quoted: ὁ δὲ ἕτερος κρατὴρ καλούμενος, ὁποῖοι οἱ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ ἄπυροι, ἐν οἷς οἶνον ἐκίρνων. ὃς δὴ καὶ ᾠκειοῦτο Διονύσῳ διὰ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐν μέθῃ ἀλήθειαν, καθὰ καὶ τῷ Πυθίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι τρίπους ἦν ἀληθείας διὰ τὴν ἐκ μαντικῆς ἀλήθειαν. "Οἶνος γάρ", φασί, "καὶ ἀλήθεια". "ὃς καὶ ἀνδρός", φασίν, "ἔδειξε νόον". καὶ ἐν Διονυσίοις νικητήριον διὰ τοῦτο τέθειται τρίπους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀληθεύοντας ἐκ τρίποδος λέγειν φαμέν, τοῦ κατὰ μαντείαν δηλαδὴ ἀληθευτικοῦ. ὃ καὶ οἶνος ποιεῖ, ὡς εἴρηται. It is evident that in this case Eustathius is simply copying his source, changing only the order of the elements.

2.2. Sometimes Eustathius took proverbs from the tradition of learned collections. It is evident that he used several lexicographical repertories, one of which had been compiled in the 2nd century CE by the first Atticist scholars, Pausanias and Aelius Dionysius. The text of this lexicon was reconstructed by Hartmut Erbse, who attributed to the two scholars many Atticist glosses also occurring in the lexicographical tradition of the Συναγωγή. In his *Commentary on the Iliad* (on *Il.* 5.137 [*in Il.* 531.8–10 = 2.40.1–3 van der Valk]) Eustathius considered the proverbial expression ὄνου πόκαι, "donkey wool", to indicate something completely absurd: ἰστέον δὲ ὡς τὸ μὴ ἐριοφορεῖν παροιμίαν ἐξήνεγκε τὸ εἰς ὄνου πόκους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκερδῶν καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶν, ἣν παρῳδήσας ὁ Κωμικὸς

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20 This proverbial expression, still widely known and used, goes back to Erasmus (*Adag.* 1.7.17, cf. also Walther 1963–1986, no. 12144), but it is not attested as such in any classical Latin author. The link between wine and *veritas* is not only Greek but also Latin, cf. *e.g.* Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.89; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 14.28.141 (Plinius openly hints at a popular proverb). With regard to Greek literature, cf. also Plat. *Symp.* 217e; Theocr. 29.1; Plut. *Art.* 15.4; Diod. Sic. 20.63.1; Euseb. *Ad Is.* 1.85; and the paroemiographers (Zenob. vulg. 4.5; Diogen. 4.81, 7.28; Greg. Cypr. 3.23; Phot. ο 128 Th.; *Suda* οι 134; Apost. 12,49). This tradition is obviously referring to freedom of speech, which only a drunken man possesses (Philochorus uses the term παρρησία), but the scholia to the passage of the *Symposium* (65.15–26 Greene) remind us that pacts written in wine are inviolable. In Christian literature the link between wine and truth receives a new sacramental value. On modern literature, see Tosi 2010, no. 1424.

ὄνου πόκας παίζων πλάττει ὡς οἷά τι χωρίον ἐν Ἅιδου [Paus. ε 21 Erbse]. He considered the same expression again in the commentary on *Il.* 10.21 (*in Il.* 787.9 [3.8.3 van der Valk]): ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Παυσανίου φέρεται, ὡς τὴν δορὰν ἀσπάθητόν τινες εἶπον χλαῖναν [Paus. α 162 Erbse], ὅ ἐστιν ἀνύφαντον, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς λεοντῆς ἡ κατὰ τὸν λέοντα παροιμία, τὸ "ξυρεῖν λέοντα" [Paus. λ 9 Erbse], ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρούντων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὴν γενναιότητα τοῦ λέοντος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν ξυρεῖν τολμήσῃ τις. Τὸ μέντοι "πόκους ὄνου" ἄλλον τρόπον ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι πέκεσθαι ὄνον. ὅμοιον δέ πως καὶ τὸ "ἀσκὸν δέρειν". οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξ ἀσκοῦ δέρμα ἕτερον ἀποσυρήσεται.

The expression occurs in many paroemiographical repertories[21], and in the lexicographical tradition of the Συναγωγή[22]. The main source was probably the ancient exegesis to Aristoph. *Ran.* 186, where ὀνουπόκας is the funny name of a station in hell[23]. The scholia to the Aristophanic passage reported

21 Zenob. vulg. 5.38 ὄνου πόκους ζητεῖς· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνυπόστατα ζητούντων. παρόσον τὴν ὄνον οὔτε πέξαι τὶς δύναται οὔτε κεῖραι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ "ὄνον κείρεις" ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτοις ἐπιχειρούντων; cf. ms. Coisl. 177, 371 [151 g–152a Gaisford: see Bühler 1987, 278 f]; Diogen. 4.85 ἐπ' ὄνου πόκος· ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς ἀδύνατα ἀναβαλλομένων. ἀπ' ὄνου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι πόκος; 6.99 ὄνου πόκοι· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων καὶ ἀτελῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ κείρεται ὄνος; *App. Prov.* 2.29 εἰς ὄνου πόκους· πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὰ ἀδύνατα ἀναβαλλομένους, παρόσον ἀπὸ ὄνου πόκοι οὐ γίνονται· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ κατάρας τοῦτο λέγουσιν· ἤτοι "ἄπιθι εἰς ὄνου πόκους" ἤγουν ἔνθα οἱ ὄνοι σήπονται καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἔρια ὡς πόκοι γίνονται; Macar. 6.35 ὄνου πόκοι· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀχρήστων; Apost. 7.79 ἐπ' ὄνου πόκας· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων· ἀπ' ὄνου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι πόκον λαβεῖν; 12.89 ὄνου πόκαι· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων καὶ μὴ ὄντων λέγεται. It is evident that the paroemiographical tradition is quite different.

22 Hesych. ο 926 Latte ὄνου ποκαί· χωρίον ἐν ᾄδου διατετύπωκεν Ἀριστοφάνης, οὕτω λεγόμενον πλάσας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ παροιμία τις ὄνου ποκαί, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων καὶ ἀτελῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ πέξεις τῶν ὄνων καὶ κάρσεις δύνανταί τι. ὥσπερ εἰ λέγοι τις ὄνον κείρεις. Παρόσον οὖν τὰ ἐν ᾄδου ἀνήνυτά ἐστι καὶ τὸ μηδέν, παρὰ τοῦτο τὰς τοῦ ὄνου ποκὰς ἔπλασεν. Phot. ο 360 Theod. Ὄνου πόκοι· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων· ὥσπερ αἱ τοιαῦται· πλίνθον πλύνειν· ἀσκὸν τίλλειν· χύτραν πλύνειν; ο 363 Theod. Ὄνου πόκαι· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων καὶ τῶν μὴ ὄντων λέγεται ἡ παροιμία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν· ὥσπερ αἱ τοιαῦται· πλίνθον πλύνειν· ἀσκὸν τίλλειν· χύτραν ποικίλλειν· εἰς κοπρῶνα θυμιᾶν· Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ διὰ τὸ Κρατῖνον ὑποθέσθαι ἐν Ἅιδου σχοινίον πλέκοντα· ὄνον δὲ τὸ πλεκόμενον ἀπεσθίοντα· οἷον ἀποκείροντα. *Suda* ο 399 Adler Ὄνου πόκαι· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων καὶ μὴ ὄντων λέγεται ἡ παροιμία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν· ὥσπερ αἱ τοιαῦται, πλίνθον πλύνειν, ἀσκὸν τίλλειν, χύτραν ποικίλλειν, εἰς κόπρον θυμιᾶν. Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ διὰ τὸ Κρατῖνον ὑποθέσθαι ἐν ᾄδου τινὰ σχοινίον πλέκοντα, ὄνον δὲ τὸ πλεκόμενον ἀπεσθίοντα, οἷον ἀποκείροντα. παρ' ὅσον οὖν τὰ ἐν ᾄδου ἀνήνυτά εἰσι, τοῦτο ἐπλάσθη.

23 Ancient and modern interpreters have tried to explain it: many of them correctly believe that it is an absurdity with the one and only goal of making the audience laugh. Aristarchus of Samothrace (cf. Phot. ο 363 Theod.; *Suda* ο 399) connected the name with the tradition according to which Oknos made braids of rush in hell, an action that turned out to be completely useless because a donkey ate them continuously. Meineke supposed that a reading Ὄκνου πλοκάς was in Aristophanes' text as read by Aristarchus: in this regard he followed a conjecture of Conze, accepted by several editors (Fritzsche, Radermacher, Sommerstein, Henderson). In contrast,

in the *optimi codices* are very interesting: τὸ δὲ Λήθης πεδίον, Δίδυμός [14.9, p. 248 f Schmidt] φησι, χωρίον ἐν Ἅιδου διατετύπωκεν (I/a, 32.1–3 Chantry); ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ ἀδύνατον τῶν καθ' Ἅιδου δηλοῖ (I/a, 32.6–7 Chantry); ἀδύνατον πόκας ἀποκείρασθαι τῶν ὄνων. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ παροιμιῶδες ἤδη εἶναι (I/a, 32.8–10β Chantry); ὄνου πόκας τὸ ἄχρηστον· οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ ὄνου πόκαι χρησιμεύουσι. ἡ παροιμία δὲ λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων, ἐν ᾧ τρόπῳ φαμὲν καὶ τὸ "χύτραν ποικίλλεις", καὶ "κόπρον ἀναθυμιᾷς". ἀνήνυτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν "ὄνου πόκας" ἀνέπλασε ποιητικῶς (I/a, 32.8–16α Chantry).

Erbse attributed to Pausanias three different glosses: α 162 ἀσπάθητον χλαῖναν (Soph. fr. 877 Radt)· τὴν δορὰν ἀνύφαντον; λ 9 λέοντα ξυρᾷς· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρούντων[24]; and in particular ε 21 εἰς ὄνου πόκους· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκερδῶν καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶν. Ἀριστοφάνης ⟨δὲ⟩ χωρίον ἐν Ἅιδου διατετύπωκεν Ὄνου πόκας. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων καὶ ἀτελῶν, ὅτι καὶ ὄνος οὔτε κείρεται οὔτε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πόκος γίνεται, ὥσπερ αἱ τοιαῦται [cf. *Com. Adesp.* fr. 853 Kock[25]]· πλίνθον πλύνειν, ἀσκὸν ⟨δέρειν, ᾠὸν⟩ τίλλειν, χύτραν ποικίλλειν, [εἰς] κόπρον ἀναθυμιᾶν. The glosses of Pausanias, as they stand in Erbse's edition, are entirely hypothetical: the last one is a true patchwork composed from the scholion, Eustathius and other lexicographical texts. It seems impossible, here, to apply a true *Quellenforschung*, but it is very interesting to notice that there is a difference between the two passages in Eustathius: in the first one the expression ὄνου πόκους is explained ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκερδῶν καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶν, thus meaning 'useless'; in the second case, there is a list of sentences referring to absurdities. In these cases there is no link between the proverbial phrase and the Homeric text, and the difference of meaning cannot be explained by exegetical needs. In the scholion to Aristophanes the two explanations were put together, but it is likely that Eustathius was referring here to two different sources. To

Stanford (1958, 89) considers this conjecture "unnecessary" and translates "Never-never Land". He also adds the possibility of a hint at the place called Ὄνου γνάθος, in Laconia. Marzullo 1989 assumes that Cratinus (fr. 367 K.-A.) had written Ὄκνου πόκας and Aristophanes made fun of it. Dover 1993 suspects that "there were two proverbial expressions available to Aristophanes with somewhat different bearings: ὄνον πέκειν and ὄνου πόκος, of impossible tasks, and Ὄκνου πλοκαί, of endless and fruitless tasks (like that of Sisyphos), and that Aristophanes invented a name which refers primarly to the former but reminds us of the latter". Shearing a donkey is attested as an absurd action in Erasmus (*Adag.* 1.4.79 *Ab asino lanam*) and in the modern European proverbs (cf. Arthaber 1927, nos. 260; 666). See also Mastromarco-Totaro 2006, 582.

24 This proverb is attested also in the paroemiographical collections: Diogen. 6.25 and Apost. 10.64 have an explanation completely different from that of Eustathius, it is recorded in a list of ἀδύνατα in Diogen. Vind. 2.61; Macar. 5.50; *Mant. Prov.* 1.97.

25 Kassel and Austin in their edition do not take into the right consideration this hypothetical fragment.

sum up, Pausanias is certainly one of the main sources of Eustathius, but the text edited by Erbse is often hypothetical: therefore, it is impossible to determine whether Eustathius added some elements. For example, the author of the *Parekbolai* explains εἰς ὄνου πόκους by ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκερδῶν καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶν: these words are not to be found in the lexicographical or in the paroemiographical collections, nor in the scholia to Aristophanes: Erbse attributes them to Pausanias because he assumes (following Wentzel 1895, 376) that all the explanations of Attic proverbs must derive from Pausanias[26]. But we have no way of ascertaining whether they do derive from Pausanias or whether they could instead be an original creation by Eustathius[27].

2.3. Another example is symptomatic. *Suda* α 1002 Adler ἀκροθίνια πυγμαίων κολοσσῷ ἐφαρμόζειν. παροιμία, ἀκροθίνια πυγμαίων κολοσσῷ ἐφαρμόζειν· ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην κοπιώντων is a close parallel for Eustathius' commentary on *Od.* 19.205 (*in Od.* 1862.35) φέρεται δέ, φασι, καὶ παροιμία ἐπί τινων μάτην κοπιόντων (*sic*) τὸ ἀκροθίνια πυγμαίων κολοσσῷ ἐφαρμόζειν, ὅπέρ ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ μεγίστῳ μικρόν τι κέρδος εἶναι. Erbse *dubitanter* attributed ἀκροθίνια πυγμαίων κολοσσῷ ἐφαρμόζειν· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην κοπιώντων to Pausanias (α 56). In reality, this gloss is a marginal addition in ms. Par. gr. 2626 of the *Suda*, whereby Adler (1928, xix) assumed that "inter glossas marginales pauca recentioris originis proverbia occurrunt". In this case, a reader must have added this annotation, believing that the gloss should be interpreted as a reference to Philostratus, *Vitae Soph.* 1.19, the only passage where this proverb is attested. As for the passage of Eustathius, φασί indicates that the source is different from that of the previous remarks, which all derive from the Συναγωγή[28]. It is evident that Eustathius' source is the same as that of the marginal addition in *Suda*, and it is also probable that this source is not Pausanias. This particular proverb is also attested in Apostolis with another – more suitable – explanation, see Apost. 15.12 Πυγμαῖα ἀκροθίνια κολοσσῷ ἐφαρμόζεις· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνόμοια ποιούντων: the saying would therefore emphasize inadequacy, not a vain effort. The meaning would thus be similar to the Italian *Nani sulle spalle di giganti:* in fact, in the passage

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26 This is a corollary of two rules (see Erbse 1950, 20): "Alle Sprichwörter mit ausführlicher, parömiographischer Erklärung gehören dem Pausanias" and "Alle Sprichwörter ohne Erklärung gehören dem Aelius Dionysius".

27 Erbse himself in his Introduction notices that "das Bestreben, zu kürzen und zu variiren, führt zu einschneidender Abwandlung der Interpretamente, deren ursprüngliche Form sich natürlich nur dort festlegen lässt, wo die reinere Gestalt der Parallelüberlieferung vorliegt" (1950, 13).

28 On φασί in Eustathius see Erbse 1950, 8 f.

of Philostratus a sophist claims to write in order to correct Niketes, the protagonist of Philostratus' chapter, who actually needs no correction at all. The issue is whether the words ὅπέρ ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ μεγίστῳ μικρόν τι κέρδος εἶναι belong to the source or to Eustathius himself. A dogmatic answer is impossible: in my opinion, it is likely that this expression derives from the source. Eustathius does not quote Philostratus, but the explanation is suitable for that passage: it is but a trifling gain for a great man like Niketes that a sophist should write about him, trying to correct him. Therefore, the hypothesis of a paroemiographical source different from our tradition gains plausibility.

3. It is evident that Eustathius took proverbs from many sources. In case 2.1 we have found the extant source: it is possible to establish that he did not add anything, and that he only adapted the text to his exegetical purpose. In case 2.2 it is beyond doubt that the source is Pausanias, but the text of the Atticist lexicographer is uncertain; therefore, it is impossible to establish if two words extant only in Eustathius were originally in his source or not. Case 2.3 confirms (with Hotop and Rupprecht) that Eustathius also drew on an unknown paroemiographical collection, compiled with a peculiar *Konzeptionalität*. The analysis of some examples from the *Opuscula* demonstrates that Eustathius used the collection in question in those works as well (see cases 1.1 and 1.3): in the *Opuscula* and in the letters, however, it is more evident that he took some proverbs from common everyday speech. Moreover, in many passages of these works proverbs are quoted only as a stylistic device without any further explanation.

To sum up, these examples show that proverbs and traditional expressions were very important for Eustathius, who often used them in his *Opuscula* and occasionally explained them in the *Commentaries*, collecting material from different sources of the earlier erudite tradition. In the Byzantine age the habit of borrowing was quite usual: this implied using and, to some extent, modifying traditional motifs already familiar to both the audience and the readers. Therefore, interest in proverbs was not a marginal aspect[29], and it appears perfectly natural that Eustathius should use them in his works and explain them in his commentaries. The importance of proverbs and their collections in the Byzantine age is twofold: philological on the one hand, literary on the other. In particular, they appear to be a suitable way to understand classical texts. The Byzantine paroemiographical tradition derives from the Alexandrian interest in proverbs, an aspect to which the Alexandrian scholars devoted attention inasmuch as prov-

29 See Krumbacher 1897, 903–907; Karathanasis 1936, 13; Koukoules 1948–1955, I.42–63, VI.336–451. As for the whole *Gebrauchsliteratur* Garzya 1983, 35–71 is very important.

erbs were used by ancient authors (in a broader perspective, the entire lexicographical and erudite Greek tradition aims above all to achieve in-depth understanding of the classical texts). This philological attitude represents a key feature of Byzantine culture: but the paroemiographical tradition was also important in that it could provide authors with traditional materials to be re-used and adapted in new contexts. In his work, Eustathius embodies both of these functions.

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Dimosthenis Stratigopoulos

Orator or Grammarian? Eustathios in his Work *Ad Stylitam quendam Thessalonicensem*

Although Eustathios of Thessalonica is more widely known for his scholarly work, he is also the author of some works of rhetorical interest, written on the occasion of various events of his time. Among the works that he wrote in Thessalonica, there is an oration whose title is preserved in the one and only manuscript that has transmitted it to us: "Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ λίαν σπουδάζοντα διὰ στύλου ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἀναφανῆναι περί που τὸ ἑῷον παραθαλάσσιον. Εἴθε δὲ ἦν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αἰσθέσθαι σαφῶς τῶν λεγομένων. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀνέβη ἐκεῖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὀκνῶν καὶ ἄλλως, ὡς ἐῴκει, τὴν ἀνάβασιν". The text, that is preserved in ms. Basileensis Bibl. Univ. A III 20, ff. 151v–163v,[1] was first published in 1832 by Tafel[2] and was subsequently included by Migne in his *Patrologia Graeca*.[3] Although modern scholars are not unanimous on the date of Eustathios' ordination as a metropolitan of Thessalonica and his subsequent establishment in the city,[4] this must have occurred in 1175.[5]

Founding his argument on a passage from Eustathios' oration that refers to the feat of Emperor Manuel Komnenos in Claudiopolis,[6] Peter Wirth concludes that it must have been pronounced between February/March and September 1180, since Manuel died in that month.[7] Paul Magdalino, on the other hand, observes that between the spring and the autumn of 1180 Eustathios was in Constantinople, and concludes that the oration was pronounced in Thessalonica in February/March 1179.[8] At any rate, it is certain that the oration was written and pronounced in Thessalonica after the Emperor's victory in Claudiopolis and before his passing away.

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1 For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Kambylis 1991, 3*–8*; Schönauer 2000.
2 Tafel 1832, 182–196.
3 *PG* 136 (Migne 1863), 217–264.
4 See Schönauer 2004, where she deals with the issue thoroughly.
5 See Madariaga 2005, 210–211.
6 *Ad Stylitam*, 196.13–30 Tafel.
7 Wirth 1980, 86.
8 Magdalino 1993, 456; Magdalino 1996, 227.

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A problem, at least in appearance, is posed by the existence of a pillar hermit (stylite) in 12th-century Thessalonica.[9] Is he a real person or a literary fiction invented by Eustathios in order to refer to a specific form of ascetism? It has to be noted that, although stylite ascetism flourished mainly in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, its existence was not unknown in big cities such as Constantinople and Thessalonica, and in Greece. The Life of Loukas Steiriotes (10–11th century) mentions a pillar hermit in the Achaia region of Peloponnese,[10] whereas in the Life of Gregorios Dekapolites there is a similar reference to a stylite near the church of St. Menas.[11] Therefore, pillar hermits were a rare yet not totally unknown phenomenon in Byzantine Greece. Of course this does not exclude the possibility that the oration might have never been pronounced (what some scholars call a "desk homily"[12]). Nevertheless, a thorough examination of the text shows that the oration contains several elements pointing to the fact that it was indeed addressed to an audience in Thessalonica.[13] Thus, in the second paragraph already, Eustathios remarks that he had visual contact with the pillar that existed in Thessalonica in the 12th century. In another passage he affirms that the pillar was hollow and surrounded by a precinct that barred access to it,[14] whereas elsewhere he remarks that it was close to the eastern coast.[15] These descriptions suggest that it was a real pillar, not a literary fiction.

What makes us wonder, however, is the fact that Eustathios does not mention the name of the pillar hermit in question. He usually refers to him in the second person, addressing him directly and occasionally providing some additional information on his story. He writes namely that the stylite used to wear an iron armour,[16] a trait which he ridicules by comparing him to another ironclad man in the city who finally gave up on his armour and ended as a drunkard.[17] He also mentions that the sermons of the stylite attracted huge crowds around him, and, in the end of his oration, urges him to "dismiss the mob"

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9 On the issue of stylites, see Delehaye 1923.

10 See *Vita Lucae Junioris Steiriotae* 43.1–3 (Sophianos 1989): ἐν Πάτραις τῆς Ἀχαΐας στυλίτης ἠκούετο βίου μεταποιούμενος ὑψηλοτέρου.

11 See *Ignatii Diaconi Vita Gregorii Decapolitae* 43.1–2 (Makris 1997): μοναχῷ δέ τινι στύλῳ τὸ σῶμα περιγράψαντι πλησίον τοῦ ἀθλοφόρου Μηνᾶ.

12 On desk-homilies see Cunningham / Allen 1998, 1; Antonopoulou 2013, 37.

13 *Ad Stylitam*, 182.44–45: στύλου τοίνυν καὶ τοῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τούτου κατονομαζομένου.

14 *Ad Stylitam*, 194.43–45: διατετρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτόν, καὶ βαθὺ κένωμα ἔχειν, διειργόμενον περιφράγμασιν, οὐκ ἀπόνηρον εἴποιεν ἂν οἱ μωμοσκοπεῖν βουλόμενοι.

15 *Ad Stylitam*, 182.13: περί που τὸ ἑῷον παραθαλάσσιον.

16 *Ad Stylitam*, 186.59–61.

17 *Ad Stylitam*, 186.93–187.20.

(τὸν δὲ ὄχλον ἀπόλυσον).[18] Therefore, the fact that Eustathios does not name the hermit, albeit providing sufficient information on him, might possibly be attributed to his reluctance to add to his fame, since his goal was to reprimand him and convince him to abandon his ways.[19]

The verb usually used by Eustathios to describe his own rhetorical activity is *λέγειν* and its synonyms, not *γράφειν*. Thus, in various passages of his oration he remarks: καὶ τοίνυν ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα λέγειν,[20] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καλὸν οἶμαι εἰπεῖν,[21] ὅσα τὸν τοῦ στύλου λόγον παρ' ἡμῖν ἀπεπλήρωσε,[22] τί δὲ λέγω οὐκ ἀρκεῖ;,[23] λέγω δέ,[24] ἀλλ' ἅμα σύμβολον εἶπον, ὦ παρόντες,[25] ὀλίγου δέω εἰπεῖν,[26] καὶ ἵνα μὴ πολλὰ εἰπεῖν ἔτι ἔχων παρατείνω,[27] ἔναγχος λέγω,[28] μέχρι τοσούτου εἰρήσθω μοι.[29] When addressing the stylite, he sometimes uses the verb *ἀκούειν*.[30] Moreover, he frequently addresses his listeners.[31] It is, therefore, obvious that the oration was pronounced in Thessalonica before an audience.

The oration is a rather peculiar one; Eustathios' scholars include it in various categories: according to Magdalino, it is a "lecture to a stylite";[32] Kolovou thinks that it belongs to Eustathios' "kirchlich-theologisches und hagiographisches Werk",[33] whereas in Schönauer's opinion it must be considered as a part of Eustathios' "theologisch-moralische Reden und Schriften", in the subcategory "Erbauungs- und Mahnreden".[34] For Peter Bara it is an admonitory ora-

18 *Ad Stylitam*, 196.70.
19 This can be also inferred by what is said in the title of the oration, *Ad Stylitam*, 182.13–14: εἴθε δὲ ἦν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αἰσθέσθαι σαφῶς τῶν λεγομένων.
20 *Ad Stylitam*, 184.41–42.
21 *Ad Stylitam*, 184.89.
22 *Ad Stylitam*, 186.12–13.
23 *Ad Stylitam*, 186.70.
24 *Ad Stylitam*, 187.73.
25 *Ad Stylitam*, 192.25.
26 *Ad Stylitam*, 193.80.
27 *Ad Stylitam*, 193.7–8.
28 Ad *Stylitam*, 196.19.
29 *Ad Stylitam*, 196.32.
30 *Ad Stylitam*, 186.19: ἀκούεις, ὦ στυλίτα.
31 *Ad Stylitam*, 186.13–15: σχάζω δὲ τό γε πολὺ τῆς ὁρμῆς, ὁρῶν τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ὑφαρπάζοντας, καὶ μονονουχὶ πρὸ χειλέων φέροντας τὰ νοούμενα; 186.93–94: φέρε προσενέγκω τοῖς παροῦσι συγκυρίαν πράγματος; 192.25: ὦ παρόντες; 192.86–87: οὐ πάνυ δὲ δυσέντευκτον δαιτυμόσι φιλακροάμοσι.
32 Magdalino 1993, 456.
33 Kolovou 2006, 7*.
34 Schönauer 2006, 20*.

tion,[35] and, finally, Vasileios Katsaros includes it in the works written by Eustathios in Thessalonica on various topics of actuality.[36] From the above it can be understood that in Eustathios' work there are still many points that need to be more thoroughly studied and investigated.

Now, since it looks as if that the oration had in fact been pronounced, we must examine if the rules for the composition of a rhetorical work are respected. To begin with, we observe that there is no preamble: Eustathios introduces us to the subject with a paragraph concerning the term *στύλος* and its synonyms and derivatives.[37] In Tafel's edition this paragraph consists of 28 lines and its style reminds us of a schedographic collection rather than a rhetorical work. Subsequently, Eustathios clarifies the meaning of the terms *στύλος* and *στυλίτης*, providing no less than forty different definitions and comparisons for the former[38] and approximately twenty for the latter.[39] He then proceeds to a comparison between stylitism and other extreme forms of asceticism,[40] concluding that the former is the best of all. Eustathios compares the pillars to the pyramids of Egypt, to the observatory of Eudoxus in Cnidos, to the hanging gardens of Babylon and to the Colossus of Rhodes, and concludes that these were just wonders for naive people and that the ascetic pillar is superior to all.[41] It is, of course, a well-

35 Bara 2013, 18. Otherwise he integrates the oration in Eustathios' hagiographical work, see Bara 2013, 17.

36 Katsaros 2015, 36.

37 *Ad Stylitam*, 182.66–69: ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐνταῦθα θέας περατωθῆναι τὴν ὅρασιν βούλομαι, ἀλλ' ὑπερεκταθῆναι καὶ εἰς διόρασιν. αὕτη δὲ ἡμῖν ἔσται, εἰ τὸ ὁρώμενον ὁρισόμεθα καὶ θεωρητικώτερον.

38 The pillar is called στήλη, τοῦ πυρὸς στύλος, πύρινος στύλος, κλίμαξ, ὄρος, βουνός, γαζοφυλάκιον, νοσσιά, πύργος ἰσχύος, βάρις ἐλεφαντίνη, κρησφύγετον σωτήριον, πόλις ὀχυρά, τόπος πυρσοῦ, οἶκος ἡλίου, οἶκος τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡλίου, οἶκος προσευχῆς, σκοπευτήριον, στοιβὴ λίθων, μετεωρισμός, οὐρανός, μετεωρισμὸς θαυμαστός, εἱρκτή, ἀθλητικὸν βῆμα, ἀναβάθρα μαρτυρική, ἀνώγεων ἐστρωμένον, λιθόστρωτον, τάφος, σημεῖον, ἄκρα μακαριστή, οὐρανόπολις, οἶκος Θεοῦ, ναὸς ἅγιος, ἀρετῆς οἰκητήριον, σκοπευτήριον, σκάμμα ἀθλητικόν, σύμβολον ἀνατάσεως καὶ ὕψους, σήραγξ μελίσσης, μυρμηκιὰ ἀγαθῶν, ὀστοῦν ἀμύελον, μελιτοτρόφος κάλαμος, ὀκρίβας διδασκάλου.

39 The stylite is called ἱστὸς ἐπὶ ὄρους, σημαία τῆς ἀρετῆς, αἰθεροβάμων, οὐρανοπολίτης, ἀνδριὰς καρτερίας, οἰκήτωρ ἁπασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀετός, ἀθλητὴς ἀβίαστος, ἀγγελοειδής, ἄγγελος, θησαυρὸς πολυτίμητος, στρατιώτης, στρατιώτης πυργοφύλαξ, πυρσὸς σωτήριος, ἥλιος, ἔνθεος, σκοπὸς ἐν σκοπευτηρίῳ, ἐκλεκτὸς ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, φυτὸν οὐράνιον, οὐρανοβάμων.

40 See *Ad Stylitam*, 189.78–190.7, where ten types of ascetes are mentioned: γυμνῖται, τῶν τριχῶν ἀνεπίστροφοι, χαμαιεῦναι καὶ ἀνιπτόποδες, ῥυπῶντες, σιγῶντες, σπηλαιῶται, σιδηρούμενοι, δενδρῖται, κιονῖται, ἐν ἀσκήσει τεθαμμένοι.

41 *Ad Stylitam*, 193.38–50.

known fact that comparison is a part of both praise and blame, so in this case Eustathios does not depart from traditional rhetorical rules.

It is, therefore, clear, that Eustathios does not oppose stylitism, on which he expresses positive views in his works *De simulatione* (*Περὶ ὑποκρίσεως*)[42] and *De emendanda vita monachica* (*Ἐπίσκεψις βίου μοναχικοῦ*)[43] as well. All he does is to criticize the hermits who have an erroneous conception of this extreme form of asceticism. In general Eustathios adopts a critical stance toward monks,[44] a trait that is often encountered in other Byzantine authors too.[45] On the other hand, one of the most virulent critics of pillar hermits, several centuries before Eustathios, was an important representative of monasticism, namely Theodoros Studites.[46] Eustathios' own criticism might also be linked to the questioning of holiness which had already begun in the 11th century[47] and was still being expressed during his own time.[48]

It is clear that Eustathios, by means of a counter-example, aims at suggesting what the stylite in question is not or does not. He thus sketches the portrait of the ideal pillar hermit, based on previous model cases. For Eustathios, the most exemplary of all stylites is St. Symeon, who lived between the 4th and 5th century.[49] One could therefore say that Eustathios' oration describes a "*speculum stylitae*". The ideal stylite has two fundamental traits: he is a celestial man and he teaches other people.[50] The first one is easily understood, since the goal of any type of ascetic life is the salvation of the ascete's soul. To the second trait Eustathios dedicates one whole paragraph, comparing the pillar to a teacher's easel and a chair whence the stylite teaches his audience,[51] and concluding

42 Tafel 1832, 97.74–98.4.
43 Metzler 2006a, 96.84.
44 Kazhdan / Franklin 2007, 168–172.
45 See Metzler 2006b, 86–89.
46 See Theod. Studites *Parva Catech.* 139.14–140.25 (Auvray 1891): Τί ὠφέλησε τὸν λεγόμενον ψαλτήριον ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν στύλον ἄνοδος; οὐχὶ ἐκεῖθεν κατηνέχθη ἐκστατικῶς; καὶ νῦν οὔτε ὑποτακτίτης οὔτε στυλίτης. Τί ὠφέλησε τὸν Σαπρίτην ὁ αὐτὸς στύλος; οὐχὶ ἐκεῖθεν κατῆλθε δι' ὀρθοδοξίαν, καὶ πέπτωκεν εἰς αἵρεσιν προδότης ἀληθείας γενόμενος; καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἐν διώκταις δριμύτατος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδελφότητος ἐπιβλέψωμεν. Οὐχὶ Πέτρος ὁ ἀρχαῖος καλῶς ὑποταττόμενος δῆθεν εὐλαβείας ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον; καὶ ὅπως ὑπέστρεψεν ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ ὁποῖον δέδωκε τὸ τέλος ἴστε οἱ πεπειραμένοι. Οὐχὶ καὶ Ἀμφιλόχιος ὁ ἔτι περιὼν στυλίτης γέγονε πρότερον, ἔπειτα ἐγκλειστός; καὶ νῦν ἐνασχημονεῖ ὧδε κἀκεῖσε ἀλώμενος.
47 On the questioning of holiness in the 11th century, see Paschalidis 2004, 493–513; Paschalidis 2011, 160.
48 Magdalino 2001, 55–62.
49 See Bowersock et al. 2002, 705–706; Harvey Ashbrook 1988, 377; Eastmond 1999, 87.
50 See *Ad Stylitam* 190.69–70: καὶ διδασκαλικὸν εἶναι χρὴ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ στύλου.
51 *Ad Stylitam* 190.72–75.

that the teaching must not exceed the limits of moderation, because in that case there might be voices in the audience urging him to silence (σιώπα, πεφίμωσο).[52] According to Eustathios, a stylite's highest achievement is to leave behind disciples willing to follow his path.[53] In the ideal case where all these requirements were met, he declares that he would not hesitate to become a disciple himself, despite the fact that, in his own phrasing, συνῆκα καὶ μαθητὴς γέρων εἶναι, but also τὰ εἰς δικαιοσύνην ἄγροικος, καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀναλφάβητος.[54]

One can see that Eustathios, using in a masterly way both satire and self-sarcasm,[55] has achieved his goal. It is, nevertheless, also legitimate to suppose that in the portrait of the ideal teacher he saw no other than himself. A fruit of his teaching ability, but also of his erudition, is the fact that, in addition to the lists of definitions, he makes several references to oddities such as the tombs of Mausolus and Cyrus, the gymnosophists, the Harpies, the ant-man, the ant-lion, etc. Moreover, he quotes as usual several proverbs, such as λάθε βιούς,[56] μυρμηκιὰ ἀγαθῶν,[57] καρδίαν μὴ ἐσθίειν, μαχαίρᾳ πῦρ μὴ σκαλεύειν, μὴ λευκὸν οἰκοτραφεῖν ἀλέκτορα. The latter three are quoted within the same paragraph and are also interpreted by Eustathios in an endeavor to stress that speech is often symbolic.[58]

In the light of the above, it is quite plain, in my opinion, that the oration under exam is rather a questioning of the holiness of the stylite of Thessalonica. It seems, therefore, reasonable to include it, following the suggestion by V. Katsaros, among the works that were inspired by contemporary events, in the frame of Eustathios' criticism, or even blame, against the monks of his time.

Since Eustathios was, as we know, *maistor tōn rhētorōn* in Constantinople, it is quite likely that before assuming this position he had worked as a grammarian.[59] This assumption is not very far from what Euthymios Malakes writes in his monody about the period of Eustathios' residence in Constantinople: οἷς μὲν ἐχορήγει γραμματικὴν καὶ μέτρα καὶ ποίησιν…οἷς δὲ τὴν γλῶτταν ἠκόνει, ῥητορικῶς ἐξηγούμενος καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλοις ἐνήσκει καὶ παιδεύμασιν καὶ μαθήμασιν.[60] We also know that Eustathios was held in high esteem by his disciples, who, accord-

52 *Ad Stylitam* 190.90.
53 *Ad Stylitam* 193.60–66.
54 *Ad Stylitam* 195.89–92.
55 On the use of satire in Eustathios' work, see Sarris 1999; Metzler 2006b, 82–83.
56 *Ad Stylitam* 190.94.
57 *Ad Stylitam* 194.47–48.
58 *Ad Stylitam* 192–193, ch. 62. See also Tosi, this volume.
59 Merianos 2008, 38; Nesseris 2014, 93.
60 Euth. Malakes *Monodia in Eust*. 83.1–4 (Μponis 1937).

ing to Michael Choniates, χθὲς μὲν ταῖς γλώτταις ὑποψελλίζοντες, ἔντρανον δὲ καὶ τορὸν φθεγγόμενοι σήμερον.[61] Taking also into account the fact that Eustathios is believed to be the author of two schedē,[62] preserved respectively in a codex of Naples (Brancaccianus IV A 5), as it has been pointed out by F. Nousia,[63] and in a codex of the Vatican (Vaticanus gr. 2299) published by E. Nesseris,[64] and considering also the style of the oration's first paragraph, which, as we have noted above, is reminiscent of schedographic collections,[65] we may say that Eustathios never forgets his first capacity, that of grammarian. A similar phenomenon[66] can be observed in Eustathios' work *In eum, qui 'papas' dici recusabat*,[67] in which he dedicates entire paragraphs to the etymological analysis of the word *παπᾶς* and its derivatives.[68]

In other words, one can see that the oration under study is a mixture of Eustathios' teachings as a preacher and the methods he used as a grammarian. This mixture is not an uncommon phenomenon in rhetoric[69] and is observed in other works of Eustathios as well.[70] Thus, to the question whether in the work under exam Eustathios is an orator or a grammarian, I would answer that he is both,[71] since in both his "modal language", according to the term used by V. Katsaros,[72] and in his "modal rhetoric", he manages to be above all a master.

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61 Michael Choniates *Monodia in Eust.* 289.6–7 (Lampros 1879/80).

62 For Eustathios' views on schedography, see Agapitos 2015.

63 See Nousia (forthcoming). I would like to thank F. Nousia, lecturer at the University of Patras, who informed me about this schedos.

64 Nesseris 2014, 98.

65 This is proved by a simple comparison between the text of the first paragraph (*Ad Stylitam* 182.16–43) and the following passage: Κόρη σημαίνει γʹ: κόρη ἡ νέα, ἤτοι ἡ παρθένος· ἀπὸ τοῦ κορῶ, τὸ ἐπιμελοῦμαι καὶ καλλωπίζομαι· κόρη ἡ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ κόρον, τὸ μέλαν· ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ὅρασιν· καὶ κόρρη, ἡ παρειά, διὰ δύο ρ (see cod. Brancaccianus IV A 5, f. 197v).

66 This was suggested to me by Paolo Cesaretti, whom I would like to thank.

67 Tafel 1832, 37–41.

68 *In eum, qui 'papas'* 38.57–39.90 Tafel.

69 What Hermogenes says on the subject is quite enlightening, see Hermog. *De ideis* 217.12–17 (Rabe 1913): τὰ γάρτοι τοῦ Δημοσθενικοῦ λόγου καθαπερεὶ στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀρχὰς εἰ δυνηθείημεν ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ ἕκαστα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν πόσα τέ ἐστι δεῖξαι καὶ ὁποῖα καὶ ὅπως γίνεται τίς τε ἡ πρὸς ἄλληλα μῖξις αὐτῶν καὶ τί δύνανται τόνδε ἢ τόνδε μιγνύμενα τὸν τρόπον, τάχα ἂν περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν λόγων εἰρηκότες εἴημεν.

70 On mixture in Eustathios' works see Lindberg 1977, 192–199; Agapitos 1998; Kolovou 2006, 22*–23*, 54*–57*.

71 Moreover we must not forget that Eustathios considers Homer as both an orator and a grammarian, see van den Berg 2015.

72 Katsaros 1992, 99.

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Vassilis A. Sarris

Λυκοφρονείως ἢ ἄλλως διθυραμβικῶς: Eustathius' Enigmatic Stylistic Terms and the Polyphony of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon

> For an answer which cannot be expressed the question too cannot be expressed.
> The riddle does not exist.
> If a question can be put at all, then it can also be answered.
> L. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* 6.5

Βασιλείῳ Κατσαρῷ τῷ φιλευσταθίῳ

Eustathius' *Commentary* (*Exegesis*) *on the Iambic Pentecostal Canon*[1] is a text which has periodically been a topic of research in the field of Byzantine hymnography,[2] both because Eustathius interpolates various stylistic and literary comments in the proem of his treatise, and because it contains extensive references to the figure poems (*technopaignia*) of his time.[3]

In the proem, Eustathius treats the issue of whether it is possible, by starting out from stylistic clues, to ascribe the Iambic Pentecostal Canon to John of Damascus – the attribution that has prevailed in the tradition of the Orthodox Church.[4] In Eustathius' view, the Iambic Canons – and in particular the canon

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1 This is probably Eustathius' last work, written in the last decade of the 12th century (Cesaretti 2014,*69–72). After a series of incomplete publications (Mai 1841, Migne 1865), the recent, excellent critical edition (Cesaretti-Ronchey 2014) with an extensive prologue on all literary issues, gave us the opportunity to have a reliable text at our disposal for research. Specifically on the editorial adventures of Eustathius' *Exegesis*, see Cesaretti 1987a; Ronchey 1991; Ead. 2011; Ead. 2014,*290–298.

2 See Vartholomeos Koutl. 1890; Demetrakopoulos 1979; Ronchey 1986a; Ead. 1991; Ead. 2001; Ead. 2011; Cesaretti 1987a; Id. 1987b; Genakou-Borovilou 2009; Phanourgakis 1989. Also, Eustathius' *Exegesis* inspired at times those who were involved in discussing and rendering the Iambic Pentecostal Canon: Nikodemos Hagioreites 1836; Nauck 1894; Montana 1995; Skrekas 2008.

3 *Exeg. Prooem.* 146–248. On Eustathius' views on figure poems (technopaignia) see below, pp. 270–272.

4 The main witness for the attribution of the Iambic Canons to John of Damascus comes from Suidas (Suid. ι 467). According to this testimony καὶ οἱ ᾀσματικοὶ κανόνες, ἰαμβικοί τε καὶ κατα-

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concerning Pentecost – bear no stylistic relation to the works of John of Damascus, as the latter's writing is characterized by brightness, clarity and sweetness[5] (τὸ φωτεινόν, τὸ σαφὲς καὶ τὸ ἡδύ *Exeg. Prooem.* 69–79), whereas these stylistic elements are not to be found in the Iambic Pentecostal Canon. Eustathius considers the "Euripidean" drama of John of Damascus on the biblical subject of Susanna and the Elders[6] to be a representative sample of such a style. In this regard he notes:

> οὕτως ἀστόμφαστος καὶ ἡ ἐποποιΐα καὶ φωτὶ σαφηνείας διάλευκος καὶ ἀνεπισκότητος φράσει σκληρᾷ τῷ λαμπρῷ Δαμασκηνῷ (*Exeg. Prooem.* 94–95).
>
> Thus, the poetic language of the brilliant John of Damascus is totally devoid of pomposity, and the light emanating from its lucidity makes it fully transparent and crystal clear, thereby not obscuring it with a coarse style.

All these stylistic features, dominant in the works of John of Damascus, are totally absent from the Iambic Pentecostal Canon, which the spiritual melodist composed according to Lycophron's poetic style or, alternatively, the dithyrambic style (λυκοφρονείως ἢ ἄλλως διθυραμβικῶς).[7] According to Eustathius' reasoning, if the poet is indeed John of Damascus, in no way did he create the hymn using his authentic poetic style; on the contrary, he mimicked[8] the style of other poets. This is why Eustathius characterises John of Damascus as "multivoiced and multilingual" (ποικιλόφωνος καὶ πολύγλωσσος: *Exeg. Prooem.* 117–118). Judging from Eustathius' analysis, it becomes clear that the stylistic terms λυκοφρονείως ἢ ἄλλως διθυραμβικῶς form a way of writing that is the opposite of the Damascene's classical lucid style, free from pomposity (διάλευκον καὶ ἀστόμφαστον).

It is necessary here to examine the terms one by one, considering the adverb λυκοφρονείως first. As a stylistic term, the adverb clearly refers to Lycophron

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λογάδην were included in John of Damascus' works. Specifically see Cesaretti 2014,*35–37 and *83–84; Petrynko 2010, 283–315; Skrekas 2008, xvi–xix.

5 For the clear and bright tone in John of Damascus' hymns, see Cesaretti 2014,*86–87. For the term "sweetness" (γλυκύτης) in Eustathius, see Karla 2007, 90–91.

6 *Exeg. Prooem.* 81–95; Eustathius also refers to this drama (τὸ δρᾶμα τῆς Σωσάννης) in his *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*, 2.387.17–19 Müller. On Eustathius' reference to the "Euripidean" drama on the life of Susanna written by John of Damascus, see Ronchey 1991, 157; Ead. 2001, 329; Lauxtermann 2003, 134–135; Cesaretti 2014,*132–133, *135–136, *141–142.

7 *Exeg. Prooem.* 107–108. On these stylistic terms in Eustathius' *Exegesis*, see Cesaretti 2014,*91 and *178–179.

8 *Exeg. Prooem.* 253–255: καὶ τοῦτο οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν...., ἀλλὰ πρὸς μίμησιν χαρακτῆρος ποιητικοῦ.

and to his idiosyncratic poetry. Lycophron was an Alexandrian poet who drew the attention of Byzantine scholars in the 12th century, as is made clear e.g. by the monumental *Scholia to Lycophron* written by John Tzetzes.[9] Therefore, the relation between the style of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon and that of Lycophron's poems should not surprise us. In the Hellenistic and medieval world Lycophron was renowned for the obscurity of his poetic writing:[10] in Suidas' lexicon his only surviving poem, the *Alexandra*, is referred to as "the obscure poem".[11] Lycophron's obscurity characterizes the Iambic Pentecostal Canon[12] as well, and this stylistic feature is vividly highlighted by Eustathius:

> Καθαρότητος μὲν οὖν καὶ φωτὸς τοῦ κατὰ σαφήνειαν ἐς τοσοῦτον μέτεστι τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν κανόνος, εἰς ὅσον καὶ νυκτὶ χειμερίῳ ἀστρῴας ἐλλάμψεως. ἀπεσκότωται γὰρ οἷον τὰ πολλὰ ὁ σοφός, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸ τῶν νοημάτων βάθος θεολογικῶν τῶν πλειόνων ὑπαρχόντων, τὰ δὲ οἷς σχηματίζει σεμνῶς… (*Exeg. Prooem.* 286–290)
>
> The style of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon is as scantily characterized by the purity and brightness that clarity creates as is starlight appearing on a stormy night. The wise poet is completely obscure in most cases. In some cases this occurs because of the depth of his thoughts, most of which are theological, and in others by those which he insinuates with solemnity.

This Lycophron-like way of poetic writing brings the poet of the hymn closer to Pindar's poetry, since Eustathius in the *Prooimion* of his *Commentary on Pindar* notes that Lycophron's zeal for Pindar[13] (Λυκοφρόνειος ζῆλος) resulted in his adopting important Pindaric poetic features such as abstruseness, ambiguity and paradoxical language[14] (ἡ στρυφνότης, ἡ ἀσάφεια καὶ τὸ ξενόφωνον). Note that all these stylistic elements are also to be found in the Iambic Pentecostal Canon. Eustathius highlights the tortuous style of the hymnographer's poetry,

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9 See Hunger 1992, vol. 2, 447–448. According to Wilson 1983, 201, in his *Commentary on the Iliad*, Eustathius copies *verbatim* Tzetzes' brief notes on Lycophron. About the question of whether Eustathius was in contact with his contemporary Tzetzes, see Koster-Holwerda 1954.

10 On the obscurity of Lycophron's poetry, see the studies in Cusset-Prioux 2009. See also Cusset-Kolde 2013.

11 Suid. λ 827: Λυκόφρων, Χαλκιδεύς…ἔγραψε καὶ τὴν καλουμένην *Ἀλεξάνδραν*, τὸ σκοτεινὸν ποίημα.

12 Cesaretti 2014,*180. On the poetic connection between the *Alexandra* and the Theophany Iambic Canon, see Skrekas 2008, 102–103. Furthermore, Paramelle 2009 stresses Lycophron's obscurity in all three Iambic Canons. On the term "obscurity" in Eustathius, see Karla 2007, 90–91.

13 Eust. *in Pind.* §11, 11.25 – 12.1 Kambylis. Eustathius speaks about Lycophron's zeal (Λυκοφρόνειος ζῆλος) imitating Pindar. On Eustathius' zeal for Pindar, see Katsaros 2006.

14 See in particular Negri 2000; Cesaretti 2014,*179–181.

his syntactic idiosyncracies, his obscure language, as well as his lack of clarity and paradoxical voices.[15] As stated by Paolo Cesaretti, in Eustathius' view the hymnographer is in some sense another Pindar: a Christian Pindar, a spiritual Pindar, inspired by the pentecostal multilingualism.[16]

Judging from the expression λυκοφρονείως ἢ ἄλλως διθυραμβικῶς, it becomes clear that as a stylistic term the adverb διθυραμβικῶς, if not identical to the adverb λυκοφρονείως, is nevertheless directly related to it. As the ancient sources reveal, the dithyramb was an enthusiastic choral song thematically related to the birth of Dionysus.[17] Initially, the obscurity and ambiguity of meanings were not the main features of the dithyramb, and in Eustathius the adverb διθυραμβικῶς undoubtedly has no connection with the stylistic elements of the dithyramb of antiquity;[18] moreover, the link with the adverb λυκοφρονείως seems to refer to the neoattic dithyramb of Euripides' era.[19] The features of the neoattic dithyramb are identified today as noise,[20] chatter and pomposity, ambiguity of

15 According to Eustathius the poet of the Pentecostal Canon στρυφνοῖ τὴν φράσιν (*Exeg.* 95.7) in relation to Pindar who στρυφνῶς φράζει (*in Pind.* §20, 16.7). See Cesaretti 2014,*180 n. 966. The poetic style of the Canon is abstruse and labored (ποιητικὸς χαρακτὴρ αὐστηρὸς καὶ ἀτηρός) (*Exeg. Prooem.* 256–257), distinguished διὰ τὸ τῶν λέξεων....δυστίβητον, and presents peculiarities (ἐπιτηδεύσεις) which could also be characterized as structural abnormalities (κῆρες γραφῆς) (*Exeg. Prooem.* 290–294). Pindar's ξενόφωνον (*in Pind.* §23, 20.2–3) appears in the *Exegesis* as παραδοξοφωνία (*Exeg.* 250.6), a stylistic element also found in the Iambic Pentecostal Canon. Of course, all these Pindaric stylistic elements are also dithyrambic. On the rigour of poetry as a dithyrambic stylistic element, see Negri 2000, 181 n.1.

16 Cesaretti 2014,*184.

17 Plat. *Leg.* 700b 4–5: καὶ ἄλλο, Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος. Especially for the name and origin of dithyramb, see D 'Alessio 2013; Le Meur-Weissman 2012, 81; Zimmermann 1992; Ieranò 1997.

18 For the typical features of dithyramb, see Kowalzig-Wilson 2013; Csapo 2004; Ieranò 1997; Zimmermann 1992.

19 For the neoattic dithyramb and its characteristics, see Le Ven 2013; Ead. 2011; Le Meur-Weissman 2012, 91–93; Csapo 2004, 227–229; Ieranò 1997, 229–230; van der Weiden 1991, 194.

20 Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dem.* 7.4 Aujac), deploring the pompous style in Plato's *Phaedrus*, points out that ψόφοι ταῦτ' εἰσὶ καὶ διθύραμβοι, κόμπον ὀνομάτων πολὺν νοῦν δὲ ὀλίγον ἔχοντες ("these are all noises and enthusiastic stylistic elements, which are full of pompous words having little sense"). He also refers to noise and chatter of the dithyramb (διθυράμβων ψόφους καὶ λήρους) (*Dem.* 7.6). Cesaretti (2014,*138 n.712) aptly notes that Eustathius' observation in the *Exegesis* that "Plato when particularly moderate in tone, is more precise and usually sweeter" (ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων, ὅτε πρὸς μέτρον γράφει, σαφέστερός ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ γλυκύτερος: *Exeg. Prooem.* 78–79), refers to Dionysius' judgment concernig the dithyrambic style of the *Phaedrus*. Eustathius seems to have in mind Dionysius' judgment on the διθυραμβικὴν φράσιν which οὐ κρατεῖ τοῦ μετρίου (*Ep. Pomp. Gem.* 2.1). On the noise and ranting of dithyrambs, see Le Ven 2013; Le Meur-Weissman 2012, 90; Porter 2007, 6–7; Csapo 2004, 228–229.

meanings and lengthy, incomprehensible compound words,[21] all elements of style that are also very evident in the Iambic Canon which Eustathius is commenting on.

The poet of the hymn likes to create complex multi-compound words such as the neologisms "ἀκτιστοσυμπλαστουργοσύνθρονον" (uncreated co-creating co-ruler)[22] and "ὀμβροβλυτεῖς" (you rain down).[23] These "*hapax legomena*" compound words were a stylistic element easily identifiable in Pindar's dithyrambs.[24] According to Eustathius, the poet of the hymn creates words through accumulation of meanings (*Exeg*. 167.1–16). The abundance of these words in the body of the poetic text clearly forms a dithyrambic style, which is already identified in Platonic texts, more specifically in the *Cratylus*, where Socrates creates a complex, novel and paradoxical name for the moon, a name his interlocutor describes as a "dithyrambic":

> Σωκρ: "Σελαναίαν" δέ γε καλοῦσιν αὐτὴν πολλοί.
> Ἑρμ: Πάνυ γε.
> Σωκρ: Ὅτι δὲ σέλας νέον καὶ ἕνον ἔχει ἀεί, "Σελαενονεοάεια" μὲν δικαιότατ' ἂν [τῶν] ὀνομάτων καλοῖτο, συγκεκροτημένον δὲ "Σελαναία" κέκληται.
> Ἑρμ: Διθυραμβῶδές γε τοῦτο τοὔνομα, ὦ Σώκρατες....

> Socr: The moon is often called "Selanaia".
> Herm: Certainly.
> Socr: Because it has always a new and old gleam, the most fitting name for it would be "Selaenoneoaeia", which has been compressed into "Selanaia".

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21 Suidas' reference to the poets of the neoattic dithyramb is noteworthy: Διθυραμβοδιδάσκαλοι περὶ μετεώρων καὶ περὶ τῶν νεφελῶν λέγουσι πολλὰ καὶ συνθέτους δὲ λέξεις ἐποίουν, καὶ ἔλεγον ἐνδιαεριαιερινηχέτους: οἷος ἦν Ἴων ὁ Χῖος, ὁ ποιητής. ἐποίησε δὲ ποίημα, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή: ἀοῖον ἠεροφοίταν ἀστέρα μῆνα μὲν ἀελίου λευκῇ πτέρυγι πρόδρομον. παίζων δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης ἀοῖον αὐτὸν ἀστέρα φησὶ κληθῆναι (Suid. δ 1029). "The poets of dithyramb were chatting away about the sky and the clouds and created many compound words such as "ἐνδιαεριαιερινηχέτους". Such a poet was Ion of Chios. He composed a poem which began as follows: ἀοῖον ἠεροφοίταν ἀστέρα μῆνα μὲν ἀελίου λευκῇ πτέρυγι πρόδρομον. Making fun of him, Aristophanes suggested he be called ἀοῖον ἀστέρα". On Ion, see Valerio 2013.

22 Eustathius, commenting on the multi-compound word "ἀκτιστοσυμπλαστουργοσύνθρονον" (*Pent. Canon* v. 119: *Exeg*. 206.1–14) calls this kind of compound words "τὰ πινακηδὸν ἀποτεινόμενα ἔπη" (words stretched out like ship-timbers). Eustathius refers to Aristophanes (*Ran*. 823–825), who characterizes the sesquipedalian compound words of Aeschylus as ῥήματα γομφοπαγῆ. On Eustathius as Aristophanes' reader, see Cesaretti 1987b; Kassel 2001. For the compound words in the Iambic Canons, see Lauxtermann 2003, 136–137; Cesaretti 2014,*160–161; Kominis 1966, 80–81.

23 *Pent. Canon* v. 38: *Exeg*. 106.1–7.

24 Le Meur-Weissman 2012, 92; van der Weiden 1991, 194.

> Herm: That is a dithyrambic name, Socrates....
> (Plat. *Crat.* 409b–c)

Through the abundance of compound neologisms, the poet of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon also seems somehow to be a dithyramb composer, since according to Aristotle,

> χρησιμωτάτη ἡ διπλῆ λέξις τοῖς διθυραμβοποιοῖς (οὗτοι γὰρ ψοφώδεις)
>
> compound words are especially employed by dithyrambic poets, who are full of noise; (Arist. *Rhet.* 1406b 1–2)

or else, as the philosopher states,

> τῶν δ᾽ ὀνομάτων τὰ μὲν διπλᾶ μάλιστα ἁρμόττει τοῖς διθυράμβοις
>
> of the various kinds of words the double forms are most suited for dithyrambs. (Arist. *Poet.* 1459a9)

According to Eustathius, in many cases the hymn is interspersed with words that sound strange (παραδοξοφωνίαι: *Exeg.* 250.5–8), as well as with words having controversial meanings, both stylistic elements which he himself attributes to the fact that the hymn was composed according to the principles and rules of the dithyramb (τῇ διθυραμβώδει μεταχειρίσει τῆς ποιήσεως: *Exeg.* 250.3–4). The hymnographer raises questions about the interpretation of the poetic text, acting as a puzzle[25] (γρίφου δίκην: *Exeg.* 250.2) for the interpreters, who are forced to read the obscure and enigmatic meanings through the metaleptic hermeneutical process (κατὰ μετάληψιν).[26] In order to comprehend them correctly, they use one word for another; more specifically, they try to find a synonym and at the same time a double-meaning word behind each word of the poetic text; and their mind is urged to choose the second meaning, which is actually differ-

25 It is noteworthy that Pindar composed poems as if they were a kind of puzzle. The *Ode* with reference to the letter -σ, which was composed without a sigma (Pind. *dith.* fr. 2.1–3 Maehler) is a typical one. According to Clearchos from Soloi, Πίνδαρος πρὸς τὸ ‘σ’ ἐποίησεν ᾠδήν, οἱονεὶ γρίφου τινὸς ἐν μελοποιίᾳ προβληθέντος: see Athen. 448b (= Clearch. fr. 86 Wehrli) and 455c (= Clearch. fr. 88). In particular, see Porter 2007; Luz 2011, 223–234.

26 *Exeg.* 249.3. The term “metalepsis”, lit. “sharing”, as a rhetorical term, refers to figures of speech such as metonymy or metaphor, when one word is used for another. For a discussion of the history of “metalepsis” as rhetorical term, see de Jong 2009, 88; Wagner 2002, 235–237. On “metalepsis” as a narratological term in Ancient Greek Literature, see de Jong 2009, 87–115; Wagner 2002, 235–253.

ent from that used in the hymn (*Exeg.* 252.1–13).[27] These are dithyrambic poetic devices which Eustathius detects in the style of comedy as well. He argues that in comedy the deceitful (κίβδηλον)[28] dithyrambic style deceives in many ways and reveals words behind the words.

> ἡ γοῦν κωμῳδία τοιαῦτά τινα διθυραμβώδη ἐποίει ἐν μιᾷ λέξει ἀναγκάζουσα γραφὰς διαφόρους νοεῖν: οἷον ὅτε εἴπῃ, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς λήροις τοὺς νικῶντας ἀναδῶν στεφανοῖ. τὸ γὰρ λήροις λέγεται μέν, ὡς τῶν νικώντων ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις φλυάρῳ καὶ κενῷ κόμπῳ θελγομένων. βούλεται δὲ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι λειρίοις ἤγουν ἄνθεσι τοὺς νικῶντας ἀναδεῖ.
>
> Thus, comedy mimicked the dithyramb, forcing the listeners to infer different meanings for the same word. When Aristophanes says that “Jupiter bestows baubles (λήροις) on the victors as a crown” (*Plut.* 589), the word “λήροις” denotes the pompous words and the rambling claptrap, which delight the winners of the Olympic Games. Furthermore, the poet aims to express concurrently that “Jupiter crowns the winners with flowers (λειρίοις)”. (Eust. *in Il.* 125.39–42)

In this case, when Eustathius talks about double meanings as an element of dithyrambic style, he does not refer to “metalepsis” as a hermeneutical method, but to sounds that are more tangible to the listener’s ear, created by alliterations, homophones and anagrams.[29] Eustathius maintains that all these sound-tricks represent an artful type of alliteration (πανοῦργον παρηχήσεως εἶδος), as they reveal words upon words.

> ἔστι τι καὶ ἄλλο πανοῦργον παρηχήσεως εἶδος, ὅπερ κατὰ γραμμάτων μετάθεσιν γίνεται, ὁποῖόν τι περιειργάσατο ὁ εἰπὼν τὸ τοῦ λόγου νᾶμα μάννα δοκεῖν τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς: τὸ γὰρ νᾶμα χωρῆσαν ὡς ἐς ἀνάρρουν εἰς μάννα μετερρύη. τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ “οὐ λίθῳ βαλών, ἀλλὰ τῇ χειρὶ λαβών” καὶ τὸ λέπας καὶ πέλας παρὰ Λυκόφρονι [*Alex.* 419–420].
>
> There is another artful kind of alliteration, which is achieved by the rearranging of the letters. Thus, the words of the poet τὸ τοῦ λόγου νᾶμα sound like μάννα to the listeners, as if the water of the source (νᾶμα) – since it is fluid – changed its direction and joined the divine food (μάννα). Another example of artful alliteration is the phrase οὐ λίθῳ βαλών, but also τῇ χειρὶ λαβών as well as the words λέπας and πέλας, which we encounter in Lycophron. (Eust. *in Il.* 125.30–33)

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27 In particular, see below p. 267.
28 On the illusive character of dithyramb, Pindar’s verses in the *asigmatic ode* are very characteristic: Π̣ρὶν μὲν ἕρπε σχοινοτένειά τ’ ἀοιδὰ / δ̣ι̣θυράμβων / καὶ τὸ σ̣ὰν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων (Pind. *dith.* 2.1–3 Maehler). In particular, see Le Meur-Weissman 2012, 94.
29 For Eustathius’ comments on alliterations and anagrams in Homer, see Testenoire 2010; Luz 2013, 160–163.

Once again, although Lycophron[30] did not compose dithyrambs himself, his name is mentioned by Eustathius together with the dithyrambic style. Thus we begin to gain greater insight into Eustathius' comment that the hymnographer composed the Iambic Pentecostal Canon λυκοφρονείως ἢ ἄλλως διθυραμβικῶς. Judging from Eustathius' observations on the alliterations in the poetic language, we conclude that, beyond obscurity, what connects Lycophron with the dithyramb is mainly a hidden "paralanguage". In Tzetzes' *Commentary on Lycophron,* Lycophron is not so much commended as a poet but as the main craftsman of anagrams, an observation which reflects the Byzantines' view of the basic skill of the Alexandrian poet:

> εὐδοκίμει δὲ τότε ὁ Λυκόφρων οὐ τοσοῦτον διὰ τὴν ποίησιν ὅσον διὰ τὸ λέγειν ἀναγραμματισμοὺς οἷον ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος ἀπὸ μέλιτος λέγει μεταγραμματιζόμενον, Ἀρσινόη δὲ ἴον Ἥρας καὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα τούτοις ὅμοια.
>
> At that time, Lycophron was famous not so much for his poems as for the fact that he created anagrams. He said, for example, that if we rearrange the letters in the name Πτολεμαῖος the phrase ἀπὸ μέλιτος comes forth, and that the anagram of the name Ἀρσινόη gives us the phrase ἴον Ἥρας and so on. (Tzetz. *Schol. in Lyc.* p. 5.4–8 ed. Scheer)

Since the hymnographer, as Eustathius believes, does not use his own style of writing but imitates the techniques of Lycophron[31] and the peculiarities of the neoattic dithyramb, it seems reasonable to look into the Iambic Pentecostal Canon for points that might support Eustathius' implied views, as he himself does not insist on developing them, nor does he discuss them further in a less enigmatic manner.

Let us examine the anagrams and alliterations[32] in the following *troparion* of the Canon (*Ode* 4, trop. 1):

> Having by a word mixed the divine bath of rebirth
> With a compounded nature,
> You rain down upon me a stream from your immaculate

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30 In Tzetzes' *Commentary on Lycophron* we encounter an etymology of the name "Lycophron", which is associated with Eustathius' observation on the artful alliteration (πανοῦργος παρήχησις): "Why is he called Lycophron? Because he speaks with riddles and cunning. For wolves are also cunning". (διὰ τί λέγεται Λυκόφρων; διὰ τὸ αἰνιγματωδῶς καὶ πανούργως λέγειν: καὶ γὰρ οἱ λύκοι πανοῦργοι. Tzetz. *Schol. in Lyc.* p. 7.10–12 Scheer).

31 For the underlying meanings in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, formed by the alliterations and anagrams, see Cusset – Kolde 2013.

32 For the anagrams, alliterations and underlying meanings in a literary text, see Bader 1993; Calder 2004; Testenoire 2013b, 195–289; Cook 2009, 28–35 and 153–155; Lysoe 2007; Luz 2013, 147–175 with particular references to Lycophron and Eustathius.

Pierced side, oh Word of God,
Sealing me with the fervour of the Spirit.

Λουτρὸν τὸ θ[εῖο]ν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας
Λόγῳ κερ[αννὺς] συντεθειμένῃ φύσει,
Ὀμβ[ροβλυτεῖς] [μοι] [ῥεῖθρον] ἐξ ἀ[κη]ράτου
Ν[ενυγμ]ένης σου πλευρᾶς, ὦ Θεοῦ Λόγε,
Ἐπι[σφραγί]ζων τῇ ζέσει τοῦ Πνεύματος.

Ὀμβ[*ροβλυτεῖς μοι*]= μυροβλύτης
[*μοι ῥεῖθρο*]ν ἐξ ἀ[*κη*]ράτου = μυροθήκη
Ν[*ενυγμ*]ένης = αἴνιγμ(α)
Ἐπι[*σφραγί*]ζων = σφραγί(ς)
θ[*εῖο*]ν
κερ[*αννὺς*] = Ἰωάννης

It is obvious that the "*hapax legomenon*" dithyrambic word "Ὀμβροβλυτεῖς" (you rain down) stands out in the *troparion*. In combination with the pronoun "μοι" (upon me) that follows, it leads the listener's mind to the word "μυροβλύτης" (myrrh-gusher), if the letters are rearranged. In addition, the word "μυροθήκη" (perfume-box) arises from the array of words "μοι ῥεῖθρον ἐξ ἀκηράτου" (upon me a stream from your immaculate) by means of a simple anagram. In the next line, the past participle "νενυγμένης" (pierced) echoes the very word "αἴνιγμ[α]" (enigma): the enigma[33] concerns the identity of the myrrh-gusher and the meaning of the word "μυροθήκη". This myrrh-gusher can be no other than Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki. For the Orthodox believer who is listening to the text, the reference to "νενυγμένη πλευρά" ("pierced flank of Christ") – in connection with the implied words "μυροβλύτης" and "μυροθήκη" – necessarily and forcefully brings to mind[34] Saint Demetrius' martyrdom: he was pierced in his side with spears, just like Christ had been on the Cross. As for the word "μυροθήκη", note that in Latin it is also referred to as "arcula". The word "arcula" is directly linked to the name of the poet, who, as Eustathius says, is John Arklas.[35] Initially, Eustathius indirectly connects the nickname Arklas with "ἀρ-

33 For the physiognomy and anatomy of the "enigma" in literature, see Cook 2009, 27–159; Luz 2013.

34 This is the dithyrambic nature of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon, which forces the listener to infer different meanings for the same word (ἐν μιᾷ λέξει γραφὰς διαφόρους νοεῖν, Eust. *in Il*. 125.39–40).

35 Eustathius in the Prooemium of the *Exegesis* states that the hymn is a poem by John Arklas, who is characterized as a diligent man, loud-voiced, a philosopher and a wise hymnographer (φιλόπονος, μεγαλόφωνος, φιλόσοφος, σοφὸς καὶ μουσικός: *Exeg. Prooem*. 125–127 and 140–143). Again in the 12th century, this opinion is expressed by the patriarch of Jerusalem John Mer-

κλίον εἴτ' οὖν κιβώτιον" ("box") (*Exeg. Prooem.* 124), whereas subsequently he considers that the nickname is related to the word "ἀποθήκη" ("storage place": *Exeg. Prooem.* 139), and that it was attached to the poet by his opponents in order to belittle him. To be more precise, *arcula* in Latin, or "ἀρκλί / ἄρκλα"[36] in medieval vernacular Greek, is any kind of storage structure for various uses which may be a small box for the storage of money, or equally well a jewellery box, a religious tabernacle, an urn, a reliquary and, of course, a perfume-box (μυροθήκη). Why Eustathius did not specify what sort of box or storage place was meant by the word "ἀρκλίον" is not known; on the contrary, he contradicts[37] himself and becomes obscure and enigmatic, like Lycophron. On the one hand, he considers that we should offer the Iambic Pentecostal Canon as an ἀρκλίον[38] to John of Damascus as a token of honour; on the other hand, he maintains that Arklas is not a respectable name (σεμνὸν ὄνομα), since the meaning "ἀποθήκη" is as disparaging[39] towards the poet as the name "Χοιροβοσκὸς" (swine-herd) is

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kouropoulos, who claims that the Iambic Canons are not John of Damascus' works, but were composed by some other hymnographer also named John, who was a monk at the monastery of Mar Saba and who was known as Arklas. The homonymy with John of Damascus deceived those who did not know the truth (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1897, p. 349, 43.18–24). More specifically on the issue of John Arklas and whether he is in fact John of Damascus, see Nikodemos Hagioreites 1836, 553–554; Vartholomaios Koutl. 1860, 5–6; Cesaretti 2014,*94–103; Skrekas 2008, xlviii–li, 3, 14, 27, 40, 73, 125; Petrynko 2010, 283–315; Ronchey 1991, 156; Ead. 2001, 330–335; Ead. 2011, 89; Lauxtermann 2003, 135; Chrestou 2006, 711–716; Paramelle 2009.

36 See *OLD*, s.v. *arcula*, *-ae:* "I. a small chest or box, a casket, etc. For unguents, ornaments, etc. A. A small perfume-box, a jewel-casket. B. A small money-box or casket". For medieval vernacular Greek see *ΛΜΕΔΓ* s.v. *ἄρκλα, ἡ:* " built tomb, chest, cabinet, arc"; s.v. *ἀρκλί, τό:* "case"; s.v. *ἀρκλίτσα, ἡ:* "small box, chest"; s.v. *ἀρκλίτσιν, τό:* "pouch"; s.v. *ἀρκλόπουλον, τό:* "small box". Note that Eustathius indirectly connects the nickname "Ἀρκλᾶς" with the word *ἀρκλίον*, so Arklas as a professional name indicates the man who makes small boxes, such as perfume-boxes or other small sacred objects for ecclesiastical use. For more details on the meanings of the word "arkla", see Cesaretti 2014, *88–91; Ronchey 2001, 331.

37 Ronchey highlights this contradiction (Ronchey 2001, 334).

38 More specifically, Eustathius considers that the Iambic Pentecostal Canon should be attributed to John of Damascus as πανάριον ὅ ἐστι θίβη ἢ ἀρκλίον εἴτ' οὖν κιβώτιον (*Exeg. Prooem.* 123–124). In any case, both the πανάριον and the θίβη are small boxes, as the ἀρκλίον is. For the meaning of the words "θίβη" and "πανάριον", see Cesaretti 2014, *88 nn. 459, 460.

39 Perhaps the name "Ἀρκλᾶς" is disparaging towards the poet because the word "ἄρκλα" also means "sarcophagus" (*ThLL* II.475, s.v. *arcula:* 3."sarcophagus") and the term "*arcularius*" means "the manufacturer of coffins". In particular, see Cesaretti 2014,*90 n.471. According to Speck (1968) the name "Ἀρκλᾶς" is a parody of the name "skriniarios" (*chartophylax*), who was an officer in the Byzantine palace. In particular, see Ronchey 2001, 331.

for the Byzantine scholar George.[40] If indeed the Pentecostal Canon is offered as an ἀρκλίον to John of Damascus, then ἀρκλίον is definitely something precious and sacred, for instance a μυροθήκη, according to the underlying words of the hymn. Therefore, in the hymn which we examine in terms of anagrams, the reader is faced with a word-puzzle which he is asked to decipher.

Puzzles, riddles or "noemata" (γρίφοι, αἰνίγματα ἢ νοήματα) and "labyrinths" (λαβύρινθοι) were very popular and keenly intellectual word-games in Byzantium within the genre of schedography for school students.[41] Hymnographical texts could also be used as *schede* (σχέδη) for the students' language training.[42] I would argue that the Iambic Canons with their highly sophisticated language were written from the very beginning not only as hymns for ecclesiastical use but also as puzzles, riddles and "labyrinths" within the schedographical practice.[43] The Iambic Canons and their Commentaries were used as teaching texts in the schools of Constantinople:[44] the whole point of puzzles, riddles and

40 The offensive nickname "Choiroboskos" also has the meaning of "pander". According to Eustathius, George's opponents, possibly the iconophiles (?), mockingly gave it to him. Perhaps the connection between Arklas and George Choiroboskos, the scholar who lived in Constantinople in the early 9th century, the second period of iconoclasm, is one of indirect allusion: namely, it is possible that Eustathius seeks to incorporate Arklas into the array of iconoclasts through this association. The fact that the Christmas Iambic Canon, which Leo V sang when he was murdered, according to the Chronicle of Theophanes Continuatus (Theoph. Cont., I, 25.38–39 Bonn), was the favourite poem of the iconoclast emperor, raises many questions about Arklas' relationship with the iconoclastic circles. Based on this logic, Ronchey 2001, 331–335, believes that Arklas was a contemporary of George Choiroboskos who lived in the second period of iconoclasm and was closely connected with the imperial circles. Lauxtermann 2003, 135–138 refutes Ronchey's view: he believes that the three Iambic Canons are works of the late 8th century and come from the area of Palestine. Skrekas 2008, xliv–xlv is also not convinced by Ronchey's argumentation, emphasizing the iconophile implications in the three Iambic Canons. Cesaretti 2014,*42–43; *99–103 basing his opinion on the dating of the manuscripts, considers that the Iambic Canons were written in the late 8th or early 9th century.

41 See in particular Vassis 1993/1994, 9–10; Agapitos 2013, 91; Id. 2014, 5–22; Id. 2015a.

42 On the use of hymnographic texts as *schede* (σχέδη) for school students, see Stratigopoulos 2014.

43 The question is whether the Iambic Canons were a mixed genre with elements from both schedography and hymnography. P.A.Agapitos in his recent studies has shown the interconnection between *schede* and poetry in the case of the Ptochoprodromic poems (Agapitos 2014, 18–22; Id. 2015a, 11–24).

44 Demetrakopoulos 1989; Cesaretti 2014,*119, *122, *123. Moreover, for the linguistic study of the Iambic Canons, students could use texts such as the treatise by Theodosios Grammatikos "Περὶ τῶν λέξεων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κανόσι τῶν ἁγίων ἑορτῶν", ed. Andrés 1973 (9th c.), and the "Ἐπιμερισμοί", mostly that of the 10th century, in which roughly 60 % of the vocabulary was derived from the Iambic Canons (Genakou-Borovilou 2009). Specifically, see Cesaretti 2014, *48–52.

"labyrinths", was for the students to gain the skill of finding words behind the words.[45] In this sense we could say that the Iambic Pentecostal Canon is a word-puzzle for skilled solvers.

The decoding of the word-puzzle in the case of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon reveals the link of the poet with Saint Demetrius, and consequently with his city, Thessaloniki. Additionally, it offers information about the poet's professional occupation, which the nickname "Arklas" may reflect. He could have been a manufacturer or a seller of perfume-boxes[46] and other holy church utensils. Moreover, through the decoding of the word-puzzle we also discover Arklas' first name, which of course is "Ἰωάννης", as emerges from the combination of the words *θ[εῖο]ν* and *κερ[αννὺς]* in vertical arrangement. The entire *troparion* is an enigma (αἴνιγμα), a word that emerges from the past participle *ν[ενυγμ]ένης* through an antistoichic pun, and constitutes the sphragis (σφραγίς) of the poet. The word "σφραγίς" is included in the participle *ἐπι[σφραγί]ζων*. The hidden word "σφραγίς" is of particular importance for the relation of the Canon to the poetic techniques of the neoattic dithyramb, inasmuch as in the neoattic dithyramb the σφραγίς[47] was the part of the poem in which the poet presented himself. Therefore, Arklas composes the Pentecostal Canon according to Lycophron's and the dithyramb's poetic style (*λυκοφρονείως καὶ διθυραμβικῶς*), i.e.

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45 Such an exercise was to attempt to correct a wrong phrase by finding the correct one, such as: ἐπήτην τελείαν σύνες ἣν ἔχει and οἱ πω λάβρον πυρετὸν instead of ἐπεὶ τὴν τελείαν σύνεσιν ἔχει and ὑπὸ λάβρων πυρετῶν respectively (ms. Marc. Gr. XI.34, f. 277v: see Polemis 1997, 258). The same observation can be put forward in connection with the *Ἀντίστοιχα*, a game with homonymous words (Follieri 1986–1987). The sound of the words may refer to other homonymous words and thus a plethora of meanings emerges, amongst which the student must choose the right one: εἰ δείσεις, θεόν, ὦ παῖ, καὶ περὶ λόγων εἰδήσεις ἰδίσεις, ἡδήσεις σαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν δήσεις (ms. Vat. Pal. gr. 92, f. 194v: Gallavotti 1983, 27 n. 23). In particular, see Agapitos 2013, 91–92. On ms. Vat. Pal. gr. 92 and the riddling schedography, see Vassis 2002; Sánchez 2015. For the riddling schedography of Nikephoros Basilakes, see Rothstein-Dowden 2015, 38–45.

46 With regard to the word "arkla", Koukoules 1950, I.101–102 notes that it is used "to designate the box in which bread or fabrics or other articles were put", while for the nickname "Arklas" in Eustathius he notes: "it is an adjective that certainly refers to the manufacturer of boxes". This is clearly a business name (Koukoules 1950, II.276–277) which is parallel to the Latin "arcularius" as du Cange mentions (*GMIG*, s.v. *Arklas*, col. 119). According to Skrekas, "Arklas in all probability could point to the role of cabinet-maker, perhaps the main work (*diakonema*) of this monk at the monastery of Mar Saba" (Skrekas 2008, xliv). In my opinion this deaconship has to do with the construction of sacred vessels, such as perfume-boxes, church tabernacles and reliquaries. This interpretation is the most compatible with the status of a monk.

47 For the use of the σφραγίς (*sphragis*) in Timotheos' dithyrambic *nomoi*, see Le Ven 2011. Especially for the σφραγίς in ancient Greek literature, see Kranz 1961; Gärtner 2001.

with anagrams, alliterations and allusions, hiding words behind words,[48] weaving internal acrostichs[49] as an ἱστουργὸς (web manufacturer).[50] The detection of a paralanguage behind the hymn makes the poetic text as polyphonic as its model, the dithyramb, whose sounds are dissonant (μιξοβόας διθύραμβος):[51] voices with a variety of sounds and many pompous words (κόμπος ὀνομάτων πολύς)[52] also emerge from the μιξοβόας dithyramb. Eustathius himself characterizes the sacred hymnographer as multivoiced and multilingual (ποικιλόφωνος καὶ πολύγλωσσος), whether he writes in his own genuine style or by imitation.[53]

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48 F. de Saussure was a pioneer in this research, as he was the first to study the combinations of letters and syllables in Homeric lines, in order to reveal words behind the words. His handwritten notes have been edited recently (2013) in an excellent study by Testenoire. J. Starobinski's classic study (1965) is based on Saussure's surveys and it concerns the procedure of searching for words behind the words in literary texts in worldwide literature, approaching the whole issue in a literary and simultaneously psychoanalytical perspective. This technique is not unknown in Byzantine texts, especially when the author wants to hide his name behind the words. The example of Manolis Limenitis (15th c.) in the anonymous poem *Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (1, 177–197 Sathas) is a typical case. The poet invites the reader to look for his hidden name behind the words in the following verse: "Τώρα σκεπάζω τ' ὄνομα καὶ κρύβω τ' ὄνομά μου" (Now I cover my name and I hide my name). In particular, see Henrich 2004; Id. 2005; Id. 2006. For the underlying meanings which the alliterations and anagrams form in the *Akathistos Hymn*, see Sarris 2006; Id. 2008. In recent years, many significant efforts have been made to pinpoint this technique in ancient Greek and Latin literature. Indicative studies are: Castelletti 2008; Id. 2012a; Id. 2012b; Luz 2011, and the studies included in the volume issued by Kwapisz-Petrain-Szymanski 2013.

49 Referring to figure poems (*technopaignia*), Eustathius considers that the poet constructs parallel meanings in an acrostich-like configuration (ἀκροστιχίδων δίκην) (*Exeg. Prooem.* 223). For internal acrostichs and their technique in Byzantine figure poems, see Hörandner 1990. For internal acrostichs in the technopaignia of the Hellenistic period, see Luz 2011, 1–137.

50 *Exeg. Prooem.* 212–214. Καὶ εἴδομεν ἱστὸν ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐξύφανε μετρικῶς, καὶ ἐθαυμάσαμεν, ἀκούοντες μὲν τὸ τέχνημα καὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ,....ἦν δὲ τὸ ἱστούργημα ἐκεῖνο τοιοῦτον. See below n. 71 and 73.

51 Plut. *De E* 389a–b (ed. Sieveking): καὶ ᾄδουσι τῷ μὲν διθυραμβικὰ μέλη παθῶν μεστὰ καὶ μεταβολῆς πλάνην τινὰ καὶ διαφόρησιν ἐχούσης· "μιξοβόαν" γὰρ Αἰσχύλος φησί "πρέπει διθύραμβον ὁμαρτεῖν σύγκωμον Διονύσῳ", τῷ δὲ παιᾶνα, τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μοῦσαν…"To Dionysus or Bacchus they sing dithyrambic verses, full of passions and change, joined with a certain wandering and agitation backwards and forwards; for, as Aeschylus says, *The dithyramb, whose sounds are dissonant, / 'Tis fit should wait on Bacchus.* But to Apollo they sing the well-ordered paean and a discreet song" (transl. W. Goodwin). See Aesch. fr. 355 Radt. For the pluralism of the dithyramb, see Le Meur-Weissman 2012, 81–82.

52 See above n. 20.

53 *Exeg. Prooem.* 281–285: καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκθετέον οἷος ὁ τοῦ ἐγχειρηθησομένου ἔργου ποιητὴς τὰ ἐς διάθεσιν γραφικήν, εἴτε φύσει τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷος εὑρισκόμενος ἀναγινώσκεται, εἴτε καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν, ὡς ἂν τεχνήσαιτο καὶ αὐτὸς χρησταῖς διαφόροις γλώσσαις λαλεῖν. "And before

Therefore, Eustathius' observation refers not so much to the ability of the poet to change his style by imitating various poetic standards, as to his poetic technique. He is multilingual and polyphonic because he accumulates a variety of sounds and alliterations and repetitive letters and syllables in the *troparia* of the hymn. All these data reflect a variety of parallel meanings, notions, words, as in the following *troparion* of the hymn (*Ode* 9, trop.1):

> It is right to sing of the Maiden who produced life;
> For she alone concealed in the vortex of her womb
> The Word, who heals the ailing nature of mortals.
> Now seated on the couch at the right hand
> Of the Father, he has sent the grace of the Spirit.

> Ὕ[δει]ν ἔοικε τὴν φ[υσί]ζω[ον] κόρην·
> Μ[όνη] γὰρ ἐν [δίνῃσι] κεκρύφει Λόγ[ον]
> Ν[οσ]οῦσαν ἀλθαίνοντα τὴν βροτῶν φ[ύσιν],
> [Ὃς] δεξιοῖς κλισμ[οῖσι νῦν ἱδ]ρυμέν[ος]
> Πατρός, πέπομφε τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος.

The accumulation of the sounds *-δει*, *-υσί, -ον, -όνη, δίνῃσι*, *-ον, -οσ, -ύσιν, Ὃς, -οῖσι νῦν ἱδ-, -ος* echoes the name *Διονύσιος*. Διονύσιος is Dionysius Areopagites, whose mystic theology conceals the holy and hidden (ἱερὰν καὶ κρυφίαν) truth of God through sacred riddles (δι' ἀπορρήτων καὶ ἱερῶν αἰνιγμάτων).[54] The theology of the Pentecostal Canon is connected with Dionysius' mystic theology through the hymnographer's reference to divine darkness and to Moses' vision of God.[55] In fact, in the very next *troparion* (*Ode* 9, trop. 2, v. 133) the anagram of a specific word reveals an additional element concerning the identity of Dionysius:

everything else we must present information indicating with what style the poet composes the poem that we have in our hands, whether he shows himself as he really is – that is as we find him and read him – or whether he mimicks in order to succeed in speaking artificially with various familiar languages".

54 ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς μυστικοῖς λογίοις ἐστὶ πρεπωδέστατον τὸ δι' ἀπορρήτων καὶ ἱερῶν αἰνιγμάτων ἀποκρύπτεσθαι καὶ ἄβατον τοῖς πολλοῖς τιθέναι τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ κρυφίαν τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων νοῶν ἀλήθειαν. Pseudo-Dionysius, *De caelesti hierarchia* 11.16–19 ed. Heil-Ritter.

55 Pent. Canon, Ode 1, *heirmos* / *Exeg*. 1–19. The treatise of Pseudo-Dionysius, *Theologia Mystica*, predominantly refers to the divine darkness (θεῖος γνόφος), known as γνόφος ἀγνωσίας (darkness of unknowing). The vision of God by Moses and the divine darkness are also mentioned in Gregory of Nyssa's *De Vita Mosis*, which is the hymnographer's source in many parts of the Canon. See Ronchey 1985, 247; Cesaretti 2014,*140.

Ὀθνείαν ἀλλοίωσιν εὐπρεπεστάτην "A strange, most glorious transformation"

[*Ὀθνείαν*] = Ἀθηνῶν

The anagram of the accusative *ὀθνείαν* (foreign) produces the genitive *Ἀθηνῶν*, indicating that Dionysius was a bishop of Athens, thus we have: *Διονύσιος Ἀθηνῶν* (Dionysius, bishop of Athens). Note that in his *Exegesis* Eustathius comments exhaustively on the word *ὀθνείαν* (foreign: *Exeg*. 249–252). He claims that semantically the word conflicts with the theological meaning of the line, since the adjective *ὀθνεῖος* ("foreign") means *ἀλλότριος* ("alien") and arises from the anagram of the word *νοθεῖος* ("spurious"). The proper expression would not be *ὀθνείαν ἀλλοίωσιν* ("alien transformation"), but rather *παράδοξον ἀλλοίωσιν* ("strange transformation"): according to Eustathius, only in the metaleptic hermeneutical mode (κατὰ μετάληψιν)[56] can we accept that the word *ὀθνεία* means *παράδοξος* (strange), by avoiding the word *ὀθνεία* and using its synonym *ξένη* instead. The latter is a double-meaning word, in which the contradictory meanings "foreign" and "strange" co-exist: accordingly, we can thus accept the meaning "strange" for the word *ὀθνεία*. It is precisely when writing about the contradictory meanings that Eustathius refers to the composition of the poem according to the rules of the dithyramb (διθυραμβώδης μεταχείρισις τῆς ποιήσεως *Exeg*. 250.3–4). However, the anagram which he introduces with the pair *ὀθνεῖος-νοθεῖος* prompts us to become aware of the genitive *Ἀθηνῶν* by anagrammatizing the accusative *ὀθνείαν* in a different manner. The hymnographer uses a word that does not match the required meaning, and he does so not only for reasons related to the meter or the acrostich, as Eustathius claims, but also to allow the underlying meanings to emerge through the alternation of the sounds. Furthermore, he thus wishes to emphasize the enigmatic character of the hymn.

The emergence of enigmatic meanings through the plethora of sound-plays is reminiscent of techniques referring to the mystical languages of ancient divination.[57] If we trace the use of the adjective *πολύγλωσσος* (multilingual), which Eustathius attributes to the hymnographer (*Exeg. Prooem*. 118), we encounter it in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*[58] and in Eustathius' *Commentary on the Iliad* as well,

56 *Exeg*. 249.3. On μετάληψις, see also above p. 258–259.

57 In ancient Greece the oracular language and various oracles were distinguished by ambiguous language with riddles and double meanings, which could be interpreted in many different ways by the faithful. Apollo's nickname "Loxias" precisely described the ambiguous oracles of the Pythia at Delphi. On this topic, see Evgeni 2014; Maurizio 2013; Beerden 2013; Naerebout-Beerden 2013.

58 Soph. *Trach*. 1168 πρὸς τῆς πατρῴας καὶ πολυγλώσσου δρυός (to the fatherland and multilingual oak).

when he describes the oracular oak at Dodona as πολύγλωσσον…, ὡς πολύφωνον, οἷα καὶ πολλοῖς μαντευομένην.[59]

It is well-known that the priests of Zeus interpreted the voice of God by deciphering the sounds produced by the movement of the oak leaves or, more likely, the metallic musical sounds produced by the movement of the chimes (ἴυγγες).[60] A pupil of Eustathius, Euthymios Malakes, refers to the sound of Dodona (τὸ τῆς Δωδώνης ἠχητικόν)[61] as the language that arose from the variety of sounds in the oracle. According to Suidas' dictionary, these sounds were not confused; on the contrary, they were harmonious (ἐναρμόνιοι),[62] bearing a musical connotation. In Eustathius' view, the hymnographer, being a polyglot, composed the hymn in accordance with the harmony of the apostles' multilingualism (*Exeg. Prooem.* 116–117). In the interpretation of *Ode* 7 (troparion 1) of the hymn, one can more clearly perceive how Eustathius perceives this multilingual harmony (πολύφθογγον ἁρμονίαν):

> Τοὺς περιτετυχηκότας τῇ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πνεύματος ἐνδημίᾳ τότε λαοὺς καὶ μὴ ἐπιπνοίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν γνώσεων ἐπιγνόντας τὴν ἐκείνου θειοτάτην δύναμιν μηδὲ ἐμβαθύναντας διορατικῶς ὅπως, χορηγοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, διαφόροις γλώσσαις τὰ ἐκείνου ἐλάλουν οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐναρμονίως ἐν διαφορᾷ κρουμάτων, ἅπερ ἐνήργει ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων γλώσσαις τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ὡς οἷα καὶ πλῆκτρον δεξιόν. τοὺς τοίνυν τοιούτους λαοὺς παραδειγματίζων ὁ μελῳδὸς ὡς μὴ ἀποδεχόμενος ἐκείνους, ἄφρονάς τε ἀποκαλεῖ ὡς ἀλογίᾳ κατόχους καὶ συνιέναι μὴ ἔχοντας οἷα καὶ ὅσα δύναται ὁ Θεός καὶ ὁποῖα λαλεῖ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ποιεῖ διὰ τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μέμφεται ὅτι ἔλεγον οἴνῳ μεθύειν τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐπὰν ῥήσεις ἐκείνων ξέναι (ὅ ἐστι ξενίζουσαι καὶ ξένως ἤτοι παραδόξως ἀπηχούμεναι διὰ τὸ ἑτερόγλωσσον καὶ οὕτως ἀλλόγνωτον) ἠκούσθησαν. (*Exeg.* 166.1–13)
>
> The crowds which randomly attended the coming of the Holy Spirit had not been inspired by the omniscient God to recognize its power, nor had they entirely seen how God gave the gift to the apostles to preach the Word of God in different languages. These languages were created by the harmonization of different sounds that the Holy Spirit produced in the apostles' tongues, just as a good plectrum [of a guitar (*kithara*)] produces the notes. The hymnographer, condemning such crowds in order to give us an example, calls them fools because as irrational beings they were not able to understand of what kind and how great are the deeds of God and that which He says and does through his servants. So he blames them because they said that the apostles were drunk from wine, as the words they heard

59 Eust. *in Il.* 1057.45–46; Eust. *in Il.* 335.41–45: Δωδώνη δέ,.....πόλις Μολοσσίδος ἐν Ἠπείρῳ,… ἔνθα ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκ δρυὸς μαντεῖον τοῦ Δωδωναίου Διός, ἣν δρῦν πολύγλωσσον λέγει ὁ Σοφοκλῆς, ἤγουν πολύφωνον.
60 On this issue, see Harissis (forthcoming), with relevant bibliography.
61 Euth. Mal. *Ep.* 22 Bonis.
62 Suid. δ 1447:..καὶ ἔπαιεν ὁ ἀνδριὰς τὸν λέβητα, ἐξ οὗ ἦχός τις ἐναρμόνιος ἀπετελεῖτο. αἱ δὲ τῶν δαιμόνων φωναὶ ἄναρθροί εἰσιν.

> were unknown, which means previously unheard, and sounded unusual, which is paradoxical, because they were merely other languages known to others.

The expression of the apostles' multilingualism in terms of music clearly refers to the musical multilingualism of the oracles[63] of antiquity, and in particular that of Dodona. The apostles reproduce the voice of God like guitars whose strings the Holy Spirit plucks as a plectrum (πλῆκτρον), harmoniously (ἐναρμονίως) emitting a variety of musical sounds (κρούματα). Only those who can recompose these various musical sounds, the notes, into a block of semantic meanings, can transform them into a language, thereby enabling the divine word to emerge through the diversity of sounds. According to Eustathius, all these words uttered by the apostles are unknown and paradoxical (ξενίζουσαι καὶ παραδόξως ἀπηχούμεναι) for those incapable of recomposing. Such terminology necessarily refers to the poetics of the dithyrambs and their paradoxical sounds (παραδοξοφωνίαι). In the case of the Pentecost, the paradoxical language was due to the fact that the crowds heard foreign and therefore unfamiliar languages. The sacred hymnographer tried to express the apostolic multilingualism when composing the hymn on Pentecost. The difference is that, unlike the apostles, he did not speak various unknown languages, but various familiar languages (χρησταῖς διαφόροις γλώσσαις *Exeg. Prooem.* 284–285), as Eustathius notes. These various familiar languages, being also unusual (ξενίζουσαι)[64] due to the paradoxical language of the hymn, do not refer to anything other than the ability of the poet of the Canon to create various layers of language in his poem by employing musical sounds. This explains Eustathius' observation that the poet composes the hymn according to the multi-sound harmony of the Apostles' language, so that he can become multi-voiced through his art and multilingual through divine inspiration as well (κατὰ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεμελισμένην ἀποστολικὴν πολύφθογγον ἁρμονίαν γλωσσῶν, ἵνα πρὸς τέχνην εἴη καὶ αὐτὸς ποικιλόφωνος καί, ἐκ θείας ἐπιπνοίας, πολύγλωσσος: *Exeg. Prooem.* 116–118).

Moreover, Eustathius characterises the poet not only as multilingual (πολύγλωσσος), but also as multi-voiced (ποικιλόφωνος). We cannot ignore the fact that in Sophocles we encounter the adjective "ποικιλῳδός"[65] as having the same meaning as the adjective "ποικιλόφωνος". Sophocles attributes the adjective "ποικιλῳδός" to the Sphinx[66] in order to present her enigmatic, oracular and

63 On the interconnection between music and divination in antiquity, see Harissis (forthcoming); Moutsopoulos 1990; Johnston 1990; Johnston 1995; des Places 1971; Cook 1902.
64 On the stylistic term "ξενίζω" in Eustathius, see Karla 2007, 91–92; Cesaretti 2014,*180.
65 Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 130. Suid. σ 3083.
66 On the enigmatic and riddling language of the Sphinx, see Cook 2009, 7–26.

cryptographic language. The analysis of the adjectives “πολύγλωσσος” and “ποικιλόφωνος” leads us to the conclusion that these two adjectives both have the same meaning and both refer to the same form of speech, which is the mysterious and ambiguous speech of the oracles of antiquity, so that the hymnographer’s multidimensional language in the Iambic Pentecostal Canon is highlighted.

Of course, the identification of words behind the words, in relation to the ancient poetic tradition, cannot fail to lead us to the figure poems.[67] In the figure poems of the Hellenistic period,[68] selected letters throughout the lines form names in a geometric pattern, according to the poet’s desires. Eustathius was well aware of this tradition, and after mentioning the Lycophronic and dithyrambic nature of the hymn along with the poet’s multilingualism, he goes on to make an extensive reference to the figure poems of his contemporaries as well as to those of the Alexandrian poets. This is a digression of Eustathius which may appear irrelevant to the logic of the text, yet there is a veiled element that binds together all the strands of Eustathius’ argumentation, namely the underlying layers of language in the poetic text.

When presenting the figure poems of his time[69] (*Exeg. Prooem.* 146–248), Eustathius mentions poems with particular internal acrostichs which form poetic squares and diamonds with sides and diameters, in which the sequence of letters reveals the desired names. In his view, these poems are by no means innovative: they follow the tradition of older Greek and Latin poems with which his contemporaries were well acquainted. Eustathius makes special mention of a figure poem shown to him in Constantinople by Patriarch Lukas Chrysoberges,[70] which he calls a “spider poem” (ποίημα ἀράχνης).[71] What he also mentions in particular is the figure poem composed by a contemporary monk named Olyntinos,[72] about whose life and work we have no other information. Eustathius has a

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67 On figure poems in Byzantium, the studies of Hörandner 1990 and Ernst 1993 are still valuable. They extensively refer to Eustathius’ views concerning figure poems, as outlined in the *Exegesis*.

68 On figure poems and *technopaignia* in the Hellenistic world, Luz’s study (2011) is of notable importance. The study brings together all the material concerning figure poems and utilizes the earlier bibliography.

69 Hörandner 1990, 25–31; Ernst 1991, 743–747; Cesaretti 2014,*148–158.

70 On Eustathius’ reference to patriarch Lukas Chrysoberges (1159–1169/70), see Ronchey 1987; Hörandner 1990, 24–25; Cesaretti 2014,*9 and *149–153.

71 *Exeg. Prooem.* 148. With regard to the “spider poem” and woven or cross lyrics, see Lampsidis 1982, 1147–1149; Hörandner 1990, 22–25; Krumbacher 1897, 761; Cesaretti 2014,*149–153.

72 *Exeg. Prooem.* 210–234. For the monk Olyntinos and his poetic technique, see Hörandner 1990, 28 and Cesaretti 2014,*156–157.

poem in mind, which he calls a "web-like poem" (ἱστούργημα)[73] implying that its creator used the letters as raw material to metrically knit together (ἐξυφαίνει) a poetic web behind the sequence of letters, as if he were a web manufacturer (ἱστουργός). This is the terminology for a poetic technique that Eustathius seems to extract from the dithyrambic words of the hymn itself. Thus, in the lengthy, multi-compound word

Ἀκτ[ιστοσ]υμπλα[στουργοσύ]νθρονον "Uncreated co-creating co-ruler"[74]

the words ἱστὸς (web) and ἱστουργὸς (web manufacturer) come into view, whereas in the lines

For it revealed the unlettered to be orators,
Bridling the mouths of sophists in abundance with a word,
(*Ode* 3, trop. 1, v.133)

Ῥῆτρας γὰρ [ἐξέφηνε τ]οὺς ἀγραμμάτους,
Ἅλ[ις] σοφ[ιστ]ὰς [συστο]μίζοντας λόγῳ

the phrase ἐξυφαίνετ(αι) ἱστὸς (a web is knitted) emerges through sound plays and anagrams.

When he presents the figure poem of the monk Olyntinos (*Exeg. Prooem.* 210–234), Eustathius refers to a web of internal acrostichs which lie within the lines of the poem in horizontal and vertical arrangements, forming a second row of letters behind the original one. At the same time, these internal acrostichs

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73 *Exeg. Prooem.* 214. Using the terminology "spider poem", "web", "poetry textile", "woven fabric", "veil" ("ποίημα ἀράχνης", "ἱστούργημα", "ποίησις ὕφανσις" "ἐξύφασμα", "πέπλος" *Exeg. Prooem.* 210–234), Eustathius describes the technique of the poets who composed figure poems as web manufacturers (ἱστουργοί). Eustathius argues that this technique was derived from Homer's verses: Ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι τὸ καθ' Ὅμηρον ὑφαίνεσθαι λόγους (*Il.* 3.212) ἠρέθισέ τινας τῶν ὑστέρων συντιθέναι στίχους ὡς ἐν τύπῳ ὑφάνσεως, οὓς καὶ ἱστοὺς ὠνόμαζον. 'We should be aware that the phrase "woven words" according to Homer (*Il.* 3.212), prompted some of the later poets to compose verses as if they manufactured woven fabrics, which they called "webs"': Eust. *in Il.* 407.7–9 (add. marg.). Eustathius' comment is a revelation that cannot be misinterpreted, as it clearly emphasizes that the technique of figure poems goes back to Homer. This passage from Eustathius demonstrates that the roots of figure poems can be found in Homeric verses. In this respect Eustathius' comment vindicates F. de Saussure, who attempted to unravel Homer's poetic web to find words behind the words in Homeric verses (see above n. 48). Undoubtedly, if de Saussure had been aware of Eustathius' comment, he would have been overjoyed!

74 Transl. Lauxtermann 2015.

also form extra-words camouflaged behind the main meaning-bearing words. This unknown monk composes his poem on two levels, due to the fact that the lines have the same number of letters: this allows him to form other words on the second level, based on a specific numerical arrangement of the letters.

Such a clearly codified poetic structure as presented here by Eustathius, allows the reader to decode the poem after having verified the code. However, when praising the poem, Eustathius does not speak of one or two, but of several underlying meanings which are unlikely to be fully identified by the prospective solver of the poetic puzzle.[75] Consequently, this is not a poem with a unique recognizable coding, but rather a text that functions more as a "cryptogram". Is there simply a contradiction in the whole of Eustathius' argument or does this second complimentary reference account for another poem which Eustathius implies?

Clearly, Eustathius' lengthy reference to figure poems (*technopaignia*), which is added in the section of the proem where Eustathius speaks about the poet and the main features of the poem, is in no way a fortuitous event. Eustathius implicitly tells us that the Iambic Pentecostal Canon is related to the philosophy of figure poems and the logic of concealing second meanings. The amazing praise bestowed by Eustathius at the end of his passage on figure poems (*Exeg. Prooem.* 239–248) is not actually a praise of figure poems in general, but rather of the skill of the poet of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon as a cryptographer.

While Eustathius is developing his poetic theory on figure poems, he seems to have one particular source in view: the *heirmos* of the ode 9 of the Christmas Iambic Canon, where the poet (or the poets?) reveals his poetic ego and refers to the physiognomy of the poem.

> It would be easier for us to love silence out of fear.
> Oh Virgin Mary, it is very hard indeed
> To weave hymns by yearning,

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75 *Exeg. Prooem.* 229–234: καὶ λογίζεται ἡ μὲν τούτου ποίησις ὕφανσις, ὡς οἷον δὲ ἀνάλυσις ἡ ἀνάγνωσις· καὶ ὁ στήσας ἐκεῖνον προσφυῶς ἂν ῥηθείη λόγον ἐξυφάναι σοφόν. ὡς δὲ δύσεργον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐξύφασμα γνώσεται ὁ πειρασόμενος αὐτὸ διαχειρίσεσθαι, σοφὸς μὲν ἐσόμενος εἴπερ αὐτὸ ἀκριβώσεται, οὐ δυνησόμενος δὲ διὰ τέλους οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐν πολλοῖς εἶναι κατὰ τὸν οὕτως εἰπόντα σοφός. "His poetry is regarded as a piece of weaving and accordingly the reading as an unravelling of it. And we can aptly say that the one who produced that poetic web wove a sagacious text. Whoever attempts to engage himself with it will understand that the creation of such a web is a particularly arduous task and only a wise man would be able to unravel it accurately. However, even he cannot completely succeed, as he is not wise in everything, as it is said [by Homer]".

Hymns intensively sharpened.
Oh Mother of God, provide us with strength
According to the will we have.

Στέργειν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀκίνδυνον φόβῳ,
Ῥᾶον σιωπήν· τῷ πόθῳ δέ, παρθένε,
Ὕμνους ὑφαίνειν συντόνως τεθηγμένους
Ἐργῶδές ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καί, μήτηρ, σθένος,
Ὅση πέφυκεν ἡ προαίρεσις, δίδου.
(ed. Skrekas 2008, vv.116–120)

Comparing Eustathius' poetic theory to that of the hymnographer's, they are clearly and directly relevant to each other:

1. *Heirmos* v. 118–119:

Ὕμνους ὑφαίνειν…
Ἐργῶδές ἐστιν, …

Exeg. Prooem. 229–231: καὶ λογίζεται ἡ μὲν τούτου *ποίησις ὕφανσις*, … καὶ ὁ στήσας ἐκεῖνον… *λόγον ἐξυφάναι* σοφόν. ὡς δὲ *δύσεργον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐξύφασμα…*
Exeg. Prooem. 239: ἡ τοιαύτη *ἐργῳδία*
Exeg. Prooem. 294–295: ὑποθέσεως ὑψηλῆς καὶ οὕτως *ἐργώδους*

2. *Heirmos* v. 118:

Ὕμνους ὑφαίνειν συντόνως τεθηγμένους

Exeg. Prooem. 239–241: ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ τοιαύτη *ἐργῳδία* … *θῆξις ψυχῆς εἰς ὀξύτητα*

3. *Heirmos* v. 119–120:

………, *ἀλλὰ καί, μήτηρ, σθένος,*
Ὅση πέφυκεν ἡ προαίρεσις, δίδου.

Exeg. Prooem. 239–249: ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ τοιαύτη *ἐργῳδία* … *ἔμφασις δυνάμεως ψυχικῆς, ἔκφανσις ἰσχύος γραφικῆς.*
Exeg. Prooem. 304–306: ὁ νῦν … μελοποιῶν …, ὡς οἷα τρόπον τινὰ *εἰς τοῦτο πεφυκώς.*

This correlation leads us to the conclusion that Eustathius' terminology for figure poems is essentially in no way different from the hymnographer's vision of his poetry. Therefore, what Eustathius writes about figure poems clearly concerns the Iambic Canons as well.

On the basis of these observations on the underlying meanings behind the words of the hymn, we can now comprehend the meaning and implications of Eustathius' remark that "the wise poet is totally obscure in most cases", and

that "in some cases this occurs through the depth of meanings, most of which are theological, and elsewhere through those which he insinuates with solemnity" (ἀπεσκότωται γὰρ οἷον τὰ πολλὰ ὁ σοφός, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸ τῶν νοημάτων βάθος θεολογικῶν τῶν πλειόνων ὑπαρχόντων, τὰ δὲ οἷς σχηματίζει σεμνῶς... *Exeg. Prooem.* 288–290). The verb "σχηματίζει" (insinuates) that Eustathius uses to describe the poet's language, thereby capturing the darkness of his poetic writing, is particularly important. This is a special rhetorical term which is related to the obfuscation of meanings by the orator. When commenting on the phrase "παρὲξ ἀγορεύειν" (*Il.* 12.213) with which Polydamas addresses Hector in the *Iliad*, Eustathius is very clear about what "σχηματίζω τὸν λόγον" means, and what the "ἐσχηματισμένα" are:

> τῷ δὲ "παρὲξ ἀγορεύειν" δηλοῖ τὸ παρὰ τὸ δέον ἢ τὸ παρὰ τὸ κελευόμενον, [ἵνα καὶ ἡ "παρά" καὶ ἡ "ἐξ" ἡ μὲν τὸ παρατετράφθαι τῆς ὀρθῆς, ἡ δὲ τὸ ἔξω αὐτῆς εἶναι δηλοῖ. δύναται δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐσχηματισμένως ἡ λέξις σημαίνειν, ἵνα συνήθως ἡ μὲν "παρά" ἐγγύτητα ἑρμηνεύοι ἡ δὲ "ἐξ" διάστασιν, ὅπερ ἴδιόν ἐστι τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἐγγίζει ὁ λόγος φαινομένως τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἔξω που αὐτῆς ἕστηκε τῇ διπλόῃ τῶν νοημάτων. Καὶ ἔστι καὶ οὕτω δεξιὰ ἡ λέξις,] ἐπιτετηδευμένης κἀνταῦθα τῷ ῥήτορι τῆς ἀμφιβολίας, κεῖται δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δίχα τινὸς συντάξεως. Ἰστέον γὰρ ὅτι οὐ μακρὰν ἐσχηματισμένου ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πολυδάμαντος αὕτη δημηγορία. οὐ γὰρ ὡς φρονεῖ λαλεῖ, ἀλλὰ σχηματίζει διὰ τὸ θρασὺ τοῦ ἄρχοντος. (Eust. *in Il.* 901.13–20)
>
> The phrase "παρὲξ ἀγορεύειν" [of Polydamas] indicates that he does not say what he has to say or he does not respond to the request, and both prepositions "παρά" and "ἐξ" serve this purpose. The first one means that the speech has deviated from the correct path and the second that it has escaped completely. The word "παρέξ" can mean the vague and ambiguous (ἐσχηματισμένως). For that reason, the preposition "παρά" usually denotes closeness, while "ἐξ" denotes removal and distance, which is a characteristic of insinuated (ἐσχηματισμένα) meanings in which the speech seemingly touches on the truth, while concurrently moving away from it, because of the double meanings. The word "παρέξ" is so skillfully utilized that the orator also instils doubt through its composition, and for this reason the words are placed without any special syntax. We must be aware that the declamation of Polydamas itself is not far from insinuated speech (ἐσχηματισμένον). Polydamas does not say what he thinks but insinuates (σχηματίζει) the meanings, because of Hector's insolence.

Thus, according to Eustathius, the poet insinuates (σχηματίζει) some meanings, not all of which are theological. This means that he does not boldly express them, but masks them, instilling doubts and double meanings and portraying them faintly in the poem, which becomes a magnificent cipher. This cipher of the Canon is based on a variety of cryptographic techniques: anagrams, alliter-

ations, sound-plays, homophones, figures. All these language devices[76] express the hymnographer's desire to intrinsically combine the form with the content, by attempting through the poem's workmanship to reinstate the apostolic multilingualism of Pentecost to a level of unprecedented poetic polyphony.

Of course, one question arises: why does Eustathius give no explicit account of the underlying words in the Iambic Pentecostal Canon? What is the reason for doing this implicitly? Let us re-examine the sound plays in troparion 1 of ode 9.

> Ὕ[δει]ν ἔοικε τὴν φ[υσί]ζω[ον] κόρην·
> Μ[όνῃ] γὰρ ἐν [δίνῃσι] κεκρύφει Λόγ[ον]
> Ν[οσ]οῦσαν ἀλθαίνοντα τὴν βροτῶν φ[ύσιν],
> [Ὃ]ς] δεξιοῖς κλισμ[οῖσι νῦν ἱδ]ρυμέν[ος]
> Πατρός, πέπομφε τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος.

In the first four verses the hymnographer creates the acrostich ΥΜΝΟΣ as follows:

> Ὕ[δει] Μ[όνῃ] Ν[οσ] [Ὃ]ς].

It is noteworthy that the letters beside the letters of this acrostich form vertically the word "Διόνυσος". In the heirmos the names "Διόνυσος" and "Διονύσιος"[77] coexist. It seems as if the hymnographer's intention were to make a pun with the homophones "Διόνυσος" and "Διονύσιος", using the hymn as a *schedos* for language teaching. Furthermore, by the name "Διονύσιος" he wishes to highlight the mystic theology of the hymn and by the name "Διόνυσος" its dithyrambic physiognomy. The whole acrostich in the first four lines of the troparion is ΥΜΝΟΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ, which means "dionysiac" hymn or "dithyrambic" hymn. By creating a second hidden acrostich beside the main one, the hymnographer implicitly states that he composed the hymn using the characteristics of the dithyrambs. It seems that Eustathius elicited the stylistic term "διθυραμβικῶς" from this hidden acrostich. Undoubtedly, the name "Διόνυσος" in the troparion could cause a problem for the use of the hymn in church services. Eustathius was very well aware of this, and he sought to hide this internal acrostich. This was the main reason for his decision to attribute the hymn to John of Damascus and not to John Arklas, even though he believed that Arklas was the poet. As he openly stated, by attributing the hymn to John of Damascus it was certain that

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76 N.Valaoritis 2012 mentions language schemes formed in the Homeric epics by an alphabetical acrophonic system concerning names and concepts.

77 For the hidden name "Διονύσιος" in the troparion, see above p. 266.

it would remain in ecclesiastical use and would not be removed as νόθος (*Exeg. Prooem.* 249–280). This provides insight into the reason why Eustathius speaks so implicitly about the underlying meanings of the hymn.

In conclusion, we can state that the Pentecostal Iambic Canon belongs to an extensive tradition of texts that were called "words within words" (λόγος ἐν λόγῳ), as Eustathius himself writes.[78] In Eustathius' perspective, such texts were not only the riddling *schede* (σχέδη) of Byzantine education,[79] but also poetic texts from Greek antiquity, such as epigrams. Moreover, Eustathius clearly suggests that the riddling schedographic method was derived from Homeric lines containing sound plays and hidden acoustic riddles,[80] which formed "words upon words" (λόγος ἐπὶ λόγῳ).[81]

Of course, the issue of underlying words that alliterations, anagrams and sound-plays reveal in a poetic text is not new: it had already been raised in

78 οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ζηλώσαντες, πολλὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς εὕρηται ὅμοια ὡς πολλαχοῦ δεδήλωται, γρίφους ἐμελέτησαν πλέκειν οὓς ὠνόμασαν σχέδη. τὴν ἀρχὴν μὲν λεπτούς τινας καὶ οἵους ῥᾶον ἐκδιαδράσκεσθαι, τέλος δὲ ἁδροὺς καὶ δυσδιαφύκτους. καὶ οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν τοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου νόημα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος, καὶ ὅσα δὲ ἀρχαῖα τοιαῦτα, θαυμασίως ἐκάλουν ὡς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος, <u>λόγον ἐν λόγῳ</u> αὐτὰ εἰπών, διὰ τό, ὡς ἐν αἰνίγματι ἄλλον μὲν εἶναι τὸν λαλούμενον λόγον, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν νοούμενον. οἱ δὲ τὰ σχεδικὰ λαλοῦντες ἀκολούθως καὶ αὐτοὶ νοήματα καλοῦσιν ἅπερ γριφεύονται, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα παῖδα μὴ τοῦ λεγομένου ἀλλὰ τοῦ νοουμένου γίνεσθαι (Eust. *in Od.* 1634.11–18). "Modern authors, engaging in this and similar pursuits – many similar things are to be found in the ancient authors as it has been often stated – made it a practice to weave puzzles (*griphoi*), which they called "*schede*" (σχέδη). At first these were somewhat meager and such as one might easily solve, but later (they became) dense and unsolvable. And the ancient authors admirably called the aforementioned riddle of Epicharmus and that of the epigram and all similar ancient riddling texts, as Epicharmus himself had stipulated, "words within words", because, just as in a riddle, what is spoken is different from what is meant. In the same way modern authors, declaiming the *schede,* have subsequently called what puzzles they composed, "riddles" (νοήματα). Because the schoolboy learning grammar has to grasp not what is spoken but what is assumed". This very important passage from Eustathius' *Commentary on the Odyssey* has already been noted and discussed by Agapitos 2014, 10–11; Id. 2015b, 229; Rothstein-Dowden 2015, 41–43.

79 On riddling *schede*, see above n.45.

80 Eust. *in Od.* 1809.12 (ed. Stallbaum): ἐξ ὧν (sc. deceitful sound plays) ἡ τῶν σχεδοποιῶν εἰλῆφθαι δοκεῖ μέθοδος. According to P.A.Agapitos, Eustathius in his *Commentaries* on the Homeric epics "often points to verses that seem to hide an acoustic riddle … Eustathius explains these riddles as antistoichic puzzles composed according to the "schedographic custom" (σχεδικὸς νόμος)". Further, see Agapitos 2014, 10–11; Id. 2015b, 228–233 containing very interesting passages from Homer and Eustathius.

81 Eust. *in Od.* 1634.20–21 (ed. Stallbaum): Ἐμφανῶς δὲ <u>λόγος ἐπὶ λόγῳ</u> καὶ λαβύρινθος ἐμφαίνεται ὃν οἱ ὕστερον σχεδικοὶ ἐπετηδεύσαντο.

1908 by F. de Saussure in his study of the Homeric epics,[82] and it remains a tantalizing issue to this day. The present writer wishes to believe that the obscure (σκοταῖος)[83] Eustathius, whose observations are not far-removed from "ἐσχηματισμένα" (since he does not clearly state what he wants to say with his indirect allusions in the proem to the Exegesis of the Iambic Pentecostal Canon), will shed some light on researchers' efforts to verify the existence of a paralanguage in poetic texts of the ancient and medieval world, and to establish it theoretically.

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82 See above n. 48.

83 *Exeg.* 255.10–14 .....τῷ δὲ ἀπευκταίῳ αἰωνίῳ σκότῳ παραπεμπόμενοι· ὧν εἷς καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτός, ὁ διὰ τοσούτου μὲν φωτὸς ἄρτι ἐλθών, σκοταῖος δὲ ὢν ὅλος καὶ ταῖς ἐκεῖθεν προσήκων κολάσεσιν. "I myself am one of those sent to plunge themselves into the horrible eternal darkness. Although I came through so much light a moment ago, I am all in the dark and all the sufferings that derive from there belong to me."

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III. Eustathios and history

Eric Cullhed

Achaeans on Crusade

In the Homeric *Parekbolai*, Eustathios follows his ancient predecessors in systematically pointing out the customs that characterize heroic society. Everything from religious rites to table manners and use of musical instruments is catalogued, a recurring observation being the relative simplicity and frugality of the heroes' lifestyle compared to later phases of Greek culture.[1] The fact that even the great overlords Agamemnon and Priam prepare their own meals and drive their own chariots was particularly remarkable to Eustathios, just as it had been to scholars in Ptolemaic Alexandria or Imperial Rome before him. Eustathios notes that Homer dwells on such social details not only to break up the monotony of narration but also to provide lessons that are "useful in life", contributing to the polymathy of the reader.[2] Furthermore, Eustathios amplifies this didactic feature by supplementing Homer with a wide array of folkloric and linguistic information belonging to later periods, including his own day, which was perhaps collected while reading the epics with students from all corners of the empire.[3] Eustathios' reason for joining his predecessors in this scholarly venture was not merely to reiterate tradition. The readership of the *Parekbolai* (and the audiences present at the teaching sessions from which these works evidently derive) included active or soon-to-be panegyrists and historians who would constantly draw on Homeric heroism when projecting the military ideology of their Komnenian overlords or the relationship between the empire and various other peoples.[4] In this paper I will investigate the functions that were (or could be) acquired by the fruits of this scholarly activity in the wider context of twelfth-century textual culture.

Noble simplicity

The frugal life of the heroes could naturally be invoked as a virtue shared by the person being praised. This is the case in a late Eustathian speech addressed to

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1 See e.g. Schmidt 1976, 159–173; Kim 2010, 27; Pontani, this volume.
2 Eust. *in Il.* 628.39–42.
3 Koukoules 1950, 1.12.
4 On the significance of Homer for twelfth-century panegyrists, see Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou 1971–1972; Kazhdan & Epstein 1985, 134–135; Magdalino 1993, 431; Kaldellis 2007, 243; Cullhed 2014; Loukaki 2015.

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Isaac II Angelos in Philippopolis in the early 1190s, which ends with a plea to the emperor to tell him more about his recent campaigns. Eustathios can guess that they have been successful, but he prefers to hear about it from the emperor himself since Isaac is "a wise orator and valiant man of action, and one who has accurate knowledge since he serves himself (*dia to autodiakonon*) in all undertakings according to the heroic custom".[5] Here Eustathios does not only explicitly mention the heroes, but he even uses the rare word *autodiakonia*. It is found once in Athenaeus (1.18b = Chrysipp. *SVF* 708) for heroic self-reliance, but in the *Parekbolai* Eustathios adopted it as a technical term for this phenomenon and used it interchangeably with *autourgia* – the standard word in ancient scholarship. He ascribes the same virtue to Manuel in his funerary oration, but this time it is not praised as an attribute typical of the Homeric heroes but of Christ:

> οὗ [scil. τοῦ Χριστοῦ] καὶ τὸ αὐτουργὸν ἐμιμεῖτο, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἔργοις αὐτοδιάκονον, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς μεγίστοις. Οὐ γὰρ ἤθελε χερσὶ μὲν ἑτέραις ἐκπονεῖσθαι τὸ καλόν, αὐτὸν δὲ τοῖς ἀνδραγαθήμασιν ἐπιγράφεσθαι, οὐδ' ἀκοὰς παραβάλλειν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς πρακτέοις, ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ ἐπιβάλλειν, καὶ χερσὶ καταβάλλειν τὸ ἀντικείμενον.[6]
>
> whose autonomy in action and self-reliance in deeds, especially in the most important matters, [Manuel] imitated. For he did not wish that good works should be carried out by the hands of others, while the achievements were attributed to him, nor [did he want] to hear about things that should be performed by the emperor, but to see them with his own eyes and to bring down whatever stood against him with his own hands. (transl. Bourbouhakis, modified)

The term *autodiakonia* had previously been applied to Christ by Clement of Alexandria,[7] yet considering Eustathios' consistent use of the term for heroic simplicity in the *Parekbolai,* and the combination here with *autourgia,* the emperor's *imitatio Christi* is portrayed in terms of Homeric heroism. Through this amalgamation, Eustathios effectively articulates a Christian and Hellenic military ideology of rulership, combining Achilles with Christ.

Impeccably Hellenic garb?

So far so good, but noble simplicity is not very far from crude primitivism. Already Thucydides (1.5–6) famously remarks on the casual way in which Nestor

5 Eust. *opusc*. 7.18, 45.68–75 Tafel: ἐθέλω δέ σου τοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ ἀνδρικοῦ πρηκτῆρος μαθὼν ἀπόνασθαι, τοῦ καὶ εὖ εἰδότος διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοδιάκονον ἡρωϊκῷ νόμῳ.
6 Eust. *opusc*. 23.61, p. 210.13–19 Tafel = 101.8–13 Bourbouhakis.
7 Clem. Alex. *Paed*. 3.4.26.1

asks Telemachus and his companions if they are pirates, comparing the cultural values embodied in this dialogue to those of savage tribes in his own day, and Aristotle notes in the *Politics* (2.1268b.38) that the customs of the ancients were simple and barbaric. As Paul Magdalino puts it, the aim of applying Homeric style and allusions to the deeds of a twelfth-century emperor was to strip "those deeds of their associations with both the world of *Digenes Akrites* and the world of the *Song of Roland*" and reclothe "them in the impeccably Hellenic garb of ancient epic."[8] But by activating the primitive connotations of the Homeric heroes, this encomiastic transubstantiation could be reversed, switching the affinities with the blood-stained frontiersmen of medieval legend back on. This is perhaps the case in Niketas Choniates' historical account of the destructive regency of Andronikos I Komnenos. In recent years it has been noted that the portrait of this emperor as an unstable fraudster presents itself as a convoluted inversion of the *Odyssey*, alternating between the positive heroic and negative antiheroic aspects of Odysseus as well as the monstrous beings he encounters on his journey.[9] Against this background, a passage that follows directly upon the account of Andronikos' gruesome death has caused some confusion:

> …ὑγιεινότατός τε ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μηδ' ὀψοφάγος ἦν καὶ ἀκρατῶς ἔχων κοιλίας ὡς ζωροπότης καὶ τένθης, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ὁμηρικοὺς ἥρωας μάλιστα τοῖς ὀπτοῖς προσέκειτο τῷ πυρί, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐρυγγάνοντά τις αὐτὸν ἐθεάσατο.[10]
>
> He was the healthiest of men because he did not indulge in delicacies; neither was he incontinent in matters of the stomach, a gourmand drinking neat wine, but in the manner of Homeric heroes he preferred meats roasted over the fire, and thus no one ever saw him belch. (transl. Magoulias)

Roderick Saxey suggests that "Choniates praises the Odyssean Andronikos for his (very un-Homeric) gastronomic temperance",[11] and tries to connect the allusion to a story in Tzetzes' *Little Big Iliad* (the source of which is Philostratus): during a food crisis Palamedes suggests that the army should adopt a vegetarian diet and all accept his proposal except for Odysseus.[12] According to Saxey this means that Andronikos failed to be an Odysseus in this aspect. But the point in Choniates is hardly that Andronikos was a vegetarian, but rather that he is at-

8 Magdalino 1993, 431.
9 Basilikopoulou 1969–1970; Hunger 1978, 1.436–437; Gaul 2003; Efthymiades 2009, 108–109; Saxey 2009; Kaldellis 2009, 85–86 and 93–94. On the portrait of Andronikos, see also Bourbouhakis 2009, 222–232.
10 Nic. Chon. *hist*. 351.59–62 van Dieten.
11 Saxey 2009, 125.
12 Tz. μικρομεγ. Ἰλ. 1.323–343, from Philostr. *heroic*. 33.14–18.

tributed with a custom that was common to all Homeric heroes, namely that they never eat boiled but always grilled meat. This was noted already by Plato,[13] and very frequently discussed in the scholarly tradition on Homer, including Eustathios.[14] To give but one example, when Achilles and Patroclus carve and grill their meat in the ninth rhapsody of the *Iliad*, Eustathios encourages his reader to "note Achilles' heroic simplicity and plainness here in the roasted meat and other regards".[15] This icon of heroic simplicity was apparently exploited by Andronikos himself in contexts of self-representation. Choniates claims that buildings erected by this emperor were decorated with

> βίος ἀγροικικὸς καὶ σκηνήτης καὶ ἑστίασις ἐκ τῶν θηρευομένων σχέδιος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀνδρόνικος μιστύλλων αὐτοχειρὶ κρέας ἐλάφειον ἢ κάπρου μονάζοντος καὶ ὀπτῶν περιφραδέως πυρί, καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα, ὁπόσα τεκμηριάζειν ἔχουσι βίοτον ἀνδρὸς πεποιθότος ἐπὶ τόξῳ καὶ ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἵπποις ὠκύποσι φεύγοντός τε τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην δι' οἰκείαν ἀβελτηρίαν ἢ ἀρετήν.[16]
>
> scenes of rustic life, of tent-dwellers, and of improvised feasting on game, with Andronikos cutting up deer meat or pieces of wild boar with his own hands and carefully roasting them over the fire. Similar scenes also depicted the way of life of the man who is confident in the use of bow, sword, and swift-footed horses and who flees his country because of his own foolishness or virtue. (transl. Magoulias, modified)

We also learn that Andronikos' "bodyguards slept at some distance from the imperial bedchamber while his dog was tied to the doors",[17] which is reminiscent of Achilles' companions, who are found sitting far away from the hero when Priam visits the camp at the end of the *Iliad*. Along these lines, Eustathios comments that "this custom is certainly in use even today among the Romans" (ἔθος δὴ

13 Plat. *resp*. 3.404b–c.

14 See Schmidt 1976, 188–190. Pontani, this volume.

15 Eust. *in Il*. 749.10: Σημείωσαι δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἡρωϊκὴν ἀφέλειαν καὶ εὐτέλειαν τὴν ἐν ὀπτοῖς κρέασι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς. Lindberg 1977, 225 refers to this very passage as evidence that Eustathios associates the cooking of meals with the Hermogenean type of style "Simplicity" (*apheleia*). This mistake is used by Roilos 2005 as the basis for a section on "The Poetics of *Euteleia*" where it is repeatedly stated that Eustathios "associates literary discourse on food and banquets with the styles of *apheleia* and *euteleia*" (Roilos 2005, 258, cf. 245), but this is certainly not the case. Meals can be more or less humble or grandiose just as literary styles can range from high to low. These can be combined in many different ways, but food is not necessarily something *apheles*.

16 Nic. Chon. *hist*. 333.55–60 van Dieten.

17 Nic. Chon. *hist*. 322.48–50 van Dieten: οἱ μὲν γὰρ σωματοφύλακες καὶ δορυφόροι ἄποθέν που τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτῶνος νυκτὸς κατηυνάζοντο, ὁ δέ γε κύων πρὸς ταῖς θύραις ἐδέδετο. See also Pontani 1994–2014, vol. 2.673.

τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀρέσκον), referring to the Byzantine court.[18] Accordingly, the heroic excursus on the emperor's eating habits following immediately upon the account of his gruesome death, is a recapitulation of the image that he himself wished to display. But just as the portrait of the warrior in the fresco is ambiguous – we do not know whether he is leaving his homeland "because of his own foolishness or virtue" – so is perhaps the association with the Homeric heroes in general. The virtuousness constructed by literary and visual artists at the behest of the emperor at the zenith of his reign was not difficult to dismantle after his decline by accessing contradictory elements stratified in the scholarly tradition: the anti-heroic and monstrous aspects of the *Odyssey* as well as the 'simple life of the heroes', not as positive frugality but negative crudeness. It is for authors in these kinds of situations that Eustathios gathers such 'useful' items in his works.

Latins

Considering the political situation during this period, observations on the customs of the "Romans" (i.e. what we term the Byzantines) and the Latins would be of particular importance. In Niketas Choniates' description of Alexios IV Angelos as a turncoat, the historian especially condemns him not only for his religious conversion but also for "altering of the ancient customs of the Romans".[19] We have seen that Homeric heroes and certain Byzantine emperors eat grilled and never boiled meat, and so it is no coincidence that Choniates stresses the fact that the Latin crusaders prepare their meat in cauldrons.[20] One of the most striking and immediately visible differences was that of facial hair-style. On several occasions Niketas remarks in negative terms on the shaved faces of the Latins;[21] his brother, Michael Choniates, harshly condemned the members of his flock in Athens who had adopted this custom;[22] and Konstantinos Stilbes included shaving in his list of the unorthodox practices of Western priests.[23]

18 Eust. *in Il*. 1349.40; cf. Eust. *in Od*. 1399.1–2.
19 Nic. Chon. *hist*. 540.20–23 van Dieten.
20 Nic. Chon. *hist*. 594.1–5 van Dieten.
21 Nic. Chon. *hist*. 575.64; 623.76–77; 647.9–10 van Dieten; see Pontani 1994–2014, vol. 2.645 and vol. 3.570.
22 Mich. Chon. *or*. 2, p. 1.43.17–44.3 Lampros; cf. Magdalino 1993, 374–375.
23 Ed. Darrouzès 1963, 71; see further references on p. 94–95; Gounarides 1994, 162–166.

Latin customs are indeed discussed in the *Parekbolai* but the tone is seldom explicitly negative. Andrew Stone, pointing to frequent shifts in attitude towards different peoples in Eustathios' panegyrics, notes that: "in a fluid situation, such as existed in the twelfth century, attitudes to different races in encomia are concomitantly fluid, and not static".[24] Here I will consider the way in which this fluidity affects the approach to Homeric customs in the *Parekbolai*. The topic warrants a brief digression on the possibilities of tracing the textual genesis of the *Parekbolai* in the structure of the authorial manuscripts preserving these works (Laur. plut. LIX, 2 & 3 (= L) for the *Iliad* and Marc. Gr. 460 (= M) and Par. gr. 2702 (= P) for the *Odyssey*) in relation to occurrences in Eustathios' life. In Eustathios' account of the capture of Thessaloniki during the time of his episcopacy in 1185, a long section is devoted to various signs from God of the imminent calamity that had appeared in Thessaloniki before the Normans arrived: virtuous men had visions, saints wept in their icons, processions were invisibly obstructed, and so on; but every warning was ignored.[25]

This thought found its way into the *Parekbolai* too. In relation to the rain of blood sent by Zeus before a battle in the *Iliad* (11.52–55), Eustathios reports that "Not long ago, close to the Vardar river, or Axios, in the region of the Macedonians, a thick hail shower mixed with blood was witnessed".[26] This is found in the main text of L, but in the margin of the manuscript Eustathios later added a note, drawing the conclusion that this hail shower witnessed some years earlier close to Thessaloniki "was an omen, it seems, of misfortunes, the experience of which struck in the devastation of the neighbouring city",[27] clearly referring to the capture of the city. Since the authorial manuscripts M and P containing the *Parekbolai on the Odyssey* were both produced after the capture, marginalia as well as main text,[28] we lack such indications about textual genesis in this case, but at least we know that it is possible that certain entries in the text might have been added after this traumatic event.

Let us now consider the example of hairstyles. In the *Capture of Thessaloniki*, Eustathios tells us that the Norman invaders gathered together the inhabitants of the city and brutally cut their hair short and shaved their beards, forcing them to conform with their own customs. In his representation of this act Eusta-

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24 Stone 2001, 231.

25 Eust. *capt. Thess*. 140.8–142.25 Kyriakidis.

26 Eust. *in Il.* 830.11–12: Τεθεώρηται δὲ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ καὶ τῆς Μακεδόνων γῆς περὶ τὸν εἴτε Ἄξιον εἴτε Βαρδάριον καταρραγεῖσα ὕφαιμος ἁδρὰ χάλαζα.

27 Eust. *in Il.* 830.12: σημαίνουσα, ὡς ἔοικε, δεινά, ὧν ἡ πεῖρα μετ' οὐ πολὺ κατήραξεν ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ τῆς γείτονος πόλεως; see van der Valk 1971–1987, 1.xiv.

28 See Cullhed 2012 with references.

thios adds an antiquarian remark: "Such was, I think, the proverbial Hectorean hairstyle".[29] In the ancient texts this style was generally described as the modern-day, equally heroic 'mullet',[30] i.e. cut short on the top but long in the back, but Eustathios seems to envisage it as the raised bowl cut of the Normans. This identification seems to be related to the definition in Hesychius, where it is simply defined as "flowing all around the shoulders" (τοῖς ὤμοις περικεχυμένη), and furthermore described as a Trojan custom that has been taken over by the Daunii and the Peucetii, both peoples of southern Italy.[31] In the *Parekbolai on the Iliad* the Hectorean cut is mentioned twice: once when Eustathios notes that Hector is not blond like Achilles, "but still a Hectorean haircut is widely celebrated, that which flows all around (περικεχυμένη), as they say";[32] and once in a marginal addition in ms. L, listing various barbarian hair-styles collected from lexica and scholia.[33] There is no explicit reference to the Latins in any of these cases, but in an entry in the *Parekbolai on the Odyssey* we can see that the attitude towards the hair style has changed:

> ὅπερ οἱ Λατινοήθεις [...] βιάζονται τὸν πώγωνα τῇ συνεχεῖ ἐν χρῷ κουρᾷ, δοκεῖν πάντοτε ἄρτι γενειάσκειν. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀτιμούσθωσαν.[34]
>
> Those who make use of the Latin custom [...] commit violence upon their beard by cutting it close to the skin, in order to always seem as though they were just getting their beard. And let them suffer dishonour for it!

Now – as I believe, after the capture of Thessaloniki – the Latin custom is characterized as an act of violence that needs to be condemned.

We find another rather extraordinary example of such a change of perspective in the *Parekbolai* pertaining to the fist book of the *Odyssey*. Being a Roman himself, Eustathios takes note of scholia pointing to correspondences between Homeric and Roman customs. He is well aware of the story about Aeneas as the founder of Rome,[35] and frequently calls attention to connections between the Trojans and the Romans. He follows the Alexandrian critics in noting that only Trojan women wear long, trailing robes (they are *helkesipeploi* and *bathykol-*

29 Eust. *capt. Thess.* 130.2 Kyriakidis: ὁποία τις οἶμαι καὶ ἡ παροιμιαζομένη Ἑκτόρειος κουρά.
30 See Pollux 2.30 = Timaeus, *FGrH* 566 F 54; schol. vet. Lycophr. 1133.
31 Hsch. ε 1745, which ultimately probably derives from the Sicilian historian Timaeus (see Jacoby's note on *FGrH* 566 F 54).
32 Eust. *in Il.* 1276.29–30: καὶ ὅμως περιᾴδεται κόμη Ἑκτόρειος, ἡ περικεχυμένη, φασίν. See Mühmelt 1965, 26; Austin 1972.
33 Eust. *in Il.* 1292.61–62.
34 Eust. *in Od.* 1658.61–62.
35 See esp. Eust. *in Il.* 1209.7–17.

poi) in Homer,[36] and concludes that this custom was transferred to the Romans from the Trojans.[37] Occasionally, he also identifies links between the Achaeans and the Romans, drawing on material that derives directly or indirectly from the scholarly efforts in late Hellenistic times to emphasize the significance of Greek settlers in the formation of the Roman people. Most prominent among such sources is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who argued that Rome was founded by Greeks, basing his argument on observations concerning language (Philoxenus had previously regarded Latin as a Greek dialect) and customs, many of which attested in Homer.[38] On the same grounds Aristodemus of Nysa even argued that Homer was a Roman.[39] In the fifteenth book of the *Iliad* where Ajax swings himself from one chariot to another, it is noted in an exegetical scholium dating probably to the Imperial Age that this still happens in Rome (καὶ νῦν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιοῦσί τινες).[40] Eustathios paraphrases this note including the statement about Rome (καὶ νῦν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦτο γίνεται), and then finally adds that such a spectacle had been witnessed "even among us", i.e. in Eustathios' own time, probably in Constantinople.[41] A distinction is thus drawn between three historical moments: The Homeric world, ancient Rome and twelfth-century Constantinople. In some instances Eustathios seems to preserve such notices from the Homeric scholia that have been lost, as when he notes that the gods in the *Iliad* raise their glasses before drinking just as the Romans do.[42] In other cases the nature of his source is more difficult to determine, as when he mentions Roman cock-fights and even knows that they were preceded by the public announcement in Latin: "pulli pugnant" (κήρυκος προφωνοῦντος τὸ "ποῦλλι ποῦγναντ").[43]

All of the aforementioned "Roman" customs are noted in the *Parekbolai on the Iliad* and occur in the main text of the authorial manuscript, indicating that they were all made while the author was still in Constantinople. We are told by the author that a fuller discussion can be found in the *Parekbolai on the Odyssey:* "It has been shown in the *Odyssey* that the Homeric poems are brimming also

36 schol. A *Il.* 2.484; schol. T *Il.* 18.339; schol. A *Il.* 24.215b; EGen. β 5.
37 Eust. *in Il.* 654.41; 682.2–3; 1260.56; *in Od.* 1491.31–33. See also ps. Aristot. *mirab. auscult.* 840b and the annotation in Cullhed (2016) ad loc.
38 Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1.20; Philox. fr. 311–322 Theodoridis; Tyrann. fr. 63 Haas. See Ascheri 2011.
39 See *vit. Hom.* 6, p. 251.18–26 Allen; Dubuisson 1987; Heath 1998.
40 schol. T *Il.* 15.683–84.
41 Eust. *in Il.* 1037.55–59.
42 Eust. *in Il.* 436.23–24; cf. also 882.16 on double patronymics.
43 Eust. *in Il.* 740.48–50; cf. Koukoules 1953, 88.

with Roman customs".[44] But we look in vain for the fulfillment of this promise. What we do find, however, is an extensive section dealing with Latin customs:

> Ἰστέον δὲ [...] καὶ ὅτι τῶν δεξιῶν χειρῶν ἡ συμβολὴ ἔοικεν ἐξ Ἑλλήνων ἐπιχωριάσαι τοῖς Λατίνοις μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων ἐθῶν· πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ἑκόντες μετοικήσαντες, εἴτ' οὖν ἀποικήσαντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν εἰς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεκπεσόντες χωρία τήν τε ἅψιν τῶν δεξιῶν, ὡς εἰκός, διέδωκαν τοῖς ἐκεῖ. καὶ ἄλλων δὲ ἐθῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐκείνοις μετέδωκαν, ὧν Ὅμηρος μέμνηται ὁ Ἕλλην σοφός, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἡ τῆς διαίτης ἁπλότης καὶ τὸ προπίνειν ἀλλήλοις δεξιουμένους ἐκπώμασι καὶ τὸ παγγύμνους νύκτωρ καθεύδειν καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν λούεσθαι καὶ τὸ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν γυναικῶν μὴ ἐθέλειν προφαίνειν τὰ πρόσωπα, [...] καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἄνδρας χλαίνας ἀμπέχεσθαι [...] ὡσαύτως Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ τὸ γονυπετοῦντας ἱκετεύειν εἴτε καὶ καθημένους, [...] καὶ τὸ τὸν εὐρυκρείοντα δὲ μιᾶς τινὸς πόλεως ἄρχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφιέντα τὰς λοιπὰς προφανῶς Ἑλληνικόν. ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἐν δημηγορίαις πάντων καθημένων τῶν συνειλεγμένων ἕνα τινὰ δημηγορεῖν ἱστάμενον καὶ τὸ τοῖς δεσπόταις συγκαθῆσθαι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀκατακαλύπτους ἔχειν. [...] οὐ μόνον δὲ ἔθη Ἑλληνικὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἐπεπόλασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέξεις Ἑλληνικαὶ πολλαὶ καὶ μάλιστα Δώριοι ἐναπέμειναν, εἰ καὶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἀπηχρειώθησαν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ ὀνόματα παράκοπα γεγονότα καὶ βάρβαρα, ὡς καὶ περὶ τούτου αὐτοῦ πραγματεῖαι ἀκριβεῖς τισι τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκπεπόνηνται. τὸ μέντοι τῶν γυναικῶν ἑλκεσίπεπλον, αἷς ὁ πέπλος ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν ἐφέλκεται διὰ τὸ βαθὺ τοῦ ἱματισμοῦ, εἴη ἂν κλῆρος τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ Αἰνείου· Ἑλληνὶς γὰρ γυνὴ οὔτε βαθύπεπλος οὔτε ἑλκεσίπεπλος παρ' Ὁμήρῳ εὕρηται.[45]
>
> One must also know [...] that the joining of right hands seems to have been transferred from the Hellenes to the Latins together with thousands of other customs. For many Hellenes willingly *metōikēsan*, that is "emigrated to", the regions of Italy, whereas others were scattered over these lands after the capture of Ilium, and it seems as though they transmitted the joining of right hands to the inhabitants there. They also gave them other Hellenic customs that Homer mentions, the wise Hellene, such as the simple way of living, the act of drinking after greeting each other with their cups, the habit of sleeping completely naked at night, to be washed by women and the fact that most women do not want to show their faces [...], and that the men wrap themselves in *chlainai* [...]. It is likewise a custom of the Hellenes to kneel or sit down when supplicating, [...] and that the "wide-ruling chief" is the leader of one single city but leaves the remaining ones to the others is clearly Hellenic, and indeed also that in public speeches the one man who speaks stands up while all who have gathered sit down, and that the servants sit together with their masters, and perhaps also that they have their heads uncovered [...] And it was not only Hellenic customs that came to them living there, but also many Hellenic words and especially the Doric ones remained, even if afterwards the Hellenic nouns degenerated with time and became false and barbaric, and on this subject some of the ancients produced accurate treatises. However, the custom of women being "robe-trailing", wearing robes that are dragged when they

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44 Eust. *in Il.* 404.6 (ὅτι δὲ [...] πεπύκνωται καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἔθεσιν ἡ Ὁμηρικὴ ποίησις, ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ δεδήλωται).
45 Eust. *in Od.* 1398.55–1399.10.

> walk because of the length of their garments, came to the Italians from Aeneas the Trojan. For no Hellenic woman is found to be "deep-robed" or "robe-trailing" in Homer.

The list includes two customs that we have previously seen ascribed to the Romans: Latin men raise their glasses in a toast before drinking and the women are "robe-trailing". Evidently, this section originated as a collection of Roman customs in Homer but at some point it was modified and expanded by the author, and it is very likely that this revision occurred in connection with Eustathios' interactions with the Latins in Thessalonike around 1185. The lifestyle of these enemies, barbarians but also descendants of the Romans and occupants of the territory of Ancient Rome, seems to have reminded him of the heroes. In particular we should note that the customs concerning women (that they wash the men and veil their faces) were exotic elements of the Homeric world that Makrembolites had exploited for the Hellenic mise en scène of *Hysmine and Hysminias*,[46] but Eustathios curiously observed similar behaviors among the Latins. Another undeniable difference between the heroic world and Byzantine culture was the concept of kingship. Although Eustathios appreciated the *Iliad* almost as a Mirror for princes, describing it as a *basilikon pragma*,[47] he knew that Agamemnon's supremacy was a temporary measure "in order that the joint fighting should not be torn asunder by having a multitude of rulers (*polyarchia*)".[48] The normal system of many *basileis* ruling over different parts of the Greek-speaking world was fundamentally different from the Imperial system of the Byzantines with its one single emperor (*basileus*). Here he spells out the obvious: it seems more similar to feudalism and the multitude of ethnic groups found in the West – the analogy of the 'Mycenean baron' that we find in modern scholarship too.[49]

There is a sense in which this section is surprising. The most common reaction towards the increased presence of Westerners in the empire during the crusades was to decrease the significance of the Trojan and Italic components in the cultural narrative of Byzantium and bolster up the Hellenic, a process that would culminate in Niketas Choniates' famous designation of the Latins as "descendants of Aeneas" in his account of the capture of Constantinople.[50] Based on the incontrovertible evidence of language and literary culture, the Byzantines

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46 Jouanno 2005, 25–27 (who does not mention the scholarly tradition discussed here but offers acute observations on affinities between Eustathios' comments on the heroic world and Eumathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine & Hysminias*).
47 Eust. *in Il.* 4.24.
48 Eust. *in Il.* 57.24–31.
49 Vernant 1982, 33.
50 Nic. Chon. *hist.* 652.81–83 van Dieten; see Kaldellis 2007, 299–300.

“claimed to be the lawful and sole descendants of the ancient Greeks”.[51] However, this passage in the *Parekbolai* seems to deviate from the norm, revitalizing the sort of arguments that we find in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and thereby implicitly designating the Latins not only as Romans but as Greco-Romans, culturally and linguistically. The gain of this operation is indicated in the first item in the list: the Latins share with the Homeric heroes their “simple way of living”. Eustathios is in effect making the same claim as Thucydides or Aristotle, that the customs of the Homeric heroes are not unlike the barbarians of his own day. This uncivilized aspect of the Latins is a motif found in the *Capture* as well:

> Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως εἰς τόσον ἀγροικικῶς εἶχον, ὡς μηδὲ ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτε διαλαβέσθαι δοκεῖν τὰ σπουδαιότερα. Λινέοις γοῦν σπειράμασι καὶ σακκίοις καὶ ῥάκεσιν ἀγαθὰ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ τίμια ἐγκείμενα πρὸς ἔριν ἀναλεγόμενοι, τὰ μὲν ἔνδον ἐξερρίπτουν ἀνοίγοντες τὰ τῶν ἀγγείων στόματα καὶ συνεπάτουν, τὰ δὲ ἀχρεῖα δοχεῖα εἰς κόλπους παρέβυον, ὀβολιαῖα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὄντα. Καὶ τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ πλείους τὰ πρῶτα ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς· ἐπελθόντες δὲ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνους ἔτι ἐφορτίζοντο τὰ ἐκκεχυμένα καλὰ καὶ πλοῦτον συνέλεγον. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀγεννεῖς ἄγροικοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀστεῖον πεπαιδευμένοι. Τοῖς γοῦν κατ’ ἐμπορίαν παρατετυχηκόσι καὶ εἴτε ἰσχνότερον ἢ πρὸς πάχος δυναμένοις κτᾶσθαι τὰ ἐμπολώμενα βραχύ τι λαμβάνοντες κατήλλαττον τὰ τῷ βίῳ τίμια.[52]
>
> So lacking in civilised ways were they in fact, that they seemed to be unable to perceive with their eyes what were the objects of greater value. At all events, they struggled to collect many fine and valuable objects which were stored in wrappings or bags or cloths of linen, and when they opened the mouths of containers they threw away the contents and trampled upon them, while they stuffed the useless containers themselves into their bosoms, most of them worth no more than an obol. Such at any rate was the behaviour of the majority of those who were present when the looting was at its peak. But those who followed on after them, and those who arrived still later, began to load themselves with what had been scattered around, and managed to amass a great deal of wealth. But even these were rough fellows of no breeding, with no education or refinement. So they bartered away things that are precious in life with those who came their way seeking to do trade, accepting a meagre recompense whether the others were able to buy sparingly or in bulk. (transl. Melville Jones)

By comparing the Latins to the Achaeans in the *Parekbolai*, they are presented as crude pirates and pillagers in the same spirit as in this passage.

51 Ciggaar 2003, 110–111.

52 Eust. *capt. Thess*. 146.30–148.9 Kyriakidis.

Conclusion

Eustathios' interest in the scholarly tradition dealing with the simple life of the heroes was not mere antiquarianism, but a systematic search for culturally significant yet highly malleable lore that would be useful in representations of men in power as well as the identity of the Byzantines themselves and other peoples. It could be deployed not only with positive connotations of frugality but also with negative overtones of primitiveness. A notable example of the latter kind of association is found in a long list in the *Parekbolai on the Odyssey* comparing the simple life of the heroes with that of contemporary Latins. Here, Eustathios offers his reader observations that could be used to blame them for retaining habits that his own more sophisticated Greco-roman culture has outgrown. The Latins are brutal barbarians from the west, yet there is something forceful and heroic about their simplicity that only makes the threat all the greater.

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John Melville-Jones

Eustathios as a Source for Historical Information. Decoding Indirect Allusions in his Works

In the prologue to his notes on the *Iliad* (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* or *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδα*), Eustathios says that Homer is like an ocean[1] from which almost every kind of wisdom springs. Like Homer, Eustathios is also an ocean allegorically. This is the reason that we have so many studies inspired by his work on the Homeric poems, his oratorical and theological publications, and by his one historical work, an account of the capture of Thessaloniki by the Normans in A.D. 1185.

Some years ago I produced a translation of this account of the siege and capture of the city.[2] In this study I am offering a slightly revised translation of the introduction to the work (its προθεωρία), with an interpretation of it.[3] This reads as follows:

1. The captures of cities are generally reported in the same manner, whether by historical inquiries (ἱστορούμεναι), or by being written down (συγγραφόμεναι). But a narrator will not necessarily deal with everything that has occurred, and the events that are selected will not be treated in the same way by both kinds of writer. The historian (καθιστορῶν), writing without personal involvement, will on occasion take a theological point of view, or will develop his narrative according to his natural abilities. He will also decorate his narrative with embellishments more frequently, and will adorn it with descriptions of places and monuments; in short, since he is speaking without having been affected by the disaster, he can choose his words to please the listener. He will also not avoid reporting things that are no more than probabilities, on the assumption that since he himself was not involved in the catastrophe that took place and was not affected by it, he can be impartial.

As I begin to deliver what is almost the last speech at our conference, I can say with confidence that the event has been a great success. There are two reasons for this. In the first place, the organisers have done a wonderful job. Secondly, we have to thank Eustathios himself. He was so productive, in so many areas, that the decision to make him the subject of a conference like this was a brilliant one.

1 Eust. *in Il.* 1.9–22.
2 Melville-Jones 1988.
3 It is often necessary to make small revisions in a translation, depending on the context in which it is to be discussed. So the translation that is offered here differs slightly from the one that was printed in the book mentioned above.

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2. So much for the historical investigator (ὁ τὰ πρὸς ἱστορίαν δηλῶν). The eyewitness reporter (ὁ συγγραφόμενος), on the other hand, whose life has been tinged (χρωτισθείς) by the disaster, will of necessity attempt to incorporate all these features, but to a lesser degree, since he ought to emphasise the catastrophe alone. He should also do this in a manner that is in accordance with his own personal quality. For if, on the one hand, he is a layman, there is no reason to blame him if he exaggerates the pathos of the story; but if he is dedicated to the spiritual life, and sees that between grieving and giving thanks to the Lord there is not a strong barrier, but an enormous gulf, he will refrain from mourning extravagantly. And just as such a person would not dance playfully in the midst of sorrows, so he would not add ornaments to his language in a manner more suited to a lament in a tragic κομμός when relating a tale of gloomy disasters. Again, following the same principle, he will make use of other narrative techniques with restraint, and he will not introduce incredible rumours, as a historian who was not involved in the action might, or use other material of the kind that is contrived by those writers who have played no part in the catastrophe, but seize the opportunity to advance themselves and display their erudition.
3. The present work will soon show what sort of a writer I am. The account that follows will of necessity begin with the catastrophe itself, since it is not possible for one who was himself part of these pitiful events not to treat them in tragic fashion, at first at any rate. Then, putting grief to one side, and after condemning the author of this disaster and his accomplice, it will be possible for us to relate the course of events distinctly and clearly, and in a suitably elevated style. Our account will sometimes be written simply when this is appropriate, and at other times in a more polished manner, and beginning with the introduction (and nothing is more important than this), it will then pass on to the events, following a sequence and an arrangement which allow for some discussion, and will again handle the details of the capture of the city, but more broadly; this is essential, because it is the fundamental purpose of the narrator's work.
4. Also, because the deity shows signs to us in such matters, signs which in this affair also appeared quite clearly beforehand, this record will, so far as is appropriate, touch on such things. And it will not refrain from setting out the sinful causes that led to the catastrophe, such as the recorders of contemporary events quite reasonably include in their accounts. Our narrative will in fact make a brief attempt to reveal such causes at the end of the whole work, with a didactic purpose. For the time when it has been read aloud and published is none other than that at which the preliminaries to the holy days of fasting are resounding in our ears, so that the story that began in one way, by relating the sufferings of the city, ends in instruction of a sacred kind (Eustathios, *The Capture*, ed. Kyriakides, 3.11–4.21).

This introduction has an unusual tone. It seems to present an impression of genuine modesty on the part of the author, rather different from the mock modesty that he sometimes exhibited in his speeches. When one thinks of the numerous major written works that Eustathios had already produced, this may seem surprising. In fact, however, it is not so surprising, because he was venturing into a genre of writing in which he had not previously produced anything.[4] In addi-

4 Eustathios was very skilful in mixing genres. Of course, his historical work is a novel mixture (κρᾶμα καινόν), a new generic category including and combining different structural elements delivered from the tradition of history and rhetoric. On Eustathios' ability in this area, see Lind-

tion, although he could feel confident that he had for many years demonstrated his skill as an orator, elevating the complex style in which orations to the emperor were presented to what was perhaps the highest level ever achieved by a Byzantine author, and as a theologian, he knew that his critics (and many of his fellow orators would have enjoyed the opportunity to find fault with his work) would be eagerly waiting to see if they could find ways of expressing unfavourable criticisms of the way in which he had composed this account of a historical event. We also have to remember that since, as the last sentence shows, he was preparing to deliver this account of the siege as a speech at the beginning of Lent,[5] he would have been working to a deadline, and needed to find reasons for omitting material that some of his critics might have claimed was essential.

In the first paragraph, Eustathios distinguishes the 'historian' (meaning the writer who 'inquires' into events after they have happened), from 'the person who writes things down' (ὁ συγγραφόμενος).[6] Since his other writings, like those of contemporary orators, demonstrate a good knowledge of the major classical Greek authors, there can be no doubt that he had in mind the traditional distinction between Herodotus (who wrote a history of the Persian invasions and the events leading up to them a generation after they had ended, basing his work on existing writings and the memories of others) and Thucydides, whose history of the Peloponnesian War was to a great extent based on his own lifetime experiences. He was implying that he could be compared with the latter, as a recorder of contemporary events.

Moving on, we notice that Eustathios claims that the συγγραφόμενος will not engage in descriptions of the beauties of the city. We should interpret this as a cloaked reference to the account of an earlier siege of Thessaloniki, written about a hundred and eighty years earlier by John Kaminiates, which did indeed contain a short ἔκφρασις describing its beauties.[7] In this way, Eustathios is de-

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berg 1977, 192–199; Agapitos 1998; Id. 2003, 12; Kolovou 2006, 22*–23*, 54*–57*. See especially on Eustathios's one historical work as a mixture of genres Sarris 1994, 99–104.

5 The speech at the beginning of Lent as a rhetorical genre was a favourable and familiar kind of speech to Eustathios. Further, see Schönauer 2006.

6 On the term συγγραφόμενος in Eustathios's *Capture*, see further Melville-Jones 1988, 230–232; Leone 1964, 268; Sarris 1994, 74–86.

7 John Kaminiates, ed. G. Böhlig, paragraphs 3.2–11.5. See also the English translation with commentary by D. Frendo and A. Fotiou, 2000. For a good analysis of Kaminiates' work in this respect, see Panagopoulos 2014, 181–202. The date of this account was questioned by Kazhdan 1978, 310–14, but although the questions that he raised deserve to be answered, it is still generally accepted that it does indeed belong to the tenth century (see Frendo and Fotiou 2000, xxxvii–xxxix, and Tsaras 1988, 43–58).

flecting criticism, and he is also aligning himself with Thucydides, rather than with Herodotus.

On the other hand, he spent much more time than might seem necessary on creating a biographical picture of the recently deceased emperor Andronikos I Komnenos. This not only complemented the information provided by Niketas Choniates,[8] but it also allowed Eustathios to vent his anger on a man of whose manner of life he evidently disapproved, and who, in addition, as he believed, had caused the fall of his city to the invaders by appointing a weak and cowardly man, David Komnenos, to be in charge of its defence.

So in composing his συγγραφή Eustathios introduced some personal elements, and we must be grateful for this, because we can enjoy certain passages, written with considerable feeling, which are memorable. These are to a great extent to be found in the passages that relate to Andronikos, such as the emperor's reply to the rumor that the young Alexios II, whom he had caused to be murdered, was still alive and was in Sicily, when he joked that in that case 'he must be a very good swimmer'[9] (an allusion to the ancient Greek myth of Arethousa). As an extreme example, we can see the way in which, allowing his imagination to become heated, he describes the relationship of the sixty-five year old emperor with the very young bride, Agnes-Anna of France,[10] whom he married after arranging for the death of Alexios, to whom she had been betrothed. Of course, the reason for this 'marriage' was to prevent Agnes-Anna from being married off to any rival for power, and Andronikos certainly never lacked other female company. But Eustathios wrote, giving his imagination free rein:

> … and after having experienced a different kind of gentle loving, the little princess loathed the roughness of Andronicus. Sometimes, they say, she would imagine in her dreams that she saw the young Alexius, and would cry out his name, and she alone knew what she suffered (Eustathios, *The Capture*, ed. Kyriakides, 52.26–52.29).

Slightly later, and perhaps picking up on what Eustathios had written, the historian Niketas Choniates, less restricted in what he could write, developed this theme further, and outdid Eustathios considerably, placing this imaginary description of the relationship at the beginning of his account of the time after Andronikos became emperor:

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8 The *Historia* of Niketas Choniates devoted two books to the reign of Andronikos I.

9 Eust. *capt. Thess.* 52.21–52.23 Kyriakides.

10 On Agnes-Anna of France see particularly Cesaretti 2006. On the passage of Niketas Choniates see Pontani 1999, 619–620.

> And he, with the stink of age upon him, was not ashamed to lie unlawfully with his nephew's pink-cheeked tender bride who had not yet completed her eleventh year, the withered suitor embracing the unripe maiden, the old man in his dotage clasping the damsel with pointed breasts, the shrivelled and languid greybeard clinging to the rosy-fingered girl dripping with the early morning dew of love (Niketas Choniates, *Hist.* 275–276 van Dieten).

So much for Eustathios's only work of purely historical writing. However, modern historians can find much of interest in his other works, principally in the public orations that he gave at appropriate religious festivals, or on other occasions. Much has already been done to decode the often obscure references to historical events in these speeches by Peter Wirth (2000) and Paul Magdalino (1996), and more recently, by Gerasimos Merianos (2008), and a great step forward has been made by Andrew Stone (2013),[11] who has published translations, edited with an introduction and copious notes, of six of the speeches that Eustathios gave when he was at the peak of his career (*Eustathios of Thessaloniki, Secular Orations 1167/8 to 1179*). The six speeches are as follows: the Greek letters after their titles indicate their placing in Wirth's publication (2000):

The Speech on the Occasion of a Drought (Π)
This speech, combined with some information preserved by John Kinnamos, makes it clear that when a severe drought impacted upon Constantinople in 1167–1168, the emperor took steps to improve the supply of water to the city. The water supply of Constantinople has been the subject of many studies during the last sixty years, most recently by J. Crow and others,[12] although their study does not refer to Eustathios's speech.

The Epiphany Oration of 1174 (O)
This speech praises the emperor for his performance at the siege of Zeugminon in 1165, refers to other recent victories against the Turks, and against the Germans and Venetians who had besieged Ancona,[13] and develops the theme of a restoration of the *Pax Romana*. There are also references to the Second Crusade, in which both the French and the German armies travelled by way of Constanti-

11 Stone's studies of Eustathios's rhetorical works form a valuable contribution to the history of this period. See also, Stone 2000; Id. 2001; Id. 2003; Id. 2004; Id. 2006; Id. 2007; Id. 2010.
12 Crow-Bardill-Bayliss 2008.
13 For an account of this, see Boncompagno da Signa, *The History of the Siege of Ancona*, translated with a commentary by Stone (2002). The commentary treats the Byzantine aspects of this event in some detail.

nople, and were suspected of plotting to seize that city, and to a mysterious 'shipwreck', real or metaphorical, that was suffered by the Normans.

The Epiphany Oration of 1176 (M)
This oration praises the emperor for other victories, the most important being over the 'Dalmatians' (i. e., the Serbs), which led to a period of imprisonment suffered by Stefan Nemanja at Constantinople, and over the 'Paionians' (i. e., Hungarians), where particular emphasis is placed on the spiked mace as a weapon used with terrifying effect by Byzantine cavalry. There are also allusions to the theological controversy (over the interpretation of John 14.28, 'My Father is greater than I'), in which Manuel involved himself, and again to a 'shipwreck' that had been suffered by the Normans, perhaps one that had actually occurred at an earlier time as they attempted to send a fleet to attack Constantinople, although the allusions to it in this speech are hard to interpret.

The Speech for the Grand Hetaireiarch John Doukas (Λ)
This oration would have been much more meaningful to its audience when it was delivered than it is now, because we have insufficient knowledge of contemporary events in Thessaloniki. It seems to have been delivered because John Doukas had been sent to Thessaloniki to support Eustathios against elements in the city that were dissatisfied with him. A certain Lependrenos is mentioned, and seems to have caused problems, but since the references are so obscure, and no other source mentions him, it is not possible to do more than speculate about the meaning of these words. The speech also refers to the emperor's recent successes in his military campaigns.

The Disembarkation Speech/Welcoming Oration for Agnes of France (Ξ)
The young French princess[14] came to Constantinople in 1179 as the bride promised to Alexios Komnenos. It is clear that the relationship with France and its ruler Louis VII has been strengthened by this alliance of the royal families. The speech contains an exciting description of the princess's arrival by sea. It also dwells on the young Alexios, the imperial heir, and attributes to him, in spite of his youth, a successful intercession on behalf of a group of Turkish envoys which had recently come to Constantinople.

14 For this speech see particularly Stone 2003; Cesaretti 2006.

An Imperial Oration of Autumn 1179 (N)
This, like the oration for Agnes, was delivered in Constantinople. It has an unusual note of pessimism in some paragraphs which refer to dealings with the Turks, suggesting that each generation of Komnenian emperors has experienced greater difficulties in dealing with them. A long section lists some of the achievements of the previous Komnenian emperors (with particular praise being expressed towards the achievements of Alexios I), but it is clear that although Manuel has recently won some victories, the general situation is not good.[15] On the other hand, the emperor has recently visited Thessaloniki, and, not for the first time, benefited the city through various measures,[16] probably including an improvement in its fortifications.

It will be clear from these notes, and from a study of any of these speeches, that the orations that Eustathios composed for special occasions contain many historical references that are sometimes helpful for modern historians when they try to interpret the history of the Komnenian period. The indirect allusions that are made to events that would have required no explanation for a contemporary audience are sometimes difficult to interpret for modern readers, but when the difficulties are surmounted, the results can often be rewarding.

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16 See in particular Magdalino 1996, 225–238.

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Gerasimos Merianos

More than a Shepherd to his Flock: Eustathios and the Management of Ecclesiastical Property

It goes without saying that the bishop's office entailed managerial and administrative duties which surpassed his theological and pastoral role. These duties were of paramount importance; estate management, in particular, was a major concern for any bishop, since it was linked with the prosperity of the diocese and was considered an indication of successful administration.[1] Suffice it to say that the Second Council of Nicaea (787) devoted several canons to the management of the property of the Church; for example, it confirmed canon 26 of the Council of Chalcedon (451),[2] concerning the obligation of bishoprics to appoint an *oikonomos* (steward), and extended it to monasteries too (can. 11).[3] In the twelfth century the role of the Church as a great landowner had long been established; it should be noted, though, that the landed wealth of monasteries most probably exceeded that of the secular Church.[4]

Information concerning Eustathios' actual administrative role is sparse and indirect in his own literary work. It would be rather unexpected for Eustathios to make extensive references to this kind of activity, since, on the one hand, as the 'bishop of bishops' in Thessaloniki, he had specialized personnel under his authority to deal with the mundane details of administration.[5] On the other hand, owing precisely to its characteristics, this kind of activity would have been worth mentioning only in a special context. It is thus fortunate that Eustathios makes relevant allusions to the topic in his treatise *On the Improvement of Monastic Life*.

Before commenting on these references, I would like to recall the context in which the work was written. Probably composed in Constantinople between 1180 and 1185,[6] it was fostered by the controversy between Eustathios and Thessalo-

1 Angold 1995, 145–146.

2 *Concilium universale Chalcedonense*, can. 26 (ACO 2.1.2, p. 163 [359]). Cf. Rapp 2005, 218–219. On the office of *oikonomos*, see Leontaritou 1996, 352–435.

3 *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum*, can. 11 (Rhalles/Potles 1852–1859, II, p. 590). Cf. Lefort 2002, 285; Papagianni 2002, 1060.

4 Lefort 2002, 292; Angold 2009, 242.

5 On this personnel, see Chatziantoniou 2007a, 229–269; Chatziantoniou 2007b.

6 Metzler 2006a, 15, 18, 23–24, 290, 302; also Schönauer 2005, 712.

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nian monks, especially abbots and monks of the higher order (μεγαλόσχημοι),[7] a controversy which, as Karin Metzler argues, eventually led to an indictment against the archbishop.[8] Eustathios must have intended to use this work as a means of influencing developments exactly where they had to take place, in the capital. Seen in this perspective, the goal of Eustathios' treatise was not just to ameliorate the monks' behavior through admonition. Its tone is polemical, describing the decline of contemporary monastic life, and laying emphasis on the monks' worldly activities in the wider area of Thessaloniki.[9] Some of the monks' shortcomings underlined in this treatise were: insatiable thirst for maximizing profits and acquisition of property; provocative ignorance combined with disdain for learning; and, of course, a desire to shuffle off episcopal oversight.[10] Eustathios' critical stance against monastic misconduct permeates other works of his as well,[11] such as *On Hypocrisy*[12] and *Address to a Thessalonian Stylite*,[13] and it appears even in his *Commentary on the Odyssey*, where Eustathios' contemporary anchorites – characterized as independent (αὐτοκράτορες ὄντες ἑαυτῶν) – are likened to Cyclopes.[14]

Identifying the composition of the audience to which the treatise on the improvement of monasticism was addressed is crucial. The work takes the form of a speech to monks of the diocese of Thessaloniki,[15] but it was not actually addressed to Eustathios' 'black-dressed' opponents. The style, the elegance of expression, as well as numerous references to Classical literature and philosophy, do not point to an audience of uneducated monks – as Eustathios never misses an opportunity to portray them – but to a more cultured and sophisticated audience. For example, a non-familiar audience would hardly comprehend Eustathios' allusion to reasonable 'equality' as a kind of 'geometrical proportion'

7 E. g., Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 7.19 (p. 12 Metzler); 8.16 (p. 14 M.).
8 Metzler 2006a, 18.
9 On the state of monasticism according to Eustathios, see Kazhdan/Franklin 1984, 150–154; Angold 1995, 187–188, 348–355, 358–359.
10 On the insubordination of the monks of Thessaloniki towards their bishop, see, e. g., Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 7–10 (pp. 10–14 M.); 133–140 (pp. 150–158 M.); 185–189 (pp. 210–216 M.). For their other shortcomings, see below.
11 See Metzler 2006a, 24; Efthymiadis 2012, 180–181.
12 Eust. *Opuscula* 88–98 Tafel.
13 *Ibid.* 182–196 Tafel. See Stratigopoulos, this volume.
14 Eust. *in Od.* 1618.32–35. Cf. Kazhdan/Franklin 1984, 152; Browning 1995, 88; Hunter, this volume.
15 Metzler 2006b, 51.

(λόγον [...] γεωμετρικόν), echoing ancient philosophical thinking;[16] or Eustathios' use of one of the six definitions of philosophy, "the art of arts and science of sciences", to characterize monasticism.[17] Metzler has argued that the audience of this work seems to have been made up of members of the cultivated Constantinopolitan elite, many of whom were founders and benefactors of monastic institutions.[18] Eustathios did not expect the monks to see reason on their own, and he subtly conveyed the dispute to the level of the aristocratic founders and benefactors of monasteries, who were responsible for the shaping of monastic *typika*, and more often than not targeted their monasteries' independency from episcopal authority, a characteristic feature of the twelfth century.[19]

In any case, a widening of the audience would not seem unlikely. The support which powerful ecclesiastical circles of the capital or the imperial environment could offer in a dispute was vital. Eustathios was aware that the best way to deal with the insurgent monks of his metropolis was to draw the capital's attention as much as he could, given that certain monks must have already attempted to do so on their own behalf.

Eustathios recalls in his treatise the institution of *charistikē*, according to which the administration of monasteries had been run by secular officials.[20] Even though the *charistikē* was much discredited in his time, due to misuse by the *charistikarioi*, he perhaps wanted to show that even this institution was a bet-

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16 Eust., *emend. vit. monach.* 53.12–14 (p. 64 M.): τὸ γὰρ ἀνόμοιον καὶ ἄνισον συγχυτικὸν πανταχοῦ, ὅτε μὴ κατὰ λόγον ἀποτελεῖται, ὃν δύναται μέν τις καὶ γεωμετρικὸν εἰπεῖν, ὃς ἐν ἀνομοίοις ὁμοιότητα φυλάττει· [...]. Cf. Eust., *Orationes in sanctam Quadragesimam* 5.724–735 (pp. 130–131 Schönauer). For the concept of 'geometrical proportion', see Plat. *Gorg.* 508a; Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* 5.1131b9–15; Procl. *In Plat. Alc. I*, 325.13–326.4 Westerink. Cf. Metzler 2006a, 391–392.
17 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 142.1–2 (p. 160 M.). These definitions derive from the tradition of Neoplatonic commentators (Domański 1996, 6–7 n. 8), which had a great appeal in later centuries, e. g., Jo. Damasc. *Dialectica sive Capita philosophica* (*recensio fusior*) 3.1–27 (p. 56 Kotter), 66.1–15 (pp. 136–137 K.); M. Psell. *Philosophica minora* I 49.109–124 Duffy. Cf. Metzler 2006a, 509.
18 Metzler, 2006a, 290–309; Metzler 2006b. On the stance of Byzantine aristocracy towards education and literature, see Grünbart 2013; Grünbart 2014, 19–21; Grünbart 2015, 171–189. On twelfth-century aristocratic literary patronage, see Mullett 1984 (= Mullett 2007b, VIII); Magdalino 1993, 336–346, 510–512; Jeffreys 2009; Agapitos 2014. On the foundation of monasteries, see Mullett 2007a.
19 Thomas 1987, 218–220, 230–231; Angold 1995, 333–337, 349. All surviving monastic *typika* are available in English translation in Thomas/Constantinides Hero 2000. On the *typika*, see also Galatariotou 1987; Mullett 2007c.
20 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 124.15–21 (p. 138 M.). Cf. Kazhdan/Franklin 1984, 153–154; Varnalides 1985, 115–116; Thomas 1987, 227; Magdalino 1993, 299; Morris 1995, 274–275. On the institution of *charistikē*, see Varnalides 1985; Thomas 1987, 156–213; Morris 1995, 160–161, 263–265, 268–275; Papagianni 2002, 1063–1064; Bartusis 2012, 116–118, 132, 153–159.

ter solution than leaving the monks unattended. Furthermore, he seems to back the religious policy of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180). This emperor, on the one hand, had expressed his active concern for the material welfare of the bishoprics, especially at the beginning of his reign. On the other hand, he had tried to alter the monastic patronage model, at least that of the imperial family, in favor of one which promoted the restoration of old monasteries instead of the foundation of new ones – a practice referred to by Eustathios in his funeral oration for the emperor.[21] He seemed also to promote the upkeep of monks from state subsidies rather than landed endowments, as shown in the foundation of the monastery of Kataskepe.[22] Manuel was alerted by the ever-increasing monastic wealth, and perhaps by monastic independence, which did not fit well into the Komnenian social system, ideally characterized by a strict hierarchy.[23] However, during the reign of Manuel I many monasteries were founded in the provinces, especially by large aristocratic houses, as a means to establish their presence and interests there.[24]

The struggle between episcopal authority and monastic independence proved to be detrimental to the former. The issue was not only about the rise of independent regional religious authorities; it was also a loss of revenue, since, for example, it was not unusual for Churches to receive *synētheiai* ("customs") from certain monasteries.[25] Moreover, a bishop received the *kanonikon*, the dues paid annually to him by clergy, laity and monasteries of his diocese,[26] but this could in fact be lost. Probably around the 1220s, the bishop of Bouthroton brought an indicative case to the attention of Demetrios Chomatianos, the archbishop of Ochrid: it concerned a village that had been granted to a monastery, but the monks claimed that the villagers should attend the monastic church and, thus, pay their dues to the monastery.[27] Apart from these issues, the secular Church was cornered by the aggressive economic policy of monasteries, which was incited by imperial grants of tax exemption.

21 Eust. *Opuscula* 207.85–208.36 Tafel. Cf. Stone 2000, 260–261.
22 Magdalino 1981, 62–65 [= Magdalino 1991, VII]; Magdalino 1993, 119, 298–299; Angold 1995, 287–288, 355. On the ecclesiastical policy of Manuel I, see also Svoronos 1965 [= Svoronos 1973, VII]; Thomas 1987, 224–228.
23 Cf. Laiou 2002, 753.
24 Angold 1995, 291, 299–300.
25 Kaplan 1992, 284. Cf. Lefort 2002, 292.
26 Papagianni 1986, 248–254.
27 Demetrios Chomatianos, *Ponemata diaphora* 80 (pp. 266–273 Prinzing). Cf. Angold 1995, 248, 330–331, 341; Angold 2009, 242–243.

Throughout Eustathios' treatise, we find references to the profit-maximizing ethos of monks[28] and to the expansionist policy of monasteries.[29] In chapter 184 he sketches the wrongdoings of the monks concerning the episcopal property in particular, outlining at the same time an image of this property: vineyards, whose vines and grapes are being eaten up by the monks' animals; fields of cultivated trees, which are being deprived of their fruits by the monks' minions; land with undershrubs and bushes consumed by fires set by monks. Furthermore, he also mentions infrastructure: carriage-roads and highways, which lead to ecclesiastical land property, but are blocked by monks; mills are implied, since Eustathios mentions that monks stand in the way of Church people wanting to mill; finally, wells or perhaps irrigation works are also considered, since monks do not grant Church people access to water.[30] Distribution of water was a major source of conflict in Byzantium. Eustathios also touches upon the issue of water somewhat earlier in his treatise, when he comments on the monks' habit of coveting a field adjacent to theirs, such as a field near a water stream, which can be used for the irrigation of a garden or the operation of a mill.[31]

Furthermore, the monks' all-encroaching expansion into neighboring fields, vineyards, etc. is sometimes not instigated by direct financial gain, but rather by the need to enjoy privacy in order to implement their improper plans; e.g., to swindle a poor novice out of his property, sometimes nothing more than a humble hut, which is nevertheless located in an (economically) important place.[32] All these remarks – used to strengthen Eustathios' arguments on the greediness, in-

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28 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 57–64 (pp. 68–76 M.). In a recent study Paul Magdalino (2015, 203) rightly points out that profit and money were also consistently pursued by contemporary aristocracy, most evidently in the last decades of the twelfth century, an observation which leads him to conclude that the ethos of monks and aristocrats did not differ in this respect. Even though the aristocracy engaged in profit-making enterprises, at the same time the elite literati continued to uphold traditional economic values, a topic which I intend to study in a forthcoming paper.

29 For an overview of the economic activities of the monks of Thessaloniki according to Eustathios, see Laiou 1991, 291–292 [= Laiou 2013, I]; Merianos 2008, 192–195. On the management of cash in Byzantine monasteries, see Lefort/Smyrlis 1998 [= Lefort 2006, 315–342]. On coinage, money, and aspects of monetary economy as found in the monastic *typika*, see Morrisson 2002.

30 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 184.1–10 (p. 210 M.).

31 *Ibid.* 180.9–13 (p. 206 M.). On the distribution of water, see Gerolymatou 2005. On Athonite irrigation works, see indicatively Harvey 1996, 94. On watermills, see the recent study by Germanidou 2014.

32 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 123.2–17 (pp. 136–138 M.).

subordination and unreliability of the monks – indicate his awareness of the managerial and proprietary problems he had to face as the head of his see.

The expansion of monastic economic activities was visible inside Thessaloniki itself. Eustathios censures the tendency of monks to raise the rent of shops, when the tenants are becoming rich from various trades and businesses.[33] He thus offers his own testimony that the entrepreneurial spirit of monasteries has penetrated both the countryside and the cities. Athonite monasteries, for instance, owned shops or *metochia* (dependencies) in Thessaloniki during the twelfth century. The *metochia*, in particular, served as centers for the administration of property located in or near Thessaloniki,[34] such as vineyards, the surplus production of which was sold in the city.[35] The transportation of agricultural surplus from remote areas was made by land or sea. Great monasteries, such as those of Mount Athos, owned ships that transported the products to various destinations, including Thessaloniki, a trade which benefited from frequent tax exemptions.[36] Thus, it is my belief that Eustathios was not focusing his censure on Thessalonian monasteries *sensu stricto*, but on whichever monastic foundation was active in or near Thessaloniki and whose interests contradicted those of the metropolis.[37] For example, the Church of Thessaloniki possessed land, and most notably vineyards, in the region of Kalamaria (Western Chalkidiki),[38] in areas where Athonite monasteries in particular had neighboring estates. This proximity often caused disputes between the metropolis of Thessaloniki and Athonite monasteries, due to land claims.[39]

Eustathios was aware that he could not effectively attack the elaborate monastic mechanism in purely administrative terms; thus, he ingeniously attempted to discredit it spiritually and intellectually before a cultivated audience. Al-

33 *Ibid*. 117.17–19 (p. 130 M.).
34 Smyrlis 2006, 120 and n. 185; also Harvey 1989, 228. For a general description of *metochia*, see Smyrlis 2002, 248; Lefort 2002, 240–241. On *metochia*, see also Angold 1995, 322–325.
35 Smyrlis 2006, 223.
36 Živojinović 1991, 104–110; Harvey 1996, 94–95; Gerolymatou 2002; Smyrlis 2006, 223, 228. Cf. Smyrlis 2002, 255. On the maritime privileges of Byzantine monasteries, see also Harvey 1989, 238–241; Morris 1995, 220.
37 For a similar approach, see Anagnostakis 2004, 104–105. Cf. Magdalino 1996, 237.
38 On the geography of Thessaloniki and its area, see Spieser 1984, 7–24. On the region of Kalamaria, see Lefort 1982, *passim*; Theocharidis 1977. On viticulture in Chalkidiki, see Papangelos 1992; Smyrlis 2015, 118.
39 Anagnostakis 2004, 105–108, where the presence of Athonite dependencies in the region is better documented for periods before and after the twelfth century. Cf. Smyrlis 2006, 39, 41, 55, 131, 158 n. 411, 163–164, 225; Smyrlis/Banev/Konstantinidis 2015, 37, 40, 47–50; Harvey 1989, 63, 153, 251–252.

though his intention was to illustrate the corruption and decadence of monasticism in his metropolis, managerial allusions can also be traced in his criticism. In chapter 178 of his treatise on monasticism he describes an assembly of monks being advised by a loudmouthed and greedy abbot not on spiritual matters but rather on market affairs: cultivations and products, such as vines and wines, olive trees, figs, pears, pomegranates, almonds, strawberries, truffles, pulses, fish, etc. are allegedly referred to by the abbot just in order to stress their commercial, lucrative or culinary aspects. Selecting crops for cultivation was an important aspect of the market-oriented production of such a monastery.[40] Eustathios employs this one-sided perspective as a strategy to underscore the abbot's ignorance and the anti-intellectualism prevailing in Thessalonian monasteries, one of the main charges constantly levelled by the prelate against the Thessalonian monks. The scholarly archbishop had previously mentioned that the monks did not at all share his love for books and knowledge.[41] He therefore reminds his audience how wrong these monks are to persist in their ignorance and how useful polymathy is – even for mundane interests – by displaying his knowledge on a wide range of product properties. Following up on nearly every product presented by the imaginary abbot with the market in mind, Eustathios adds more information, covering multiple fields of knowledge. Thus, he shifts the emphasis from the pursuit of economic capital to the pursuit of cultural capital.

Concerning figs, for example, Eustathios remarks that the abbot says many unnecessary things, yet omits to mention that a fresh fig is almost equivalent to honey, but when dried it does not lose its sweetness (this is why the wise also call the fig sweet *par excellence*). Furthermore, the abbot ignores that we owe gratitude even to the leaves of the fig-tree on account of our forefathers, because they covered their loins; and that excessive lifelong consumption of dried figs generates lice (here Eustathios echoes Galen[42]). According to Eustathios, the abbot only knows (and says) that it is a pleasure to eat figs, fresh or dried, and that they are also good for generating profit. Eustathios adds that it is also proven that the fig-mass (συκομαγίς[43]) is profitable, since in it many figs are kneaded together, and hence the buyer cannot choose the one and sort out the other, but all are eaten together in this mix, much to the advantage of

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40 Laiou 1991, 292 [= Laiou 2013, I].

41 Eust. *emend vit. monach.* 126–132 (pp. 140–148 M.), 141–147 (pp. 158–164 M.).

42 Gal. *de bonis malisque sucis* 8.4 (p. 415.11–16 Helmreich). Cf. Symeon Seth, *Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, 93.11–19 Langkavel. See also Koukoules 1950, I, 203.

43 See Koukoules 1950, I, 199. Michael Choniates refers to the medical use of the μαγὶς σύκων (Mich. Chon. *Or.* 270.30 Lambros).

the owner.[44] This is not the first time that Eustathios credits the value of a product as a commodity. For example, he has previously mentioned in this treatise that monks use donkeys mainly to carry timber, profitable merchandise which people use to light fires,[45] and it is noteworthy that in the *Commentary on the Iliad* he refers to the transport of timber by floating it down rivers.[46]

The relevant allusions made by the archbishop in his *tour de force* demonstration of agricultural knowledge (the empirical details of which are allegedly exposed by the abbot, while the erudite and spiritual imports are supplemented by Eustathios) show that he was an informed farmer himself, surpassing, through his comprehensive erudition, the peasant-like empirical knowledge of the abbot, who challenged his authoritative status. Eustathios' knowledge covered the full spectrum of the uses of agricultural products, even their commercial aspect, thus addressing the monks on their own terms. He presents himself as being able to cover a topic – e. g., the utility, properties and symbolism of figs – in its entirety, from farming to theology, from economy to natural philosophy. He perhaps attempts to imply that he successfully combines the know-how with the know-why, in contrast to the abbot, whose "fair speaking" (χρηστολογία) could be appreciated only by refectorers and cooks.[47]

Belittling the abbot's practical lessons and information was possibly aimed also at further questioning his effectiveness as a manager of both people and resources. Eustathios' monastic opponents probably claimed a prominent spirituality which was not based on education,[48] but had an appeal to the laity. Eustathios attempted to show the monks' failure in the intellectual field, but what remained was to openly refute their alleged superiority in the practical field as well, presenting their failure as complete. And so he did.[49] Perhaps it was not enough for Eustathios to wave his supremacy over abbots and monks of the higher order as a spiritual leader and learned shepherd, since someone could retort that, however unintellectual this model of management was, it was nevertheless economically efficient and advantageous for a monastic community. We should keep in mind that Eustathios was addressing benefactors and founders of monasteries, who cared about the prosperity of their institu-

44 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 178.41–52 (pp. 200–202 M.).

45 *Ibid.* 122.11–13 (p. 136 M.). On the Athonite monasteries' sale of timber to Thessaloniki, see Dunn 1992, 259.

46 Eust. *in Il.* 858.44–50. Cf. Dunn 1992, 271.

47 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 178.105–106 (p. 204 M.).

48 Metzler 2006a, 206.

49 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 133.10–14 (p. 150 M.).

tions. He had to show that the usefulness of the monastic model prevailing in the region of Thessaloniki was debatable, including its managerial aspects.

Following this reasoning, Eustathios underlines that in certain cases the earnings derived from the monks' inappropriate activities did not go to the monastery, but to the abbot and his officers.[50] Similarly, contrary to any rational management, a monk competent in agricultural work (e. g., in viticulture) was replaced by someone who used his post for his own benefit, as well as that of his superior (e. g., 'relieving' the vines of their grapes and offering part of the stolen goods to his spiritual father).[51] This model of monastic management and activities was detrimental to both the monastery and the souls it housed.[52] Monks were oriented to business, profiteering and fraudulent activities in their everyday conduct,[53] all practices consistent with their distorted notion of contemplation.[54]

Monastic activity should aim at imitating God, who is ever-active and still works (cf. John 5.17), but the Thessalonian monks did the exact opposite. Unlike the man of true action (πρακτικὸς ἄνθρωπος), they engaged in "actions" (πρακτέα), after which the "tax-collector" (πράκτωρ), the "merchant" (πραγματευτής) and the "entrepreneur" (πραγματευτικός) are named.[55] According to Eustathios, a monk who lives in solitude, trusting in God and contemplating him, is a philosopher in the true sense of the word. But it is not possible for a monk to philosophize, if he does not have sufficient education or does not seek spiritual illumination through active life.[56]

Theōria and *praxis* were central concepts in monasticism. Eustathios evidently tried to resignify practice through knowledge, echoing a long philosoph-

50 *Ibid.* 117.1–26 (pp. 128–130 M.).

51 *Ibid.* 54.1–55.17 (pp. 64–66 M.); 118.1–119.11 (pp. 130–132 M.).

52 Cf. *ibid.* 119.11 (p. 132 M.).

53 *Ibid.* 117–123 (pp. 128–138 M.).

54 *Ibid.* 116.8–11 (p. 128 M.): [...] πρᾶξις ἄλλη παντελῶς παρὰ τὴν ἐν ὑμῖν πολιτευομένην· θεωρία ἑτεροία πάντῃ πάντως καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς· οἷα γὰρ πράττετε ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁποῖα θεωρεῖτε, οὐδ' ἂν ἀγελαῖοι ἄνδρες μιμήσαιντο. See also, *ibid.* 125.12–20 (p. 140 M.); 179.16–18 (p. 206 M.).

55 *Ibid.* 116.11–15 (p. 128 M.): πράξεως γὰρ μοναχικῆς ἁπάσης πρὸς μίμησιν ἀπευθυνομένης θεοῦ, ὃς ἀεὶ ἐνεργὸς ὢν ἕως καὶ ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, ὑμεῖς ἄλλως ἐνεργεῖτε πρακτέα ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐξ ὧν ὁ πράκτωρ καὶ ὁ πραγματευτὴς καὶ ὁ πραγματευτικὸς ὀνομάζονται, οὐ μὴν ὁ πρακτικὸς ἄνθρωπος, καθὰ καὶ φθάσαντες διεγραψάμεθα. Cf. Metzler 2006a, 474.

56 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 142.1–6 (p. 160 M.): Ἔτι δεδομένου τοῦ τὴν μοναχικὴν μετέλευσιν τέχνην εἶναι τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, ὃ δὴ καὶ φιλοσοφίας ὅρος ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν καὶ ὁ καταμόνας ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῇ εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν θεωρίαν κατῳκισμένος φιλόσοφος ὁ ὄντως· φιλοσοφεῖν δὲ πῶς περιέσται τινὶ μήτε γραμμάτων ἅλις ἔχοντι μήτε εἰς τὴν κατὰ πνεῦμα πρακτικὴν ἔλλαμψιν παρακύψαντι; See also, *ibid.* 141.5–18 (pp. 158–160 M.).

ical tradition.[57] He stressed that contemplation (θεωρία) cannot be perfect if it does not agree with practice, and practice (πρᾶξις) which does not avail itself of contemplation is blind. And it can contemplate mostly through books, both Christian and pagan.[58]

In the *Life* of Saint Philotheos of Opsikion,[59] known for its overtones criticizing monasticism,[60] Eustathios presents not a monk but a married priest, Philotheos,[61] as a tireless reader of the Holy Scriptures,[62] who has achieved the convergence of *theōria* and *praxis*, with the aid of divine grace.[63] This 'mixed life' combines contemplation and action, and its tangible result is an engagement in virtuous deeds. It is no coincidence that Philotheos, as Eustathios portrays him, was fond of cultivating the soil himself, and considered agriculture as a noble work (εὐγενὲς […] ἔργον) befitting to man (ἀνθρώπῳ προσῆκον).[64] In contrast, the worldly knowledge offered by the ignorant Thessalonian monks was not noble but vulgar (οὐκ εὐγενῆ, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν χυδαίαν), concentrating on profiteering, cheating and exploitation.[65]

Philotheos' occupation with agriculture made him hardy and patient in his activities (στεγανὸν ἐκεῖνον ποιεῖ καὶ καρτερικὸν εἰς ἔργα). The saint consciously engaged himself in agriculture, having thoroughly examined both its practical and spiritual benefits: a work exercising the body, in compliance with the biblical precept "by the sweat of your face you shall eat bread" (Gen. 3.19),[66] ideal for

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57 On Eustathios' perception of *theōria* and *praxis* in monastic life, see Metzler 2006a, 201–212; see also on the topic Pizzone, this volume. For the particular meaning of these concepts in Evagrios Pontikos and in Maximos the Confessor, see Guillaumont 2004 and Steel 2012 respectively. For the philosophical background of these concepts, see Bénatouïl/Bonazzi 2012, while Festugière 1971 remains most valuable.

58 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 142.12–13 (p. 160 M.): θεωρία τε γὰρ ἡ ἐντελὴς οὐκ ἂν εἴη τῇ πράξει ἀσύντροχος, καὶ πρᾶξις δὲ μὴ θεωροῦσα τετύφλωται. θεωρεῖ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ διὰ βίβλων, […]. For the kind of books, see *ibid.* 142.13–143.9 (p. 160 M.).

59 On the hagiographical tradition of Saint Philotheos of Opsikion, see Krausmüller 2013, 63–68.

60 Kazhdan/Franklin 1984, 151–152, 162–163; Kazhdan/Epstein 1985, 94; Browning 1995, 88; Efthymiadis 2012, 180–181. On hagiography in the twelfth century, see Magdalino 1981 [= Magdalino 1991, VII]; Paschalidis 2011, 157–160.

61 Eust. *Opuscula*, 149.4–47 Tafel.

62 *Ibid.*, 147.35–36 Tafel.

63 *Ibid.*, 150.21–25 Tafel. Cf. Metzler 2006a, 211.

64 Eust. *Opuscula*, 149.89–90 Tafel. On Eustathios' positive consideration of labor in the life of Homeric heroes see Cullhed and Pontani, this volume.

65 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 117.7–26 (p. 130 M.).

66 trans. New Revised Standard Version (hereafter: NRSV).

achieving virtue and organizing life with respect both to the needs of one's family and those of the destitutes.[67] Philotheos' conscious engagement in cultivation and his virtuous toil stand in sharp contrast to the disgraceful activities of the Thessalonian monks, as well as to their idleness and aversion to labor[68] – the opposite of basic Christian precepts.[69]

Eustathios' praise of agriculture expresses a typically medieval view, regarding it as a meritorious activity in several aspects.[70] As Philotheos' example suggests, this was the kind of activity from which a monastic community should draw its sustenance, without transforming it into a means of conducting lucrative business, i.e., of producing for the market. This negative attitude towards the involvement of clergymen and monks in commerce and related activities is expressed by twelfth-century canonists,[71] as well as by contemporary scholars.[72] Agriculture, the production of which was not primarily market-oriented,[73] exercised the monks' body and spirit, sustained the monastery and produced enough surplus to feed the poor.[74] It was not just an economic activity, it was a practice harmonically embedded in a 'mixed life'. It is no coincidence that Eustathios refers to the "heavenly plant" that should blossom in monastic life,[75] and likens proper monks to firmly rooted trees.[76]

So far, the exam of Eustathios' views can lead to the creation of the following antithetical pairs as respective characteristics of a proper and an improper way of life for a man of the Church: knowledge/ignorance, 'mixed life'/disgraceful living, labor/idleness, agriculture/business transactions. The positive notions are exemplified in the *Life* of Saint Philotheos of Opsikion, while the negative notions characterize the Thessalonian monks. It is not unlikely, however, that Eustathios wished to delicately imply that he himself was living a 'mixed life',

67 Eust. *Opuscula*, 150.3–20 Tafel. On Eustathios' views concerning labor and agriculture, see Kazhdan/Franklin 1984, 162–164; Merianos 2008, 159–173.

68 E.g., Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 154.8–15 (p. 170 M.); 169.15–17 (p. 186 M.); 177.1–6 (p. 198 M.).

69 Especially 2 Thess. 3.10: "Anyone unwilling to work should not eat" (trans. NRSV).

70 As Laiou (1991, 262 [= Laiou 2013, I]) states: "Agricultural activity was considered, in the Middle Ages, as indeed by Aristotle, not only perfectly acceptable but both essential and meritorious; man labored with the sweat of his brow, and if this was a punishment for Adam's sin, the products were, theologically speaking, impeccable". Cf. Festugière 1971, 151–152.

71 Laiou 1991, 285–296 [= Laiou 2013, I]; Laiou 2002, 753. Cf. Papagianni 1983.

72 See indicatively, Papagianni 1988; Angold 1995, 355–359.

73 Laiou 1991, 292 [= Laiou 2013, I].

74 On the principle that a monastery's surplus should be given to charity, see Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 36.14–37.7 (pp. 44–46 M.).

75 *Ibid.* 62.6–7 (p. 74 M.). Cf. *ibid.* 60.8 (p. 72 M.); 202.11–13 (p. 234 M.).

76 *Ibid.* 39.4–28 (pp. 48–50 M.).

marked by the aforementioned positive features, and that he was able to transform his knowledge into rational and virtuous activities, better than any experience-based practice driven by shameful motivations, as monks did.

Yet, I do not think that Eustathios proposed to refrain entirely from the market, but rather that monks should not gain personal profit from it or have their everyday activities organized around it (cf. his implicit exhortation for the administration of monasteries to be assigned to secular officials). Economic prosperity from market-oriented activities and expansionist policy made monasteries difficult for a bishop to handle, but Eustathios would not explicitly express such concerns while addressing benefactors of monasteries. Therefore, he appears to choose an approach based on moral and religious precepts concerning monastic life, which suggest the need to give up certain activities undertaken by monks.

Eustathios' allusions to a more effective and beneficial way of managing ecclesiastical property (mainly landed) seem to be based on his personal inclinations, ideals and erudition. If (to paraphrase Eustathios) practice mostly contemplates through books, a learned prelate could draw from agronomic literature the necessary information in order to become more informed and competent in the field of estate management. And this would not have been just Eustathios' inspiration. From the ninth century onwards a keen interest in treatises on agronomy was displayed by great landowners with a view to improving their lands. Viticulture and arboriculture were areas of specialized cultivation which could be very profitable but required significant investment and infrastructure, such as irrigation schemes, which only great landowners could undertake.

The most appropriate example to show the large-scale dissemination of this kind of literature is the *Geoponica*, a collection of ancient sources,[77] which consists mainly of the sixth-century work *Excerpts on Agriculture* by Cassianus Bassus. At least one version of the *Geoponica* dates back to the tenth century, as shown by the dedication to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (945–959) in the prooimion.[78] A large section of this work is about the aforementioned specialized cultivation, dealing with vineyards, orchards and gardens, and leaving little room for cereal cultivation, thus pointing to the interests of the great landowners in estate management. Furthermore, information drawn from the realms of pseudo-science, mythology and the occult, largely adorns the *Geopon-*

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77 Concerning Byzantine collections, Lemerle 1971 remains valuable, although it characterizes this trend as 'encyclopedism', a stance which was challenged by Odorico 1990. See now Van Deun/Macé 2011.

78 *Geoponica*, Prooimion (pp. 1–3 Beckh). Cf. Lefort 2002, 231; Odorico 2011, 105–106. On the recent views concerning the sources and the compilation of the *Geoponica*, see Guignard 2009. The most recent translation of the *Geoponica* is Grélois/Lefort 2012.

ica, reinforcing the view that the work was aimed at the intellectual interests of a Constantinopolitan aristocratic elite, amused by the combination of the useful, the pleasant and the ostentatious.[79] For example, the first chapter of the fifteenth book is entitled “On Natural Sympathies and Antipathies”, and it deals with the concepts of ‘sympathy’ and ‘antipathy’,[80] informing the reader, among other things, that a wild bull bound to a fig-tree becomes calm and tame.[81]

Eustathios was familiar with the *Geoponica*. In a Lenten Homily, for instance, he refers to the admiration of the hexagonal cells of the bee expressed in this work,[82] and he also refers to the hexagonal bee cells in *On the Improvement of Monastic Life*,[83] as well as in an epistle.[84] The dissemination of agronomic literature must have been linked with actual developments in the exploitation of land; its widespread reading indicates that it was not just an ‘armchair’ preoccupation. Property management was dictated by the principle that land was considered to be capital ready to produce returns.[85] In this respect, the landowners would have chosen crop species expected to generate profit.

For instance, Eustathios’ manifest interest in viticulture, grapes and wine[86] throughout his work seems to be in accordance with the intensive cultivation of vines and the profitable wine trade in Byzantium from the twelfth century onwards. Furthermore, interest in agronomy, especially concerning viticulture, was a European trend in the twelfth century. This coincides with the first translation of chapters from the *Geoponica* related to vines and wine into Latin by Burgundio of Pisa (between 1136 and 1193).[87] Therefore, the need for efficient cultivation in a highly competitive economic environment created a demand for specialized literature, which was available and ready to suggest advice or, at least, a direction to follow.[88]

79 Teall 1971, 40–44; Harvey 1989, 144–145; Lefort 2002, 231, 297.

80 On the concept of ‘sympathy’ with emphasis on Psellos, see Ierodiakonou 2006. For a study of ‘sympathy’ and ‘antipathy’ in the *Geoponica*, see Lefort 2013.

81 *Geoponica* 15.1.4 (p. 432.12–13 B.). Cf. Plut. *qu. conv.* 2.7.1, 641c; Lefort 2013, 286.

82 Eust. *Orationes in sanctam Quadragesimam* 2.199–200 (p. 52 S.) = *Op. min.* 9 (p. 158.26–28 W.). Cf. *Geoponica* 15.3.10 (p. 444.23–25 B.). See also Arist. *Hist. anim.* 5.554b26–27.

83 Eust. *emend. vit. monach.* 87.20–23 (p. 100 M.). Cf. Metzler 2006a, 434.

84 Eust. *Epist.* 3.76–77 (p. 9 Kolovou). The *Geoponica* (10.45–56, pp. 293–300 B.) also deal with the cultivation and use of figs, on which Eustathios commented in his treatise on the improvement of monasticism (see above, p. 315).

85 Teall 1971, 56; Lefort 2002, 296.

86 See Koukoules 1950, I.210–214 and 265–273; Anagnostakis 2004.

87 Anagnostakis 2013, 54. On Burgundio of Pisa’s life and work, see indicatively Beullens 2005.

88 Lefort 2002, 298.

The link between the need for optimized estate management and the revival of an agronomic culture, evident in twelfth-century Byzantium, is not implied by Eustathios alone. His contemporary and friend Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens, also expresses an interest in agriculture linked with his office. In an epistle addressed to the Patriarch Theodosios Boradiotes (1179–1183) he asks for a book on agriculture (γεωργικοῦ βιβλίου), one of the many that Michael knew the patriarch had in his possession. Michael states unenthusiastically that, besides other vanities, he was also obliged to deal with agriculture.[89] However, he must have hoped that a book on agronomy would help him to better fulfill this task.

Further references to agricultural questions associated with the episcopal office can be found in Michael Choniates' correspondence. For instance, in an epistle (dated between 1187 and 1192) to Epiphanios, bishop of Gardikion and Peristera, both suffragan sees of Larissa, Michael makes a special request to Epiphanios, namely to send him cartwrights, stressing that bishops are obliged to engage in agricultural activities.[90] In an epistle dated after 1210, Michael censures the abbot of the Monastery of Kaisariani because, while the abbot of the Monastery of Kea had entrusted to him ten bee-hives to be placed on Hymettos, and expected to receive from him the annual revenue, he not only did not present any profits for the previous four years, but even claimed that the bee-hives had been destroyed.[91] In these indicative epistles the metropolitan of Athens refers to agronomic books, agricultural instruments and apiculture, in order to respond to a particular aspect of his office, that of property management.

Interestingly, in another epistle of his to Theodosios Matzoukes (dated after 1183), Michael Choniates mentions Theodosios Boradiotes, the same patriarch from whom he had requested the book on agriculture, who had retired to the monastery on the island of Terebinthos in the Sea of Marmara.[92] Both the monastery and the island were far from being idyllic. The former patriarch transformed the land from rocky (κραναήν) and dry (διψηράν) to abounding in

89 Mich. Chon. *Epist.* 22.15–19 (p. 31 Kolovou). Cf. Teall 1971, 43; Georgoudi 1990, 27; Kolovou 1999, 94 and n. 93, 176; Lefort 2002, 297–298.

90 Mich. Chon. *Epist.* 43.8–13 (p. 58 K.). Cf. Herrin 1970, 199 and n. 28 [updated in Herrin 2013, 121, 127 n. 28]; Herrin 1975, 265 n. 61 [updated in Herrin 2013, 96 n. 61]; Kolovou 1999, 96–97, 176; Laiou 2012b, 140 [= Laiou 2012a, XIII, p. 27]. On Gardikion and Peristera, see Avramea 1974, 162–163; Koder/Hild 1976, 161, 235. On the bishopric of Gardikion, see Agoritsas/Giarenis 2003.

91 Mich. Chon. *Epist.* 156.10–16 (p. 251 K.). Cf. Kolovou 1999, 99–100, 182; Angold 1995, 208. On the Monastery of Kaisariani, see Koder/Hild 1976, 178. On apiculture and apicultural products in Eustathios, see Koukoules 1950, I, 274–276; Anagnostakis 2000, 179–182.

92 For the reason of his retirement, see Angold 1995, 119; Grünbart 2011, 22–23.

water and trees (εὔυδρον καὶ πολύδενδρον) and irrigation works seem to have played a vital role in this transformation.[93] Equally interesting in the same epistle is the information that Theodosios himself worked with his own hands, personally contributing to repairing the same monastery.[94] This brings to mind Eustathios' praise of Saint Philotheos of Opsikion. Figures like Boradiotes, a high prelate who owned books on agronomy, and whose initiative led to the cultivation of a barren land, and who, additionally, engaged in heavy manual labor, could set the tone for similar activities and behaviors. Furthermore, he set an example as to what advantages a proper management could offer for a monastic community, even if the monastery's land was barren and its buildings in ruins. The erudite twelfth-century prelates seem to more or less claim this competence, while highlighting their active interest in agriculture.

Eustathios' work reveals that he also tried to respond to agricultural tasks, while he seemed to praise and enjoy relevant activities,[95] and seized any opportunity to advertise himself as a competent farmer. As shown in an epistle to Nikephoros Komnenos, Eustathios was proud of his garden in Constantinople and its products, especially his saffron and peaches;[96] the latter are praised in another letter of his to the same Komnenos for being a product of his land and hands (χειρὸς ἐμῆς μέλημα), rather than bought.[97] In a New Year homily he gives the most celebrated example concerning his agricultural prowess: he claims that on one small piece of land he had managed to harvest fifty-nine *medimnoi* after sowing just three; what is more, this land had not rested from tillage but it was overworked by regular ploughing and sowing.[98] Eustathios' yield most

93 Mich. Chon. *Epist.* 30.47–55 (p. 42 K.): [...] γῆν ἄνυδρον εἰς διεξόδους ὑδάτων τοῖς ἁγίοις μεταποιεῖ καὶ μέλι θηλάζειν ἐκ πέτρας δίδωσι καὶ ἔλαιον ἐκ στερεᾶς πέτρας· τί γοῦν θαυμαστόν, εἰ καὶ νῦν διὰ τὸν δίκαιον τὴν κραναὴν νῆσον καὶ διψηρὰν εἰς εὔυδρον καὶ πολύδενδρον καὶ Μακάρων νῆσον μετεσκεύασε καὶ κατὰ τὸ πάλαι προφητευθὲν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ κονύζης τε καὶ στοιβῆς μυρσίνη τε καὶ κυπάριττος ἀναβέβηκεν· ἄλλως γὰρ πόθεν ἡ Τερέβινθος μυρσινήεσσα αἴφνης καὶ σύμφυτος καὶ δασύσκιος ἡ χθὲς ἐξηκανθωμένη καὶ αὐχμηρὰ καὶ πετρώεσσα καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ ἄδενδρος, [...]. Cf. Janin 1924, 429–430; Kazhdan/Epstein 1985, 30; Kolovou 1999, 93–94 n. 91, 157 and n. 510, 178.

94 Mich. Chon. *Epist.* 30.20–22 (p. 41 K.): [...] τίς γὰρ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀπάλαμνος ὡς τὸν πάμμεγαν ὁρῶν αὐτουργοῦντα, μὴ βιάζεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς φιλεργεῖν;

95 On Eustathios' stance towards agricultural life, see, e.g., *Opuscula* 111.54–56 Tafel: [...] ἅπαν πρᾶγμα φίλιον, τὰ οἴκοι, τὰ θύραζε, καὶ ὅλως εἰπεῖν, τοῦ βίου τὸ πᾶν. Ἧκε δὴ καιρὸς τρυγητοῦ, [...]. Kazhdan/Franklin 1984, 189, comment that: "Eustathius puts it quite simply: one should love all aspects of life". Cf. Anagnostakis 2004, 82.

96 Eust. *Epist.* 2 (p. 6 K.).

97 *Ibid.* 29 (pp. 83–84 K.). For these two epistles by Eustathios, see Kazhdan/Franklin 1984, 163.

98 Eust. *Opuscula* 155.69–73 Tafel.

probably falls within the realm of rhetorical exaggeration, as the harvest/sowing ratio he mentions was nearly twenty to one, atypical for Byzantine Greece of that time.[99] He was probably exaggerating his self-advertised competence as a farmer, but this reference in a work addressed to his flock implies that his interest in agriculture was considered a capacity that was to some extent relevant to his office.

To sum up, Eustathios as an archbishop had to successfully supervise the management of the significant property of his see. In the treatise on the improvement of monastic life, he implies that monasteries and monastic *metochia* in the area of Thessaloniki placed many obstacles in the path of his task. Having to face accusations levelled by monks about his abuse of office and power, he tried to discredit the monastic model that prevailed in his metropolis. In his attempt to criticize the misconduct of the ignorant Thessalonian monks, as portrayed to an urban aristocratic audience, Eustathios commended the paramount role of factual knowledge even in the field of property management, especially landed. The theoretical equipment of the learned archbishop, as opposed to the narrow-minded practical methods of a typical abbot, was probably related to his acquaintance with agronomic literature, which rendered him more informed and perhaps confident in estate management.

The traditional praise of agricultural activities and wealth, combined with an active interest in them, seems to have flourished in the twelfth century.[100] In this context, the churchman who toils and harvests the earth for the benefit of his Church and local society as an informed farmer, reflects the need for bishoprics to adapt to more sophisticated and effective methods of land exploitation. Eustathios appears to extol agriculture aimed primarily at sustenance rather than profit-making, especially when censuring certain monastic practices related to the market. However, being in charge of managing the property of his Church, and being responsible for its material welfare, he would have been more pragmatic and ready to suggest to his ecclesiastical personnel methods that would benefit his see and grant him success in his multifaceted role as an archbishop. Books and knowledge seemed to be valuable assets in such an effort.

99 Kazhdan/Constable 1982, 56; Kazhdan/Epstein 1985, 28. Cf. Lefort 2002, 259–260; Toubert 2002, 381.

100 Kazhdan/Epstein 1985, 31.

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Aglae Pizzone

History has no End: Originality and Human Progress in Eustathios' Second Oration for Michael III *o tou Anchialou*

On March 31st, 1173, a Lazarus Saturday, Eustathios, then μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων in Constantinople, addressed a lengthy encomiastic piece to the Patriarch Michael III *o tou Anchialou*, in accordance with the procedure he was required to perform yearly by virtue of his official capacity[1]. His speech revolves around a complex allegorical reading of the attire of the Jewish high priest as described in *Exodus*, a description which he adapts to the figure of the Patriarch. Such a choice, not unconventional *per se*[2], gives him the opportunity to showcase his ekphrastic ability as well as his exegetical subtlety.

The lengthy description of the sacerdotal apparel has led modern readers to discard the piece as highly conventional. And yet, Eustathios succeeds in blending praise and allegory with a consistent outline of human intellectual progress, delivering crucial statements on tradition and innovation. Using the allegorical interpretation of Michael's ἐπωμίδες (shoulder-pieces) as a starting point, he builds on the innovative and unfailing powers of the incarnate *logos*. Human his-

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1 The manuscript tradition has preserved two orations by Eustathios devoted to Michael III, now published as nos. 6 and 7 in Wirth's edition (Wirth 2000, 78–140). Marina Loukaki (2007) has clarified their chronology. The oration analysed here was the second one to be pronounced, since no. 6 was probably performed in 1171 or 1172. With regard to the celebrations on the occasion of Lazarus Saturday see also Loukaki 2005. On the content of the orations see further Wirth 2000, *25–*28. On Michael III see Kazhdan / Franklin 1984, 119–120; 122; Angold 1995, 108–115.
2 It was a *topos* in rhetorical phrase of praise for Byzantine Patriarchs, as pointed out by Marina Loukaki in Loukaki / Jouanno 2005, 63–65; 195.

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tory, he argues, is characterized by a constant tension toward innovation and the new generations should have no inferiority complex when comparing themselves to the great personalities of the past.

As is well known, terms like originality, innovation and progress have long been the bugbear of Byzantine studies. For decades, if not centuries, Byzantine culture has been depicted as stubbornly conservative and hostile to novelty. Over the last twenty years, however, the picture has changed radically. Efforts have been made to show how the Byzantines could negotiate creativity and innovation within the boundaries of tradition[3]. In his allegorical reading of the ἐπωμίδες, Eustathios' oration offers new material to the discussion of these topics. His treatment of human progress, hitherto disregarded by students of Byzantine literature, sheds new light on the Byzantine way of engaging with the tension between tradition and innovation. In the present paper, I analyze the section of *Or.* 7 Wirth devoted to the praise of Michael's *logos* and I provide a first contextualization of this important text. I first look at the terminology used to describe the priest's scapular. Second, I explore the tradition of Byzantine allegorical readings of the relevant section of the *Exodus*. Finally, I examine more closely Eustathios' own interpretation, focusing on the ideas of time, innovation and human advancement presented in the oration. This will lead me to shed new light on 12th-century attitudes toward originality and creativity in Byzantine literature. To this end I will also draw a further comparison with later texts addressing the same issues.

1 An "ekphrastic description"

In his praise for Michael, Eustathios focuses on the upper part of the sacerdotal robe, following the blueprint of Aaron's attire in the *Bible*[4] and giving a meticulous account of the details composing the garment. Besides allegorizing the var-

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3 The *status quaestionis* is presented in the volume edited by Cutler (1995). On the ability of Byzantine authors to innovate within the boundaries of tradition, see Papaioannou's monograph on Psellos (2013). Spanos (2010, 2014) has carried out lexical analyses to prove that the semantic area of καινός and καινοτομία does not always have a negative value.

4 *Exodus* 28. Eustathios' description runs as follows: 108.78–111.19 head-piece; 109.20–111.5 shoulder-pieces; 111.6–112.30 cabochons; 112.31–114.93 pectoral; 118.49–121.53 shoulder-pieces, with a focus on the emerald stones; 124.64–126.22 pectoral; 128.20–129.51 pectoral; 130.80–131.30 pectoral.

ious components, he provides a markedly pictorial representation[5], with a strong emphasis on colors and chromatic effects[6]. At the beginning of his speech Eustathios clearly states that the description will be based on a sort of internal representation[7]. His depiction is half-way between reality and imagination. Throughout the speech Eustathios uses deictic pronouns, which in the performative context of the Lazarus Saturday possibly point to the present Patriarch[8]. Yet, the garments he describes have no real consistency, even though the depiction may include some hints at Michael's actual liturgical vestment, as we will see. At the beginning of his *tour de force* Eustathios emphasizes the liminality of his representation[9]:

> Φέρε δή, ὦ πατριαρχῶν ἁγιώτατε καὶ σοφώτατε, μετὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς σε κατὰ νοῦν θεωρήσω στολῆς, ἣν ἀρχιερεῖ πρέπουσαν θεὸς μὲν ὑπέθετο, Ἀαρὼν δὲ περιέθετο, καὶ ταύτῃ τῶν σῶν ἐνοπτριζόμενος ἀρετῶν, ὅσας τὸ τῆς θεωρίας ὑποβάλλει καίριον, τὸ τῇ πανηγύρει καθῆκον ὁσιώσομαι· ἐρῶ δὲ οὐ τύπους ἐκείνους, ἀλλὰ περιλάμψω τὴν σκιὰν ἀληθείας φωτὶ καὶ ταῖς ἐν σοὶ ἐκφάσεσι τῆς ἀρετῆς συμβιβῶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐμφάσεσι ῥυθμίζων τὸν λόγον εἰς τὸ τῆς θεωρίας κόσμιον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ὀρθότης δεινότατα ἐπιστατοῦσα τῷ τοῦ στολισμοῦ λόγῳ μετρήσειε.
>
> Come now, o holiest and wisest among the Patriarchs, I will contemplate you in my mind with your priestly vest, which God recommended as fitting for a high priest and which Aaron wrapped himself in, and thus, by reflecting those virtues of yours that the circumstance offers to contemplation, I will accomplish the sacred duty of the celebration. And I will not dwell at length on an in-depth portrayal of those models but I will circumfuse the shade with the halo of truth and I will adjust my own verbal display to the display of your virtue, by harmonizing the *logos* to the dignity of contemplation, in so far as the property presiding in the most powerful manner over the *logos* of your garment can account for it.

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5 The high-priest's clothes are depicted also in four separated squares in the illuminated ms. Vat. Gr. 747, f. 108v containing the *Octateuch*. The four squares show the tunic, the ephod, complete with shoulder-pieces and breast-plate and the tiara and the golden bonnet (see Weitzmann / Bernabò 1999, vol. 1, fig. 770 and vol. 2, 178–179). The scene of *Exodus* 28 is also often represented in frescoes, as for instance in the *trapeza* of Chilandar on Mount Athos or in the monastery of Gračanica in Kosovo (see Stefanescu 1939, 138–139). The richness and the shape of the priestly vestments in these frescoes reminds one of Eustathios' description. The high-priest's attire is also profusely described in Kosmas Indikopleustes' *Christian Topography* (5.45–49) and represented in miniatures: see Kominko 2013, 123–126.

6 See below n. 27. Emphasis on the quality of the fabric was already in the biblical original (*Exodus* 28.5–6, 13–14, 32–34).

7 On the role of imagination in rhetorical theories of *ekphrasis* see Webb 1998.

8 109.39; 110.53; 111.92; 112.33, etc.

9 103.8–15.

Eustathios' allegorical reading is indeed innovative in many respects. Far from adhering plainly to the biblical text, he both advances new interpretations and introduces changes in the material description of the sacerdotal vest, in particular as far as the scapular is concerned. In order to fully grasp these innovative traits, a survey of the terminology related to the biblical shoulder-piece is in order. This will be the focus of my first section.

2 *Ephod*, ὠμοφόριον, ἐπωμίς, ἐπωμίδες

The term ἐπωμίδες, through which Eustathios designates the sacerdotal shoulder-pieces, refers to *Exodus* 28, where the attire of the Hebrew high priest is described in detail. In the Septuagint ἐπωμίς translates *ephod*, i. e. the scapular crafted for Aaron following Moses' instruction. The garment is characterized by two precious stones, one mounted on each shoulder. They carry the names of the twelve sons of Israel, engraved as a reminder for the Lord[10]:

> Take two onyx stones and engrave on them the names of the sons of Israel in the order of their birth – six names on one stone and the remaining six on the other. Engrave the names of the sons of Israel on the two stones the way a gem cutter engraves a seal. Then mount the stones in gold filigree settings and fasten them on the shoulder-pieces of the scapular as memorial stones for the sons of Israel. Aaron is to bear the names on his shoulders as a memorial before the Lord.

The vocabulary related to the scapular is fairly fluid both in Hebrew and in Greek. The Septuagint translates the word *ephod* in a twofold way, by using both the plain transliteration ἐφούδ and the Greek ἐπωμίς[11]. Moreover, the text uses both the singular ἐπωμίς (28.6) and the plural ἐπωμίδες (28.12), the former indicating the scapular as a whole, while the latter designates the decorated patches on the top of the shoulders[12].

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10 *Exodus* 28.9–12. The version of the Septuaginta reads as follows: Καὶ λήμψῃ τοὺς δύο λίθους, λίθους σμαράγδου, καὶ γλύψεις ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ, ἓξ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν ἕνα καὶ τὰ ἓξ ὀνόματα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν δεύτερον κατὰ τὰς γενέσεις αὐτῶν. Ἔργον λιθουργικῆς τέχνης, γλύμμα σφραγῖδος, διαγλύψεις τοὺς δύο λίθους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ. Καὶ θήσεις τοὺς δύο λίθους ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τῆς ἐπωμίδος· λίθοι μνημοσύνου εἰσὶν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ· καὶ ἀναλήμψεται Ααρων τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ ἔναντι κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν δύο ὤμων αὐτοῦ, μνημόσυνον περὶ αὐτῶν.

11 ἐφούδ is to be found in *Judges* 17.5; 18.17, 18, 20; *Kings* 14.3; 14.18; 23.18. On *ephod* and its etymology see Van Dam 1997, 140–149.

12 See Le Boulluec / Sandevoir 1989, 283–284.

Late antique and Byzantine commentators were well aware of the linguistic ambiguity surrounding the term. Theodoret of Cyrus, who touches upon the shoulder piece in his *Questions on the Octateuch*, specifies that the priest's upper cloth is called ἐφούδ in *Kings*, while usually the Septuagint uses the word ἐπωμίς[13]. Theodoret also reminds his readers that the translation ἐπωμίς was Symmachus' choice, while Aquila had preferred ἐπένδυμα[14]. On the other hand, in the *Bible* the term *ephod* itself indicates three different objects: an element of the high-priest's garment; a more common sacerdotal vest; a divinatory tool[15]. Similarly, in Byzantium ἐπωμίς, in the singular, can indicate, in a rather general way, a piece of the monastic habit, a scapular also worn by women[16]. However, the term acquired a specific technical relevance especially in the Byzantine liturgical sphere.

Jelena Bogdanovic has recently claimed on the basis of material evidence that the biblical *ephod* "strikingly corresponds" to the ὠμοφόριον, that is the liturgical shawl worn by Orthodox archbishops[17]. Yet, as she stresses, "it is difficult to literally correlate the ceremonial dress described in the Holy Scriptures for Levitical priests with corresponding vestments of Christian priests because their textual and visual descriptions as well as ritual use varied." Texts are admittedly confused and often confusing; however, they seem to suggest a consistent lexical and conceptual overlap between ἐπωμίς and Orthodox liturgical garments. Sources often use ἐπωμίς while referring to the ὠμοφόριον. A spurious *kontakion* on John Chrysostom, traditionally attributed to Romanos the Melode, explicitly equates Aaron's ἐπωμίς with the bishop's scapular worn by John[18]. In the 7th century, the Patriarch Germanos explains even more plainly that the Byzantine ὠμοφόριον was modeled after Aaron's στολή, that is the *ephod*[19]*:*

13 60, 143.24–144.24 Fernández Marcos / Sáenz-Badillos. The question reads "Why did God order the construction of the tabernacle?" On the passage and its relationship with previous exegesis, see Hill 2007, 323–325 (and pp. xxx–xxxii on the sources of Theodoret in general). Theodoret comes back to the *ephod* and the problems linked to its meaning in the *quaestio* 17 on Judges 8.27 (301.18–28 Fernández Marcos / Sáenz-Badillos) on which see Hill 2007, 338–339.
14 *Quaestiones in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, *PG* 80.308–309.
15 See Blischke 2013, 1020–1022, listing the relevant passages. Such a tripartite description can be traced also in Photios, *Amphilochia* 192, where he clarifies the meaning of the term ἐφούδ.
16 See Talbot 1996, 184 n. 123.
17 Bogdanovic 2014, 267–269. On the decorative programs of liturgical *sakkoi* and the *omophoria*, see also Woodfin 2012.
18 *Hymn.* 63.13.4–5, p. 31 Maas / Trypanis.
19 *Mystical history of the Catholic Church* 19, pp. 66–67 Meyendorff. In late antiquity the *ephod* of the Old Testament was interpreted as a sort of cloak covering the shoulders of Aaron; see for instance the mosaic from the Dura Europos synagogue (245–256 CE), representing Aaron flank-

> Τὸ Ὠμοφόριόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Ἀαρών, ὅπερ ἐφόρουν καὶ οἱ ἐν νόμῳ ἀρχιερεῖς σουδαρίοις μακροῖς, τὸν δ' εὐώνυμον ὦμον περιτιθέντες.
>
> The omophorion follows the model of the stole of Aron, and also the priests of the (Old) Law wore it using long clothes, but wrapping their left shoulder.

Similarly the *Questions and answers* of Anastasios of Sinai, originally composed in the late 7th century, but hugely popular also in the following centuries, equates the ἐπωμίς, i.e. the *ephoud*, with the *phelonion*, that is the outer vestment of the priest[20]:

> Ἡ οὖν ἐπωμὶς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑπῆρχεν ὡς ἐν τάξει φελονίου, κονδὸν δὲ ὑπῆρχεν μόνον μέχρι τῶν μηρῶν κατερχόμενον, ἣν ἐνεδύοντο οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐν τῷ θυμιᾶν καὶ ἱερατεύειν αὐτούς.
>
> The scapular of the high priest functioned as a *phelonion*, but was a short garment reaching just about the hips, which the high priests used to wear when they performed the sacrifice and holy rites.

In later highbrow texts, ἐπωμίς directly refers to the bishop's liturgical garments. The term is used with this meaning not only in metaphorical or allegorical contexts: when Anna Komnene describes Michael Dukas's new "career" as a metropolitan of Ephesus, she says that he came to wear the sacerdotal scapular after taking off the imperial vestment[21]. In a letter to Theodore Prodromos, Michael Italikos depicts himself as wearing the ἐπωμίς in his capacity as metropolite of Philippopolis[22]. In a well-known episode narrated by Theophanes Continuatus, Michael III urges his companion Theophilos/Gryllos to caricature the holy liturgy and to make an impression of the Patriarch Ignatios: on that occasion he allows him to wear the ὠμοφόριον. The same story is told by John Skylitzes a century later: there the ὠμοφόριον is replaced by ἐπωμίδες, in the plural[23]. Finally, when Philotheos Kokkinos stages the appearing of Gregory Palamas in a

ing the tabernacle, or else the high priest next to the tabernacle in the ninth-century manuscript of the *Christian Topography* (ms. Vat. Gr. 699, fol. 48r, with Kessler 2012, 473–474).

20 *Quaestio* 98, p. 155.11–14 Richard-Munitiz.

21 1.4.1 and 1.12.6: see Reinsch 1996, 32 with n. 37 and 55 with n. 102.

22 *Ep.* 1, p. 61.15–17 Gautier.

23 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* 244.9: ἀρχιερατικῇ τοῦτον χρυσοστίκτῳ καὶ ὑπερλάμπρῳ κοσμήσας στολῇ καὶ ὠμοφόριον περιθείς; John Skylitzes, *Mich.* 3.21, p. 109.25–110.32 Thurn: τὰ θεῖα διαπαίζων τε καὶ ἐξορχούμενος, ἱερατικὰς στολὰς χρυσοϋφεῖς ἐνεδίδυσκε καὶ ἐπωμίδας. See Wortley 2010, 211. On the apparent contradiction between the text and the garments shown in the relevant miniatures of the Madrid Skylitzes, see Moran 1986, 55. On the episode, see Tougher 2010, 140–141.

healing dream, the saint advises the beneficiary of the miracle to look for his ἐπωμίς, arguably meaning his ὠμοφόριον.[24]

Kokkinos' text reveals another intriguing detail; it says that the saint's *stole* had been "newly crafted" (καινουργηθεῖσα) and embroidered with gold by an artisan called Palates[25]. The saint therefore had a distinctive garment, which characterized his liturgical persona. As we have seen, Eustathios does not depict a real garment, but rather a personal representation and reinterpretation of the high priest's clothes as described in *Exodus*. Yet, ἐπωμίς, as we have seen, could also be used to indicate an actual liturgical garment. Therefore, the novelty of the ἐπωμίδες described by Eustathios could reflect some peculiarity of Michael's attire. Certainly, Eustathios' perspective is unusual: rather than describing the scapular, he concentrates on the two shoulder-pieces, by using the term in the plural, with just one exception[26]. As we will see, such a peculiarity is integral to his allegorical reading.

Some twenty years after Eustathios' performance, George Tornikes also dedicated a section of his encomium for the Patriarch Xiphilinos to an allegorical reading of the high priest's garments[27]. In so doing, he declared explicitly that he did not aim to dwell on their exterior appearance, as the Patriarch had no interest in material values. The quick note seems to be a direct allusion to Eustathios' piece[28], which, on the contrary, offers a detailed *ekphrasis* of the precious stones adorning the patriarch's apparel[29]. Although this is hard to prove uncontroversially, one can hypothesize that the novelty of Eustathios' representation reflected in some manner the distinctiveness of Michael's liturgical vestment. Be that as it may, novelty does effectively characterize Eustathios' allegoresis on different levels, as we will see in the next two sections.

24 *Encomium for Gregory Palamas* 120 and 129. The dream is explained in Talbot 2010, 244. Talbot shows that the ἐπωμίς mentioned in this episode is likely to be identified with the *stole* described in 97, 108 and 131, which she reads as ὠμοφόριον.

25 *Encomium for Gregory Palamas*, 118.

26 121.48 (at 110.54 the singular indicates each one of the two shoulder-pieces).

27 13.299–332, pp. 123–125 Loukaki.

28 It is also interpreted in this manner by Marina Loukaki in Loukaki / Jouanno 2005, 195.

29 Cf. for example 110.81–111.5; 112.31–39.

3 Allegorical interpretations of the scapular in early Christian and Byzantine literature

Aaron's priestly garment is allegorized in as early a source as Philo of Alexandria[30]. Philo puts forward a cosmological interpretation of *Exodus* 28 wherein the scapular is seen as a figure of the sky, while the emeralds decorating the shoulder-pieces stand for the two hemispheres. Although Philo only gives a marginal role to moral allegory, he already points to some elements that would become central in later readings. In particular, he looks at the association between λογεῖον and scapular as a figure of the association between words and deeds[31].

Two centuries later, Clement of Alexandria moves along the same lines, while introducing some new Christian variations and putting forward an overall personal interpretation of the passage[32]. In contrast, in the *Homilies on the Exodus*[33], preserved only in Latin, Origen abandons cosmological allegory altogether and takes the scapular as symbolizing the splendor of actions. Likewise, in his *Life of Moses*[34] Gregory of Nyssa, being aware of the vagueness of the original, states clearly that the Bible does not describe actual objects, but refers to psychological realities[35]. As a consequence, Gregory's reading is purely moral, with a strong focus on the association of contemplative theory and practical virtue[36]. The upper part of the high priest's garment is read as an image of the beauty of the inner man[37].

Later Byzantine exegetes maintain a comparable interpretative framework, as shown by Photios, who expands on the *ephod* in the *Amphilochia*[38]. According to Photios, the λογεῖον is linked to contemplation, i.e. the θεωρία τῶν νοητῶν, while the scapular points to the practice of virtue, i.e. the ἐργασία τῆς ἀρετῆς.

30 See Le Boulluec / Sandevoir 1989, 283.
31 *Life of Moses* 2.125; *On the special Laws* 1.88; *Allegories of the Laws* 1.88.
32 *Strom*. 5.6.37.1–40.4, pp. 351.8–354.4 Stählin (5.6.38.3–4, p. 352.5–9 Stählin for the shoulder-piece). As far as the relationship with Philo's allegory is concerned, see van den Hoek 1988, 134–147.
33 9.4.85–86.
34 2.189–201. See Daniélou 1955, 95, n. 1.
35 2.190. Gregory refers to Philo's cosmological allegory, by putting it to the service of his personal interpretation (2.191). See Simonetti 1984, 316.
36 Cf. for instance 2.200.
37 2.196. The expression "inner man" comes from Pauline literature (cf. *2 Cor*. 4.16; *Eph*. 3.16; *Rom*. 7.22–23). On its probable Platonic origin and later Christian usages, see Cary 2000, 48–49.
38 269.

The fact that both λογεῖον and scapular are bound together testifies to the harmonious combination of faith and correct behavior/action.

A more nuanced reading of *Exodus* 28 is to be found in Psellos, who dwells on the high priest's vestment in one of his lectures on Gregory's orations[39]. Following *Hebrews* 5:10 and 6:20, Psellos contrasts Aaron and Melchizedek, the latter being a prefiguration of Christ. Against this background, he interprets the mitre, which is simple and white, as a figure of the mind, while the bells decorating the priest's tunic are the practical virtues loudly announcing one's love for righteousness. Psellos closes his short allegorical excursus by saying that he will postpone a detailed exegesis of the *ephod* (here the chest-piece) to another occasion, since the subject would require much more space[40]. Psellos tellingly addresses the meaning of Aaron's vestments in a didactic context and, what is more, he does so while explaining a passage from an oration by Gregory of Nazianzus focused on the nature of the priestly office (*Or.* 2). Psellos' *Theologica* 2.6 provides useful background information concerning the use of *Exodus* 28 in later rhetorical practice. As shown by Marina Loukaki, allegories of a number of biblical figures, including Aaron, are the "stock in trade" of 12th-century speeches in honor of the Patriarch[41]. Not coincidentally, such speeches often stem from, or are connected to, school practice[42]. In the case of the Lazarus Saturday, both teacher and pupils were present and the relevant speeches undoubtedly exploited motifs already outlined in the classroom.

Against this background, Eustathios' initial caveat – "I will not scrutinize and avail myself of those models but (…) I will adjust my own verbal display to the display of your virtue" – becomes clearer. Eustathios does not aim to reproduce traditional, perhaps out-worn exegetical modules, redolent of the didactic mode. His aim is not to lecture on the meaning of the high priest's vestment out of context. Rather, he tries to attune the material description to Michael's own character, thus innovating on his model – which, incidentally, is what Georges Tornikes would choose not to do twenty years later, opting instead for a purely moral and 'disembodied' exegesis[43]. The praise of the incarnate *logos* and its infinite possibilities particularly fits in with Michael's personal trajectory: the Patriarch had previously been ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων and was extremely active in the high ranks of imperial administration.

39 *Theologica* 2.6, pp. 53–59.

40 *Theol.* 2.6, p. 55.76–82 Westerink-Duffy.

41 Loukaki / Jouanno 2005, 63–64.

42 Recent literature rightly emphasizes the weight of didactic formats in literary production: see Bernard 2014 (for the 11th century) and Agapitos 2014 and 2015 (for the 12th century).

43 *Second oration for George Xiphilinos* 13.299–307, p. 123 Loukaki.

In sum, Eustathios did not just find himself at the end of a long exegetical chain; since the speech for Michael was to be performed in a highly codified setting, he also was obliged to take into account a series of well-defined expectations on the part of his audience. While he fulfilled such expectations by using clearly recognizable rhetorical tropes and expressive patterns, he nonetheless bent the rules of the genre – without breaking them. Moreover, hiding, as it were, behind the persona of his *laudandus*, he justified his own choices by tracing a powerful outline of human development. The next section will be devoted to a close reading of Eustathios' allegory of the shoulder-pieces and of the theory underlying it.

4 A time for innovation

Eustathios' allegorical interpretation stands out for its originality. On the one hand, his description follows the biblical text, focusing on the details of the *ephod* and zooming in on the ἐπωμίδες. On the other hand, while building on previous interpretations, his exegetical discourse reflects concerns that are distinctive of 12th-century Constantinopolitan culture.

The first part of Eustathios' discussion of the priestly attire is devoted to the κίδαρις,[44] i.e. the head-piece, a symbol of contemplation (θεωρία) and philosophical activity. Eustathios' description follows a downward movement and the next piece examined is the ἐπωμίδες. Thus, Eustathios does not follow the order proposed by the text of *Exodus* 28.4, in which the head-piece is the penultimate item, after the scapular, the λογεῖον, the mantel and the tunic. The close focus on the two ἐπωμίδες serves the purpose of emphasizing the association of *logos* and practical activities in the Patriarch's portrait. From pure contemplation, Eustathios moves down to the bodily world. *Logos* mingles with matter, becoming incarnate and heavy. The ἐπωμίδες reflect precisely this duality[45]:

> Κάτειμι δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπωμίδας τὰς ἱερὰς τήν τε ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τὴν ἑκατέρωθεν, τὰς σὰς ταύτας, ἃς ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος πρωτοφανεῖς ἑαυτῷ περιθέμενος ἐνδιαπρέπεις τῷ θείῳ τοῦ στολισμοῦ, καὶ σκέπτομαι κατὰ λόγον ὅμοιον καὶ αὐτῶν ἑκατέραν· καὶ εἰσὶν αὗται οὐκέτι κατὰ μόνας γνῶσις ἡ ἀνωτάτη καὶ ὕψος λόγου καὶ σοφίας ἀνάτασις, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος ἐμβριθὴς καὶ πρᾶξίς γε μὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἀλληλουχούμενα ταῦτα καλὰ καὶ ἀλλήλων ἄγχι στρεφόμενα καὶ δοιαζόμενα μὲν εἰς λόγου διαφοράν, ἄλλως μέντοι, τὸ τῆς Γραφῆς εἰπεῖν, ἑτέρα τὴν ἑτέραν συνέχουσαι· ἀνωφορεῖται μὲν οὖν σοι φύσει ὁ λόγος, ἀρχιερεῦ ἁγιώτατε, ὡς καὶ ἀνόπιν ἡ θεωρία ἐβράβευεν, ἀλλ' ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτὸν ἀναγκαίως κατασπᾷ καὶ βρίθειν περὶ τὰ κατ' ἄνθρω-

44 108.78–111.19. On the mitre in Byzantine rite, see Woodfin 2012, 26–29.
45 109.38–110.57.

πον σπουδαῖα ποιεῖ καὶ εἰς ἓν ἥκειν ταῖς εἰς κοινωφέλειαν πράξεσιν, ἵνα μήτε τι τῶν σῶν πρακτέων εἴη μὴ ἔλλογον μήτε λόγου σπουδὴ διεκπίπτῃ τοῦ πράττεσθαι· διά τοι ταῦτα ὁ πτερόεις καὶ οὐράνιος λόγος καὶ πρὸς φύσιν αἰρόμενος εἰς μετάρσιον ἐνταῦθα βρίθει βραχύ τι κάτω καὶ τῇ τῶν πρακτέων ὀρθότητι συμπλακεὶς εἰς ἑκατέραν ἐπωμίδα σοι τίθεται· καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὃν ἐπ' ὤμων ἄρας διὰ νεκρώσεως παθῶν ἀκολουθεῖς τῷ Χριστῷ, αἴρεις καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ταύτας ἐπωμίδας, ἐργάτης ὢν θεοῦ καὶ διδακτὸς ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκ τε δεξιῶν ἔκ τε ἀριστερῶν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐπὶ ὤμου αἴρων ἐξάρχουσαν ἡμῖν ἅπαντος ἀγαθοῦ.

I proceed down to the holy shoulder-pieces, the one on the right and the one on the other side, your shoulder-pieces here: wearing them for the first time, as no one else had done before you, you stand out by the divine character of your habit, and I consider each of them in a similar way. And they are no longer the highest knowledge alone and the apex of logos and the inflexibility of wisdom, but also embodied *logos* and action on top of it: these beautiful things come one after the other, exist one close to the other and are duplicated in view of the difference of *logos*, but otherwise secured together, as is said by the Bible. *Logos* is naturally brought up by you, holy archbishop, just as theory directed it before, yet action necessarily pulls it down and lends it weight and consistency regarding the good activities of man, making him converge with the actions intended for the common good, so that none of your deeds may be irrational and the zeal of reason may not fall short of the action. For these reasons, the winged and celestial *logos*, drawn to the sky by its very nature, dwells heavily down here for a brief time and is located on each of your shoulder-pieces, intertwined with correctness of actions: and with the cross, which you carry on your shoulders following Christ through the mortification of passions, you take up onto yourself also these holy shoulder-pieces, being a worker of God and a learned person, and carrying on your right and left shoulder this principle, which is for us the beginning of every good.

Here Eustathios builds on the traditional distinction between λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός, thus discerning the incarnate λόγος (and therefore rhetoric) from the disincarnate λόγος, i.e. reason (and therefore philosophy/contemplation).[46] When λόγος translates itself into action, providing moral instruction or directing action, it is defined as "weighty" or "grave", whereby the term maintains both its literal and metaphorical meaning. λόγος is "weighty"[47] as it requires the body in order to be uttered and a practical involvement in real life in order to be turned into action; it is "grave" as it pertains to moral conduct[48]. Eustathios' image finds a nice parallel in his commentary on the *Iliad*, where he draws a distinction between the female Muse and the masculine Hermes. The former is a figure of the *logos* aiming at pleasure, while the latter is a figure of the

46 The distinction is originally stoic and was further developed in Jewish and Christian literature. See Mühl 1962 and Kamesar 2004.
47 This meaning is attested as early as Plato, where it refers to the stained soul (*Phaedo* 81c8) and to the weight of the incarnate soul, which can be lifted upwards only with difficulty (246d6).
48 Cf. for example Synesios, *Egyptian Tales*, 18.1, 137–138 Roques. The term characterizes male discourse (see n. 49).

logos aiming at action and serving Zeus, which in turn represents the mind or reason[49]:

> Ἔτι σημείωσαι καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν δραστήριος λόγος ὁ κατὰ τὴν πρακτικὴν τὴν ἐμβριθῆ καὶ οἷον εἰπεῖν ἀνδρώδη θεωρούμενος Ἑρμῆς λέγεται κατὰ προφορὰν ἀρρενικήν (…) ᾧ δὴ Ἑρμῇ καὶ χρᾶται ἀγγέλῳ Ζεὺς ὁ νοῦς καὶ ὥσπερ ὑποδρηστῆρι.
>
> It shall be further noted that the active *logos* according to the grave and, so to say, male practical application, is labeled as Hermes, in the masculine… therefore Zeus, which is the mind, employs Hermes as messenger and helper.

Further on in the oration, Eustathios describes how the mixture of theoretical and practical wisdom works in practice[50]:

> Ὦ λόγου λεπτότης, ὃν πρᾶξις ἔμφρων συνειληφυῖα σωματοῖ ὥσπερ ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ διεκφαίνει καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ στερέμνιον διαδείκνυσιν· ὢ πρᾶξις καθάπερ οἱ σοφοὶ τὰ ἐς μηχανὴν τὴν ἄϋλον θεωρίαν εἰς σώματα οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν λόγον, ὅτε δεήσει, κατάγουσα εἰς ἐλλόγου πρακτέου παχύτητα καὶ οὐκ ἀχρειοῦσα τὸ τοῦ λόγου καλόν, οἷς διὰ τῶν πρακτέων εἰσδύνων εἰς κάλλος αὐτὰ χρῴζει ὅσα καὶ ἀέρος σκότωσιν ἥλιος, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ μὲν εἰς ὕλην οἷον ὑπεστρωμένη, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ ἀποχρωμένη ὡς εἰ καὶ σῶμα ψυχῇ, καὶ τὸν μὲν λόγον ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν τηροῦσα, τῷ δ' ἐκεῖθεν τιμίῳ αὕτη συνεκλάμπουσα· ὢ καὶ πρᾶξις καὶ λόγος τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἀναδησάμενα νίκην, ἐπωμίδες ἱεραὶ αὗται, δι' ὧν αἴρεις γῆθεν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν σῶν μεταφρένων ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ ῥυθμίζων εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ κουφίζων ἄνω, ἔνθα ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα, καὶ τοὺς κοπιῶντας καὶ πεφορτισμένους ἁμαρτάδων ἄχθει προσκαλούμενος εὐαγγελικῶς εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν.
>
> Oh subtlety of the *logos*, which prudent action, comprehending it, embodies, as if in itself, and illuminates, showing its solid part; oh action which, as the experts in machines bring immaterial theory down to the bodies, brings the *logos* down to the thickness of sensible action, when necessary, without destroying its beauty; thus, penetrating into the beauty through its actions, it colours them, as the sun the obscurity in the air, and while it [i.e. the action] is diffused upon matter, nonetheless it is coloured by the logos, as a body by the soul, maintaining the *logos* in its natural place and shining thanks to the preciousness coming from it; oh action and *logos*, crowned in victory over all other things, these holy shoulder-pieces, through which you lift us from earth and carry us on your back, training us in virtue and lifting us up, where we belong, and according to the Gospel calling us to rest, tired as we are and afflicted by the weight of our sins.

Eustathios' allegory builds upon neo-Platonic terminology and expands upon images of light, emphasizing a crucial aspect of the Byzantine religious experi-

49 10.20–25. Cf. also *in Il.* 250.21. On the distinction between 'feminine' and 'male' discourse see Papaioannou 2013, 192–231. On allegory in Eustathios' commentaries on Homer see Cesaretti 1991 and Hunter and van den Berg, this volume.
50 110.66–79.

ence[51]. At the same time, he expands on traditional exegeses, such as the interpretation of the *ephod* as the symbol of those taken up by Christ according to Luke 10.20[52]. Even more importantly, Eustathios exploits in full the potential of laudatory rhetoric, insisting on Michael's unprecedented qualities. The "novelty" of the patriarch's virtue is thus turned into a central motif. First, Michael's unique character reflects itself in the 'decorative program' of his ἐπωμίδες. The biblical text prescribes that the two stones adorning the shoulder-pieces be engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel[53]. Yet, the Patriarch carries much more on his shoulder[54]:

> Λίθοι οὗτοι πολυτίμητοι δύο μέν, ὅτι πρὸς πρακτέα καὶ λόγους σχίζονται, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς τυπικοὺς δὲ τοῦ μνημοσύνου λίθους ὀνομάτων δωδεκάδι μόνῃ τῇ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς μνήμην θείαν τυπούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι πλείοσι μνήμαις ἐμβαθυνόμενοι καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀποστόλων, οὓς ἡ ἐν τύπῳ γλυφὴ προῃνίξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀποστολικῶν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος θεὸν ὁρᾶν καὶ τὸν ὄντα νοεῖν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τυποῦσθαι λόγου τε εἰλικρινείᾳ καὶ πρακτέων ὀρθότητι· οὓς πάντας καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ λίθοις διασήμοις ἐνέγραψας τῷ στερεμνίῳ τῆς μνήμης καὶ τοῦ παντὸς τιμωμένῳ καὶ οὐκ εἰδότι ἐξάλειψιν καὶ εἰς ἀρχέτυπον φέρεις τοὺς μὲν λόγου, τοὺς δὲ πράξεως.
>
> These most precious stones are two because they are divided into *logoi* and actions, but they are not engraved only with the twelve names of the sons of Israel, following the model of the memorial stones, for divine memory; on the contrary, they are carved with more memories, and not only of the apostles, who are alluded to in the model of the carved work, but also of the men following the apostles' example, for whom, just as for the Israelites, the goal of life is to see God, to understand Him who is, and shape themselves after His image through the purity of their *logos* and the righteousness of their actions; you have engraved them all onto the firm, most precious and never fading part of your memory, as if onto clear stones, and you have set them as a model, the ones for *logoi*, the others for action.

Such an unparalleled mixture of exemplary activities and excellence in speech leads Eustathios to praise the καινότης of Michael's figure. Novelty is constantly highlighted throughout the oration and καινός, καινότης, καινοτομία are consistently used with a markedly positive meaning. As said at the beginning, "inno-

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51 For the image of the soul-sun in neoplatonism (with a series of parallel passages from Plotinus, Proclus and Dionysius the Areopagite) and its relationship with the experience of the congregation in the liturgical space of the Byzantine church, see Shibille 2014, 177–184.

52 Cyril of Alexandria, *De adoratione* 11, in: *PG* 68.733C–736C, and Le Boulluec / Sandevoir 1989, 283.

53 *Ex*. 28.11.

54 112.39–49.

vation" is a critical notion in the historiography on Byzantium[55]. Apostolos Spanos has recently explored the semantic range of καινός/καινοτομία, arguing that such a range did not include exclusively the notion of "negative innovation"[56]. Eustathios' oration for Michael further supports his point, even though the speech needs to be contextualized in the cultural environment of 12th-century Constantinople.

For one thing, the oration for Michael gives a resounding answer to the concerns expressed by Anthony Cutler in the piece that closed the 1995 groundbreaking volume *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music:* "In what sense can we say that a society which did not share our sense of originality acted originally? I ask this not because of the illusory danger that we shall confuse our perceptions with theirs [...] but because not one of the contributors has been able to point to the existence of the *notion* of originality in Byzantium"[57]. Eustathios provides exactly such a definition. The praise for the Patriarch turns into a powerful statement on the supremacy of the present over the past, of the "moderns" over the "ancients". Eustathios shows no inferiority complex towards tradition, on the contrary he emphasizes mankind's constant advancement, stressing that new achievements are always attainable. The passage deserves to be quoted in full, in spite of its length[58]:

> Καὶ ἦσαν ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐπωμίδες κατακεκροτημέναι οὐ μόνον λόγου χάρισιν, ὃν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἱερὸν καινότατά σοι προβάλλεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράξεων σταθηρότητι, ἃς ὁ ἐν σοὶ ὀρθὸς λόγος οἶδεν ἐπικοσμεῖν οὐδενὸς ἐνδέων τῶν πώποτε οὔτε πρὸς ἀληθείας εὕρεσιν καὶ ψεύδους ἔλεγχον οὔτε πρὸς ἐκλογὴν πρακτέων καὶ ἀπεκλογήν· οὐ γὰρ δήπου δοτέον ἐν τοῖς ἄρτι χρόνοις πέρατι τὸ καλόν, ὡς μὴ ἂν ἐξεῖναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς καινήν τινα τέμνειν ὁδὸν βίου σπουδαίου, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκην εἶναι παραμένειν τοῖς πάλαι καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκαθῆσθαι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑλίττειν ἀεὶ κύκλον τριβομένους περὶ τὰ φθάσαντα, οὐδὲ γηράσαι νομιστέον τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲ τὴν φύσιν ἀποκαμεῖν, ὃ δή τινες οὐκ οἶμαι πάνυ σπουδάζοντες, ἀλλὰ θέσεώς τινος προΐστασθαι θέλοντες οἴονται, ὡς μὴ ἂν μήτε λόγου καινοῦ τινος προβολέας εἶναι τοὺς τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς γένους μήτε πράξεως ἑτεροίας παρὰ τὰ ἐν παλαιοῖς ἀγαθά· οὐ γὰρ στενοχωρήσω τὸ τοῦ λόγου ποικίλον ἐγκατακλείσας εἰς οὕτω μονοειδὲς οὐδ' οὕτω καταψηφισαίμην ἂν πενίαν τοῦ πλούτου τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως, ὡς μὴ ἂν πλέον μηδὲν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν εἰς αὐτὴν καθηκόντων καλῶν ἔχειν προσκτήσασθαί τι κατὰ λόγον καινοτέρας εὑρέσεως· οὔκουν τὰ τοιαῦτα δοξαστέον, ἀλλ' ἔστι πάντως καὶ τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ θεόσδοτον ἀγαθόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ οὐχ' ὅπως σπάνιον· καὶ δέδοται θεόθεν καὶ αὐτῇ προσεξευρίσκειν τεχνασμάτων δεινότητας καὶ λόγων ἐγχειρεῖν καινότησιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἔργων ὁμοίων ἐπινοίαις, ἃ

55 See the summary presented in Kazhdan 1995. On the terminology indicating what is "new" see also Magdalino 1987, 52–54.

56 Spanos 2010; 2014.

57 Cutler 1995, 203.

58 113.60–114.93.

μὴ πρὸς ἀρχαῖα ῥᾷον ἐξεικονίζειν ἔχει τις, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον καλοῦ προϊστᾶν τοῖς εἰσέπειτα· καὶ γέγονε τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις ἔργα καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ὅσα ἐκμετρεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἔχῃ τις· ἐξηνέχθησαν βουλαὶ καὶ σοφισμάτων ἐπίνοιαι, ὅσα οὐδὲ μακρά τις καμὼν διὰ βίου περιελεύσεται, ἀλλ’ οὐ δήπου τὰ τῆς εὑρέσεως πεπεράτωνται, ὡς μηκέτ’ἔχειν ἔργον καταπραχθῆναι καλὸν ἐκ καινῆς ἢ βουλὴν προβεβλῆσθαι διεκπεφευγυῖαν τὸ αὐχμηρὸν ἢ νόημα εὐγενές, οὗ εὐκλεὲς τὸ νεώτατον, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἐν λόγῳ στοιχείων ἀρχὴ ὥρισται καὶ ὅσα εἰς τὴν τούτων σύλληψιν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ὡς ἐν ἁδροτέροις μέρεσι λεκτά (οἱ δ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν λόγοι οὐκ ἂν δι’ αἰῶνος ἐπιλείψωσι καινὰ καινοῖς ἐπισυνείροντες τὰ νοούμενα), οὕτω καὶ τοῖς κατ’ ἄνθρωπον ὁ μὲν ὀρθὸς λόγος μεμέτρηται κανόσιν οὐ διανενεμημένοις εἰς ἄπειρον, τὰ δ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν μετρεῖσθαι οὐκ οἴδασιν.

And in this respect we have greatly praised your shoulder-pieces not only because of the graces of the *logos*, which the holiness of your soul streams down in the most incomparable manner, but also because of the steady character of your actions, adorned by the righteous *logos* that you host, never falling short in any regard, either in the discovery of truth and the exposing of falsehood or in the inclusion and exclusion of the actions to be accomplished; for in the present times we should not assign a limit to beauty on the mistaken assumption that our souls are not in a position to break new ground in a distinguished life and that by contrast we must adhere to the ancients who have preceded us and must follow in their footsteps and walk endlessly in a circle, busy with the same venerable practices. Nor should we think that time grows old[59] or that nature grows tired: this is the opinion put forth by some people who in my view do not believe it in earnest but express such a view in order to champion a certain thesis, on the assumption that our contemporaries are unable to advance any original *logos* or to accomplish a particular action that goes beyond the good deeds of old times. For I will put no constraint on the variegated nature of *logos* by straight-jacketing it into plain uniformity [60] nor would I condemn the richness of human nature to poverty on the assumption that human nature can acquire nothing in the way of original discoveries other than the noble properties that have belonged to it since the dawn of time. We should not endorse such opinions, for our generation likewise possesses in the highest degree a God-given good, even though it is necessarily rare; this generation too has received from God the ability to discover further skilful devices and try its hand at a number of innovations pertaining to good *logoi* as well as at the design of corresponding actions. Looking back to ancient deeds makes it no easier to envisage these qualities, but they stand by themselves, setting an example of nobility for the generations to come. Many important things were conceived and designed in ancient times, such a great range of ideas and clever inventions that one would be unable to embrace them fully, even in an entire, long life, and yet invention has not reached its limits that would preclude the achievement of any further fine deeds or which would blemish with stiffness the conception of any superb plan or a noble idea whose magnificence lies in being most novel; on the contrary, just as the basic letters forming the *logos* have been defined and so has their composition and the more intricately structured sayables arising from them, whereas

59 Aesch. *Prom.* 981.

60 In Eustathios’ commentaries on Homer, τὸ μονοειδές is *the* flaw the poet tries to avoid at any cost thanks to rhetorical elaboration and expansion (see for instance *in Il.* 272.5–9). On this subject see Pizzone 2016.

> the *logoi* that are built upon them would never cease to add additional new thoughts to new thoughts, so too the right *logos* is limited by human rules that cannot be infinitely divided, whereas the actions that arise from them are uncountable.

Eustathios outlines a picture of human progress in which tradition does not have an authoritative value *per se*. Innovation is not just incremental, but it is nourished by new creations and by the elaboration of brand-new thoughts. And it is not just a matter of style or rhetoric: it also involves actual undertakings and the ability to create (invent) something new. The advancement of human knowledge is seen as a limitless process, even though subject to well-defined rules, which are both formal (language is made of a finite number of units) and moral (reason establishes a finite set of norms)[61]. Eustathios, while using a vocabulary reminiscent of the eternal divine progression first described by Gregory of Nyssa[62], promotes a linear notion of time and progress, as compared to repetition and circularity[63]. His view is far removed from both ancient notions of technical advancement and the biblical pessimism regarding man's efforts toward innovation.

Although Classical Antiquity had a strong faith in human progress, such faith was not untainted. The process was not conceived as an endless progression. Ancient thinkers expected that technical development would reach its limits or else start all over again following catastrophic events and/or cosmic renovation[64]. Aristotle himself views the passing of time as a factor promoting forgetfulness rather than learning[65]. Equally, the Bible, in the voice of the *Ecclesiastes*, is famously skeptical, to say the least, about the possibility of true innovation[66]. Accordingly, Christian exegetes, in commenting on the biblical text, point to the fragility of human memory and the inevitability or repetition in a

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61 Eustathios builds on Stoic theory of language, as shown by the mention of *lekta* (see Frede 1978). The parallelism between *lekta* and right *logos* is perfect, since both are incorporeal, even though they regulate corporeal and embodied realities: the former, the uttered *logos*; the latter, practical actions.

62 See Blowers 1992.

63 In this respect Eustathios' depiction of human progress contradicts Murray's recent assumption that Eastern Christianity might have a "more circular" notion of time (Murray 2013, 240–241). Murray's hypothesis is based on a hint in Gurevich 1985, 94–151. Although such a notion is attested (see above n. 31), it is surely not exclusive. Be that as it may, the topic of the concept of time in Byzantium would deserve more consideration.

64 See Dodds 1973; Cambiano 1972, chapter "Il problema delle tecniche".

65 *Physics* 4.12, 221a.

66 *Ecclesiastes* 1.8–11. For a commentary, see Krüger 2004, 47–55.

frustrating and vain effort of chasing originality[67]. From their perspective, novelty is just another word for the transience of human knowledge, while history is bound to repeat itself.

One cannot deny that Eustathios' statement stands out starkly against the background of what we know of Byzantine literature – or of what we think we know about it. And yet, it is not so surprising if we consider the preoccupations of both Eustathios and the Constantinopolitan circles in which he belonged. For one thing, the outline of human progress presented in the oration for Michael is fully in tune with Eustathios' own production and rhetorical practice. As shown by P.A. Agapitos, Eustathios crosses generic boundaries confidently, subtly innovating traditional compositional patterns[68]. In his account of the capture of Thessalonike, moreover, we find explicit statements about the freedom that writers are granted when it comes to the choice of their narrative strategies[69]. Originality was surely one of the main concerns of his poetics. In his commentary on the *Iliad* he directs harsh words against orators who are unable to conceive original personal thoughts and therefore turn into thieves and plagiarists[70]:

> οἷς ὅμοιοι γένοιντ' ἂν καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων ποιητῶν, ἤδη δέ που καὶ ἐκ πεζολογιῶν, ὁποῖοι σκωφθήσονται εἶναι οἱ μὴ γεννῶντες ῥητορείας οἰκείας, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰπεῖν, λογοσυλλεκτάδαι ὄντες καὶ δι' ὅλου σπερμολογοῦντες ἐν ἐγκωμίοις.
>
> A similar situation is observed among the other poets, but also among prose writers, who are mocked because they cannot produce anything by their own rhetorical ability, and in their *encomia* they are like plagiarists, picking up stuff here and there.

Such concerns are not new. In his capacity of *maistor* of the rhetors, Nikolaos Kataphloron directs similar thoughts against 'twelve sophists' of his time. These men are 'formidable acrobats of *logoi*' who break open the tombs and strip the dead of their garments in order to clothe their own speeches[71]. Nikolaos delivers a heartfelt plea against the weary repetition of age-old stylistic features

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67 Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Homilies in the Ecclesiastes* I, vol. 5, p. 297.11 Mc Donough-Alexander; *Anonymous commentator on the* Ecclesiastes, 1.11–13, pp. 30–34 Ettlinger-Noret. The latter, when commenting on *Ecclesiastes* 1.11 stresses the endless circularity of time.

68 Agapitos 1998.

69 *capt. Thess.*, *proth.*, 4.20–26 Kyriakidis. On the passage see Pizzone 2014, 15–17 with previous literature.

70 *in Il.* 1309.1–3.

71 Loukaki 2001, 143–166. The Greek passage in question is to be found on p. 154.34–52 (see 152.17–18 for the notion of 'acrobats').

aiming to please an audience that already knows what to expect[72]. The funerary image from the fragment edited by Marina Loukaki[73] can be usefully compared to the simile through which Eustathios praises Michael's memory in the oration in question[74]:

> Τίς δέ, ὃς τὴν σὴν ὑπεραναβέβηκε μνήμην, ὅτε ἀναλογίσασθαι χρὴ τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος; ἢ πάντως οὐδείς, καὶ τούτων αὐτὰ τὰ τῆς πείρας διδάσκαλος· εἰς τοιαύτην μνημοσύνην οὐσίωσέ σε θεός, ἀφ'ἧς οὐ Μουσῶν ἐννεάς, γνώσεως δὲ προβέβληται πολυπλήθεια· εἴποι τις ἂν ἐπὶ στόματός σε φέρειν, ὅτε καλέσει καιρός, πάντας μὲν λόγους, πάντας δὲ βίους ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν καὶ ὅσοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐζήκασιν φθάσαντες· οὕτω πανδεχῆ παντὸς καλοῦ τόπον τέθεικας τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ εἰς βιβλιοθήκην σοφίας μνήμονος ἀνέπτυξας ἢ καὶ ὡς ἐν πολυτιμήτῳ τύμβῳ τῷ βάθει τῆς μνήμης τοὺς ἀξίους ταφῆς τοιαύτης ἐντέθεικας· καὶ μίαν μὲν πλάκα σμαράγδου προφαίνεις ἐν ἐπωμίσι τοῖς ἀντιπαρεξετάζειν γλιχομένοις τὰ κατὰ σὲ τοῖς πάλαι καλοῖς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ προλάμψαντας, ὧν οὐδενὸς λελάληκας ἀγεννέστερα, μίαν δὲ τοὺς ἔργῳ λαμπρούς, οὓς ὑπερέλαμψας, καὶ ἀμφοτέρας ταύτας εἰς γλύμμα σφραγῖδος κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐκοίλανας, οἷς τε πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐτύπωσας σεαυτὸν καὶ οἷς ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρους αὐτόθι ἐκμάττεσθαι τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑπὸ σοὶ ἐκφάντορι.
>
> Who has ever surpassed your memory when spiritual matters are to be debated? Surely enough, no one, and we learn it from experience: God endowed you with such great memory from which not the ennead of the Muses has arisen but rather a multitude of knowledge; one could say that, whenever the right moment comes, you have on the tip of your tongue all the words, all the wise men's lives and those who in previous times lived according to virtue; thus you have made your soul a receptacle of all beauties, and you have developed it into a library of mnemonic wisdom, or else you have put to rest in the depth of your memory those worthy of such a grave as if in a much revered sepulchral chamber. And to those eager to compare your qualities with the ancients' nobility, you show one emerald plaque on the shoulder-pieces, namely those who illustrated themselves through *logoi* (and you have never spoken less nobly than any of them); and the other one, namely those who have illustrated themselves through action, whom you have all outshined; and you have worked both of them as a carved seal, as is written, on the one hand shaping yourself according to those models, and on the other hand giving other people to receive the imprinting of virtue under your guidance.

Memory is likened here to a sepulchral chamber. As a consequence, the precious stones decorating the shoulder-pieces turn into gravestones showing the names of the deceased. Unlike the tombs robbed by Nikolaos' orators, however, Michael's memorial is a private space, well sealed and piously preserved. The opposition, we might say, is between a worn-out and easily accessible cultural

72 Loukaki rightly calls the attention on the similar attitude shown by Michael Choniates in his Πρὸς τοὺς αἰτιωμένους τὸ ἀφιλένδεικτον, on which see Bourbouhakis 2014, 201–224.
73 On cultural appropriation as a dialogue with the dead in Byzantium, see now Marciniak 2013.
74 118.59–73.

memory and a more personal use of the past. Eustathios draws a picture in which exemplary models are fully internalized and tactfully used. The bright solidity of the emerald provides a glaring contrast to the rags and fragments (of tradition) that Kataphloron's sophists fight for. Last but not least, Michael's appropriation of ancient authorities leads to the production of a new, equally authoritative, model.

Eustathios' faith in human progress is probably not indicative of an overall Byzantine attitude toward innovation – if such a thing ever existed. Rather, it reflects the need to assert a space of autonomy in the highly codified cultural communication of the capital's learned circles in the last decades of the 12th century. In this respect, the attitude shown in the oration for Michael is characteristic of a very distinctive period in Byzantine literary history – and, we may add, closely connected to the specific occasion for which the speech was performed. A comparison with later sources can clarify this last point better.

The idea of progress features prominently in a much-discussed passage from the *Gnomikai Semeioseis* published by Theodore Metochites in the 1320s[75]. In the introductory chapter, Theodore famously voices his feelings of helplessness toward the overwhelming voice of the ancients. His concerns resonate with *Ecclesiastes*' words about the impossibility of producing any (new) utterance. The endless repetition of the same topics turns into a cause of disgust. Tellingly, Theodore uses the same language as both Eustathios and Nikolaos Kataphloron – and Michael Choniates, for that matter. He speaks of audiences knowing the script 'by heart', as it were[76] and he notes the powerful semantic domain of restriction and constraint. Yet in his view *logos* has indeed reached its limits[77]:

> Καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι σχεδὸν λέλειπταί γε ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ χώρα τις ὅλως εἰς κοινωφελῆ τινα φορὰν ἴσως ὅστις ἂν οἷός τ' εἴη, οὔτε καιρὸς εἰς ἀνεμέσητον ὅμως ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ προκοπῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἅμιλλαν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, γλώττης ἀπραξία καὶ κάθειρξις διὰ πάντων. Ὅπου γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ κινήσαι τὸν νοῦν, νέον οὐκ ἂν ἐρεῖν ἔχοι, ἀλλ' ὃ πρότερον ἤδη φθάσαν ἤνυσταί τινι, καὶ τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις προείληπται· καὶ λοιπὸν ἀηδίᾳ ταὐτὰ φέρειν, ἢ πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ἴσως, ἢ πρός γέ τι χρήσιμον, ὥς γε δόξειεν ἄν, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἄλλοι πρότερον ἤδη καὶ ἴσως γε καὶ κομιδῇ βέλτιον, σπουδάζειν αὐτόν τινα νῦν γε εἶναι καὶ κατεπείγεσθαι, οἷς οὐ καθάπαξ ἄρα μὴ δεῖ γέλωτ' ὄφλοντα, οὐδ' ἔστιν ἡτισοῦν χρεία.
>
> There is hardly anything left for us, no room at all for any contribution of general usefulness for that person [among us] who is perchance able [to make such a contribution], and no opportunity for an at least legitimate display [of wisdom] and accompanying striving for

75 Hult 2002, xiv–xv situates the composition of the *Semeioseis* between 1321 and 1328.
76 Cf. also 9.1.5–7 where unconditional love for the ancients, favored over the modern figure, is heavily criticized, with Bydén 2002, 260. See also 5.2.5–6 on plagiarism.
77 *Semeioseis* 1.6–9, pp. 22–24 Hulst.

> improvement. There is only the enforced inactivity and confinement of the tongue at all times. For wherever someone might move his mind he cannot say anything new, but only something which has already been achieved by someone else, and already received by the listeners. The only thing left to do is to reluctantly present the same results, either, perhaps, to gain glory, or for some supposedly useful purpose, and now oneself to study things that others have studied before and perhaps much better, and incur ridicule by exerting oneself on subjects where absolutely no exertion is required, or which are of no use whatsoever (transl. Karin Hulst).

This is a heavily debated passage and its prefatory nature makes it even more problematic. In spite of all the disgust and helplessness, Theodore decided to publish his voluminous work. Thus, it comes as no surprise that modern readers found themselves discussing the work's actual purpose and the true sense of Metochites' opening statements[78]. Recently, Bydén has suggested that far from giving up on innovation, Metochites chose a "formal solution to a material problem", embracing novelty not in content but in style. Surely, according to Metochites, the shortcomings of human communication depend for a great part on the audience's inability or unwillingness to grasp the actual meaning of a given utterance[79]. And yet, Metochites also acknowledges the difficulty or impossibility of a perfect match between internal reason and verbal utterances[80]. If Eustathios does not see any hindrance in the finite set of rules governing human speech, Metochites deems the constraints of the incarnate *logos* a burden to the full expression of the mind[81]. This is why the choice of producing new *logos* is presented as a second best, an option sustained by resignation, as we have seen before (λοιπὸν ἀηδίᾳ ταὐτὰ φέρειν). The *Semeioseis*, moreover, presuppose a well-defined view on the development of human knowledge and history. If progress is not excluded[82], it nevertheless reaches its end. Metochites fully embraces the idea that time grows old as if human development followed a biological curve[83]. Thus, tradition and progress are perceived as moving toward a conclusion.

Intriguingly, the same idea of progress as a process moving toward a conclusion is to be found in the letter 23, sent by Nikephoros Gegoras to Metochites,

78 The discussion on the aim of the *Semeioseis* (basically ambition vs. usefulness), started by Beck 1952, 50–75, is summarized in Featherstone 2011. On the complexity of Metochites' use of cultural capital see Bazzani 2006.

79 *Semeioseis* 9, pp. 88–95 Hulst.

80 *Semeioseis* 9.2.3, pp. 90.23–94.25 Hulst.

81 *Semeioseis* 9.2.2, pp. 90.28–92.4 Hulst.

82 Cf. *Semeioseis* 14.135–145 Hulst.

83 *Semeioseis* 9.1.5, p. 90.4 Hulst: ὀψὲ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης βιοτῆς.

most probably to congratulate him for completing the *Semeioseis*[84]. Gregoras assumes that perfection is still to be achieved. Nonetheless, Metochites’ work will define it once for all:

> Ἐνταυθοῖ δὲ τοῦ λόγου γενόμενος, τοῦ σοφοῦ Σολομῶντος εἰπόντος ἐμνήσθην· ‘πρόσφατον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον‘ εἶναι μηδέν, ‘ὃ λαλήσει καὶ ἐρεῖ· ἴδε τοῦτο καινόν ἐστιν‘· ἤδη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσι φάναι γεγονέναι· ἀλλ’ ἰδοὺ τὰ παρόντα καινὰ καὶ οἷα μηδὲν μηδαμῇ πω γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδένα τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος χρηστῶν βασιλέων εὑρεῖν τῇ τοῦ ἡμετέρου βασιλέως ἁμιλλώμενον φρονήσει πάνυ τοι ῥᾷστα διοικεῖν ἐχούσῃ καὶ ἐξομαλίζειν κυκεῶνας μεγάλους πραγμάτων, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος οὐδένα σοφῶν τῇ σῇ σοφίᾳ ἁμιλλώμενον. πάντας γὰρ ἐκείνους τοὺς σοφοὺς ὡς ἔοικεν ὅρους καὶ προτάσεις γέ τινας, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, ὁ πᾶς ὑπεδείκνυ χρόνος καὶ οἷον εἰπεῖν ἐπαγωγικά τινα κόμματα πρὸς ἕν τι συλλογισμοῦ συμπέρασμα κράτιστόν σε, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν γίγνεσθαι λήθην μὲν ἤδη τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων σοφῶν, τῶν δ’ ἑξῆς μηκέτ’ εἶναι χρείαν ἄρα μηδεμίαν· μηδὲ γὰρ εἶναι σοφίας εἶδος σοί γε παρειμένον μηδέν, ὃ τούς τε γενομένους διέδρα καὶ ὃ τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἴσως ἔσται καινὸν εὕρημα καὶ ‘πρόσφατον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, ὃ λαλήσει καὶ ἐρεῖ· ἴδε τοῦτο καινόν ἐστιν‘.
>
> After reaching this point in my discourse, I was reminded of the wise Solomon, who said: “There is nothing new under the sun, whereof a man shall speak and say ‘Look this is new’; and he says that it has already existed in the ages before us: but there, the present is new and such as it never was anywhere in the ages before us”. As it is impossible to find any of the valiant kings of the past matching the mind of our emperor, which can easily rule and smooth away big troubles, likewise it is impossible to find any of the wise men of the past who can match your wisdom. And it seems as if time in its entirety had designated all those wise men, one would say, as a premise and preparation and so to say as inductive elements leading to one perfect conclusion of the syllogism, namely you, so that those wise men from the past will fall into oblivion, while those to come will have no usefulness, in that you yourself neglect no form of wisdom that did indeed escape the men of the past or that will perhaps be a new invention for those of the future and ‘something new under the sun’, whereof a man shall speak and say ‘Look this is new’.

The reference to the *Ecclesiastes* can be read as Gregoras’ reply to his mentor’s anxieties. Quite simply, Gregoras shifts the boundaries, setting a new limit and pinpointing the figure of Metochites as the conclusion of human progress. However, once again, the idea of an indefinite progression is completely absent. History is bound to reach its end and then repeat itself.

It may appear misplaced to compare texts belonging to two very different times in Byzantine cultural history such as the Komnenian and the early Palaeologan period. And yet in both periods the learned circles of the capital were haunted by the same concerns (ambition, display, the needs of highly demand-

84 On the letter and the discussion on the circumstances in which it was written, see Bydén 2002, 269–273. Our passage is Ep. 23.43–59, pp. 78–70 Leone.

ing audiences) and characterized by similar practices of cultural consumption (the *theatra*)[85]. Authors struggled to find a voice and a public identity. The comparison is therefore viable and helps to understand the reasons underlying the two world-views. The performative context surely plays a primary role in the address to Michael. Eustathios' *Or.* 7 is a public speech delivered within an institutional setting. Eustathios is at the peak of his career as an orator, while his *laudandus* had been "consul of philosophers". They both represent the summit of Constantinopolitan official rhetorical and philosophical culture. The audience of students also requires a constructive attitude, and Eustathios and Michael must lead by example: it is obviously the triumph of the *logos*, here and now. Eustathios' view of human advancement is sustained by the occasion prompting the speech, and at the same time such a view reinforces Michael's position and his own. To them, in spring 1171, history, as yet, has no end.

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85 See Gaul 2011, 18–53, with previous literature on *theatra* in the 11th and 12th centuries (18, n. 9 and 10).

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General index

Aaron 332–35, 338–39
Achilles 12, 14, 16, 27–30, 36–37, 39–41, 43–46, 48–50, 87, 90, 91, 132, 134–37, 139–43, 215, 288
acrostich 265, 267, 270–71, 275
Aelius Dionysius 116, 235
Aelius Theon 49, 142
Aeneas 143–45, 294
Agamemnon 90n55, 132n16, 215, 294
Agnes-Anna of France 302–5
agriculture 318–24
akribesteroi 89–92
Alcinous 208, 219
Alexandria 84, 183, 210, 239
Alexius II Comnenus 302–5
Alexius IV Angelus 289
allegory 22, 31–46, 56–58, 130–39, 141, 146, 201–2, 331–32, 334, 336–40, 342
alliteration 259–60, 265–66, 276
allusion 263, 265, 277
anagram 259–76
Anastasios of Sinai 336
Ancona, siege of 303
Andronicus I Comnenus 287–89, 302
Andronicus II Palaeologus 181
Anna Comnena 336
Aphrodite 34–35, 42, 58–63, 138n29, 144–45, 158, 199
Apion and Herodorus (ApH) 83–89, 92, 99
Apion of Oasis 84
Apollo 46–47, 55–58, 92, 131, 132, 138n29, 142, 144, 267n57
Apostolis, Arsenius 200, 221
Apostolis, Michael 186
Aquila 335
Aratus 112
Ares 38, 45, 137–39, 144
Aristarchus 12, 34, 51, 61, 84, 90, 91, 159n29, 210–11, 216n86, 222, 236n23
Aristodemus of Nysa 292
Aristonicus 85, 89–90, 93, 212
Aristophanes 65, 169, 237, 257n21, 259
Aristophanes of Byzantium 51, 230n3
Aristotle 30, 48, 50, 97n71, 136n25, 149, 258, 287, 319n70, 346
Arnold, Matthew 220
Arrian 82n23
Athena 35–39, 120, 129–33, 137–39, 142–45, 154
Athenaeus 21, 30n49, 44, 83, 118, 200, 211, 234–35, 286
Attaliates, Michael 186
Auger de Busbecq, Ghislain 182–83
autourgia 210–19, 287

Baiophoros, George 184, 185
Barnes, Joshua 206
Bayle, Pierre 222
Bellerophon 91n62
Bible 174, 209, 214–15, 217, 332
bishoprics 312, 324
books 1–3, 315, 318, 320, 324
Boradiotes, Theodosius 322–23
Budé, Guillaume 201
Burgundio of Pisa 321

Callières, François de 199–200, 203, 206–7
Callimachus 20
Camerarius, Joachim 201
Caminiates, John 301
Capperonnier, Claude 204–5
Casaubon, Isaac 201
Cassianus Bassus 320
Catalogue of ships 158–60
Chalcondylas, Demetrius 200
Chilandar 333n5
Chomatianus, Demetrius 312
Choniates, Michael 19–31, 69, 114–15, 184,188, 249, 315n43, 322, 347, 349
Choniates, Nicetas 287–89, 294, 302–3
Choniates (scribe) 184, 185
Chryses 86, 93n65
Cinnamus, Iohannes 303
Circe 70
Clarke, Samuel 206
Clement of Alexandria 217, 286, 338
Coccinus, Philotheus 337

Colossus of Rhodes 246
Colvill, David 169
comedy 259
Cometas 84n28
commentaries to Homer, modern 219–23
commentaries to liturgical hymns (esp. in the 12th c.) 172–73, 175
compound words 257n21, 258, 271
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus 320
Constantinople 20, 79, 169, 170, 181–88, 248, 263, 303–5, 309, 323, 344
Cosmas and John 187–88
Cosmas Indicopleustes 333n5
Council of Chalcedon 309
Council of Nicaea (II) 309
Council of Trent 186
Crusade
– second 285, 303
– fourth 181, 183, 185
cultivation 315–23
Cyclopes 23–5

Dacier, Anne 206–19
deinotes 129, 132, 136, 138, 142
Demetrius Gonypesus 95–96
Demo 39
Demodocus 163
derivation 116–24
Derveni papyrus 176–77
deus ex machina 144
didaskaleion 181, 183, 187, 188
Didymus 85, 97–98
Digenes Akrites 287
digression 69, 87, 112, 155, 173, 270
Dio Chrysostom 32n53, 33n57, 51n95, 70n137
Diomedes 15, 38, 138n29, 144–45
Dionysius Areopagita 266, 343n51
Dionysius Halicarnassensis 22n32, 176, 256n20, 292
Dionysius Periegetes 16–19, 169, 174
Dionysius Thrax 112
Dionysus 158, 256
Dios boulê 133, 139–42
Dioscorides 211
dithyramb 254–75
divine intervention 130; 137; 142–45
divine plans 129; 134–35; 139–42; 145
Dolon 96n77
Dorat, Jean 201
Ducas, John 304
Dura Europos 335n19

ecclesiastical property 313, 320
education 19, 23, 32, 70, 114, 115, 187, 276, 311, 317
ekdoseis of Homer (ancient) 97–98
ekphrasis 49, 331–37
enigma 261n33, 264, 267, 269n66
ephod 333–43
Epiphanius 111
Epiphanius (bishop of Gardikion and Peristera) 322
Erasmus of Rotterdam 231n, 234n17–18, 235n20, 237n23
Etymologica 84, 93–95, 119–22
etymology 41, 64, 115–25, 249
Euripides 1, 53, 64, 111, 140, 157, 256
Eustathius
– *Capture of Thessaloniki* 20, 25, 49, 290
– *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes* 16–19, 164
– *Commentaries on Homer* 9–72, 79–110, 129–48
– *Exegesis on the Pentecostal Iambic Canon* 167–77, 253–82
– mixture of genres 300–1
– rhetorical interests in 13–15, 28, 49, 61, 66, 114–15 (see also: rhetoric)
– sources 11, 82–100, 116–17, 234–38
– terminology 86, 88, 92, 99, 149–64, 269–73
Eustratius of Nicaea 111
Euthymius Malaces 19–21, 24, 79n4, 248, 268
exegesis, Byzantine 171, 174–77

Falkenburg, Gerrit 202
Fénelon 210, 219
figure poems 253n3, 265n49, 270–73
Filelfo, Francesco 186

Galen 315
Geoponica 320–21

George (scribe) 183, 193
George II Xiphilinus 337
Giffen (Giphanius), Hubert von 202, 214
Gracanica 333n5
Gregoras, Nicephorus 111, 186, 350
Gregorius Corinthius 172, 173, 174, 176
Gregorius Decapolites 244
Gregorius Nazianzenus 2, 339
Gregorius Nyssenus 338, 346–47

hairstyles 289–91
Harpies 248
Hartung, Johannes 201
Hector 12, 27–30, 37, 135–36, 141, 142, 161, 291
Helen 42, 59–65, 70, 156–57
Heliodorus (novelist) 68–72
Heliodorus (grammarian) 84
Hera 37, 39, 58, 61–66, 131–33, 139–40, 145
Heraclides of Miletus 98n81
Herennius Philo 82n23
Hermes 41, 131–32, 341–42
Hermogenes (and Ps.-Hermogenes) 66, 138, 139, 143, 152, 155, 156, 158, 249
Herodian 85, 88, 93–97, 112
Herodotus 44, 62, 301
heroic age, simplicity and customs of 210–19, 285
Hesiod 18, 24, 33, 45, 95
Hesychius 84, 116, 291
high priest 331–39
Homer *passim*
Homeridai 98
Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego 185–86
hypomnematistai 96–98

Iambic Canon 253–76
Iohannes „Arklas“ 176, 261
Iohannes Chrysostomus 335
Iohannes Damascenus 176, 253–54, 262–63, 275
Iohannes Siculus 138n31
Iris 39–43
irrigation works 313, 320, 323
Isaac II Angelos, Byzantine Emperor 168, 286

Kondoleon, Christophoros 202
Koraes, Adamantios 68–72, 222–23

labyrinths 263–64
La Motte, Houdart de 208, 210
Laskaris, Janos 184
Latins and Latin language 289–95
Lazarus Saturday 331, 333, 339
Leclerc, Jean 212
Lependrenus 304
lexicography 84–86, 111–22, 235–38
Libanius 13n11, 49
libraries in Thessalonike 1–3
literary fiction 48–56, 130, 146, 244
(Ps.) Longinus 52, 143, 149, 161n34
Louis VII of France 304
Louis XIV of France 203
Loukaris, Cyril 183
Lucas Chrysoberga 270
Lycophron 254–55, 259–62, 264, 270

Mai, Angelo 167
Macrembolita, Eumathius 294
Malaxoi brothers 182–83
Manuel I Comnenus 168, 188, 243, 286, 303–5, 312
manuscripts:
– Alex. Bibl. Patr. 62 181–83, 192 fig. 3
– Basil. A.III.20 243
– Basil. A.VII.1 182–85, 195 fig. 6
– Cantabr. Corp. Chr. Coll. 81 200
– Genav. gr. 44 90n57, 96
– Laur. 59.2–3 81n11, 118n50, 290
– Laur. 59.6 200
– Lond. Burney 86 83, 90n57, 91, 97
– Marc. gr. 454 1, 83, 85, 88, 89–92, 97, 99
– Marc. gr. 460 290
– Marc. gr. XI.34 264n45
– Matr. lat. 9859–62 203n27
– Neap. Brancaccianus IV A 5 249
– Oxon. Bodl. Auct. T.2.7 90n57
– Par. Coisl. 182–183 203–4 , 212n72
– Par. Coisl. 396–400 203
– Par. gr. 2626 238
– Par. gr. 2702 290
– Par. gr. 3069 200
– Par. gr. 3071 231

– Par. NAL 2074–2076 205n33
– Scor. Λ.II.11 169, 182, 185, 196 fig. 7
– Vallic. F 44 182, 184, 194 fig. 5
– Vallic. P 258–260 205n38
– Vat. gr. 699 336n19
– Vat. gr. 747 333n5
– Vat. gr. 1321 200
– Vat. gr. 1409 181–85, 191 fig. 2
– Vat. gr. 2299 249
– Vat. Pal. gr. 92 264n45
– Vindob. Theol. gr. 208 182, 183, 193 fig. 4
– PAmh inv. G 202 90n57
– PDerveni 177
Marcassus, Pierre de 203–4, 212
Mariner, Vicente 203
Matzoukes, Theodosios 322
Mausolus 248
Maximus Confessor 318n57
Melchizedek 339
Menecrates Nysaeus 160–1
Menelaus 140, 144n49
metalepsis 258–259, 267
metochia 314n34, 324
Michael III *o tou Anchialou* 331–352
Michael Ducas 336
Michael Italicus 336
modal rhetoric 249
monasteries, monasticism 309–24
monotony, avoidance of 154, 158–9
morpheme 122, 123
Moschopulus, Manuel 184
Moseles, Alexius 186
Moses 187, 188, 334, 338
mouseion 185–87
Muse 132, 136
Musurus, Marcus 200
mythos and fiction 46–58, 130–46

narrative material, lack of / expansion of 149–64
Nausicaa 13, 35, 61, 216–9
Nemanja, Stefan 304
neologisms 257–58
Neoptolemos 87n42
neoteroi 87n43
Nestor 14, 46, 218, 286
Nicaea, Empire of 183
Nicanor 85, 87
Nicephorus Comnenus 323
Nicolaus Kataphloron 1, 347, 349
Normans 2, 168, 289–95, 303–4
nous 129, 132–33, 136

obscurity 255–58, 260, 262, 273, 277
Odysseus 14, 22–25, 30–1, 36, 61, 70, 87n42, 156, 161, 215, 287
omophorion 335–37
Oppianus 1, 169
Origenes 175, 338
Orion 116, 120, 122

palaioi 92–93
papas 249
paraphrase 113
parekbolai 81, 111, 112, 163–64, 169–70, 173–75
Paris 59–64, 140, 144n49
paroemiographical collections 230
Patriarchal School of Constantinople 169, 182–83, 187, 188
Patroclus 28–30, 52, 132n16, 133–37, 140, 142, 288
Pausanias Att. 116, 235–39
Penelope 14, 207
Pentecost 170–71
Perrault, Charles 207, 210
Petronius 25
phantasia 12
Philo of Alexandria 338
Philoponus, Iohannes 84
Philotheus, St. 24, 318–19, 323
Philoxenus 292
Photius 112, 176, 338
phronesis 129, 132, 138, 142
Pindar 1, 20, 43, 169, 255 ff
Pisa 169
pithanotes 129, 137n27, 142–45
Plato 21, 33, 44, 49, 64n121, 256n20, 257, 288, 341n
plausibility 129, 137–38, 142–46
Plutarch 32, 40n73
Politi, Alessandro 205, 215
Poliziano, Angelo 200, 213

Polybius 130n4
polymathy 114, 115, 285, 315
polyphony 265–66, 275
Pope, Alexander 206–19
Porphyry 15, 153–54, 211, 215–16
Poseidon 46–58
Postel, Christian 204
Priam 14, 16, 27, 42–44, 59, 156, 285, 288
Proclus 32–3
Prodromos Petra Monastery (library and scriptorium) 181–88, 197 fig. 8
proekthesis 129, 134, 136, 139–140, 142, 146
progress 331–32, 346–51
proverbs 170, 248, 229–40
Psellus, Michael 71n142, 222, 321n80, 339
puzzle 258n25, 263–64, 272, 276

querelle des anciens et des modernes 206–12

Racine, Jean 203–4, 217
Rapin, René 205, 209
rhetoric, rhetorical teaching 13–22, 44, 49, 61–66, 114, 115, 136–45, 149–64, 187–88, 230, 243–49, 339–40, 345–47
riddle 260n30, 263–69, 276
Rollin, Charles 209, 210, 217
Romanos the Melode 335
Rousseau, Jean Jacques 219

Salvini, Anton Maria 205
Sarpedon 89, 133–37, 139–40
satire 248
schedography 184, 246, 249, 263–64, 275–76
scholia / *scholiastai* 94–96
scholia 111–16, 119
– to the *Iliad* 9–63, 83–98, 159–61, 211–12, 220–21
– to other poets 88–89, 236–38
Sebastiani, Leopoldo 205
Septuagint 332–35
Servius 205
Sirens 21–3
skilfulness 129, 132, 136–39, 142, 146
Skouphos, Frankiskos 186
Sopater 152
Sophocles 267, 269
Souda 116, 255, 268
sphragis 264n47
Sponde, Jean de 202, 206, 212, 214
Steiriotes, Lucas 244
Stephanus of Byzantium 82–83
Stilbes, Constantinus 289
Stojkovich, John 184
Strabo 51, 82–83, 130n4, 200
stylitism 246–47
Symeon the Stylite 247
Symmachus 335
Synesius 341n48

Telemachus 36, 153–56, 213–15, 218, 287
Telephus 87n42
theatron 35
Theocritus 60n113, 66, 68n131
Theodorus Metochites 349–51
Theodoret of Cyrus 335
Theodorus Prodromus 171–76, 336
Theodorus Studites 247
Theognis 55, 234
Theophilos/Gryllos 336
Thessalonike 1–3, 79, 167–70, 176, 177, 243–44, 304, 309–24
– capture of 25, 49, 168, 290, 293–95, 299–301, 347
Thetis 41, 50, 134, 136, 140
Thucydides 49, 112, 211, 286, 295, 301
Tinerel de Bellérophon, Jean 203, 212, 217
Tornices, Georgius 337, 339
Tryphiodorus 163
Turrianus, Nicolaus 169, 185–86, 196 fig. 7
typika 311, 313
Tzetzes, Iohannes 16, 40, 42, 56, 58, 63, 132n18, 136n26, 153, 174, 255n9, 260n30, 287

Venice 168
Vico, Giovan Battista 219–20
Viermännerkommentar (VMK) 85, 89
Villoison, J.B.C. d'Ansse de 221
Virgil 42–3, 210, 214
viticulture 313–15, 317, 320–21
Voss, Johann Heinrich 220

Wolf, Friedrich August 221
Wolmar, Melchior 201
Zenodotus 51
Zeus 14–16, 36, 38–39, 42–43, 45–58, 61–67, 129, 132–42, 145, 290, 342
(Ps.)Zonaras 186

Index locorum potiorum

Ael. Theon progymn.
- p. 67 Pat.-Bol. 49
- p. 76.34–77.10 et 79.20–32 142n43

Aesch.
- test. 112a Radt 162n36
- fr. 1 R. 234
- fr. 393 R. 234n19

Alc. fr. 366 Voigt 234

Anast. Sinaita, quaest. 98
- (p. 155.11–14 R.-M.) 336

Anna Comn. 1.4.1 et 1.12.6 336n21

Anon. in Hermog. inv. 7.722.26 Walz 156n25

Aphthon. prog.
- 1.1 Pat. 130n7
- 2.4 142n43
- 12.2–3 49

Apostol. paroem.
- 2.60, 6.59, 8.78 229n2
- 7.79 236n21
- 8.23 234n17
- 10.17 231
- 10.64 237n24
- 12.49 235n20
- 12.89 236n21
- 14.32 234n18
- 15.12 238

Append. Prov.
- 2.29 236n21
- 2.94 234n17

(Ps.)-Arcad. Epit. Hrd. Cath.
- pros. 31.4–8 Schmidt 94–95, 106

Aristoph.
- Av. 194 65
- Ran. 186 236
  - 823–25 257n22
  - 939–44 16n22

Arist.
- Phys. 4.12, 221a 346n65
- Poet. 1459a9 258
  - 1459b13 149
- Pol. 2.1268b.38 287
- Rhet. 3.1406b1–2 258
- fr. 162 G = 162 R 50
- fr. 379 G = 155 R 15n18
- fr. 389 G = 166 R 30

Arsen. paroem. 11.5a 233

Aster. hom. 14.15.3 Datema 231n7

Athen.
- 1.8e-11b 211
- 1.18b 286
- 2.37 f 234
- 5.187d-e 21
- 8.347e 161n36
- 10.452d 232n15

Clem. Alex.
- hom. in Exod. 9.4.85–86 338
- Paed. 3.4.26.1 286n7
- Strom. 4.19.123.1 217
  - 5.6.37.1–40.4 338n32
  - 6.2.8.5 233n17

Com. Adesp. fr. 853 Kock 237

Cosmas Hieros., Comm. in Carm.
- Greg. Theol., Tit. 175n50

Cratin. fr. 367 K.-A. 237n23

Cyrill. Alex. de ador. 11
- (PG 68.733c-736c) 343n52

Demetr. Byzant. FHG 2.624 232n15

Demosth. 19.137 94

Didym. 14.9 pp. 248–49 Schmidt 237

Diod.Sic. 20.63.1 235n20

Diog.Laert. 8.18 232n15

Diogenian. paroem.
- 3.26, 3.78 et 5.19 229n2
- 4.81 et 7.28 235n20
- 4.82a 233n17
- 4.85 et 6.99 236n21
- 5.15 170n27
- 6.25 237n24
- 7.50 234n18

Diogen. Vind.
- 2.61 237n24
- 3.52 234n18

Dion. Hal.
- ant. Rom. 1.20 292
- comp. 13 143n46
- Demosth. 7.4–6 256n20
- epist. ad Gemin. 2.1 256n20

Donat. ad Ter. Phorm. 186 234n18

Epicur. Rat. sent. 1 44

Epiphan. Panar. 3.134.23–26 et 3.440.15–18 H. 111

Et. Gen. AB, s.v. κατακρῆθεν 88

Et. Gud.
- 347.10 Stef. 122
- 398.4 Stef. 121
- 239.8–10 Sturz 119
- 253.27–31 Sturz 121

Et. Magn.
- 43.30–35 Gaisf. 93, 105
- 183.35–184.7 94, 95n72, 106
- 257.25 122
- 313.1 121
- 432.10–15 119
- 441.13–17 121
- 672.23–27 118
- 758.25–26 120
- 789.15–19 93, 105

Eur.
- Hipp. 525–26 64
- Med. 618 233n17
- Phoen. 103–201 157

Euseb. Ad Is. 1.85 235n20

Eust. capt. Thess. (Kyriakides)
- 3.11–4.21 300
- 4.20–26 347
- 52.26–29 302
- 130.2 291
- 136 25
- 140.8–142.25 290
- 146.30–148.9 295

Eust. emend. vit. monach. (Metzler)
- 66.78–80 188
- 161–63 2
- *passim* 310–21

Eust. epist. (Kolovou)
- 2 323n96
- 3.76–77 27, 321n84
- 5 25
- 7.259–61 233
- 29 323n97
- 44 232
- 45.80–85 231

Eust. Exeg. in can. iamb. pentec. (Cesaretti – Ronchey)
- Tit. 175
- Inscr. 175
- Prooem. 1–4 173n44, 187
- 7–8 171
- 17–20 171
- 69–79 254
- 78–79 256n20
- 94–95 254
- 107–108 254n7

116–18 269
117–18 254
123–24 262n38
125–27 261n35
131–36 169n19
140–43 261n35
148 270n71
191–93 168n12
210–34 270–271
223 265n49
229–34 272n75
229–49 273
249–80 276
253–55 254n8
256–57 256n15
281–85 265n53
284–85 269
286–90 255
288–90 274
290–94 256n15
294–95 273
304–6 273
326–29 171
Acrostichis
53 172
53–54 173n44
Inscr. Alt. 175
Exeg.
3.13–15 187–188
8.1–2 171
31.1–50.33 170n26
41.13–14 173n42
43.1–9 173n42
89.13–14 168n14
95.7 256n15
107.9–11 173n44
107.10 172
114.13 171
166.1–13 268
167.1–16 257
167.1 171
196.8–11 173n44
196.10 172
206.1–14 257n22
210.13–20 168n15
223.10–11 173n44
228.6–8 173n44
249–252 267
249.3 258n26, 267n56
250.2–8 258, 267
250.6 256n15
255.10–14 277
Addit. Marg. post finem 175

Eust. in Dion. Per. (Müller)
204.11–21 17
204.34–205.16 164n39
205.1–2, 10–16 17
205.22–206.11 18
343.17–42 16n23

Eust. in Il. (van der Valk)
1.9–22 299
1.11–16 16
1.27–30 129
1.35–40 32
2.1–4 32
2.18–46 31, 80
2.21 71
2.22–35 160n32
2.28 13
2.43–46 69
3.3–4 111
3.3–8 113
3.13–32 33, 130–131
4.24 294
4.44 149
4.46–5.8 149–50
6.41–44 97
10.20–25 342
11.7–8 130
14.26–44 141
16.7–8 155n21
20.5–21 140–141
20.22–25 133
23.34 117
28.2–7 86–87, 100
40.38–39 92, 104
46.36–44 87n43
47.13–25 87, 100–101
57.24–31 294
81.28–82.22 37
84.17 116
87.7 117

106.36–38 98n81
125.30–33 259
125.39–42 259, 261n34
135.38–40 92–93, 104
150.40–152.25 39
176.23–178.1 26
179.28 26
195.41–196.1 144n49
220.14–17 36
233.41 117
236.15 117
250.21 342
252.27 130
258.1 35n63
263.3–4 117
272.5–9 157
282.2–5 229
335.41–45 268n59
337.39–40 160
337.43–45 94, 105
366.12–13 98n81
381.4–5 27
391.30 156
394.10–13 156
404.6 292–93
407.7–9 271n73
408.34 13
413.14–16 212
428.15–433.32 59–65
432.5–7 204
436.23–24 292
506.6–12 138n31
529.44–530.8 145n51
531.8–10 235
547.2–3 93, 104
550.28–33 144
555.31–6 41
559.42–45 158
574.21–25 94, 105–6
582.15–17 96, 107
612.36–41 38–9
622.3 119
623.13–19 91–92, 103
627.17 119
628.22 122
633.4 118
633.27 118
636.28–29 89, 102
638.40–54 15–16
640.7 121
644.36 121
650.19 120
663.4–6 142
689.54–55 46
689.56–63 48–58
690.4–48 50–3
690.54–64 53–5
715.58–62 229
717.43–44 36
722.58–62 98n81
732.25 93, 105
740.10 235
740.48–50 292
745.52 27
749.10 288
749.26–8 14
757.11 16
757.49 89–90, 103
764.8 117
787.9 236
799.36 116
809.56–62 96–97, 107
816.22 117
817.6–14 50
821.2–5 145n51
830.11–12 290
834.46 116
839.15–17 140n34
858.44–50 316n46
888.53–890.40 56–58
889.38–43 48
901.13–20 274
918.44–45 93, 104
968.49 117
980.38–40 131–32
986.60–991.39 65–68
987.29–33 64–5
988.25–40 65–66
988.30–3 62
988.59–61 67
989.26 61
990.32 66n129
990.41–43 145
991.9–39 68

992.43 90–91, 103
1008.58–1009.6 137–139
1009.24–25 94, 105
1019.58–61 58
1037.55–59 95, 106, 292
1057.45–46 268n59
1069.36–47 134–135
1080.3–8 136
1113.20–24 140n34
1155.19–20 117
1160.16 116
1163.22–23 117
1193.27–29 98, 108
1209.6–9 144n48
1257.53–56 88, 102
1266.2–3 12–13
1267.10–24 37
1276.1–4 29
1276.29–30 291
1289.50 97, 108
1292.61–62 291
1294.18–24 29–30
1294.50–9 28
1296.1–25 40–41
1309.1–3 347
1334.5–6 98n81
1340.13 136–37
1349.40 289
1357.38 117
1362.39–48 28
1362.57–1364.10 43–46
1362.59 27n43

Eust. in Od. (Stallbaum)
1379.7–41 130
1379.42–46 150
1379.46 154n19
1379.47–48 14
1379.60 129
1380.10–11 111
1380.11–13 80n7
1380.13 164n40
1382.20–23 154–55
1382.50–53 58
1383.43–51 136n26
1391.46–48 35
1393.50–51 154
1398.55–1399.10 293
1430.47–52 213
1471.49 154
1483.14–18 154
1549.59–60 216–17
1555.28–31 35–6
1558.26 62n117
1563.49 61
1597.42–1598.9 34
1607.48–53 163
1607.58–60 162–63
1617.61–1618.1 24
1618.31–32 23
1618.32–35 310n14
1633.39–58 25
1634.11–21 276
1658.26–30 70
1658.61–62 291
1665.24 157n27
1666.14 156
1689.15–16 162n37
1704.15–17 162
1706.3–1711.10 22–23
1733.1–23 31
1743.35–9 36
1779.22 162n37
1785.51 156
1809.12 276n80
1862.35 238
1949.15–20 14

Eust. in Pind. (Kambylis)
11.25–12.1 255n13
16.7 et 20.2–3 256n15
38.4 111

Eust. op. min. (Wirth)
or. 7, p. 103.8–15 333
109.38–110.57 340–41
110.66–79 342
112.39–49 343
113.60–114.93 344–46
118.59–73 348
or. Λ, Μ, Ν, Ξ, Ο, Π Wirth 303–5

Eust. Opuscula (Tafel)
1 (Or. praep. in sanctam quadr.)
p. 6.86 233
2 (Or. super Ps. XLVIII) p. 11.92 233
6 (In eum qui papas) pp. 38.57–39.90 249
7 (Ad Is. Angelum) p. 45.68–75 286
13 (De simulatione) pp. 88–98 310n12
14 (Adversus implacabilitatis
accusationem) p. 111.54–56 323n95
17 (S. Philothei Laudatio) *passim* 318
p. 148.38–48 24
18 (Oratio anno auspicando habita)
p. 155.69–73 323n98
19 (Epist. ad Thess.) p. 165.54 231
22 (Oratio ad stylitam quendam
Thessalonicensem)
pp. 182–96 244–49, 310n13
p. 192.83–96 232
23 (Manuelis Comneni imp.
laudatio funebris)
pp. 207.85–208.36 312n21
p. 210.13–19 286

Eust. orat. in sanctam Quadragesimam
(Schönauer)
2.199–200 321n82
5.724–35 311n16

Eustrat. in Arist. Anal. Post. 245.22
Hayduck 111

Euthym. Mal.
Monodia in Eust.
PG 136.757 24
136.760 21, 24
p. 83.1–4 Mponis 248n60
epist. 22 Mponis 268

Geoponica prooem. (pp. 1–3 Beckh) 320n77
10.45–56 321n84
15.1.4 321n81
15.3.10 321n82

Georg. Torn. or. 13.299–332 L. 337n27, 339

German., Hist. myst. Eccl. cath. 19 336

Greg. Cor. Comm. in can. iamb.
pent. *passim* 173–74

Greg.Cypr. paroem.
2.15 233n17
2.96 229n2
3.23 235n20
3.39, 4.86 234n18

Greg. Nyss. vita Mos. 2.189–201 338

Heracl. qu. Hom. 38 57

Hermog. id.
1.1 (217.12–17 Rabe) 249n69
2.1 158
2.3 66
2.9.1 138
Ps.-Hermog. Inv.
3.10.1–3 143
3.15 135n23
Ps.-Hermog. Meth. 12.1 139

Hrd. Cath. pros.
86.12–19 95n72
166.24–167.2 96n76

Hdt. 7.10ε 44

Hes.
Op. 286–92 24n35
Op. 368–69 45
Op. 426 95n72
Op. 741–44 232

Hesych.
ε 1745 291n31
o 926 236n22

Hier. ep. adv. Ruf. 3.39 233

Hom. Il.
1.5 140–42
1.20 86–87n40
1.59 87n43
1.463 93n65
1.508–10 50

1.609–11 63
2.87–93 25–27
2.279–82 36
2.756–59 159
2.758 94n69
2.786–806 42
3.121 42
3.390–447 59–64
3.427 204
3.442–46 64
5.311–17 144
5.385–404 158
5.487 95n72
5.557 96n75
5.835–39 38–9
6.21 91n62
6.130–40 158
6.234–36 15–16
7.6–14 50
7.36–42 142
7.446–65 46–58
9.122 234
12.24–33 56–57
14.225–28 131–32
14.341–43 145
15.121–41 137–39
15.361–66 58
16.433–38 133–35
16.450–58 139–40
16.652–55 135–36
22.395 29
23.109–26 52
23.134–40 28
23.175–76 29
23.193–203 39
24.129 232
24.525–33 43

Hom. Od.
1.58–59 35
2.11 213
6.139–41 35
6.275–85 61
8.63 44
8.329 35
8.492–95 162
8.500–20 162
8.514 163
8.516 163
9.107–15 23–24
9.378 90n55
10.335 96n77
10.458 96–97n77
11.630–35 162
12.1–33 46–58
13.28 93n66
13.88–92 31
13.449–54 89n54
14.228 94
14.315–28 65–67
14.346–51 67–68
14.382 90n57
15.137 94n71
20.12 98n83
22.74 88n49
22.199–201 12–13
22.214–25 37
23.88 97n78
23.193–203 39–41
24.525–33 43–46

Hor. Sat.
1.4.89 235n20
2.3.275 233

Ioannes Sardianus in Aphth.
prog. 23–16–24.22 Rabe 143n43

Ioannes Tzetzes
alleg. Il.
3.82–87 42n75
3.163–71 63n119
12.8–9, 18 57
15.140–41 58
alleg. Od. 5.28–109 132n18
exeg. Il. 27.23–28 H. 153n17
in Lycophr.
p. 5.4–8 260
p. 7.10–12 260n30
mikromeg. Il. 1.323–43 287n12

(Ps.) Long. subl.
9.7 52
9.11–15 161n34

9.15 149
33.2 143

Lucian.
Merc. Cond. 38 233n17
Vera Hist. 2.28 232n15

Macar. paroem.
1.95 229n2
4.27 233n17
5.50 237n24
6.35 236n21

Mantiss. Prov.
1.97 237n24
2.10 232n14

Max. Tyr.
8.5–6 37n67
21.5 152n13

Mazaris 3.130 Boissonade 231

Menandri Monost. 239 et
451 Pernigotti 233n17

Mich. Attal. hist. p. 21.27 Bekker 186

Mich. Chon.
epist.
22.15–19 Kolovou 322n89
30.20–22 323n94
30.47–55 323n93
43.8–13 322n90
156.10–16 322n91
epit. in Neophytum p. 270.30 L. 315n43
monod. in Eust. Thess.
p. 285.25–28 L. 20
p. 286.14–22 21
p. 286.22–24 24
p. 287.9 24
p. 287.22–288.25 21, 69, 114
p. 288.1 170n27
p. 288.25–27 115
p. 289.6–7 249
p. 289.21–28 25
p. 289–90 21
p. 302.6–11 31
p. 303.23–24 31
or. 2 (p. 43.17–44.3 Lampros) 289n22

Mich. Ital. epist. 1,
p. 61.15–17 Gautier 336n22

Mich. Psell. Theol. 2.6 339

Niceph. Greg.
epist. 23.43–59 351
hist.
1.448.18 et 3.402.13 186n40
2.848.10–14 111
9.10.7 231n9

Nic. Chon.
hist.
275–76 van Dieten 303
322.48–50 288
333.55–60 288
540.20–23 289
594.1–5 289n20
351.59–62 287
652.81–83 294

Novum Testam.
Luc. 10.20 343
Ioh. 14.28 304
Ioh. 5.17 317
2 Thess. 3.10 319n69
Hebr. 5.10, 6.20 339

Orion lex.
45.20–21 et 47.23 Sturz 122
152.32–35 120

Paus. Att. α 162, ε 21, λ 9 Erbse 236–37

Philo Alex.
vita Mos. 2.125 338n31
spec. leg. 1.88 338n31

Philoch. *FGrHist* 328F170 234

Phot.
Amphil.
192 335n15
269 338–39
Bibl. 94.75a 112
lex. o 128 Theod. 235n20
o 360 236n22
o 363 236n22; 237n23

Pind.
Ol. 2.82 20
Pyth. 3.80–82 43

Plat.
Crat. 409b-c 257
Protag. 337d 21
resp. 2.377e-78e 33
3.404b-c 288n13
symp. 217e 235n20

Plin. Nat. Hist. 14.28.141 235n20

Plut.
Art. 15.4 235n20
amat. 765d-f 40n72
aud. poet. 15f-16a 32
de E apud Delphos 389a–b 265n51

Pollux Onom. 2.30 291n30

Porph. Vita Plot. 42 232n15

Procl. in Plat. remp.
1.66.7–9 et 73.15–16 Kroll 32
1.81.13–21 Kroll 33

Pythag. fr. 58C6 D.-K. 232–3

Rom. Mel. hymn. 63.13.4–5 M.-T. 335n18

schol. Arat. 30–33bis Martin 112

schol. Aristoph. Ran. 186
(I/a, 32,1–16 Chantry) 237

schol. Dion. Thr., 442.23 Hilg. 112

schol. Eur. Hipp. 237a Cavarz. 111

schol. Hom. Il.
schol. VMK (Ariston., Did., Hrd.)
1.20a[1] and a[2] 86–87, 100
1.59c 87n43
1.298c[1] and c[2] 98n81
2.865 98n81
3.261–62a 211n64
3.395 60
5.557 96, 107
6.199 89, 102
7.443–64a 51
9.378b 89–90, 103
9.668a 87, 101
10.335a 97, 107
10.335b 97, 107
12.148a[1] 96, 107
13.28b 93 and n. 67, 104
14.382d[1] and d[2] 90–91, 103
16.548a 88 and n. 49, 102
20.12b 98 and n. 83, 108
23.88a[1] and a[2] 97, 108
23.870–1a[1] and a[2] 98n81
schol. ex. (bT)
1.59d 87n43
1.463 93, 104
1.611b 63
3.121 42
5.353 41
5.487 95n72, 106
6.12 119
6.35a 91–92, 103
6.35b 91, 103
6.234a 15n17
7.445 53n99
7.451a 54
9.30 132n16
9.668b 87, 101
10.335c[1], c[2] 97, 107
12.3–35 50
12.25 58n110
13.28a[1], a[2] 93 and n. 66, 104
14.315b-c 65, 67
14.347–51 67
14.347 68n131
15.137a[1], a[2] 94, 105

15.487a 94, 106
15.683–84 95–96, 106, 292
16.548b[1], b[2] 88, 102
22.395a[2] 29
23.126b 132n16
23.206a-b 41
24.526 44
24.765a[1] 87, 101
24.765b 87, 101–102
24.804a 160–1
schol. D
1.50 92, 104
1.59e 87n43
2.758 94, 105
5.385 34n58
6.35 91–92, 103–4
9.378 90, 103
10.335 97, 108
14.382 90n57

schol. Hom. Od.
1.284c (Porph.) 153
1.332a (Porph.) 216
2.11b 213
3.411a 216
4.69b 160n33

schol. Plat. Symp. 217e 235n20

schol. Thuc. 1.97.2.3 112

Scylitzes Mich. 3.21
(p. 109.25–110.32 Th.) 336n23

Sopater in Hermog. status 5.72.6
et 196.29 Walz 152

Sophocles
Ai. 665 233
Oed. Tyr. 130 269n65
Trach. 1168 267n58
fr. 877 Radt 237

Suda
α 519, 1144, ε 4029 233n17
α 1002 238
δ 1029 257n21
δ 1447 268n62
ι 467 253n4
λ 827 255n11
ο 399 236n22, 237n23
σ 3083 269n65
οι 134 235n20

SGO 06/02/18 55

Theocr. 29.1 235n20

Theodoret. Cyr.
qu. in libros Regn. et Paralip.
(PG 80.308–9) 335n14
qu. in Octat. 60 (p. 143.24–144.24
F.M. / S.B.) 335n13

Theodor. Metoch. Sem. gnom.
1.6–9, pp. 22–24 Hulst 349–50
9, pp. 88–95 Hulst 350

Theodor. Prodr. Comm. in Carmina
sacra prooem. 1.3 Stev.-Pitra 174n46

Theognis
237–54 55
500 234

Theoph. Cont. Chron. 244.9 336n23

Theoph. Symoc. Hist. 7.15.11 233n17

Thuc. 1.5–6 286

Verg. Aen.
2.49 233n17
4.174–77 43
8.461–62 214

Vetus Testam.
Gen. 3.19 318
Exodus 28 332–44
Eccl. 1.8–11 346
Prov. 27.6 233n17
Tob. 6.1 214

vit. Hom. 6 (p. 251.18–26 Allen) 292

Xen. Symp. 2.18 60n113

Zenob. vulg.
3.2 et 4.27 229n2
4.4 233n17
4.5 235n20
5.38 236n21
6.48 234n18