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The Epitaphios for Manuel I Komnenos
by Eustathios of Thessalonike

EMMANUEL C. BOURBOUHAKIS



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a Sara e Penelope

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
Byz. Forsch. = Byzantinische Forschungen
BMGS = Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
CFHB = Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CPG = F.G. Schneidewin and E.L. von Leutsch, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vols. I-II, (Göttingen, 1839; repr. Hildesheim, 1965).
Diels-Kranz = H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1, 6th edn. (Berlin, 1951).
DOP = Dumbarton Oaks Papers
GRBS = Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
Jannaris = A.N. Jannaris, *An historical Greek grammar chiefly of the Attic dialect as written and spoken from classical antiquity down to the present time, founded upon the ancient texts, inscriptions, papyri and present popular Greek* (New York, 1897).
JÖB = Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik
OCD = Oxford Classical Dictionary
ODB = Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
PG = Patrologia graeca
REB = Revue des études byzantines
Smyth = H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. by G.M. Messing (Cambridge, MA, 1956).

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- Exeg. in can. iamb.* = *Eustathii thessalonicensis Exegesis in Canonem iambicum pentacostolem*, eds. P. Cesaretti, S. Ronchey (Boston, 2014).
- De capta Thess.* = *Eustazio di Tessalonica. La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, ed. S. Kyriakidis (Palermo, 1961).
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- Opusc.* = *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula*, ed. G. Tafel (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1832).
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Prolegomena

Shortly after beginning his highly evocative and personal narrative of the siege and conquest of Thessalonike in 1185 by the Norman armies of William II, Eustathios, the city's stalwart bishop, hearkened back to the fateful death of emperor Manuel I Komnenos a few years earlier as the true start of the calamity which would befall the empire's second largest city and even threaten the capital itself:

Μέλλον εἶναι φαίνεται, καθὰ θεῶ εὐηρέστητο, πεσόντι τῷ Κομνηνῷ βασιλεῖ Μανουῆλ συγκαταπεσεῖν καὶ εἴ τι ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ὄρθιον καὶ ὡς οἶα ἡλίου ἐκείνου ἐπιλιπόντος ἀμαυρὰν γενέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς. Οὐκοῦν ἀπήλθεν ἐκεῖνος ἔνθα ἔχρην, διαδοχὴν ἀφείς γένους οὐχ οἶαν ἔχρην. Παῖδα γὰρ μικρόν τι παρηλλαχότα τὸν παναφήλικα, μὴ ὅτι γε βασιλείας μεγίστης κρατεῖν οὐκ ἔχοντα δι' ἑαυτοῦ.¹

It seems fated, in accordance with God's wishes, that if it remained standing among the Romans it should collapse together with the demise of the emperor Manuel Komnenos and that like the sun, his departure would leave our empire in darkness. And so that man left for the place he had to go to, leaving as successor to his line one unsuited to the task. For his son had only just passed the stage of childhood, he was simply not going to be able to rule over a large empire on his own.

Few modern historians today would dispute Eustathios' claim that Manuel's sudden death ushered in a period of political instability and vulnerability such as the empire had not known in the century since Manuel's grandfather, Alexios I, brought Byzantium back from the brink in the late eleventh century. Manuel had left behind an heir too young to rule and a foreign-born dowager empress unable to exercise effective authority. The situation would soon be exploited by various factions at court and, unsurprisingly, by the empire's rivals, who saw the vacuum of leadership as an opportunity to wrest territory and concessions.²

Yet even as he composed those lines about the empire's tragic plight, Eustathios may have experienced a twinge of irony at his retrospective. He himself had stood before Manuel's tomb at the funerary ceremony and delivered a long, ennobling eulogy, extolling Manuel's exemplary governance of the empire and providing assurances about the regency of his widow, Maria, who had assumed

¹ *De capta Thess.* 18.13–18. For the political divisions which ensued as a result of internal feuding over control of the imperial reins, see 18.13–28, 28–20.4, 20.4–22.21, 22.22–24.11, 24.15–31, 24.32–28.14, 28.15–22, 28.23–30.

² Sensing vulnerability in the absence of a warrior-emperor able to take the field, the empire's rivals to the north and the east, king Béla III of Hungary and the Seljuk ruler Kiliç Arslan II, both invaded. Meanwhile additional concessions to Italian merchants and benefits to members of the aristocracy in exchange for their support further alienated critics of the regency.

power in the name of Manuel's young son, Alexios II. Now, just five years later, contemplating the ruinous state of Thessalonike and the murderously vengeful politics besetting Constantinople, Eustathios could look back with candor and tacitly confess that his necessarily optimistic assessment at the time could not have been wider of the mark. We will never know what Eustathios' true estimate of the regency may have been at the time. One detects a strain of apprehension alongside the sense of mourning, almost of an emerging realization that with Manuel's death an age had likely come to an end. In principle, the regency held out the promise – later judged an illusion – of extending the long Komnenian century, then just one year shy of celebrating its centenary. But Eustathios' recollection of a fatalism settling in over the court is probably accurate. The regency was too vulnerable to last, and most of those who might have provided it the necessary support had their own designs on the throne.

Eustathios would not have been alone in his dire estimate of the regency's chances. A good rhetorician anticipated the mind and mood of his audience. If funerary oratory was bound by certain conventions, its infrequent performance at court (the last one would have been more than two generations before) left the rhetor some leeway to frame his subject. As I note in the introduction, Eustathios chose to compose an ἐπιτάφιος instead of a μνησθία. The former could accommodate an unsentimental survey of imperial conduct and policies, without the lyrical but ultimately distracting pathos of the latter. His attachment to Manuel's court was such that Eustathios was inclined to look back at the emperor's reign as a time of prosperity and relative security. But he was also not without regard for the future and one may discern throughout the Ἐπιτάφιος unobtrusive normative formulations whose lesson transcends the longing for the deceased emperor and furnishes a perceptible template for prudent governance of the empire. Consolation had to be sought in an ideal of imperial governance.

Manuel I Komnenos died on 24 September, 1180. The historian Nicetas Choniates, who gives the fullest and most dramatic account of Manuel's final hours, describes how unprepared those in attendance at his bedside were for his rapid demise and sudden death. It seems the emperor had been sick for months, but his confidence in his own diagnostic skills combined with the credence he placed in optimistic astrological forecasts about his recovery – both cast in doubt by the historian – prevented Manuel from making adequate arrangements for the succession.³ Once he became resigned to his impending death (though

³ *Hist.* 220.10–18. The reference to an additional fourteen years of life may be real, or simply Nicetas' way of illustrating the preposterousness of the astrologers' claims as well as Manuel's own credulity.

not before he had tried a series of improbable cures), Manuel made hasty provisions for his soul, asking to take the monastic habit, a common practice in Byzantium but rendered slightly farcical by the last minute scramble of his attendants to find something akin to monastic garb to dress him in.⁴ Clothed in a commoner's ill-fitting tunic, according to Choniates, Manuel died shortly thereafter, prompting those present to reflect on the frailty of the human condition as they regarded the half-naked emperor. Nicetas' bathetic scene was intended as a poignantly pitiable coda to Manuel's long and much celebrated reign. It also stood metonymically for the wider unpreparedness of the imperial court and the capital for what might follow.

As Eustathios would note later, Manuel had had a hand in this lack of planning. Eustathios had to address the paradox of a self-styled medical expert's failure to take sufficient note of his own failing health. This was all the more striking, Eustathios points out in the *Ἐπιτάφιος*, given the emperor's accurate diagnosis and therapeutic prescriptions for others suffering from the same disease:

ὄσοι πρὸς βασιλικὴν ἐξικνοῦντο θέαν, ὁμοίῳ πάθει προστετηκότα, μεθόδοις ἐνήγη θεραπευτικαῖς προμηθέστατα. Καὶ ἐμέμφετο μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οἷς ἑαυτοῦ ἀμελῆς ἐξέπιπτε· κατήρτιζε δὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν. Εἰ δὲ οὕτω μὲν ἀπώνατο καὶ περίεστι, ὁ δὲ καθηγεμῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀπελήλυθεν, ἕτερος τις θαυμάσειεν. (*Ἐπιτάφιος*, 43)⁵

And when he saw anyone who had an audience with him and suffering from the same illness, he would take the greatest care to instruct him how to treat the disease. And he criticized any man who recklessly neglected himself, while he instructed him how to restore himself to health. One may wonder, however, how it was that one man flourished and survived, while he who brought about the cure died.

In a bid to deflect attention from Manuel's apparent inability to face his own mortality and perform one of the most decisive functions of an emperor, namely, to make provisions for his succession, Eustathios concentrated on resolving the apparent inconsistency of Manuel's medical skill and his failure to foresee his own demise. Yet Eustathios could not lament Manuel's inadequate planning, not yet at least. The future of the imperial throne was in the audience before him, in the persons of the deceased emperor's young son and widow, who was governing in league with a regency council of courtiers, also in all likelihood in the audience during the funeral oration. Years later, Eustathios could look back and describe the precariousness of this ill-fated governing arrangement.⁶ At the

⁴ *Hist.* 221.52–222.64.

⁵ Henceforward *Ἐπ.*

⁶ Nicetas Choniates records the birth of a monstrous child which was seen by some as confirmation of unholy portents of "polyarchia...mother of anarchy" following Manuel's death. See *Hist.* 225.50–55: Καὶ οὕτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὴν πάσης ὄντα συγχύσεως καὶ παντοῦ χειμῶνος ἐμπλεα, καὶ

time, however, the Ἐπιτάφιος was intended, among other things, to shore up support for the regency by citing Maria/Xene's long apprenticeship in governance at Manuel's side, a fairly novel argument, as far as I can tell.⁷ Few seem to have paid much heed in any case. The regency's days were numbered, as were those of Manuel's young son.

Even if Eustathios had seen the coming disaster, as he later would claim, possibly in a bid to distance himself from the failed regency, a funeral oration was simply not the occasion for direct pronouncements about the current crisis at court. By the time he came to write the dirge-like *Conquest of Thessalonike* nearly five years later, the short-lived political stability of the weeks and months following Manuel's death must have seemed like the proverbial calm before the storm. But a funeral oration for an emperor differed from those for other individuals in as much as it had to express confidence about the future, even before an audience as aware of the truth as Eustathios was. Those left behind became more than keepers of the deceased's memory. They had to rule in Manuel's name, in the shadow of his legacy, which also served as the source of their own legitimacy. Eustathios understood this and decided to exploit the occasion to illustrate effective and benevolent rule, at times perhaps bending or exaggerating the historical record of Manuel's reign in the service of an ideal now more than ever worth rehearsing. The encomiastic premise of a funeral oration gave him license to do this, and the audience no doubt perceived this sanctioned distortion of reality. As Eustathios acknowledges in the course of the oration, there were many in the audience with direct experience of Manuel's reign, each one of whom could have "composed his own eulogy"; by which Eustathios ostensibly meant that each man could think of more reasons to praise the deceased

τὸ τοῦ μυθικοῦ δράκοντος πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς ὀρώμενον ἦν, ὃς κακῶς διειθθετο κωφῶ καὶ τυφλῶ μέρει τῶ οὐραίῳ διεξαγόμενος. ἢ τὸ τέρας πέρας ἐλάμβανεν, ὃ τὸν βίον τελευτῶντος ἐπεφάνη τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουήλ· γυνὴ γάρ τις κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα λαχοῦσα τὴν οἰκισιν παιδίον ἀπέτεκεν ἄρρεν, τὸν μὲν λοιπὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξηρθρωμένον καὶ λίαν βραχυμερέστατον, τὴν δὲ γε κεφαλὴν χρῆμά τι ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀνέχον μέγα τε καὶ ἐξαισίον, ὃ καὶ συλλελόγιστο πολυαρχίας εἶναι σημαντικόν, ἥτις μήτηρ ἀναρχίας ἐστίν.

⁷ It would have been hard for any woman to rule in the name of an imperial heir not yet of age without support from either a male relative of her own or one from her husband's family. Maria opted for the latter since as a foreign-born wife she had no immediate relatives to call on for protection. This in turn brought to a boil the simmering rivalries among some in the Komnenian clan who saw an opportunity to gain control of the throne, either directly or through the regency. For a detailed chronicle of the regency and the events leading to its collapse, see C. Cupane, "La 'guerra civile' della primavera 1181 nel racconto di Niceta Coniata e Eustazio di Tessalonica: narratologia historiae ancilla?" *JÖB* 47 (1997) 179–194. For a divergent reading, cf. J.-L. van Dieten, "Eustathios von Thessaloniki und Niketas Choniates über das Geschehen im Jahre nach dem Tod Manuels I. Komnenos," *JÖB* 49 (1999) 101–112. On the composition and functioning of the regency, see the account in *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo*, trans. M. Mossa (Teaneck NJ, 2014) III 381; cf. C. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West 1180–1204* (Cambridge, MA, 1968) 28–29.

emperor, though it is also an indirect acknowledgement that individual memory retained its independence from official oratory.⁸ Eustathios, I argue, harnessed an idealized conception of Manuel's reign to an understated yet discernible par-aenetic purpose. It is for this reason that the Ἐπιτάφιος at times reads like an extended secular sermon on good governance.

Although he makes no reference to it in the oration, at the time he delivered the Ἐπιτάφιος, Eustathios was already bishop of Thessalonike.⁹ He very likely travelled to Constantinople expressly for the purpose of delivering the eulogy for Manuel I, his long-time patron.¹⁰ Arguably secure on his ecclesiastical perch, Eustathios had little need of performing to secure commissions, and certainly not in order to exhibit his skill as an orator. His reputation as a virtuoso rhetor had by then been established. Perhaps for that reason, he reminds those gathered at Manuel's tomb, that he almost did not compose the Ἐπιτάφιος. He would have been content to observe the passing of the emperor in silent albeit tearful mourning, he tells the audience of the Ἐπιτάφιος, by way perhaps of a *captatio benevolentiae*, lest anyone assume that Eustathios' decision to deliver one last oration for Manuel was motivated by ambition. Yet he all but admits to being impelled by a sense of duty, joined to some professional pride. We may wonder whether this could have been more than a mere rhetorical ploy. Perhaps because he no longer needed to prove his worth as an orator, Eustathios could also afford to be unusually frank about what prompted him to compose the Ἐπιτάφιος, among his most accomplished long form texts.

No one, he insisted, had ever surpassed him in praise of Manuel. "Whenever the occasion presented itself," he tells the audience of the funeral oration, "I never shrank from delivering the greatest possible praises."¹¹ This was not an altogether implausible claim. Eustathios' are unquestionably the most rhetori-

⁸ For the view that a discreet form of *Kaiserkritik* was introduced through praise of qualities which the audience would have found all too obviously wanting in the emperor, see H. G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich, 1978) 83; as well as P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993) 416–17; G. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric Under Christian Emperors* (Princeton, 1983) 25. Manuel's temper may well have been one such example of conspicuous praise. See the commentary Ἐπ. 26–28.

⁹ For the likely date of Eustathios' appointment to the bishopric of Thessalonike, see P. Wirth, "Zur Frage nach dem Beginn des Episkopats des Eustathios von Thessalonike," *JÖB* 16 (1967) 143–146; cf. A. Kazhdan, S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Cambridge, 1984) 123–124.

¹⁰ It is also possible that the funeral ceremony coincides with one of Eustathios' prolonged absences from his bishopric following troubles with his Thessalonican flock. For Eustathios' difficulties during his bishopric, see M. Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995) 505–514.

¹¹ Ἐπ. 2: "Ὅποι γάρ ποτε παρήκοι, οὐδ' ἡμᾶς ὁ χρόνος εὔρεν ὀκνοῦντας τὰ δυνατὰ ἐγκώμια.

cally ambitious and learned of the surviving court orations dedicated to Manuel, reflecting his experience as a teacher of advanced composition and literature to the capital's élite.¹² It seems he was determined not to be outdone on this, the final opportunity to celebrate Manuel's legacy. Moreover, he adds, broaching the delicate subject of the rhetor's suspect sincerity, failure to praise Manuel in death might have invited accusations of sycophancy while Manuel was alive:

Εἶη δὲ ἂν πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, περιόντος μὲν τῷ βίῳ μὴ διεκπίπτειν εἰσάγαν τοῦ ἐν λόγοις προθυμείσθαι, ἀπελθόντος δέ, ὅπου τὰ κρείττονα, κατόπιν τῆς παλαιᾶς προθυμίας ἐλθεῖν, ἐνθα καὶ μάλιστα χρεῶν ταύτης. Ζώντων μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστροφους εἶναι, ὑποπτος ἢ χάρις, διὰ τὴν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αἰδῶ· ἀπεληλυθότων δέ, ἀλλὰ τότε τὸ εὐγνωμον εἰς ἀληθὲς διεκφαίνεται. (Ἐπ. 3)

And it would be the most paradoxical thing of all, to be exceedingly willing to draw up speeches while the emperor was alive, but now that he has departed to a higher sovereign plane to fall short of that old readiness, at that very moment when it is most needed. For favour is suspect when men are in the company of the living on account of the regard they show in the presence of one another. Their favourable opinion reveals itself as genuine only once they have departed.

The need for rulers to guard against sycophants was a familiar *topos* of Greek didactic literature dating back to Hellenistic times. But the author's self-interest and a genuine attachment to Manuel need not have been mutually exclusive. No less an expert on the unprecedented panegyric literature on Manuel than P. Magdalino has concluded that "Eustathios was not just doing his rhetorical duty by Manuel ... that he was inspired by the man rather than by the symbolism of an image is most apparent from the funeral oration which he delivered at the emperor's tomb."¹³ Magdalino singled out the Ἐπιτάφιος to illustrate Eustathios' heartfelt admiration of Manuel's rule because the funeral oration's contents, as well as the care with which it was composed were not accounted for by panegyric convention alone. Eustathios, Magdalino argues, was moved to "draw a recognizable and sympathetic human portrait" of Manuel.¹⁴ His verdict is shared by scholars who suppose that Eustathios was bound to Manuel by more than the

¹² Apart from the standard βασιλικοὶ λόγοι, Eustathios delivered orations before the emperor on various special occasions, such as the arrival of Louis VII's young daughter, Agnes, as bride to Manuel's equally young son Alexios II, for which he composed a λόγος ἐπιβατήριος (*Or.* 15 [Λόγος Ε]) or when he was granted leave to deliver a petition (δέησις) before the emperor asking for repairs to the city's water supply in order to alleviate the consequences of a prolonged drought (*Or.* 17 [Λόγος Π]). One should add to these orations addressed to the patriarch but likely attended by Manuel, who comes in for praise in many of them: e.g., *Or.* 7 (Λόγος Ζ) 107.60sq. There may well have been more besides over the course of nearly four decades.

¹³ Magdalino, *Empire*, 486.

¹⁴ *Idem* 488, n. 254.

deference due an emperor and patron; that he felt the attachment of friendship.¹⁵ None of this cancels out the reasons Eustathios himself expresses for composing the funeral oration, namely, an abiding sense of obligation to the now deceased emperor, together with a vehement sense of rivalry among his peers.

As to the self-interest, there is no question but that Eustathios' prospered as an orator and teacher under Komnenian patrons, and especially under Manuel. It is tempting to conclude that he had been made bishop of Thessalonike as a reward for his long service to Manuel's court, eloquently articulating the desired "image" of the emperor. That, however, would be to reduce needlessly the mutual dependency of ruler and rhetor to a *quid pro quo* calculus. Besides being too cynical, such a conclusion is likely to be politically unrealistic. The bishopric of a city as important as Thessalonike was too big a "quid" for the relatively modest "quo" of court panegyric. Like most of the rhetors who went on to hold bishoprics after long careers of teaching and authoring panegyric orations for the emperor and élites, Eustathios more likely earned the trust of Manuel's court and was appointed bishop of this important and sometimes insubordinate city because his career demonstrated his capacity to command respect from both lay and clerical officials. Of course rhetors claimed that the honour of pronouncing imperial panegyric was payment enough. Theophylact of Ochrid, in an oration addressed to Manuel's grandfather, Alexios I Komnenos, describes as sufficient reward the mere good fortune of being given a chance to praise the sitting emperor:

Ἐμελλον δὲ ἄρα, ὡσπερ τῶν πράξεών σου χρηστὰ ἀπελαύσαμεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι λόγων οὐ μικρὸν ὄνασθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ γὰρ τὸ μέρος ἀγαθὸν νομιζόμεθα ὅτι τοῖς σοῖς ἐπαίνοις τὴν γλῶτταν ἀπεκλήρωσαμεν τήμερον.¹⁶

Just as we have enjoyed the benefit of your worthwhile actions, so were we bound to profit considerably from the speeches about your actions, since for our part we deem our lot to be fortunate in as much as it has fallen to us to sing your praises.

Theophylact no doubt expected some more tangible benefit. But he was not being disingenuous in describing his good fortune in simply being selected. Imperial panegyric afforded the professional rhetor a prestigious venue to showcase his talents.¹⁷ Those talents were deemed indispensable to the duties of the much

¹⁵ P. A. Agapitos, "Mischung der Gattungen und Überschreitung der Gesetze: Die Grabrede des Eustathios von Thessalonike auf Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites, *JÖB* 48 (1998) 119–146, 142, citing Kazhdan, *Studies*, 156–161.

¹⁶ Λόγος εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κύριον Ἀλέξιον τὸν Κομνηνόν 215.15–18.

¹⁷ F. W. Norris considers the nature of encomium as a function of its contribution to the encomiast's standing in "Your honor, my reputation: St. Gregory of Nazianzus's funeral oration on St. Basil the

coveted posts sought by highly educated men. There was a kind of administrative, almost professional logic to appointing highly articulate individuals of wide learning to bishoprics and similarly influential positions within the state administration.¹⁸ Theophylact was eventually made bishop of Ochrid, in the restive Balkans, from where he put his rhetorical talent to work on behalf of his flock, thereby consolidating the empire's position there.

The recurring trope of reciprocity between rhetor and emperor bore significance, especially during the Komnenian age, which can only be rivalled by the later Roman empire and before that archaic Greece for the value it placed on praise of rulers. Manuel even inherited his father, John II's, panegyricists, as an early poem attributed in the Mss. to the court poet Theodore Prodromos, demonstrates:¹⁹

γίνωσκε, θεῖε βασιλεῦ, περὶ τοῦ σοῦ Προδρόμου,
 ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο ποτὲ δούλος πολλῶν κυρίων,
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πολυδέσποτος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χορογράφης,
 οὐδ' εἰς αὐλὰς ἐσέβηκα τοῦ δεινός καὶ τοῦ δεινός,
 ...
 ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς βρεφικῆς καὶ πρώτης ἡλικίας,
 μίαν αὐλήν ἐγνώρισα καὶ ἕναν αὐθέντην ἔσχον

The Prodromos figure of this poem emphasizes that he had been on a virtual retainer to Manuel's father and mother. In return, Prodromos had not sought out other patrons for his talents. The emperor was thus assured of exclusive rights to the poet's skill in praise. Praise was a political commodity in twelfth-century Byzantium. One way to read Manuel's large number of panegyrics is as an attempt to buy up as much of the available praise as possible, to corner the market on acclaim, as it were.

An orator as skilled as Eustathios was valuable to Manuel. Besides being a virtuoso rhetor, however, Eustathios was also a peerless scholar of ancient literature and among the most learned men in all of Byzantine history. His immense erudition was widely respected and he appears to have been a much sought

Great," *Greek biography and panegyric in late antiquity*, eds. T. Hägg, P. Rousseau (2000) 140–159. Some of Norris' conclusions about the literary character of Gregory's praise for his deceased friend hold true for post-classical funerary oratory more generally.

¹⁸ On the prevalence during this period of a career as διδάσκαλος in either a private or 'public' capacity at a state or church sponsored school, combined with service as orator at court as preliminary to appointment as bishop, see Angold, *Church and society*, 96; cf. Kazhdan, *Studies*, 121–124. The cursus honorum, so to speak, for western bishops was often not that different.

¹⁹ For this text of Prodromos, see A. Majuri, "Una nuova poesia di Teodoro Prodromo in greco vulgare," *BZ* 23 (1920) 397–407. Should we read in these verses an oblique reminder of the poet's loyalty and the implicit caution that without continued support, he might have to look for other patrons, including rivals to the throne?

teacher among the capital's élite.²⁰ Due, in part, to his wide learning, but quite possibly to his temperament as well, Eustathios seems to have earned the emperor's respect as a man of intellect and integrity. At least this is how I interpret Eustathios' continued success and promotion, despite his sometimes vocal dissent from positions taken by Manuel.²¹

Further evidence for this bond of reciprocity and trust between rhetor and ruler may be seen in an oration of the mid 1170s, probably among the last, and certainly among the longest, recited by Eustathios before Manuel. On this occasion Eustathios appears to have made use of the opportunity to respectfully turn down the bishopric of Myra.²² His appointment not long after to the much more coveted bishopric of Thessalonike vindicated Eustathios' decision to hold out for a more prestigious ecclesiastical posting. The surprising initial refusal of a more modest bishopric may be interpreted as proof that Eustathios could presume on the emperor's good will, as well as his own sense of worth. Near the start of the 1176 oration, Eustathios provides some background to his long history of service to Manuel. He recalls that his own career as an orator at court began in tandem with that of Manuel's rise to the throne:

For I would be doing the Graces an injustice, if looking upon me with such cheer and smiling sweetly they lavishly bestowed such precious rewards for that imperial inauguration long ago... when I was still but a child and had barely grown my first downy whiskers, [Rhetoric, my beloved nurse] appointed me imperial orator at that time when God first sat you on this imperial summit... I become that youth of old, the one who greeted your rule with inaugural speeches and I will feel this gratitude for the rest of my life, even if, just as I was then a faltering speaker unworthy of that occasion, so now my voice trembles with old age; otherwise what ingratitude I would be accused of if I kept my tongue locked up to the one who opened my mouth that I might speak and earn a living? Indeed most benevolent emperor, you have raised me from a life of slimy affairs into a gleaming purity, transforming my life from one of mire into that of richly rewarding Paktolos and you have

²⁰ A profile of Eustathios' teaching activity remains a *desideratum*. I have been at work on filling this lacuna.

²¹ Eustathios had not shrank from criticizing imperial initiatives surrounding a more accommodating form of conversion from Islam; or demurred from criticizing Christological formulas intended to bring about a measure of reconciliation between Orthodoxy and Catholicism; nor, finally, did he disguise his skepticism about astrology, by which Manuel set a great deal of store, trusting in it even more than he did in medicine, as Nicetas Choniates recounts.

²² The classification and dating of this oration as having been composed for Epiphany in 1176 was suggested by Magdalino, *Empire*, 457. The mention of the River Jordan has displaced that of St. Nicholas as the primary evidence for deducing the occasion. For the formalization of the assignment of the Epiphany oration to the *μαίσιτωρ τῶν ῥητόρων*, see Magdalino, *Empire*, 426–427; cf. A. Stone, "A funeral oration of Eustathios of Thessalonike for Manuel I Komnenos," *Balkan studies* 41 (2000) 239–273.

substituted the chatter of the marketplace into a lively nobility, raising me from a mundane to a lofty speaker.²³

Eustathios credits the emperor for his rise out of the “mire” of economic insecurity as a teacher and scribe in the patriarchal chancery. Gratitude is not Eustathios’ only point here, however. It is also a reminder of his rôle in the legitimizing ceremonies of Manuel’s inauguration: a talented but untried young rhetor commissioned to acclaim a fledgling emperor.²⁴ We are reminded of Pindar’s dual emphasis on the co-dependence of victor and victory ode (standing in for the poet). The panegyrist’s perspective was not lost on Eustathios, as his own profile of Pindar makes clear.²⁵ Manuel had given Eustathios his big break at court. Although it would take time, Eustathios would become his principal court orator, eventually assuming the chair of rhetorical instruction, the much prized post of μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων.²⁶ It was only fitting then that having inaugurated Manuel’s rise to the throne, Eustathios should have also been the one to place the rhetorical capstone on his long reign.

The Ἐπιτάφιος reads in many respects as an extension of Eustathios’ earlier panegyrics for Manuel. More than a few passages are patently adapted from earlier orations. The frequent appearance in the *apparatus parallelorum* of citations closely resembling the text of his earlier speeches shows Eustathios drawing heavily from his own repertoire. Such reuse speaks simultaneously to the method of composition and to the near ritual continuity of motifs of court panegyric. Moreover, it suggests that he considered the Ἐπιτάφιος as forming a rhetorical

²³ Or. 13 (Λόγος Μ) 203.37–204.60: ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἀδικοῖην τὰς Χάριτας, ἐὰν αὐταὶ μὲν ἰλαρὸν οὕτω προσέβλεψαν καὶ γλυκὺ μοι προσεμεΐδισαν καὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλικῶν ἐκείνων ἐγκαινίων ἀμοιβὰς πολυτίμους ἐδαψιλεύσαντο... ἔτι παιδᾶ με ὄντα καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς Ἴουλον ἀρτιφυῆ λασιούμενον ῥήτορα βασιλικὸν παρεστήσατο, ἠνίκα θεὸς τὰ πρῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ταύτης ἐκάθισέ σε περιωπῆς... γένομαι ὁ παῖς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πάλαι, ὁ τότε σοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγκαινίους λόγων δεξιωσάμενος καὶ μενῶ ἐν τῇ εὐγνωμοσύνῃ ταύτῃ διὰ βίου παντός, εἰ καί, ὡσπερ τότε τὰ εἰς ῥητορείαν ψελίζων καὶ οὐ πρὸς ἀξίαν τῆς ἑορτῆς, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τῷ γήρᾳ τρομαλέα φθεγγόμενος· ἢ ποίας οὐκ ἂν κριθεῖν ἄγνωμοσύνης τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐγκλείσας τῷ ἔξανοῖξαντί μοι τὸ στόμα καὶ λαλεῖν καὶ τρέφεσθαι; ναὶ γάρ, ὦ βασιλέων ἐνεργητικώτατε, σὺ με καὶ ἀπὸ ἰλῶος πραγμάτων εἰς λάμπουσαν μετήνεγκας καθαρότητα, καὶ ἡμειψάς μοι τὸν τοῦ βίου πηλὸν εἰς πλουτοποιὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ τὴν ἀγοραῖαν στωμιλίαν εἰς εὐγενῆ λαμυρίαν μετέθηκας καὶ γῆθεν λαλοῦντά με πρὸς μετέωρον ὕψωσας.

²⁴ Strictly speaking, there were no coronation speeches in Byzantium, although βασιλικοὶ λόγοι seem to have performed an equivalent function: cf. A. Giannouli, “Coronation speeches in the Palaiologan period,” *Court ceremonies and rituals of power in Byzantium and the medieval Mediterranean: comparative perspectives*, eds. A. Beihammer et al. (Leiden, 2013) 203–226. The earliest surviving oration for Manuel I is by Michael Italikos, composed, though its editor thinks perhaps never delivered, in 1143, shortly after Manuel’s rise to the throne. See *Michel Italikos, lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gautier [Archives de l’orient chrétien 14] (Paris, 1972) 276–294, n. 1.

²⁵ *Pro. ad Pi.*

²⁶ On the history and duties of this office, see Magdalino, *Empire*, 326–327, 426–427; cf. R. Browning, “The Patriarchal School at Constantinople,” *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 167–201, 169, 178; cf. Angold, *Church and society*, 426–427.

unity with its panegyrical forerunners, a kind of coda to his years of praise of the emperor who had reigned for most of his life. Still, the repetition, if not wholesale borrowing from one oration into another calls for some explanation. Despite our increasing respect for the ‘alterity’ of medieval culture, the predilection not just of authors but audiences as well for reiteration and recurrence of motifs, *topoi*, phrasing, etc., continues to vex our efforts to establish an aesthetic rationale for Byzantine literature. Modern scholarship has sometimes formulated this question as the dilemma of “originality” in Byzantine literature.²⁷ Reflecting on his career as an orator, Eustathios obliquely addressed the question of forging a permanent rhetorical ‘stamp’ of the emperor’s image:

According to Solon’s law, it was wrong for a ringmaker to preserve the mould of a signet ring which he had already sold. He should destroy it and not use it to make a second copy. In the case of an emperor’s holy actions, on the other hand, one must always recall these and preserve them forever as one does those of God by means of a brilliant seal. And one should display them to all and recount these same actions as often as one can. Accordingly then, as far as I was able to produce eloquent speeches, I also described the emperor’s courage, the ardour of his audacity, his singular and truly extraordinary bravery, the extent of his valour.²⁸

Unlike the ancient signet ring-maker required by Solon’s law to discard the cast of any seal he manufactured, the Byzantine orator, Eustathios argues, must forever preserve the brilliant impression of the emperor’s deeds he had crafted in flowing speech.²⁹ Besides raising significant questions about an implied concept of representation and the shifting relation of the word to the world, Eustathios’ characteristically learned simile provides a highly revealing rationale for what we still regard as rhetorically conditioned repetition. The image of the seal also helps to broach such features of imperial oratory as have earned the genre a reputation for irremediably clichéd, formulaic, or predictably commonplace and hackneyed language effectively hollowed out of any but the most platitudinous meaning; in short, all the shortcomings we associate with rhetoric.

The challenge of evaluating, in the broadest sense, a text like the Ἐπιτάφιος, stems in large part from the abidingly unfavourable qualities ascribed to rhetoric

²⁷ *Originality in Byzantine literature, art and music: a collection of essays*, ed. A.R. Littlewood (Oxford, 1995), see esp. the section on literature, 17–100.

²⁸ Or. 16 (Λόγος Ο) 266.82–91: Δακτυλιολύφω μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σόλωνος νομοθεσίαν οὐκ ἂν εἶη καλὸν ἐν ἀποθέτῳ ἔχειν δακτυλίου σφραγίδα, ὃν φθάσας ἐξέδοτο, ἀλλ’ ἐξαφανίζειν καὶ μὴ ἄγειν εἰς τύπωμα δεύτερον, βασιλικῶν δὲ θείων πράξεων αἰεὶ μεμνήσθαι χρεῶν καθὰ καὶ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάττειν διὰ παντὸς αὐτὰς εἰς σφραγίδα χαρακτηριστὸς λαμπροῦ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας προάγειν καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνάγκη συχνὰ ἴεσθαι, εἰ δὴ τις δύναιτο· καὶ τοίνυν καὶ αὐτός, εἴπερ εἶχον ἐν λόγοις εὐροεῖν, περιηγησάμην ἂν τὸ βασιλικὸν εὐτολμον, τὸ τοῦ θράσους ἐνθερμον, τὸ ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ μονήρες καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐξάαιρετον, τὸ γενναῖον ἐξαλμα.

²⁹ *Lex Solonis* (ap. Diog. Laert. *Vitae phil.*) 1.57: δακτυλιολύφω μὴ εἰξείναι σφραγίδα φυλάττειν.

and the restrictive effect it is thought to have had on the authorial imagination and on intellectual life more broadly in Byzantium. Thus G. Kustas, who is rightly thought to represent a more sympathetic assessment of Byzantine rhetoric, concludes that “Byzantium bestowed upon the art of rhetoric an authority to define its intellectual and spiritual vision which is without parallel in the history of literate societies.”³⁰ “Rhetoric,” he adds, “did not simply provide the machinery of literary endeavour; it was a key element of the Byzantine *Weltanschauung*.”³¹ Even when phrased as neutrally as Kustas does, such a conclusion handicaps the analysis of Byzantine texts deemed “rhetorical” by suggesting that their significance was coterminous with their form. As that form comes to seem less and less imaginative or original, its content or meaning appears to diminish. Byzantium may well be unique in having been perceived by modern scholars as relying exclusively on form, producing rhetoric for rhetoric’s sake.³² Even if this were true, and I think there are many reasons why it is not, it would still require us to consider how such a textual culture managed to flourish for as long as it did, at least by its own standard; the only one which mattered at the time, incidentally.

But most of contemporary literary history has been inimical to the luxuriating baroque styles of Byzantine prose. Edward Gibbon, himself a consummate rhetorician, set the tone for modern reception of Byzantine rhetoric with his severe judgement: “[I]n every page our taste and reason are wounded by the choice of gigantic and obsolete words, a stiff and intricate phraseology, the discord of images, the childish play of false or unseasonable ornament, and the painful attempt to elevate themselves, to astonish the reader, and to involve a trivial meaning in the smoke of obscurity and exaggeration.”³³ The fact that even the staunchest defender of Byzantine literature feels some muted sympathy for Gibbon’s pronouncement demonstrates how deeply ingrained the assumptions of post-Romantic literary sensibility have become. As heirs to the Romantic valor-

³⁰ G. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine rhetoric* (Thessalonica, 1973) 13.

³¹ In this same vein, P. Wirth, prompted by long study of Eustathios’ corpus of orations, reflects on the need to revise our understanding of Byzantine rhetoric: “Die Bedeutung der byzantinischen Rhetorik beruht indes nicht nur auf ihrer politischen Aufgabe und nicht in ihrem Wert als Geschichtsquelle hohen Rangs: Sie gründet vielmehr auch auf ihrer Rolle als gewissermaßen eines Spiegels, der die Strahlen aller theologischen, philosophischen, ja überhaupt aller geistigen Bewegung einer Zeit in sich sammelt und widerstrahlt.” P. Wirth, *Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Rhetorik des zwölften Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike* (München, 1960) 1.

³² This used to be said of the period known as the Second Sophistic before a reexamination of the texts came to rehabilitate its reputation. For a discussion of what prompted the reassessment, and bibliography on this now vast subject, see T. Whitmarsh, *Greek literature and the Roman empire: the politics of imitation* (Oxford, 2001) 1–40.

³³ E. Gibbon, *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, v. 5, ed. J.B. Bury (London, 1914) LIII, 107–108.

ization of sincerity and authenticity in literature, we have also inherited the prejudice against conspicuously crafted eloquence. Too much attention to style, the modern reader suspects, betrays a fatal lack of sincerity. We are wont to mistrust patently artful speech as disingenuous, at best, dissembling, at worst. This renders us practically deaf to the appeal of medieval Greek eloquence. We thus remain impervious to Byzantine oratory's capacity to captivate and enchant its audiences, as it must have done on occasion in order to survive for as long as it did. Until we understand how it managed to do so, its significance will continue to elude us.

Style, as a locus of aesthetic value, is one way to pursue a redemptory approach to Eustathios' prose and Byzantine rhetoric more generally.³⁴ Everywhere we look in medieval Greek literature in the upper registers, we encounter *ἐπίδειξις*, the foregrounding of the *designed-ness* of the text. I discuss the significance of this for our understanding of the Ἐπιτάφιος and of similarly conceived texts in the section titled "The Style which Shows." Instead of condemning the opacity frequently lamented by scholars, I consider its historical value along an alternate rhetorical spectrum, one in which language is not coy about about its artfulness. Byzantine oratory makes no pretense to the naturalism we have come to cherish in much modern prose. Writing of the underpinnings of literary creativity in Byzantium, Hans Georg Beck lamented the maligned rôle of rhetoric by observing that while the term itself is insufficiently "apotropaic," in as much it does not ward off criticism, it is "apotreptic." The label "rhetoric" has tended to discourage readers. "All the same," asked Beck, "what exactly is rhetoric?"³⁵

Rhetoric has long been portrayed as representing both a mercenary attitude to language and a screen to conceal the absence of substance. The origins of this prejudice date at least as far back as fifth-century Athens, when the success of

³⁴ Already in 1960 Wirth had called for more stylistic analysis of Byzantine prose as a means of overcoming the obstacles which stood in the way of a better understanding of Byzantine literature. "Der Zugang zur byzantinischen Rhetorik freilich wird durch die sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten versperrt, die dem Verständnis vieler Stellen entgegenstehen. Die Notwendigkeit sprachlicher und stilischer Untersuchungen, die Licht in das Dunkel bizarrer syntaktischer Konstruktionen, weithergeholter Tropen und Figuren bringen könnten." Wirth, *Untersuchungen*, 2.

³⁵ "Rhetorik ist ein Begriff, der allein schon zwar nicht apotropäische aber doch apotreptische Wirkung auszuüben scheint. Doch was heißt eigentlich Rhetorik?" H.-G. Beck, *Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner. Wege zu seinem Verständnis*. Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse, Band: 294/4 (Wien, 1974) 18. The reemergence of schools of rhetorical criticism has helped rehabilitate rhetoric's constitutive role in language. The relevant scholarly literature on this subject is both vast and continually growing. Early attempts to illustrate the diversity of approaches produced collections such as those of *Essays on rhetorical criticism*, ed. T. R. Nilsen (New York 1968) and anthologies of sources like *The rhetorical tradition: readings from classical times to the present*, eds. P. Bizzell, B. Herzberg (Pittsburgh 1990). But new books and articles on both the origins and development of rhetoric, as well as thinking about the application of rhetoric, are published with astounding regularity.

professional speech ‘consultants’ such as Gorgias of Leontini and the early sophists who purveyed instruction in persuasion elicited Plato’s assault on rhetoric as intellectually fraudulent.³⁶ Rhetoric continued to flourish, but at some cost to its historical standing vis à vis philosophy. Its long-term survival and influence was assured by the primacy it came to enjoy in the post-classical and medieval Greek curriculum, which only hurt its reputation later on. It was not the only academic subject, by any means, but rhetoric became the matrix of advanced education, on which nearly every other subject relied on for exposition. Kustas’ characterization of rhetoric as gradually coming to comprise a *Weltanschauung* is not an overstatement. It is a description of the decisive rôle granted to rhetoric in the epistemological formation of educated Byzantines. By the twelfth century, the hold of rhetoric on verbal sensibility among both authors and audiences was all but complete. It is probably a mistake to regard rhetoric as a literary strategy, much less a genre or type, as Hunger’s classification misleadingly suggests. It became synonymous with adept and effective use of language, the operating software to language’s hardware.

And yet this same historical success of rhetoric from antiquity down through to the early modern era, in both the Greek east and Latin west, eventually led to renewed criticism, albeit from a different standpoint. Rhetoric came to be seen as stifling the author’s voice. Originality, in form or content, was suppressed by the scripted formulas and conventions of rhetoric. It is worth noting, then, that one of the founding fathers of literary modernism, T.S. Eliot – who as far as I know never read any Byzantine literature – cautioned that “[rhetoric] simply cannot be used as synonymous with bad writing. The meanings which it has been obliged to shoulder have been mostly opprobrious; but if a precise meaning can be found for it, this meaning may occasionally represent a virtue.”³⁷ As an iconoclast in matters of style, Eliot understood that no aesthetic is inherently good or bad. Everything depends on the surrounding context in which a text’s formal choices are anchored.

And yet for all the foregrounding of literary aesthetics, at its root, the real objection to Byzantine rhetoric has always been ideological. As the ideological

³⁶ The literature on the history and early perception of rhetoric is now too great to summarize. For an outline of the relevant arguments Byzantinists ought to be more conversant in, see E. Schiappa, *The beginnings of rhetorical theory in classical Greece* (New Haven, 1999); cf. J. A. E. Bons, “Gorgias the Sophist and early rhetoric,” and H. Yunis, “Plato’s rhetoric,” *A companion to Greek rhetoric*, ed. I Worthington (Oxford, 2007) 37–46, 75–89.

³⁷ T.S. Eliot, “‘Rhetoric’ and poetic Drama,” *The sacred wood: essays on poetry and criticism*, 7th ed., (London, 1950).

offspring of Orwell, we are wont to regard the subservience of language to politics in Byzantium with barely concealed contempt. Orwell is especially apt when discussing Byzantine oratory because his is the ethical programme we have adopted with respect to the duties of the writer to defend the language from the natural tendency of politics to coopt literature. At once intimidated and inhibited by the autocratic status quo, Byzantine authors are assumed to have shrunk further and further from frank and honest depiction of their world. We presume that anyone sufficiently literate to compose as sophisticated a text as the Ἐπιτάφιος must have known he was fashioning a political fiction. The more obvious the recourse to rhetorical artfulness in political speech, the likelier that the author or speaker will be suspected of disingenuousness. Rhetoric is assumed to be the first step to becoming a propagandist. And Eustathios is by no means exempt from such a charge. It is hardly exculpating to say, as G. Dennis has, that while Byzantine panegyric constituted an “extreme, almost sickening flattery” of the emperor, Byzantine orators were “just doing their job.”³⁸

This makes a rhetor like Eustathios little more than a hired literary gun. But how conducive is this to an understanding of Byzantine imperial oratory, how it flourished, and what it may have meant to its audiences? “Imperial encomium,” writes Magdalino, “was not a sporadic event in Byzantine public life, something to which writers resorted under unusual duress.” It was, instead, “a basic component of the rhetoric which oiled the wheels of government.”³⁹ To appreciate the role assigned to rhetoric in the political life of Constantinople and the empire, we must bear in mind that “authorities wanted to act through the spoken word and persuasion, not by force alone.”⁴⁰ The paramount aim of rhetoric as a social institution never ceased to be persuasion, even if, as L. Pernot has argued, “the

³⁸ G. Dennis, “Imperial panegyric: rhetoric and reality,” *Byzantine court culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Cambridge, MA, 1997) 134.

³⁹ Magdalino, *Empire*, 414. While virtuosos rhetors had addressed emperors as far back as the second century, the custom of delivering βασιλικοί λόγοι appears to have waned after the sixth century. The manuscript tradition suggests a sustained lacuna from the seventh century down to the mid-eleventh when the practice of court oratory seems to have resumed with considerable rhetorical and ideological vigour. Yet by any measure, Manuel’s reign was extolled by a cadre of virtuosos rhetors and poets to an extent never before seen in Byzantium. For the late Roman tradition of imperial encomia, see the recent collection of papers in *Latin panegyric*, ed. R. Rees (Oxford, 2012); cf. C.E.V. Nixon, B. S. Rodgers, *In praise of later Roman emperors: the Panegyrici Latini: introduction, translation, and historical commentary, with the Latin text of R.A.B. Mynors* (Berkeley, 1994) 21. B. Müller-Rettig, *Panegyrici Latini: Lobreden auf römische Kaiser: lateinisch und deutsch / eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert* (Darmstadt, 2008–2014).

⁴⁰ L. Pernot, *Rhetoric in antiquity*, trans. W.E. Higgins (Washington, 2005) 203.

aim of [epideictic] speech is a subtle one, to ‘intensify’ existing ideas, rather than to create new knowledge or a new understanding of a situation.”⁴¹

Assessing the resilience of Byzantine political structures, Beck pointed to panegyric as a ritual reiteration of the prevailing “political orthodoxy.”⁴² Such a broadly persuasive function has generally been denied to court oratory, much less to a text like the *Ἐπιτάφιος*. But as R. Webb reminds us, “[t]he epideictic orator’s task was to pick out a single clear line of praiseworthy actions and qualities and to make them clear and acceptable to his audience... against the multifarious range of existing opinion, interpretation and knowledge of events.”⁴³ The panegyricist’s most significant contribution, as Webb suggests, may have been less that of a publicist or propagandist, but in rendering the otherwise commonplace aspects of a regime into normative, elevated language. Eustathios achieved this in the *Ἐπιτάφιος* by aligning Manuel’s conduct and character with received and widely shared ideals of good governance found across a range of textual precedents. “The orator,” as Pernot aptly observes, “enlightens the community about its own sentiments, provides a rational foundation for its traditional practices, and translates its convictions into rhetoric’s respected language.”⁴⁴

Rooted in the tradition of epideictic rhetoric to which the *Ἐπιτάφιος* belongs, court oratory has too often been judged as a passive register of the regime’s manufactured image. While undeniably fulfilling this function, oratory could also participate in the shaping of ideological norms by offering enduring touchstones of imperial value and broad public welfare. Pernot notes that while epideictic speeches at court have too often been deemed as saying little of immediate or lasting material consequence, we should nonetheless acknowledge that the act of public speaking in official venues itself still amounted to a historical act. The text of an oration which seems a deficient and unreliable witness to contemporary reality can still comprise a historical artifact in its own right.

⁴¹ R. Webb, “Praise and persuasion: argumentation and audience response in epideictic oratory,” *Rhetoric in Byzantium: papers from the thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*, ed. E. Jeffreys (Burlington, 2003) 127–136, 133, nn. 24, 25; cf. L. Pernot, *La rhétorique de l’éloge dans le monde grecoromain* (Paris, 1993) 718; C. Perelman, *L’empire rhétorique et argumentation* (Paris, 1977) 33. For rhetoric as a site of social and political value, see the important study by C. Perelman, *Le champ de l’argumentation* (Bruxelles, 1970).

⁴² Beck, *Jahrtausend*, 87–108; cf. Dennis, “Imperial panegyric,” 131–132.

⁴³ Webb, “Praise and persuasion,” 135. Similarly, MacCormack has foregrounded the ceremonial aspects of later Roman panegyric while stressing that “panegyrics were...used as a medium to announce imperial programmes and policies.” Cf. S. MacCormack, “Latin prose panegyrics,” *Empire and aftermath: Silver Latin II*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London, 1975) 143–205, 160.

⁴⁴ L. Pernot, *Epideictic rhetoric: questioning the stakes of ancient praise* (Austin, 2015) 99.

Reading the Ἐπιτάφιος as a kind of transcript of an oral performance instead of as a treatise encourages such a realization.

Another way to think about the funeral oration which I explore here is as an *illocutionary* act, following the paradigm outlined by J.L. Austin in his seminal *How to do Things with Words*.⁴⁵ Austin proposed that we assign three distinct functions to language: as a *locutionary* act made up of the propositional content or accuracy of a statement; an *illocutionary* or performative act revealed in the contextual function of speech; and as a *perlocutionary* act measured by the effect of language upon the listener. While epideictic oratory like the Ἐπιτάφιος would no doubt fare poorly in the first and last of these categories – given that we would not want to set much store by its truth value or its immediately identifiable consequences in the world – our understanding of it as a performative utterance grows appreciably if it is acknowledged as an *illocutionary* act. This means approaching the Ἐπιτάφιος as an instance when saying something *amounts to doing something*. Besides expanding our options for analyzing Byzantine rhetoric, Austin's locutionary heuristic has the added virtue of making interpretive sense of the contingent and contextual element of "occasional oratory." In a society saturated by religious and social ritual, where formulaic language was perceived as almost incantatory in nature, ceremonial oratory was not simply an act of communication. It was also a rite, a form of social sacrament, in which the words lent significance to the occasion and helped complete its meaning. The occasion of a text's delivery thus gave the words a resonance we cannot easily recover from the silent page.

Eustathios appears to have taken an almost sensuous delight in the handling of all Greek. Besides composing precisely wrought sentences, he collected words and expressions up and down the registers of the language.⁴⁶ To judge from his long and prolific career as a teacher or rhetoric, as an author of diverse works across a remarkable range of genres, and not least as an orator in the palace and the pulpit, his audiences took an equal delight in the results of his literary la-

⁴⁵ J. L. Austin, *How to do things with words. The 1955 William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University*, eds. J. O. Urmson and M. Sbisà (Oxford, 1962).

⁴⁶ Eustathios appears to have been something of a word collector and to have cultivated a fascination for popular culture, as demonstrated by his compilation of proverbs. Besides the many incidental mentions of colloquial vocabulary in his Homeric commentaries as well as in diverse other texts, he appears to have indulged in the professional rhetor's penchant for synonyms and study of linguistic variation. See A. Hotoy, *De Eustathii proverbiiis* (Leipzig, 1888); P. I. Koukoules, *Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ γραμματικά* (Athens, 1953); idem, *Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ λαογραφικά, τόμ. Α-Β* (Athens, 1950).

bours.⁴⁷ Known primarily as the author-compiler of works like the *Παρεκβολαί*, a gargantuan and exhaustive analytical commentary to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as well as of dense prose texts like his treatise on the reform of monasticism, he has, for the most part, been a mute writer to us. Even his many surviving sermons and occasional addresses at the imperial or ecclesiastical court have been read as long form essays, not as *orations*. Thus in trying to gauge the reception of the Ἐπιτάφιος at the point of its delivery, it has helped to note that Eustathios gained renown, as well as a loyal student following, as an accomplished orator. His eulogists, Euthymios Malakes and Michael Choniates, themselves former students, cite Eustathios' skill as an orator in a bid to explain his success:

Μέλιτος γὰρ ἀπέσταζον αἱ τῶν ὁμιλιῶν Εὐσταθίου χάριτες ὡς ἀτεχνῶς ἀπορρώγες τινες νέκταρος, ὅθεν καὶ εἰς ἄκρον ψυχῆς μυελὸν τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς εἰσδύομενα τὰ διδάγματα καὶ ἀντικρυς ἐγκαόμενα, διετηροῦντο ἀνέκπλυτα λήθης ρεύματι.⁴⁸

The gracefulness of Eustathios' homilies dripped with honey just like some distilled nectar, whence his teachings entered deep into the marrow of his listeners' soul and were seared there straightaway, being preserved there indelibly against the tide of forgetfulness.

The reference to "homilies" and "listeners" remind us that as distinct from our modern notion of an author, much of Eustathios' career unfolded before live audiences, whether at the courts of the palace and the patriarchate, in churches before congregants, and one assumes, at least early on, in informal literary displays at privately sponsored *theatra*, like so many of his peers.⁴⁹ And yet Eustathios is rarely, if ever, described as an "orator." Indeed, both orator and oratory have been absent from our *répertoire* of meaningful designations of Byzantine literature. Our assessment of the Ἐπιτάφιος must take into account that it was drawn up with listeners in mind. If I devote considerable attention to this aspect of the Ἐπιτάφιος, in both the introduction and commentary, it is because orality formed

⁴⁷ Even if we were not aware of a number of lost works by Eustathios, he would still rank among the most prolific authors of Byzantium. The most recent and thorough inventory of his works may be found in *Or. quadr.* 7*-25*. For a list of Eustathios' missing works, see J. Darrouzès, "Notes d'histoire des textes," *RÉB*, t. 21 (1963) 232-242.

⁴⁸ *Mon.* 287.8-12. Another former student, and possibly Eustathios' literary executor, Euthymios Malakes likened his mentor's oratory to a "river of speech greater even than the waterfalls of the Nile." The graphic hyperbole substituted for a corresponding reality. Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη μητροπολίτου Νεῶν Πατρῶν (Ἰπάτης) [δευτέρου ἡμισυ ἰβ' ἑκατ.] τὰ σωζόμενα, ed. K.G. Bonis [Θεολογική Βιβλιοθήκη 2] (Athens 1937) 3.5-10: ὁ δὲ τὴν πόλιν περικλύζων δεύτερος ποταμός, οὗ τὸ ρεῦμα τῶν λόγων καὶ τοῦ Νείλου καταρράκτας ἀπέκρυσεν, ἐπαύσατο ῥέων καὶ ὁ πολὺς ἐκεῖνος βροῖζος ἐσίγησε. καὶ νῦν οἱ χθές χανδὸν ἐκροφούντες καὶ τῷ μελιχρῷ τοῦ νόματος γλυκαζόμενοι, ἀθαλεοὶ σήμερον καὶ περικαεῖς τῷ πυρὶ τῆς διψῆς καμινεῦνται.

⁴⁹ *Mon.* 285.19-21, may not have been exaggerating much when he noted that both church and palace felt the loss of Eustathios' talents as an orator: Ζητεῖ καὶ σύνοδος ἱερὰ τὸν ἑαυτῆς διαφανέστατον ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὴν περιλαλοῦσαν ταῦτα φωνὴν καὶ περιανγυμένην τοῖς πέρασιν.

the enabling medium of the text, a fact most analysis of Byzantine imperial panegyric has made little effort to account for as a significant feature of the text. Many of the rhetorical and stylistic attributes of the Ἐπιτάφιος were conspicuously patterned to excite aural, sensory perception. In his monody *cum* mémoire of his former teacher and fellow bishop, Michael Choniates credits Eustathios with having transformed, and thus effectively “rescued,” the art of composition, by which he meant first and foremost oratory. Eloquence, he reports, had become imperiled at this time by encroachments on the part of colloquial language and grammar, the perennial bogeyman of classicizing Greek.⁵⁰ Of course vigilance in policing the boundaries between the different registers of Greek had long been part of the Byzantine rhetor’s vocation.⁵¹ But this had always been easier to do in writing than in speech. Despite our general impression of upper register Greek prose as ‘bookish,’ vocal eloquence seems to have remained essential to its appeal among élite audiences, especially in light of competition from more popular, demotic entertainments. Eustathios, Choniates claimed, stemmed the tide of ‘vulgar’ speech by offering a more urbane, witty, and learned alternative, combining dignity with formal charm:

Πόσοι μέχρι τούτου ῥητορικᾶς χάρισι θύειν ἐνόμιζον, ἕως τῶν Εὐσταθίου σειρήνων ἠκροάσαντο... Ὡς λόγων ἐκείνων, μήτε βωμολόχοις εὐτραπελίας γελοιαζόντων σκηνικώτερον, μήτε ἀηδιζόντων στρυφνότητος ὀμφακίζουσας βαρύτητι, ὑποσέμνω δὲ κεκραμένων ἀστειοσύνη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ὑποθήκην θείω παρηρητημένην ἄλατι, ὡς τὸν ἀκροῦμενον διημερεῦειν ἀσμένως, τῶν οἴκοι κατὰ τοὺς λωτοφαγοῦντας λαθόμενον.⁵²

Prior to this man, how many thought they were honouring the Graces of rhetoric, until they heard the sirens of Eustathios... oh those orations of his, neither entertaining with ribald wit by being quite theatrical, nor repulsing with an onerous burden of a still incipient harshness. They were composed instead with a mix of solemn sophistication, given zest, as it were, by the salt of apostolic teaching, so that the audience would have gladly spent the whole day listening to him, forgetting to return home, like the famed lotus eaters.

⁵⁰ Idem 291.29–292.12: “Ὡσπερ καὶ ὅτε βουλευθεῖεν ἐξαλλάττοντες ἄλλοιοί τινες φαίνεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν καινοτέρου τρόπου καὶ ὅσον ἢ σχῆμα γούν ἢ ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ καθωμίλημένου εἰς τὸ ἀθικτότερον μεθαρμοσασθαι, εἶδες ἂν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐδ’ ἐγγὺς ἤκοντας, τῆς ποιητικῆς δὲ μόνον τὴν τραχυτέραν συμφοροῦντας ἀμάξαι τῶ καταλογάδην καὶ πεζαιτέρω καὶ ὅσον ἐπίβλημα πορφύρας φαύλοις ἐπιρρίπτοντας ῥάκεσι, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἐθάδος καὶ Ἑλληνος ῥητορικῆς ἔκφυλόν τινα σκευὴν μεταμπισχομένους ἐπὶ τῶ σφῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐσχήμονι, ὡς καὶ τὴν περσικὴν στολὴν τῆς μακεδονικῆς φασι μετενδύσασθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἕως ὁ πολὺς τὴν γλῶτταν Εὐστάθιος προστάτης καὶ σωτὴρ ἀνεφάνη τῆς τέχνης κινδυνευούσης, εἰ περ ποτὲ τῆνικαῦτα, κατὰ τὴν πλατωνικὴν διαβολὴν τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν τεχνῶν διαγράφεσθαι καὶ μηδὲ πολιτικοῦ τινος καλεῖσθαι μορίου εἶδωλον.

⁵¹ G. Horrocks, “High-register medieval Greek ‘diglossia’ and what lay behind it,” *Storia e storie della lingua greca*, eds. C. Carpinato, O. Tribulato (Venice, 2014) 49–72.

⁵² *Mon.* 289.12–290.10.

Choniates' account of Eustathios' reputation as a rhetor lays stress on precisely those features of his style which have elicited censure from modern scholars as pretentious and occasionally bordering on the unintelligible. Consequently even a scholar with as high an estimate of Eustathios as A. Kazhdan could not but yield to the general antipathy for his prose style, noting that "Eustathios' rhetoric can appear alarmingly opaque. He can ramble inconsequentially and interminably."⁵³ The challenge for us is to understand how the very same features which prompted Kazhdan's disparaging verdict could have come in for such fulsome praise and have enjoyed consistent patronage in Eustathios' own day.

I have attempted to situate the Ἐπιτάφιος in this oral, ceremonial setting in a bid to encourage a reading of the funeral oration as a historical event, and not simply as a rhetorically manufactured abstraction. We presumably no longer need to invoke the lessons of New Historicism in order to support the claim that texts are born of contexts. But texts can also bear *on* contexts. As an occasional address before the court during a time of manifest political uncertainty, Eustathios' oration was bound to be perceived as both conventional and verging on the controversial. At least some of the passages rebutting criticism of Manuel's policies or offering a political rationale for the regency suggest an undercurrent of political engagement. A further *con-textualization* involves mapping the many close correlations of the Ἐπιτάφιος with the vast body of literature it drew on, either directly and indirectly. We cannot make sense of such a text unless we gain a better appreciation of the wider, and 'deeper', linguistic and literary setting in which the Ἐπιτάφιος was embedded. The decision to bring this intertextuality to light in the *apparatus fontium et parallelorum*, once the locus of a more narrowly conceived inventory of "sources," reflects a broader interpretive reading. Given his singularly wide reading (enabled, we presume, by access to the capital's best libraries) Eustathios' works exhibit an unusually dense intertextuality.

Until recently, we have had two dominant models for how to approach the works of an author like Eustathios. The one, represented by Herbert Hunger's *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, accounts for the contents and form of a text like the Ἐπιτάφιος by appeal to the strength of genre and the cultural imperative of *mimesis* in perpetuating rhetorical traditions.⁵⁴ The other is represented by Alexander Kazhdan's profile of Eustathios in *Studies on Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries*. The latter sees individual texts

⁵³ Kazhdan, *Studies*, 140.

⁵⁴ H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft; Abt. 12, T. 5] (München, 1978) *passim*; Kazhdan, *Studies*, 115–195.

as expressions of the author's own views, convictions, and sensibility, which Kazhdan in turn reconstructed from Eustathios' considerable *oeuvre*. Each of these two approaches offers distinct, and necessarily partial insights. There can be no question but that we need a broad reassessment of Eustathios as an author *and* as an active intellectual of his time. But this can only come from close study of individual works *prior* to profiles of author or genre.

WHY THE ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ?

The title of this study, *Not Composed in a Chance Manner* is derived from the heading accompanying the Ἐπιτάφιος in the single manuscript witness, *Basilensis* A.III.20. Added only at the stage of 'publication', the title appears to have been intended to market the text to prospective readers by underscoring that the author did not take the style and structure of the oration for granted, but had composed it in a manner befitting Eustathios' desire to create a work apart. This would not have been the first time Eustathios sought to defy conventional expectations in otherwise familiar genres. Since the likely audience for such works after their initial delivery was other rhetors in search of models to whose style they might learn from, and even emulate, authors could not help but compose with one eye on the exemplarity of their own work.⁵⁵ Such embedded professional self-consciousness was not new to court oratory, or to Eustathios' authorial practice. Indeed, so ingrained was the habit of reflecting on his own craft that he made room even in a funeral oration to comment on matters of composition presented in the guise of praise for Manuel. In this respect, the Ἐπιτάφιος rationalizes its own study as a work deserving of close reading. My own aim has consequently been to inquire into the oration's formal qualities, its style as an enduring feature of its substance or contents, alongside other aspects of its composition, performance, and reception. Making sense of the text nevertheless requires giving the historical reality addressed by the funeral oration its due in the interpretation.

For all its densely wrought ethical and broadly ideological generalities, the Ἐπιτάφιος is rich with allusions to actual events, policies, and specific circumstances.

While the oration itself is about Manuel I Komnenos (though I argue not *just* about him), this study is not intended primarily as a contribution to the now

⁵⁵ Cf. G. Karla, "Das Rednerideal bei Eustathios von Thessalonike und seine rhetorische Tradition," *BZ* 100/1 (2007) 85–99.

excellent historiography about this emperor, except perhaps incidentally. But it was not the oration's potential to supply further details about Manuel or the events surrounding his reign which drew me to this unsung text in the first place. In the wake of Paul Magdalino's outstanding historical profile of Manuel – to which this study is greatly indebted – and to which most future work on this emperor is likely to serve as footnote, it is questionable whether the value of the Ἐπιτάφιος lies in its capacity to serve as an additional witness for Manuel the man and his reign. This is not due to the inherent partiality of a eulogy; nearly all the texts composed for the court acknowledge a similar panegyric bent. But when considered alongside the remaining sources for Manuel's life and reign, the Ἐπιτάφιος tells us little that we might not glean from other witnesses, not least Eustathios' own orations before the emperor, many of which he cannibalized to compose this funerary speech.

And yet a lengthy and elaborate funeral oration for an emperor whose long reign witnessed so many noteworthy developments across the medieval Mediterranean might be expected to produce some information, if not about the man himself and his governance of the empire, at least about his "image" as Magdalino has aptly described the sometimes propagandistic, sometimes popular perception of Manuel, using a term which evokes modern political or celebrity "image-making." I have nevertheless resisted the temptation to distil an impression of Manuel from the Ἐπιτάφιος. Such efforts, while understandable, do not only yield little in the way of new information, they also, in my view, greatly misrepresent the nature of a text like Eustathios' funeral oration, whose aim was at once larger and more complicated than simply creating a digest of the emperor's life and reign. So while Manuel is unquestionably at the center of this oration, he often serves as pivot and a pretext for ancillary topics, some bearing directly on his rule, some not. Three quick examples may suffice to illustrate this. Eustathios defends Manuel's policy of recruiting prisoners of war from the frontiers whose freedom he presumably bought from their Byzantine masters, on broadly ethical grounds against slavery, buttressed by a kind of ethnographic rationale. The choice to include this among Manuel's accomplishments probably reflected the controversy of the policy, but also Eustathios' own ethical objections to slavery, spelled out in his will vouchsafing the manumission of his own slaves, as well as his sociopolitical estimate of the risk to Byzantine society of resentful slaves and fearful masters.

The second example, alluded to above, concerns the composition, delivery, and eventual publication of speeches for further recital or study. While Manuel

forms the ostensible subject of praise for having done this in the ideal way, with minimal changes to one's text at each stage (and, it would appear, initial performance from memory, a practice generally thought to have waned in the middle ages), it is clear that Eustathios cannot resist the opportunity to expostulate with his peers on what he disapprovingly concedes has become common practice, namely, revising one's text so that it bears little resemblance to the version performed before its original audience. A third and final example with which to illustrate the oration's expansive subject matter, is the brief but fascinatingly precise reference to the imperially financed dispensation of free drug prescriptions for the poor. Though not credited to Manuel, the mechanism for making medicines available to those who could otherwise not afford them is invoked in the long excursus on Manuel's own medical proficiency, one suspects in a bid to illustrate, as so often in the Ἐπιτάφιος, the obligations of the throne.

The funeral oration thus ranges over a variety of subjects, some more central to imperial rule, like defensive policy or financing of repairs to public buildings, some less so, like rhetoric and medicine. While I try to note the presence of these and other more conventional panegyric motifs in the text, my paramount aim has been to alter the focus from the ostensible *subject(s)* of the oration to *the oration itself as subject*. In common academic parlance, I have tried to shift attention from the *content* to the *form* of the Ἐπιτάφιος, not least the manner and possible place of its delivery. Underwriting the aims of this study is a wider preoccupation with neglected features not just of the Ἐπιτάφιος but a variety of texts similar to it: namely, that a broad class of Byzantine texts routinely labelled "rhetorical" are often perceived as little more than elaborate epideictic exercises, having no greater purpose than to showcase their author's verbal virtuosity, untethered from any reality beyond their own self-perpetuating poetics.

This charge is not entirely without some basis in the texts which made up the tradition of court oratory, including the handful of surviving imperial *epitaphioi*.⁵⁶ Yet it fails to account for how such a centuries-long tradition sustained the support of its patrons and catered to the needs of audiences. Indeed, thinking about the audience of the Ἐπιτάφιος leads us to conjure the actual recital of the

⁵⁶ Despite being characterized "the [Byzantine] rhetorical genre par excellence," medieval Greek funerary literature has yet to benefit from more systematic study. In his indispensable survey of all surviving Byzantine funeral orations, A. Sideras had promised just such a study of the form or literary aspects of funerary texts as part of a triad of studies begun with the volume above. See A. Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend*, (Wien, 1994). For a review of the book and some important observations about Sideras' narrow frame of reference see P. A. Agapitos, *Hellenika* 46 (1996) 195–205.

oration, a prospect sometimes deemed implausible by scholars who argue that such texts were too long, too labyrinthine in structure, and far too recherché in their range of allusion or citation to be intelligible to all but a handful of *érudits*. But as I argue in the course of this study, we must learn to regard occasional oratory as not just as a genre or set of genres, but as historical events in their own right. The Ἐπιτάφιος happened. Much of the evidence for such a historical and performative understanding of the funeral oration lies *in* the text itself, in its structure and style, and is corroborated by further parallels or information drawn from similar texts.

To answer these and a host of related questions meant also questioning how we might more productively study such a work, beginning with textual criticism and its apparatus, the need for translation as a way to resolve how the text functions, a commentary to shed light on the many otherwise obscure corners of a speech which could assume much shared knowledge amongst its listeners, and a series of introductory discussions which take up aspects ranging from the physical setting to the deliberate style of the oration. I do not claim to have exhausted what one may do *with* or learn *from* the Ἐπιτάφιος. My hope is only to have provided an example of how much lies both on and beneath the surface of a text like this. But studying the Ἐπιτάφιος in a systematic fashion meant first producing a new critical edition of the Greek text to replace G.L.F. Tafel's serviceable but still outdated 1832 edition in his *Opuscula* of Eustathios' writings drawn from the Basel manuscript containing a large portion of his oeuvre. Like many Byzantine texts of this period for which there are few or just one manuscript witness, newer editions produce few single dramatic improvements. Tafel in fact proved a capable and conscientious editor. Still, philology values even incremental advances and the accumulation of corrections, joined to a modern *apparatus fontium et parallelorum* can yield a better understanding of the text. Heeding the advice of scholars who have long argued that no edition of a Byzantine text should be published without an accompanying translation, I have rendered the Ἐπιτάφιος into English. While this is not the first translation of this text into a modern language, it is, I argue, the more accurate one. Finally, close study of the text invariably produced a series of observations about the text, its historical context, questions of etymology, grammar, and usage, as well as performance, and formal design. Some of this is gathered itself into broader thematic sections which make up the introduction. The remainder may be found in the commentary, together with more extensive discussion of textual problems.

I think I can safely say that long engagement with the Ἐπιτάφιος has taught me a great deal not just about this one text, its author, or even Byzantine literature of this period, but about the modern practice of Byzantine philology and the avenues of inquiry which still lie before it. Robert Browning once observed that the scholar's choice of text "is like marriage; some scope must be left for personal preference."⁵⁷ In this case, the betrothal proved precipitate at first. A number of little known works by Eustathios piqued my curiosity while I was rummaging around in search of a dissertation topic among the scores of Byzantine texts languishing in old and imperfect editions. Eager to get a jump on the thesis prospectus and confident I would eventually find a workable framework for the texts, I managed to convince my dissertation committee to let me pursue this project. In time, the difficulty of writing about texts which few scholars had ever thought warranted much attention became increasingly clear. It took a while, but in time I began to appreciate the value of working with texts whose significance was not a foregone conclusion.

I might never have gotten anywhere had it not been for the encouragement and insights of my supervisors. John Duffy, who has taught me as much about good humoured collegiality as he has about medieval Greek philology, proved a meticulous reader and a generous mentor during my graduate studies at Harvard's Classics department. Roderich Reinsch made it possible for me to spend an unforgettable and instructive year as a DAAD *Gastdoktorand* of the Byzantinisch-Neugriechisches Seminar der Freien Universität Berlin. Over the course of a balmy Berlin summer we sat in his office overlooking the garden of the institute in *Podbielskiallee* and immersed ourselves in Eustathios' consummately crafted prose, emerging only to eat a quick lunch at the local Italian tavern before returning to our task. To Roderich I owe the insight that Eustathios, like many of his peers, composed to be heard, a lesson which has stayed with me as a key to unlocking much about Byzantine poetics lost on an age of mute readers. Angeliki Laiou, sorely missed by her friends and colleagues, not least former students who would surely now benefit from her steely acumen; upon reading a draft of the dissertation, she sent me a long and detailed list of questions which could serve as a glossary for philologists who wish to communicate with historians.

I was no less fortunate in the friendly, off-the-books counsel I got from peers. Ingela Nilsson leavened my souring on the project at a crucial stage with critical encouragement and Kanelbullar. Panagiotis Agapitos reminded me that

⁵⁷ R. Browning, "Projects in Byzantine philology," *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 59–74, 61.

no matter the approach I was going to adopt in presenting Eustathios' text, I would need to form my very own relationship to the work, wisdom I have in turn transmitted to students. Later, Alice-Mary Talbot and my cohort at Dumbarton Oaks offered sage advice and genuine fellowship. Of course I might never have found my way to Byzantine literature had it not been for those intellectually bracing tutorials on medieval Greek palaeography and all things Byzantine with A.R. Littlewood all those years ago. And I might never have survived the dissertation had Ludmilla and Vadim, Mika and Sasha, not offered shelter, friendship, and warm meals, along with a wider view of the stakes in learning.

Since completing the dissertation, I began to inquire less into what made the Ἐπιτάφιος unique – an understandable initial preoccupation in a field which has had to defend its texts against charges of ingrained conformism and unoriginality – and to ask instead what unexpected lessons we might gain from studying such texts as typical of Byzantine literary sensibility and not as exceptional works. As a project long in fruition, this study has benefitted in too many ways and from too many people to enumerate here. Still, I feel I must acknowledge the help of those without whom it would never have gotten done, or without whom it would be a good deal more imperfect. The Seeger Center for Hellenic Studies at Princeton University provided support for a sabbatical spent, in part, as a research fellow at the Byzantine section of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, where colleagues welcomed me and placed the excellent resources of the Medieval Studies Institute at my disposal. My stay was made all the more fruitful by the access I was granted to the excellent and airy library of the Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik at the University of Vienna, where conversations with students and other visiting colleagues spurred me to greater efforts and occasioned new insights. Both were made possible by Claudia Rapp, whose welcoming collegiality is a model for how to bind an otherwise small field into something bigger than the sum of its parts. Near the end, Vincent Deroche read through the penultimate draft of the translation and saved me from occasionally over-translating Eustathios' often exquisitely intricate prose, while showing me the way to greater accuracy throughout. Help with the bibliography and fastidious reading of multiple drafts were David Jenkins' least contribution, since it is has been his value as a keen interlocutor unapologetically committed to philology that I have benefitted from the most. Finally, my eternal gratitude to Eric Cullhed, who midwived the book with uncommon editorial diligence and a peerless eye for good Greek!

De mortuis nil nisi bonum: imperial funerary rhetoric

Of the ninety-four emperors who sat on the throne between the reigns of Constantine I and Constantine XI Palaiologos, over a period of roughly eleven hundred years, only seven are commemorated in extant funeral orations.¹ Even if we allow for the extenuating fact that nearly half of those emperors were deposed, killed, exiled, or otherwise forcibly removed from power, making it less probable that their families and supporters could have marked their death with elaborate public eulogies, we are still left asking what became of the funeral orations for the remaining half. Did their families and successors not have every incentive to memorialize their reign, extol their character and thus lay claim to their legacy and legitimacy? Even if we concede a degree of irregularity in commemorative ceremonies brought about by extraordinary circumstances like war, or the high turnover of short-lived reigns of the eleventh century, there are still surprisingly few surviving imperial funeral orations.²

To appreciate the magnitude of this gap in the manuscript record, we need only compare the number of surviving eulogies for deceased emperors with those for other high-ranking members of Byzantine society. In his comprehensive survey of Byzantine prose funerary orations, A. Sideras lists a combined total of 142 extant texts.³ Just ten of these, or around seven percent, are tributes to

¹ L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin*. Paris, 1949) 17. It is of course possible to arrive at a slightly different total of emperors (as distinct from individual reigns, since some emperors, like Justinian II, returned to power a second time) by adding claimants to the throne in exile. These figures do not include co-emperors, or the so-called "emperors" of Trebizond. If they did, the numbers would not move very much. But the argument depends less on the overall number of emperors and more on the ratio of those who died on the throne vs. those who were killed or forced to abdicate. Interestingly, we have a much fuller inventory of imperial funeral orations from the Palaiologan period, a subject which I address in a forthcoming article. There is an obvious paradox to having a full complement of funeral orations for a handful of emperors whose rule coincided with the manifest weakening of what was becoming an empire in name only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while having so few for the emperors who ruled during periods when Byzantium prospered as an empire.

² In an analogous and related case, D. A. Russell notes that we possess a small fraction of the encomia produced for the Roman principate, given the number of occasions on which the emperor would have been celebrated. D. A. Russell, "The panegyrists and their teachers," *The propaganda of power: the role of panegyric in late antiquity*, ed. M. Whitby [Mnemosyne Supplementum, 183] (Leiden, 1998) 17–50.

³ Sideras, *Grabreden*, 108–109; 188–189; 210–211; Georgios Akropolites for John III Doukas Batatzes 249–250; Theodoros Kabasilas for Andronikos II Palaiologos, 271–273; Nikephoros Gregoras for Andronikos II Palaiologos, 292–293; idem, for Andronikos III Palaiologos, 295–297; Maakrios Makres for

emperors, with three emperors eulogized in two orations apiece, adding up to a total of six of the ten surviving funeral orations. The total number of Byzantine emperors for whom we have a funerary oration, therefore, is in fact seven, out of a total of ninety-four.⁴ Even if we factor in a higher than usual rate of accidental loss of manuscripts, the ratio of extant funeral speeches to emperors is remarkable low. These numbers are striking enough to warrant some explanation. Perhaps the first question to ask is whether more such orations were in fact always performed and have since gone missing, or were the occasions on which funeral orations might be recited not fixed in imperial commemorative practice in Byzantium? Either of these, or some combination of the two, would entail significant implications for the nature of imperial funerary ceremony and memorialization of deceased emperors, as well as the secondary life of occasional texts in Byzantium.⁵

Among the first conclusions to be drawn is that the historical stature of the *laudandus*, no matter how consequential his reign or reputation, did not ensure that a funeral oration – assuming the existence of such an oration – would be preserved. What few surviving imperial funeral orations we do have were probably not copied out of historical or biographical interest in the emperor celebrated but as models of eloquence. This means the record of surviving imperial funerary oratory is skewed to outstanding examples of applied rhetoric, though not necessarily for the purpose of eulogizing other deceased emperors. This explains why we have *two* funeral orations by Libanius for the emperor Julian, despite the latter's infamous apostasy. We owe the preservation of these to the esteem in which Libanius' was held as a model of occasional rhetoric. Likewise, the Ἐπιτάφιος for Manuel was preserved as part of Eustathios' collected works,

Manuel II Palaiologos, 344–345; Bessarion for Manuel II Palaiologos, 361–362; Argyropoulos for John VIII Palaiologos, 380–381. Sideras preempted his diachronic study of the literary or rhetorical form of Byzantine funerary texts with a comprehensive inventory detailing Prosopography, Dating, and the Transmission history of the extant funeral orations. In this way he hoped to assemble all the relevant information which could serve as a prelude to a *Corpus orationum funebrium Byzantinarum*. His promised study of the form of Byzantine funerary literature unfortunately never saw the light.

⁴ This does not include funeral orations no longer extant but whose existence is corroborated by diverse evidence, including, significantly, mention of an oration for the emperor Maurikios (582–602) by Theophylaktos Symokattes which offers a stepping stone from earlier Roman commemorative practice to the middle and especially the late Byzantine period, where most of the surviving orations are clustered. For the evidence of such an oration, see Sideras, *Grabreden*, 437, nn.1, 2. Here the presumed losses of texts incurred during the transition from majuscule to miniscule may well have played a role in the record of funeral oratory, as it appears to have done in a great many genres which suffered a culling in the resource scarce aftermath of the Arab invasions and iconoclastic turmoil.

⁵ C. Rapp, "Death at the Byzantine court: the emperor and his family," *Death at court*, eds. K.-H. Spiess, I. Warntjes (Wiesbaden, 2012) 267–286, 272.

anticipating that future rhetors might wish to consult it as a model of applied rhetoric and erudition. Its worth was vouchsafed by Eustathios' reputation as the outstanding rhetor of his time.

The 'long' twelfth century (beginning with Alexios I's rise to power in 1118 and lasting until 1204) did not lack for ambitious authors eager to exhibit their skills. Not a few of these, like Theodore Prodromos or Nikephoros Basilakes, were equally determined to secure their legacy by creating authorized editions of their works. They were likely not the exceptions. Both Manuel's father, John II Komnenos, nor his grandfather, Alexios I Komnenos, lacked for able panegyrists. Indeed, both were celebrated in their lifetime by talented court poets and eloquent rhetors who rhapsodized effusively about their military triumphs and praised their character as men born to rule the empire. Yet neither John II nor, more remarkably, Alexios I are the subject of a surviving funeral oration. It might be argued that the absence of such an oration in Alexios I's case was due less to the vagaries of manuscript survival and more to the bitterly contested succession among his children. A commemorative ceremony, usually attended by the imperial family, may have been politically untenable after Alexios' wife and daughter Anna had openly opposed John II's succession, which resulted in the confinement of both Irene Doukaina and Anna Komnene.⁶ And yet it seems improbable that Alexios I's death was not marked by the funerary pomp, appropriate for the warrior-emperor who restored stability to the empire. With so many talented rhetors vying for prominence in the capital, the death of an emperor must have offered too great an opportunity to pass up, as Eustathios implies was the case in the wake of Manuel's death in his own day.

⁶ Zonaras' paradoxical account of the death and funeral of Alexios I was perhaps intended to play against this expectation. The twelfth-century chronicler is not clear whether Alexios failed to receive the honours he deserved out of some calculation on John II's part, or simply the result of filial indifference. *Epit. Hist.* III, 764.10–765.1 'Ο δὲ τούτου πατὴρ παρ' ὅλην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐμπνέων ἦν καὶ δυσθανατῶν, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐξέλιπε, ζήσας μὲν ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντά που τὰ πάντα ἢ ὅ,τι ἐργυτάτω, βασιλεύσας δ' ἐκ τούτων ἔνιαυτούς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐπὶ μῆσι τέσσαρσι καὶ ἡμέραις τισίν. ἔθαν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἑξακισχίλιστον ἑξακοσιοστὸν εικοστὸν ἕκτον ἔτος, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν διηλεκτικῶς εὐτυχῶς, τὸ δὲ γε τέλος οὐχ ὁμοίον ἐσχηκῶς. καταλέλειπτο γὰρ πρὸς τῶν θεραπόντων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων, ὡς μηδ' εἶναι τάχα τινὰς τοὺς τὸν ἐκεῖνον νεκρὸν τοῖς λοιθοῖσι λουτροῖς ἀπορρῦψοντα, καὶ οὐτε κόσμος βασιλεῖος προσῆν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἴν' αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα κοσμηθεῖ βασιλικῶς, οὐτε μὴν ἐκφορᾶς ἔτυχε βασιλεῖ καταλλήλου, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλοτρίου, ἀλλ' υἱέος διαδεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ, καὶ υἱέος, ὃν ἐκεῖνος τῆς βασιλείας ἤξλωσεν. Cf. F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène* (Paris, 1912) 191–193. Ironically enough, we do have a surviving funeral tribute to John's sister, Anna Komnene, by Georgios Tornikes, in spite of her thwarted political ambitions; see R. Browning, "An unpublished funeral oration on Anna Komnena," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* [New series 8] (January, 1962) 1–12. It is unclear whether Tornikes' oration was in fact recited at a ceremony. Anna Komnene appears to have been granted sufficient freedom to receive guests and maintain contact with elite society (judging from her own reports in the *Alexiad*) that a commemorative ceremony could be attended by enough of her relatives and acquaintances.

The same may be said of the death of John II. Beside a few short verse tributes by Theodore Prodromos, possibly intended as epitaphs for John's tomb, we have no extant funeral oration. Nor is there any evidence that Manuel commissioned such an oration, though it is hard to believe that there was no ceremony such as that held for Manuel.⁷ We should perhaps look once more to the political circumstances immediately following the emperor's death. Manuel's *de facto* succession was ensured by the proxy of John Axouch, since Manuel was campaigning on the eastern frontier and needed someone to secure the capital and represent his interests at court.⁸ Although Manuel's panegyrists would later represent the transition as quite seamless, it would appear that Manuel's nominal rule took some time to establish beyond worry of a challenge. The precautionary confinement in the Pantokrator monastery of Manuel's older brother Isaac and his uncle by the same name suggests as much. Yet Manuel commissioned a βασιλικὸς λόγος, quite possibly Eustathios' first oration at court, for his inauguration. Might he have also commissioned a funeral oration for John II from a rhetor whose works did not have the good fortune to survive? That might explain the absence of a funeral oration for one emperor. It starts to strain credulity when it involves generations of emperors. If, on the other hand, we conclude, *ex silentio*, that no funeral oration was performed for most of Manuel's predecessors, it follows that funerary orations were not a requisite of burial or later ceremonies marking an emperor's death, as they appear to have been for many high ranking members of the élite. The orations for Manuel would then amount to an extension of private aristocratic commemorative practice into the public or imperial realm. Questions inevitably arise then about funerary oratory for emperors as a sustainable part of the genre, absent opportunities to perform such speeches; just as they do about the ceremonial protocols surrounding the death, burial, and commemoration of an emperor.

Funerary speeches, or ἐπιτάφιοι λόγοι, had earned a distinguished place in the classical literary canon. They were preserved and transmitted during the middle ages because they became staples of the Byzantine rhetorical curriculum; this despite the fact that much of their content had long since ceased to be apposite to medieval reality. Sideras nevertheless ascribes the main contours of the Byzantine ἐπιτάφιος to the post-classical models of funerary orations for

⁷ *Carm. hist.* XXV; Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, 135. The inscription's conceit of the voice of the dead emperor speaking from the grave suggests it was intended literally as an "epitaph," to be placed on the tomb, rendering its function qualitatively different from a funeral oration.

⁸ Magdalino, *Empire*, 195; for Axouch's rôle, see R. Guiland, "Le grand domestique," *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, Tome I (Berlin, 1967) 405–425.

illustrious individuals.⁹ As a genre defined by its historical precedents, funeral oratory did not invite much innovation or experimentation. More important than any formalist or rhetorical *mimesis*, however, was the occasional nature of funerary oratory. As texts grounded in ceremony and ritual, funerary orations could not easily depart from the norm without risking the integrity of the commemorative occasion. The seeming rigidity of the genre does not appear to have dissuaded talented rhetors however. Funerary speeches seem at times to have become virtuoso pieces of rhetoric, polished not only to a degree commensurate with the status of the deceased, but also an opportunity for the rhetor to showcase his abilities before leading members of the patron class.

And yet one cannot help but be struck by the unusual degree of generic stability in the long tradition of funerary oratory.¹⁰ Bearing in mind the time elapsed, as well as the great differences in political organization, religion, and historical identity, the funeral orations for Byzantine emperors betray their origin in ancient exemplars, such as Isocrates' eulogy for the Cypriot king Evagoras, or the two orations by Libanius for the 'apostate' emperor Julian. If *mimesis* accounts for some significant part of this generic stability in Byzantine funerary texts overall, and imperial funeral orations more specifically, it does not explain all aspects of the later texts. What's more, as I note above with respect to the formalist imperative of *mimesis*, stability or rhetorical convention in occasional texts should not be seen as a mere end itself. It most likely proceeded from a desire for another kind of continuity, one we may abridge in the convenient and admittedly somewhat inflated notion of "ideology." Byzantine funerary oratory was a distant descendant of a venerable tradition in both form and content. So while we, for obvious reasons, now associate ἐπιτάφιος with such revered orations as that attributed by Thucydides to Pericles' in the *Peloponnesian War*,¹¹ or Demosthenes' funeral oration for the dead at the battle of Chaeronea against Philip of Macedon in 338,¹² it was the public eulogies for ancient monarchs which served as exempla and shaped the genre of funerary oratory in the post-classical and

⁹ Sideras, *Grabreden*, 19; H. Caffiaux, *De l'oraison funèbre dans la Grèce païenne*, (Valenciennes, 1861) 1–19; J. Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede in ihrer Tradition* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1974) 19f.

¹⁰ S. Usher, *Greek oratory: tradition and originality* (New York, 1999) 349–352; cf. N. Loraux, *The invention of Athens: the funeral oration in the classical city* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986) 345, n.56.

¹¹ 2.34–2.46. For the ideological import of funerary rhetoric in Classical Greece, see the landmark study of Loraux, n. 10 above.

¹² Or. 60.

Byzantine periods.¹³ The differences between the two types of funeral oration correlated closely with the more obvious ideological differences between democracy and monarchy. Byzantium inherited the latter model as a consequence of its unremitting commitment to a political paradigm inherited from the late Roman principate and from Hellenistic cultural emphasis on monarchy.¹⁴

Pride of place in this turn of the genre traditionally goes to Isocrates, who is considered the first to have composed a funeral oration in prose dedicated to a recently deceased historical person, the fourth-century king of Cypriot Salamis, Evagoras.¹⁵ Byzantine rhetors were not unaware that Isocrates himself acknowledged the novelty of his rhetorical undertaking in delivering such an oration.¹⁶ The marked authorial self-consciousness of early funeral rhetoric became part of the genre's thematic heritage. More than a millenium and a half later, Eustathios could still devote a considerable portion of his own Ἐπιτάφιος for Manuel to describing his own motives for composing the oration and rationalizing its contents for his audience, almost as if the genre had to constantly justify its choices and its omissions. Isocrates' example was soon followed by others in his own time. The *Suda* includes mention of an Isocrates *minor*, a former student of his more illustrious namesake, who entered into prose contests against rival rhetors "at the funeral (sc. games)" probably in a bid to compose a funeral oration for the "king of Halicarnassus" Mausolus, ruler of Caria (377–353 B.C.).¹⁷

¹³ The end of the classical age thus fittingly produced a symbiosis between kings and their panegyrists unseen since the days of Pindar and Bacchylides at the end of the archaic period. L. Kurke, *The traffic in praise: Pindar and the poetics of social economy* (Ithaca, 1991).

¹⁴ Byzantine chronicles compiled as late as the twelfth century preserved the memory of funeral orations recited at the graveside of Augustus. Cf. John Zonaras, *Epit. Hist.* 2.444, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐπ' αὐτῆ δημοσίᾳ προτεθείσῃ ἐπιτάφιον εἶπε καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος; 3.4, ἐπὶ τινὶ αὐτῶν τελευτήσαντι αὐτὸς ἀνέγνω τὸν ἐπιτάφιον. Demetrios Kydonēs' funeral oration for the fallen in the battle against the Zealot rebellion in Thessalonike in 1345–46 may be a rare, if not unique, instance of a deliberate hearkening to the classical epitaphios. See Sideras, *Grabreden*, 303–304. Interestingly, while most of the surviving handbooks are thought to be descendants of Hellenistic treatises, themselves derived from panegyric at courts of Hellenistic rulers, no such encomia from the Seleucid or Ptolemaic dynasties survive to illustrate the lessons of the handbooks. Besides a handful of short praise poems for Philip V of Macedon (238–179 BC) transmitted in the Palatine Anthology, the nearest thing to a surviving tribute to a Hellenistic monarch is Theocritus' 17th idyll, for king Ptolemy Philadelphus. See *Theocritus, edited with a translation and commentary*, ed. A.S.F. Gow (Cambridge, 1952 2nd ed.); K.J. Dover, *Theocritus: A Commentary on Select Poems* (London, 1971).

¹⁵ *Or.* 9. Menander-Rhetor (*Men.-Rhet.* 419.1–3) likens such a speech to Isocrates' *Evagoras*: οὐκοῦν ὁ μετὰ χρόνον πολὺν λεγόμενος ἐπιτάφιος καθαρὸν ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον, ὡς Ἰσοκράτους ὁ Εὐαγόρας. εἰ δὲ μὴ πάνυ μετὰ πολὺν λέγοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ που μηνῶν ἢ ὀκτῶ παρελθόντων, ἐγκώμιον μὲν λέγειν δεῖ.

¹⁶ *Evag.* 8. For recent scholarship on this pivotal oration, see Ἰσοκράτης Εὐαγόρας: ἐρμηνευτικὴ ἔκδοσις, ed. V. Alexiou (Thessaloniki, 2005).

¹⁷ *Lex.* I, 653. Ἰσοκράτης... μαθητὴς καὶ διάδοχος τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰσοκράτους, διακούσας δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Θεοδέκτη τῷ ῥήτορι καὶ τραγωδιοποιῷ καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ τῷ Χίῳ, ἅμα τῷ Ἐρυθραίῳ Ναυκρατίτῃ διηγωνίσαστο περὶ λόγων εἰς τὸν ἐπιτάφιον Μανσώλου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλι-

Funeral orations for rulers soon matured into a recognizable pattern, a *genre*, with its own commonplaces consecrated by repeated use. It is worth noting that while many of the *topoi* and encomiastic language of funeral orations for rulers seem to derive from panegyric or βασιλικὸς λόγος more generally, *epitaphioi* for monarchs preceded prose panegyric.¹⁸ Over time, however, funeral oratory became folded into the broader category of speech exalting the sovereign. In the Christian era, what biblical precedent existed for this largely secular genre was provided by David's lament for Saul and Jonathan in the Old Testament (2 Samuel 1:17–27).¹⁹ For a number of reasons, at once political and cultural – not least the proliferating use of Greek literary models in the eastern Mediterranean world – each successive period of the later Roman or early Christian era produced more funerary oratory than the previous one. Late Antiquity seems to have been especially fond of the genre.²⁰

It is worth noting here that the only *imperial* funeral oration in Greek from Late Antiquity was by a pagan author, Libanius, composed for a convert to paganism, Julian, thereby demonstrating that eloquence could be appreciated by Byzantine rhetors as something distinct from subject matter.²¹ There must have undoubtedly been other imperial ἐπιτάφιοι composed, since Libanius nowhere suggests that his orations for Julian are a novelty. It is difficult to imagine that funeral orations were not composed to mark the death and burial of late Roman emperors, not least Constantine I, founder of “New Rome” and political redeemer of Christianity, or for his successors.²² But for one, probably spurious, text purporting to be a funeral oration for Constantine II preserved in a single

καρνασσῶ. Tradition preserves mention of a funerary eulogy for Xenophon's son Gryllus, as well as the eulogy in the *Agesilaus* by the same author.

¹⁸ On the early history of panegyric for sovereigns, see *L'éloge du prince: de l'Antiquité au temps des lumières*, ed. I. Cogitore and F. Goyet (Grenoble, 2003); cf. E. Fontani, “La celebrazione dell'imperatore nelle feste in onore di Adriano nell'Oriente greco,” *Forme di identità nell'età della Seconda Sofistica*, eds. O. D. Cordovana, M. Galli (Catania, 2007); Pernot, *L' éloge*, 123f.; A. Wallace-Hadrill, “The emperor and his virtues,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 30.3 (1981) 298–323. An early study for Byzantium was C. Chamberlain, “The theory and practice of imperial panegyric in Michael Psellos,” *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 16–27.

¹⁹ T. Linafelt, “Private poetry and public eloquence in 2 Samuel 1:17–27: hearing and overhearing David's lament for Jonathan and Saul,” *The journal of religion* 88.4 (2008) 497–526.

²⁰ A. Suter, *Lament: studies in the ancient Mediterranean and beyond* (Oxford, 2008).

²¹ *Op.* II, 236–371. Libanius had earlier composed a μὴνῆα, probably for the occasion of Julian's actual funeral: *Libanii Opera*, II, 206–221. For the difference in content as well as occasion, see below in this section of the introduction. For Libanius' *Nachleben* in Byzantium, see *Libanius: A Critical Introduction*, ed. L. Van Hoof (Cambridge, 2014) 160–184.

²² Book I.22 of Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* describes the funeral rites for Constantine's father, including a procession led by Constantine to the accompaniment of “acclamations and praises for the thrice-blessed [emperor],” whom I take to be Κωνσταντῖος, the deceased emperor, since another set of acclamations follow for his son: δῆμων τε πλήθη μυρία στρατιωτῶν τε δορυφορίαί, τῶν μὲν ἡγουμένων

fifteenth-century manuscript (*Pal. gr. 117*), attributed by one scholar to Theodoros Palaiologos, we lack for copies of similar orations for most of the emperors of Late Antiquity.²³ Might the rhetors commissioned to deliver funeral orations at the burials of Constantine I, Theodosius II, or Justinian I, have been insufficiently accomplished for their texts to leave any trace? Both pagan and Christian western imperial practice – for as long as there were emperors in the West – would appear to offer little guidance.²⁴ Does the answer to this puzzle then lie with the identity of the emperor, or the ‘publication’ history of the individual authors? Different authors in almost all respects, Libanius and Eustathios were similar in this one regard: they (or their literary executors) appear to have taken care to produce a fairly complete corpus of their works in a bid to ensure the survival of their works.²⁵

It nevertheless strains our sense of probability that funeral orations continued to form a regular feature of commemorative ceremonies for deceased emperors but that none survive for emperors after Julian until the ninth century, when the emperor Leo VI (866–912) composed a funerary tribute for his father, the emperor Basil I, founder of the Macedonian dynasty.²⁶ Leo’s lengthy oration preserves many of the original aspects of the genre. Just as importantly, it contains no rationalization of the nature or purpose of such an oration. This suggests that Leo expected the audience to recognize what he was doing. It is unlikely that the rhetorical conventions Leo appeals to were re-activated for a single occasion after many centuries, only to be allowed to lapse one more until their next revival. Leo’s oration gives us good reason to deduce that such eulogies con-

τῶν δὲ κατόπιν ἐπομένων, σὺν παντὶ κόσμῳ τὸν θεοφιλῆ συνέπεμπον, εὐφημίαις τε καὶ ὕμνοις οἱ πάντες τὸν τρισμακάριον ἐτίμων.

²³ *Anonymi Graeci Oratio funebris in Constantinum* (II), ed. Carlo Enrico Frotscher (Friburg, 1856).

²⁴ For a complete list of (Western) Roman funeral orations in Latin, including those for emperors, see W. Kierdorf, *Laudatio funebris: Interpretationen und Untersuchung zur Entwicklung der römischen Leichenrede* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1979) 137–149. Marc Antony’s funeral oration for Caesar (cf. Senec. *Dial.* III.1.3); Augustus was eulogized by both Tiberius and his son Drusus; cf. Kierdorf, *Laudatio*, 150–158.

²⁵ For Libanius, see now R. Criboire, *Libanius the sophist: rhetoric, reality, and religion in the fourth century* (Ithaca, 2013); for the ideological dimension of his thought, see H.-U. Wiemer “Emperors and empire in Libanius,” in *Libanius: a critical introduction*, ed. L. van Hoof (Cambridge, 2014) 187–219. There is, as yet, no comprehensive portrait of Eustathios as an author such as we might expect in light of his extensive and diverse corpus. A. Kazhdan’s intellectual and ideological profile, now over thirty years old, is long overdue for reassessment, especially in light of several new editions of works in genres as distinct as epistolography, lenten homilies, a long diatribe on monastic reform, and commentary on the canons.

²⁶ *Hom.* 41.

tinued to be performed for emperors, much as they were for other high-ranking élites, only for reasons we do not yet fathom they were rarely preserved.²⁷

A long and rhetorically ambitious work closer in style to a monody, Leo's oration has been pronounced derivative, assembled from the available *topoi* in the rhetorical handbooks.²⁸ But as P. A. Agapitos has argued, when read against its historical circumstances Leo's deployment of the stereotypes common to funerary rhetoric "yields a political meaning of crucial importance for understanding the problems of [Leo's] first two years of rule."²⁹ This more immediate political relevance of funerary oratory is often rhetorically camouflaged by the conventional imagery and motifs of imperial panegyric. Such a political dimension should not come as a surprise. Even if most funeral orations for emperors were not composed by men with an immediate stake in the political legacy of the *laudandus*, an imperial funeral oration could provide a plausible and rhetorically safe pretext to articulate the rationale for rule by those claiming the legacy of the deceased. As I note below, the inevitable factionalism of the court following the death of an emperor ensured that an oration praising the recent record of the deceased was perhaps bound to be interpreted as supporting the side most closely affiliated with that emperor. Indeed, no matter how self-effacing and disinterested the author of a funeral oration might have been – and Eustathios was rarely either – he nevertheless spoke directly to the genuine political anxieties of his audience.

Surveying the broader development of post-classical funerary oratory, Agapitos has observed that the genre "moves away from the open domain of public experience within the *polis* and shifts towards the closed domain of pri-

²⁷ Antonopoulou supposes that funeral orations generally were interrupted during the so-called Dark Ages, to be revived in the early ninth century by Theodore the Studite and other authors of this period. I am less certain that the extant orations represent the actual fate of funerary oratory. T. Antonopoulou, *The homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden, 1997) 246. Again, unexplained significant lacunae emerge well after the supposed revival of the genre in the ninth and tenth centuries by Theodore the Studite, the emperor Leo, Peter of Argos, and Arethas. For funeral orations by each of these, respectively, see Sideras, *Grabreden*, 97–100, 101–103, 104–107, 108–109. By dating the start of the "interruption" in funerary oratory to Chorikios of Gaza in the sixth century, Antonopoulou omits the "lost" monody by Theophylaktos Symokattes for the emperor Maurikios, which both Sideras, *Grabreden* 437, and Hunger, *Profanliteratur* I 317, assumed was an independent text before being incorporated into Symokattes' *Hist.* VIII 12.5–7.

²⁸ This, at least, was the judgement of the text's modern editors, *Or. fun.* 39–78, 26–29; cf. Sideras, *Grabreden*, 72, 83, n.246, 85 n.255, 91.

²⁹ Cf. P. A. Agapitos, "Η εικόνα του αυτοκράτορα Βασιλείου Α' στη φιλομακεδονική γραμματεία 867–959," *Hellenika* 40 (1989) 285–322. Cf. P. Odorico, "La politica dell'immaginario di Leone VI il Saggio," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 597–631.

vate life within the principality.”³⁰ This trajectory from the public and political to the private and pathetic is largely accurate if applied to post-classical funerary texts, broadly speaking. Funeral orations for emperors, however, retained an inescapably public and political dimension, even as burial and commemoration came to be seen increasingly as a prerogative of the family. The lament of a funeral oration channeled not just the grief of the deceased emperor’s immediate family or dependents. It engaged a wider cross section of the élite in a kind of political mourning for the loss of an able ruler. It gave voice to the immanent anxieties about the future of the empire’s governance.

After Leo’s political monody for his father (and mother), there follows another hiatus of just over three centuries without a funeral oration for an emperor, until the two orations for Manuel I Komnenos, an epitaphios by Eustathios and a monody by Gregorios Antiochos.³¹ Once more, we are left asking whether the absence of imperial funeral orations in the manuscript record reflects a break in the practice of funerary orations or an idiosyncrasy of Byzantine textual history and authorial culture. While I tend to favour the latter conclusion, with so few examples of imperial funerary oratory, it is difficult to plot a clear line of development up to and including the Ἐπιτάφιος.³² As the heading of the text tells us, Eustathios was not alone in composing a funeral oration for the deceased emperor. In fact, as Gregorios Antiochos’ surviving *μονωδία* confirms, a number of fellow rhetors may have already beaten him to it.³³ This serves as additional proof that contemporary rhetors were well versed in the rhetorical requirements of imperial funerary orations. It seems unlikely, therefore, that a number of authors collectively took up a lapsed genre at this crucial juncture. It is more probable that Eustathios and the other orators had both ancient and

³⁰ P. A. Agapitos, “Ancient models and novel mixtures: the concept of genre in Byzantine funerary literature from Patriarch Photios to Eustathios of Thessalonike,” in *Modern Greek literature: critical Essays*, eds. G. Nagy, A. Stavropoulou (New York; London, 2003) 5–23, 6.

³¹ I do not count here the curious incident referred to in a letter by Ioannes Tzetzes to an “audacious and shameless” correspondent he accused of having “purloined an imperial epitaphios from a friend of Tzetzes and claimed it as his own. See *Ep.* 42: Τῷ Βασιλικὸν λόγον βασιλικὸν ἐπιτάφιον τινὸς τῶν Τζέτζου φίλων ἀποσυλήσαντι καὶ ὡς οἰκείον μεταποιήσαντι. Tzetzes does not specify whether this was a progymnasma or an actual funeral oration, and if so, for which emperor. He lived through the death of John II, as well, perhaps, that of Manuel I.

³² It is worth noting the significant increase in extant funeral orations for emperors of the Palaiologan period. See Sideras, *Grabreden*, 249–250, 271–273, 292–293, 295–297, 306–307, 344–345, 361–362, 380–381.

³³ Antiochos’ monody was first published anonymously in *Fontes* t. I. However, P. Wirth convincingly demonstrated that both this and another oration in Regel’s *Fontes* were by Antiochos. See P. Wirth, *Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Rhetorik des zwölften Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike* (München, 1960) 10–12, 22f.

more recent *exempla* before them, most no longer extant. Absent such concrete examples, Eustathios and his peers would have had to rely almost exclusively on some combination of compositional template(s) furnished by the handbooks, translating the overly-broad and no longer directly applicable recommendations of the ancient rhetorical manuals into the pertinent language of a contemporary funeral oration.

Ironically, Eustathios himself indirectly encourages such an assumption when near the start of the oration he observes that he will depart from the conventional scheme of a funeral oration, in effect violating the “laws governing the composition of orations.” Eustathios finds warrant for such formal transgression in the example of “the fathers of the rhetorical rules,” who “often violate their own precepts:

Οὕτως οὖν καθεσταμένου τοῦ μηδὲν οὖν σιγᾶν χρῆναι, ἀλλὰ τι λαλῆσαι, ὧν ἐθάδες ἡμεν, νόμοις μὲν λογογραφίας ἔπεσθαι εἰς λεπτόν, οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη ἐπικείσεται, εἰ γε καὶ οἱ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ πατέρες νόμου πολλὰ παραποιοῦσι τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς θεσμῶν, ὅτε κείριον· ἔκτοπα δὲ αὐθις πλάζεσθαι γράφοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο παρανομεῖν ἐν τέχνῃ λόγων ἐστίν. Ἐπιλεκτέον οὖν τό τε ἔννομον ἐν ἐγκωμίοις καὶ τὸ ἐν περιστάσεσιν εὐμέθοδον, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονοῦσαν κἂν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δεινότητα
(Ἐπ. 4)

And so having established that now is not the time to remain silent, but to speak out, as we were accustomed to doing, it would not be incumbent on us to follow the rules governing the composition of speeches down to the last detail, seeing that the fathers of the laws of rhetoric often alter their own rules when the occasion calls for it; then again, to fashion things in the course of writing which have no place in a speech, this is indeed to commit a violation in the art of composition. And so one must choose both what is lawful in encomia and what is most effective under the circumstances, in accordance with most forceful arrangement in these cases.

Possessed of an irrepressible academic temperament, Eustathios could not help but offer an *apologia pro verbis suis* in an oration as prominent as this. But broad and self-reflexive statements concerning rhetorical method are also not uncommon in various genres of Byzantine literature, including imperial panegyric. They are in keeping with the foregrounding of authorship, the epideictic ethos, discussed in the section on style. In the case of the Ἐπιτάφιος, the statement regarding “what is lawful in encomia and what is most effective” is made in a bid to solve two problems, one practical, the other literary or rhetorical. The practical problem is one of economy of time. Even a funeral oration on this scale for an emperor could not go on interminably and required the rhetor to select and elide, adapting the mould of a prescribed ideal *epitaphios* to the subject and

circumstances in question. The second aspect, which I call literary or rhetorical, involved the pursuit of a distinct style and the inclusion of memorable contents. A rhetor of Eustathios' standing wished to avoid the impression of having composed in a manner that amounted to little more than simply shading within the existing lines. We see a similar readiness to flout the generic norms of funeral oratory in a Eustathios' very personalized eulogy for Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites.³⁴ A somewhat experimental text, by Eustathios' own admission, this funeral oration was also accompanied by a programmatic title in the manuscript announcing the author's stylistic and generic intentions with regard to the "laws of funerary oratory" (ἐπιτάφίου δὲ νόμῳ).³⁵

It would nevertheless be mistaken, in my view, to read such a reference to rules governing funeral orations as betraying a practical and close dependence on the handbooks. It should instead be read as a foil for the declaration of Eustathios' autonomy as an author. Eustathios underlines his readiness to draw on his own rhetorical resources, instead of submitting to received forms. It is the freedom or indulgence sought by the hands-on rhetor in the face of conventional prescriptions.³⁶ The overall design or architecture of the Ἐπιτάφιος is nevertheless sufficiently consistent with the broad scheme laid out in the second treatise of Menander-Rhetor's *On Epideictic Speeches* (Περὶ Ἐπιδεικτικῶν) to warrant consideration of the consonance of design between Menander-Rhetor's guidelines and the particular form of Eustathios' Ἐπιτάφιος for Manuel.³⁷ The claim that *Menander-Rhetor* lies behind most Byzantine funeral orations and of panegyric more generally is not wrong *per se*. It is rather misleadingly insufficient in accounting for the form and contents of these genres. As both Pernot and Kennedy point out in their respective surveys of epideictic and rhetorical teaching in post-classical antiquity, we should not suppose that rhetors either in late an-

³⁴ Or. 1 (Λόγος Α) 3–13.

³⁵ Ibid., 3; this oration is insightfully analyzed in two highly pertinent articles by Panagiotis Agapitos, who spells out Eustathios' authorial restlessness specifically in the genre of funerary oratory. See his "Ancient models," 5–23; as well as P. A. Agapitos, "Mischung der Gattungen und Überschreitung der Gesetze: Die Grabrede des Eustathios von Thessalonike auf Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites," *JÖB* 48 (1998) 119–146. Agapitos' conclusions are in keeping with the now well established view of Komnenian literary culture as having encouraged an unprecedented measure of novelty, or certainly more claims to that effect.

³⁶ Michael Psellos, whom most twelfth-century authors looked to as that rarest thing, a contemporary Byzantine paragon of rhetorical virtuosity, was able to furnish a precedent for the frustration with the constraints imposed by the received rules of encomium. See *KD* 2.13.18ff. ἄτεχνόν τι... τοὺς κάτω νόμους τῶν ἐγκωμίων.

³⁷ Stone, "A funeral oration," 239–273; Magdalino, too, cites Menander-Rhetor as the template for imperial, thus crediting the handbook with supplying a touchstone for most of the oratory at Manuel's court; see Magdalino, *Empire*, 415–417.

tiquity or the middle ages had programmatic recourse to the kind of instruction we find in *Menander-Rhetor*. Handbooks were more likely seen as descriptive, a fairly reliable indication of common practice distilled into an ideal type, not a set of compulsory prescriptions. There is little evidence of adherence to generic models among Byzantine authors more generally, and even less by ambitious authors of the Komnenian age who regularly protest the straight-jacket of literary conventions, admittedly sometimes a little too insistently. But both Pernot and Kennedy point out that when compared with actual speeches, the number of manuscripts of the handbooks suggests that imitation of earlier orations was by far the more common source of instruction. Hands-on composition remained the only real school of rhetoric.³⁸ In as much as the handbooks represented a conservative bent in Byzantine rhetorical culture, they nevertheless continued to exercise indirect influence on occasional genres.³⁹ Of the two treatises on epideictic speeches preserved in the collection attributed to *Menander-Rhetor*, it is the second which treats funerary oratory.⁴⁰ As befits the pedantic quality of the handbooks, *Menander-Rhetor* offers a potted history of the funeral oration, beginning with its venerable Athenian archetypes.⁴¹ This is not so surprising if we bear in mind that of the ancient exemplars of ἐπιτάφιος still in circulation when most of the handbooks were composed were almost exclusively by Athenian orators, including the best known of these, Demosthenes and Isocrates, but also the celebrated funeral oration ascribed to Pericles in Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*. This Atheno-centric understanding of the genre nevertheless dovetailed with the marketing, so to speak, of handbooks catering to the taste for Atticizing prose.

Written at a time when the canonical models of ancient funerary oratory had become ideologically obsolete, *Menander-Rhetor* attempts first to parse the occasions for which the different funerary speeches might be composed. He thus reminds us that funeral orations were still conceived as extensions of actual

³⁸ L. Pernot, *La rhétorique dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 2000). G. Kennedy, *Greek rhetoric under Christian emperors* (Princeton, 1983) 163–167, 272–275; on epitaphioi logoi specifically, 158, 175, 229, 305–306.

³⁹ Hunger exaggerates the binding nature of these treatises in my view when he characterizes Pseudo-Menandros (a.k.a. *Menander-Rhetor*) as a “verbindliche Richtschnur” or “reliable guide.” Hunger, *Profane Literatur I*, 132.

⁴⁰ *Men.-Rhet.* treatise II, 76–225. The most recent editors, Wilson and Russell (xxxiv–xl), conclude that the two treatises are by different authors, though probably near enough in origin to have been paired early in the text's publication or circulation history. Of the rhetorical handbooks frequently consulted in Byzantium, only that of so-called *Menander-Rhetor* offers much advice on the composition of funeral orations, and most of that concerns the broad architecture of the speech, not the style.

⁴¹ The sections of the *Περὶ Ἐπιδεικτικῶν* dealing with funerary speeches are as follows: *Περὶ Παραμυθητικῆς* 413.6–414.30; *Περὶ Ἐπιταφίου*, 418.5–422.4; *Περὶ Μονωδίας* 434.11–437.4.

ceremonies and not simply as abstract literary forms. The handbook then lays out the recommended sequence of topics and catalogues their prescribed contents, periodically adding a sample sentence by way of illustration. Significantly, the handbook testifies to an early division of funerary oratory's sub-categories. Since it is delivered furthest in time from the death and/or burial, ἐπιτάφιος we are told, is furthest from the lament addressed to an audience still mourning. Consequently, it is nearest to a speech in praise of the life and conduct of the deceased, or akin to "pure encomium" (καθαρόν ἐστιν ἐγκώμιον), with token emphasis on bereavement and without the emotional outpouring of a monody (μονωδία).⁴² There follows a thematic inventory of the funeral oration's successive parts. One immediately notices that with the single, passing reference to Isocrates' oration for king Evagoras, the funeral oration in Menander-Rhetor is analyzed here without further reference to imperial rank.⁴³ This, of course, is true of a number of speech types in Menander-Rhetor, including the so-called 'bedroom speech' (κατευναστικός), the 'birthday speech' (γενεθλιακός), or closer to the funerary theme, the 'consolatory speech' (παραμυθητικός).

Arguably any kind of speech for an emperor, living or dead, would constitute a class of its own, including birthday or wedding speeches. Still, Menander-Rhetor makes no special allowance for funerary speeches on the occasion of an emperor's death. The handbook does not recognize such speeches as a (sub-) category unto themselves, as we might have expected given the potential difference in content, to say nothing of the difference in occasion. And yet the logic by which the various kinds of speeches are thematically mapped in *Menander-Rhetor* implicitly extends to imperial funeral orations. If an epitaphios is much like an encomium, then it follows that a funeral oration for an emperor is not unlike an imperial panegyric, a continuation of βασιλικὸς λόγος.⁴⁴ Unlike most ἐπιτάφιοι or μονωδίαι for men and women below the rank of emperor, imperial funerary orations could draw on a substantial corpus of encomiastic speeches.

⁴² *Men.-Rhet.* 419.1–2.

⁴³ Perhaps anticipating the demand for funeral orations for rulers, or at least for the ruling class, Menander-Rhetor likens "a funeral speech delivered long after the event" (ὁ μετὰ χρόνον πολὺ λεγόμενος ἐπιτάφιος), to the funeral oration for the Cypriot king Evagoras, by Isocrates. See *Men.-Rhet.* 419.1–2.

⁴⁴ Cf. Felgentreu, "Aufbau und Erzähltechnik im Epitaphios auf Kaiser Julian. Zur Kompositionskunst des Libanios," ed. M. Grünbart, *Theatron: Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter / Rhetorical Culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* [Millennium-Studien, 13] (Berlin, 2007) 53–68, 54. Cf. *Etym. Gud.* 511: 'Ἐπιτάφιος λόγος· ὁ ἐπάνω τοῦ τάφου λεγόμενος ἐγκωμιστικός παρ' αὐτῆ τῆ ταφῆ. Cf. Nicetas Stethatus, *Vita Sim. Novi Theol.* 136,6: καὶ εἰς τὸν μακάριον τοῦτον καὶ μέγαν πατέρα ἡμῶν Συμεώνην ἐπιτάφιον λόγον καὶ ὕμνου ἀδεσθαὶ καὶ ἐγκώμια.

The contents of a funeral oration, its tone and substance, the handbook makes clear, are largely a function of the oration's timing. Assuming the distinctions laid out in *Menander-Rhetor* were still broadly in effect in the late twelfth century, as the preamble to Gregorios Antiochos' monody indicates, it could serve as additional corroborative evidence for the approximate period in which Eustathios delivered the Ἐπιτάφιος. If an oration comes not too long after the death or burial – approximately seven or eight months later calculates the author of *Menander-Rhetor* – the *epitaphios* then should take the form of an encomium. This similarity has been described by H. Hunger as a gradual process early on in which encomiastic elements gradually “won the upper hand.”⁴⁵ Should he wish, the author of the treatise adds, nothing prevents the speaker from including some consolatory words towards the end, as in fact happens in Eustathios' oration.⁴⁶ As grief dissipates, lament gives way to pure praise (καθαρόν... ἐγκώμιον). This would appear to match a broadly schematic outline of Eustathios' oration for Manuel: sustained encomium of the emperor, his character, abilities, and record of governing, followed by a consolatory coda, a concession perhaps to the grief of Manuel's kin, especially his wife and son.

A closely itemized comparison of the precise contents of the Ἐπιτάφιος with *Menander-Rhetor's* schematic *epitaphios* shows Eustathios moving in and out of the prescribed plan, neither wholly independent of it, nor yielding entirely to it. This is perhaps not so surprising given the inevitable discrepancy between a Late Antique handbook on composition and the constraints and aims of a middle Byzantine author extolling a contemporary emperor.⁴⁷ Alongside the enduring virtues projected onto the late Roman emperors at the time of *Menander-Rhetor*, twelfth-century panegyrists had to make room for features more consonant with medieval Byzantine ideology and sensibility, as well as traits or achievements associated with the particular *laudandus*.⁴⁸ There is thus some truth to

⁴⁵ Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, 133: “im Laufe der historischer Entwicklung der enkomiastische Charakter die Oberhand gewonnen habe”; for Hunger's survey of extant Byzantine funerary texts and the *Epitaphios* in general, see 132–145.

⁴⁶ *Men.-Rhet.* 419.1–6: οὐκοῦν ὁ μετὰ χρόνον πολὺν λεγόμενος ἐπιτάφιος καθαρόν ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον... ἐπτά που μηνῶν ἢ ὀκτῶ παρελθόντων, ἐγκώμιον μὲν λέγειν δεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει χρῆσθαι τῷ παραμυθητικῷ κεφαλαίῳ οὐδὲν κωλύσει.

⁴⁷ L. Previale illustrates the enduring sense of the handbooks' relevance by noting that as late as the fourteenth century the lessons of *Menander-Rhetor* were reproduced with almost no change by the court polymath Joseph Rakendytes, despite the dissonance of aims and circumstances a thousand years after the composition of the handbook. L. Previale, “Teoria e prassi del panegirico bizantino,” *Emerita* 17 (1949) 72–105, 74, n.1

⁴⁸ Of course we should not assume that Late Antique authors consulting *Menander-Rhetor* would not have taken similar initiatives and adapted the prescriptions of the handbook to the particular cir-

Stone's reading of the Ἐπιτάφιος the as "a highly individualized description of [Manuel]," though I do not agree that the oration amounts to "a comprehensive physical and psychological portrait," since that was not the aim of a funeral oration.⁴⁹ Eustathios tailored his oration to a specific *image*, as p. Magdalino has referred to it, propagated about Manuel. Eustathios himself had helped create this image in earlier panegyrics, from which he drew extensively while composing this oration.

The synonymy of *epitaphios* with encomium in Menander-Rhetor, expressly underscored by the example of Isocrates' oration for Evagoras, effectively set out the contents of a funeral speech for a deceased emperor as matching a βασιλικὸς λόγος, the principal encomiastic speech addressed to Byzantine rulers. Once again, *Menander-Rhetor* reflected rather than directed actual practice.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the choice of *epitaphios*, with its adulatory rather than grief-stricken tone, may well have proceeded from Eustathios' desire to exploit his fluency in imperial panegyric. Both in this and previous orations he acknowledged his long service as to Manuel's court, for which he was rewarded with the appointment to the office of μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων, the imperially sponsored 'chair of rhetoric' granting its holder recognition as *primus inter pares* among his fellow rhetors in the capital. The obligation to perform certain ceremonial orations effectively provided Eustathios with an imperial stage to showcase regularly his talent before the emperor and the capital's élite.⁵¹

Any claim for historic continuity in the practice of funerary orations nevertheless risks flattening the individual texts into a uniform genre. In reality, how-

cumstances. The passage of time in the case of Byzantine orations simply made such latitude even more inevitable.

⁴⁹ A. Stone, "Funeral Oration," 239–273, 239, 240. Stone is not always clear whether he ascribes the qualities attributed by Eustathios to Manuel to the image of the emperor or to Manuel himself. Magdalino admits that as a matter of methodological rigour we have no way to separate the man from the image, since the historical accounts were, in large part, also a reaction to the court's image-makers, whether positive, like Ioannes Kinnamos, or frequently disapproving, like Niketas Choniates.

⁵⁰ Citing examples from Psellos' funerary orations for the contemporary patriarchs Konstantinos Leichoudes and Ioannes Xiphilinos, Hunger notes the frequent synonymy between ἐπιτάφιος and ἐγκώμιον; see Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, 133, n.1. For the Psellan passages in question, see *MB* IV 388, 421. It is worth noting that the references to ἐγκώμιον all occur within the funeral orations, as though to preempt charges of excessive praise and distortion of the truth, since the funeral oration necessarily looked backward, thus bordering on historical narrative. Cf. Gregorius Pardus, *Comm. in Hermog. libr. Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος. Rhet. gr. 7.2*: τὸ δὲ προοίμιον τοῦ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασιλείου ἐπιταφίου ὁμολογεῖν ἔοικε μελέτην πολλὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ ἐγκωμιάσαι τελείως.

⁵¹ We mainly gain a first impression of Eustathios' activity as a speaker at court from the summaries provided by Wirth in his edition of the "minor works", i.e., the orations, of Eustathios in *Op. min.* 15*–44*. For English translations of some of the more notable examples of such orations, see now Andrew Stone, *Eustathios of Thessaloniki: secular orations 1167/8 to 1179* (Brisbane, 2013).

ever, Eustathios' Ἐπιτάφιος for Manuel illustrates well a point made by Agapitos with regard to Eustathios funeral oration for his ecclesiastical peer and friend, Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, cited above.⁵² If we pull back far enough, Agapitos points out, we discern only the broad contours of the genre's continuity over time.⁵³ While this may yield important conclusions about the *longue durée* of a genre, it does so by necessarily violating the integrity of the individual text's particular formal choices as a response to a specific occasion and circumstances. If we take the time to read each text in a manner more alert to its author's desire to render it apt to the circumstances, we may discern more variation than the bird's-eye view of genre allow us to see.

It was only normal then that actual developments in the application of rhetoric should outpace the theoretical lessons of the handbooks. Such innovation as there was served as a catalyst for changes in the demand and supply of rhetorical talent. Rhetors sought the slightest stylistic pretext in a bid to outdo their rivals. This is underlined in the expression πρὸς διαφορὰν in the title of the Ἐπιτάφιος, a stylistic advertisement of sorts.⁵⁴ Still, it is important not to misapprehend handbooks like that of *Menander-Rhetor* as constituting something akin to 'theory', in the sense of a unified conception of applied speech. The handbooks traced the broad contours of conventional practice. As products of the late Hellenistic and later Roman period the rhetorical practice they profiled dated back well over a millenium.⁵⁵ Nowhere is this quite so immediately apparent as in the patent discrepancies between the sociopolitical world assumed by the handbooks and Byzantine reality. This makes the enduring use of these otherwise obsolete handbooks in Byzantium all the more remarkable and demonstrates the extent to which reality could be made to yield to tradition as encoded in rhetoric, rather than simply be obscured by it, as is often assumed. *Mimesis* in Byzantium was thus never simply a matter of literary form. It helped exert pressure on the shared conception of key facets of Byzantine life by stipulating the kind of language one could employ to describe that life.

We should nevertheless be cautious in describing funeral oratory as a genre, at least if by invoking *genre* we understand the Ἐπιτάφιος to have been defined

⁵² See n. 35 above: Agapitos, "Mischung."

⁵³ Ibid., 122: "entlang der horizontalen Fläche...die Makroperspektive der Gattung."

⁵⁴ For still relevant surveys of the aesthetic springs of change in the literary culture of this period, see H. Hunger, *Die byzantinische Literatur der Komnenenzeit: Versuch einer Neubewertung* (Graz, 1968) and A. Garzya, "Literarische und rhetorische Polemiken der Komnenenzeit," *Byzantinoslavica* XXXIV (1973) 1–14; "Polemiche letterarie e retoriche nell'età dei Comneni," *Atene e Roma* XVIII (1973) 34–49.

⁵⁵ For the cultural context in which this handbook arose, see M. Heath, *Menander: a rhetor in context* (Oxford, 2004).

primarily by similarities in form, style, and subject matter, instead of being understood principally as rooted in the ceremonial occasion it marked. So while the various types of court oratory generally deferred to formal convention in their bid to enact a requisite ideological continuity, the texts themselves never became entirely untethered from the rituals and ceremony which invested them with meaning. They remained *occasional* in more than just a notional sense. But since the funerary or commemorative ceremonies have left little trace, the occasional dimension of orations like the Ἐπιτάφιος has to be reconstructed from otherwise sparse evidence. In contrast, the survival of dozens of βασιλικοὶ λόγοι in books intended as repertoires of model speeches, like the celebrated *Baroccianus graecus* 131, now in the Bodleian library; or the corpora of authors like Eustathios, such as *Basileensis* A III 20, tend to encourage a conception of oratory as a principally literary practice whose primary referent is textual tradition itself. As Pernot has observed of encomium in the later Roman empire, when its practice became formally codified, it never became “an abstract rhetorical form, but.. [remained] a social practice, embodied in concrete speech circumstances.”⁵⁶ In a similar vein, Sideras has noted the lack of any evidence for simulated or fictive texts among the corpus of extant funeral orations.⁵⁷ The Ἐπιτάφιος was primarily part of a historical event, and only secondarily an attempt to make literary history.

⁵⁶ Pernot, *Epidictic*, 13. ἐγκώμιον had gained a firm foothold in the curriculum already in later Roman education, being practiced in (προγυμνάσματα/*progymnasmata*). See H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 2. éd. rev. et augm. (Paris, 1957) 252–257, 292–295; cf. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: die Grundlegung d. Literaturwissenschaft* (München, 1973, 2. Auf.), 3 § 1129; cf. *Men.-Rhet.* xxv–xxix; cf. Pernot, *L' éloge*, 56f. on encomium in particular, see O. Crusius, “Enkomium,” *RE* 5.2 (1905): 2581–83; T. Payr, “Enkomium,” *RAC* 5 (1962) 331–43. A. Cameron has observed that “panegyric, as a component of epideictic oratory, was and remained one of the basic components of Greek literary education in late antiquity and Byzantium. This recurring feature in Byzantine writing was not confined to panegyrics as such. It was one of those ‘characteristic ways or means of expression’ which I would regard as typical of late antique writing and which find their way across genres.” A. Cameron, *Christianity and the rhetoric of empire: the development of Christian discourse* (Berkeley, 1991) 13.

⁵⁷ Sideras makes allowance for the single exception of Michael Psellos’ funeral oration for the metropolitan of Mytilene, John. Sideras, *Grabreden*, 112–114; for the text, see now Michael Psellus, *Or. fun.* I.5

At the tomb: the occasional context of the text

Although intended to underscore the preoccupation with formal virtuosity, the inclusion of ἐπιτάφιοι and μονωδαί by Herbert Hunger under the general rubric of “Rhetorik” in his magisterial survey of Byzantine secular literature provided strong backing to the view that such works were primarily intended as vehicles of rhetorical display largely untethered from actuality.¹ Composed in language which seems to harken to the literary past instead of conjuring the present, orations like the Ἐπιτάφιος have been read as ostentatiously aloof from their surroundings, employing an archaizing vocabulary in a bid to insulate themselves not just from colloquial Greek, but from the reality around them. Hunger’s singling out of these genres as inordinately rhetorical was intended to underline what he regarded as the defining characteristic of the orations, namely, the extent to which formal considerations trumped all other factors in their composition. This emphasis on form has earned the canon of imperial oratory the dubious credit of being deemed a form of “literature.” The implication for funeral oratory is to regard the subject or occasion which prompted its composition as little more than a pretext for authorial exhibitionism.

In his census of the genre, Sideras rightly tries to dispel the misapprehensions encouraged by the classification of funerary oratory as a species of literature. He cautions against reading these texts as little more than rhetorical showpieces. They are not, he argues, the equivalent of exercises, like the laments or funerary encomia we find in *progymnasmata*.² As evidence, Sideras cites references in the

¹ Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, I 132–145. “Epitaphioi und Monodien” appears as the third subsection of the category “Rhetorische Praxis” following “Theorie der Rhetorik.” This suggests that the genres included here, among them *Progymnasmata*, *Enkomia*, *Miscellaneous Occasional Speeches*, *Mirrors of Princes*, *Ekphraseis*, bore an over-riding relation to one another as texts driven by rhetorical theory or teaching. Quite apart from the debatable assumptions which enable the grouping together of such heterogeneous texts, the common classification of rhetorical exercises (*Progymnasmata*) with funeral orations (*Epitaphioi*) suggests a false equivalence in their origins and aims. See below for Sideras’ advising against reading any Byzantine funerary text as a literary exercise in disguise.

² Although he is willing to concede a significantly “literary” aspect, Sideras is quick to note that all the surviving funeral orations were indeed genuine, that is, they were composed on the occasion of

manuscript titles of a number of *μονωδίαι* and *ἐπιτάφιοι* to the occasion of their delivery.³ We should, therefore, be careful not to mistake the formal elaboration of the funeral oration with its actual impetus, which was burial ceremonial. So while certain formal aspects of the *Ἐπιτάφιος* may be elucidated when considered as a product of literary history, it remains important not to lose sight of the historically contingent ceremonial setting of most surviving occasional oratory. This is especially true for an oration on the scale and of the formal attainment we find in the *Ἐπιτάφιος*, composed during a time of great political uncertainty brought about by the unexpected death of a long-ruling emperor.

For this and other reasons it is perhaps surprising that we do not have any descriptions of actual imperial funerals; especially so in light of their potential to supply Byzantine authors with memorable scenes and ekphrastic material.⁴ The silence is as conspicuous as that of imperial ceremony more generally, since what little we know about the circumstances in which βασιλικοί λόγοι were delivered has to be inferred from the orations themselves – always a risky deduction – with some rare graphic depictions in illustrated manuscripts like the Madrid Skylitzes, which offers numerous deathbed scenes but only one obvious burial, for a princess⁵. But then we know remarkably little about the pragmatic side for most literature in Byzantium, including the recently much touted *theatron* as a venue for the performance of literary virtuosity. As a result of this dearth of practical detail regarding the circumstances in which texts were delivered before live audiences, we lack details for such vital aspects of the performance as the location of most speeches; the disposition of the audience (did everyone stand or sit for long orations, regardless of rank?); the speaker's location inside the church or palace hall (was there a dais or podium of some sort, so that the audience further back might be able to see and hear the speaker better?); or the sequence of the ceremony.⁶ Consequently the term “occasional” risks becoming an abstract

a real death and must have actually been performed at a funerary ceremony. See Sideras, *Grabreden*, 64–65.

³ Sideras, *Grabreden*, 65; by a curious set of coincidences, two of these are associated with Eustathios, and one with Manuel: the “mixed” funeral oration by Eustathios for Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, his friend and fellow bishop; the monody for Eustathios by his former student and probably secretary, Euthymios Malakes; the monody for Manuel by Gregory of Antioch.

⁴ Michael Psellos describes the reactions of his fellow subjects as the funeral cortège of Romanos III (+ 1034) passed by; he does not, unfortunately, provide any detail about the ceremony. *Chron.* I.55.1

⁵ There are imperial deathbed scenes on ff. 42, 128v, 139, 142 of the Madrid Skylitzes. On f. 52v the emperor Theophilos is depicted at what appears to be a funerary ceremony for his daughter with an accompanying caption that reads ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεόφιλος κυδεύων τὴν θυγατέρα του. V. Tsamakda, *The illustrated chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, (Leiden, 2002).

⁶ On the possibility of seating in churches, see R. F. Taft, “Women at church in Byzantium,” *DOP* 52 (1998) 27–87.

label, a mere classification rather than a designation signalling a concrete historical setting which enabled the performance of a text. In short, we need reminding that by “occasional literature” we mean an actual physical and ceremonial context, an *event*.

With few exceptions, we remain in the dark about the mechanics of oratory at the Byzantine imperial court. The stylized images of speakers reciting texts against a spare and visually coded backdrop in the Madrid Skylitzes only whet our appetite for more context.⁷ Michael Psellos’ vivid account of a monk whose renown as a charismatic ἀναγνώστης, able to vocally enact the drama of his text before a crowd of congregants who have come especially for his performance, gives us some idea of how responsive Byzantine audiences could be to a lively recital.⁸ Although Psellos implies that this particular monk was exceptional, his own vivid description reminds us that recital of texts in Byzantium was seen by audiences as both edification and entertainment. Psellos’ account also underscores the perils of our mute reading of Byzantine texts. Paradoxically, the greater ignorance about their performative setting only further encourages a tendency to read orations like the Ἐπιτάφιος as “literature,” in the sense of texts whose significance derives from the words alone, instead of the ritual or ceremonial settings which occasioned them in the first place.

As already noted, a proper understanding of the Ἐπιτάφιος depends on a recognition of its occasional character. Eustathios composed the oration for a ceremony to be held at a particular time and place, before a select audience. However this occasional dimension, so essential for completing the meaning of the text, remains largely invisible and inaudible. In rare cases, the headings in manuscripts supply clues. One such case happens (perhaps not coincidentally) to be another funeral oration by Eustathios, for Nicholaos Hagiotheodorites. The funerary tribute, we are informed, was delivered in a church of his namesake, Nicholaos Myroblites, on the outskirts of Thessalonike, for a commemorative service to be held for him before the body was brought to Constantinople where Nicholaos was to be buried alongside his illustrious relatives. The manuscript heading thus reads:

⁷ See the images of recital in the illustrated account of the Chronicle of Skylitzes: *Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr.26-2, ff.110r, 125v, 128v*. Cf. Tsamakda, *Illustrated Chronicle*.

⁸ *Or. min.* 37.

λόγος ἀναγνωσθεὶς ἔξω τῆς μεγαλωνύμου πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης ἐν τῷ θείῳ ναῷ τοῦ μυροβλήτου ἁγίου Νικολάου ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τῇ θήκῃ τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἐν αἰοδίμῳ τῇ μνήμῃ πανιερωτάτου Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ ὑπερτίμου, ὅτε εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ἀνεκομίζετο.⁹

An oration recited on the outskirts of the illustrious city of Thessalonike, in the holy shrine of St. Nicholas Myrovlitis, beside the coffin bearing the corpse of the reverend most holy [bishop] of Athens whose renown is unforgettable, as he was being transferred to the great city.

The inclusion of this information in the heading suggests that the precise occasion of this oration’s delivery was deemed relevant. Such a historical interest in the circumstances of delivery would appear to have been germane to an understanding of the oration’s formal or stylistic character. Such details were intended to speak to the oration’s promise of generic novelty. The occasion was synonymous with certain expectations regarding the form and contents of an oration. It may also have authenticated Eustathios’ funeral speech, lending the copied text that necessary ‘reality effect’ by conjuring the actual circumstances of the recital. Yet even such unusually precise details about the occasion and location can hardly make up for the loss of ceremonial context.

We are thus left to reconstruct some semblance of the setting and the rituals from circumstantial evidence about Byzantine imperial burials more generally.¹⁰ The most detailed extant description of such a funeral remains that by Eusebius for Constantine the Great’s burial in the *Vita Constantini*. That both the authenticity and accuracy of Eusebius’ account have been called into question matters less when considering the text’s possible influence over imperial funerary custom in Byzantium.¹¹ Eusebius describes vividly Constantine’s final acts in the knowledge that he would soon die, as well as reactions to the emperor’s death, which range from the measured and self-possessed to the publicly distraught. There follows a detailed narrative of the body’s preparation for burial, draped in purple and placed in a golden coffin, followed by transport to Constantinople

⁹ A. Sideras, *25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden* (Thessaloniki, 1990) 31.2–5. Agapitos (“Mischung,” 143) thinks it probable that the text of the oration accompanied Nicholas’ corpse and was to be recited at his interment in Constantinople. I see no reason to exclude the possibility of two recitals of the oration, one before a local Thessalonican audience – which may explain the layover on the city’s outskirts – and again before the mourners in the capital.

¹⁰ By “circumstantial” I mean evidence like that provided by the poet Corippus about the funeral of the Emperor Justinian in the Latin panegyric for his successor, Justin II. See the notes to *Corippus, In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris libri IV*, ed. and trans. by A. Cameron (London, 1976) 179–182.

¹¹ Eusebius’ account has gained in credibility as part of the *Vita Constantini*’s broader rehabilitation. For the text, see F. Winkelmann, *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantins*, GCS Eusebius 1/1, (Berlin, 1975; rev. 1992). Cf. A. Cameron, “Eusebius’ *Vita Constantini* and the construction of Constantine,” *Portraits: biographical representations in the Greek and Latin literature of the Roman Empire*, eds. S. Swain, M. Edwards (Oxford, 1997); cf. A. Cameron, S. G. Hall, *Eusebius’ Life of Constantine. Introduction, translation and commentary* (Oxford, 1999).

(Constantine died May 22, A.D. 337, near Nicomedia) in order to lie in state in the palace prior to burial. The funerary protocols described by Eusebius closely match those of subsequent accounts. Indeed they may have been modelled on them. Constantine was buried in a traditional Roman mausoleum which would eventually form part of the complex of the church of the Holy Apostles rebuilt by Justinian I two centuries later.

This church remained the burial place of most Byzantine emperors and their families from the time of Constantine I until 1028, when Constantine VIII, was the last emperor to be buried there.¹² Curiously, Eusebius gives no precise date for Constantine's burial. Moreover, he makes no mention of the actual funerary ceremony, as though it were not part of the overall public pageant.¹³ As Claudia Rapp has written, "the rituals surrounding imperial death retain a strongly familial character, yet also acknowledge the public aspect of [the emperor's] rule."¹⁴ It is nevertheless worth noting that little or no mention is ever made in the funeral oration itself of the wider funerary ceremony.

Similarly detailed but equally silent on key matters of funerary ceremony is the account in the compendious digest of court protocol entitled Ἡ τῆς βασιλείου τάξεως ἐκθεσίς τε καὶ ὑποτύπωσις, or *Book of Ceremonies*, commissioned in the tenth century by the emperor Constantine VII as part of a monumental project of ideological and cultural restoration, including imperial ceremony.¹⁵ This miscellany of court decorum is predicated on the widely shared notion in Byzantium that ceremony is the symbolic outward expression of a natural or divinely sanctioned latent order. Like most of the ceremonial protocol and ritual activity described in the book, the account of an imperial funeral

¹² This church was located in the Western part of the city, close to one of the two main boulevards, or Μέση, which bisected the city. Constantine VIII (1025–1028) was the last emperor to be buried in the Holy Apostles. On the building and its history, see W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen 1977), 405–11; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, tom. 3: Les églises et les monastères* (2nd ed. Paris 1969), 41–50. On the imperial burials in this church, see G. Downey, "The tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople". *Journal of hellenic studies* 79 (1959) 27–51. For a thorough survey of the sources on the known burials of Byzantine emperors down to 1042, see the excellent article by P. Grierson, "The tombs and obits of the Byzantine emperors (337–1042)," *DOP* 16 (1962) 3–63.

¹³ For Eusebius' description of Constantine's funeral and its eventual contribution to an emergent Christian imperial ideology, see G. Dagron, *Emperor and priest: the imperial office in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003) 135–43.

¹⁴ C. Rapp, "Death at the Byzantine Court: the Emperor and his Family," *Death at Court*, ed. K.-H. Spiess, I. Warntjes (Wiesbaden, 2012) 267–286, 272.

¹⁵ For a critical perspective on the nature of this and similar so-called "encyclopedic" projects, see the seminar article by P. Odorico, "La cultura della ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ: 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno," *BZ* 83,1 (1990) 1–21.

reflects what should take place according to a properly observed convention befitting the symbolic order represented by the emperor. The *Book of Ceremonies*, it should be emphasized, does not tell us what in fact was actually done until that time, or afterwards.¹⁶ Its normative purpose suggests ceremonial inconsistency may have been the rule. We also have no way of confirming how successful it was in imposing ceremonial uniformity. The prescriptions nevertheless bear examining since they preserve an ideal of ceremonial pageantry and can help us draw analogous parallels for subsequent commemorative occasions.

The *Book of Ceremonies* stipulates that the emperor's body is carried out through the "Kavallarios," a courtyard of the Great Palace also known as the "inner Hippodrome," probably on account of its shape.¹⁷ The "golden bier" on which the emperor's body lay is then placed in the Hall of the Nineteen Couches, the imperial banqueting hall, where the body lies in state, dressed and crowned in gold. Both the clergy and secular nomenclatura come to pay their respects, and it is specified that they join in the chanting. The master of ceremonies (ὁ τῆς καταστάσεως) then recites three times "Ἐξέλθε, βασιλεῦ, καλεῖ σε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριούντων and the attendants carry the emperor's body back into the Chalkê gatehouse and perform "the usual duties."¹⁸ When these are completed, we are told, the same master of ceremonies once more shouts "Ἐξέλθε, βασιλεῦ. Then the emperor's hand-picked men, those bearing the title "imperial Protospatharioi," carry the corpse in procession along the Mesê (one of Constantinople's two main thoroughfares bisecting the city) until they reach the place of burial, where the Psalms are chanted "along with all that is customary" (τὰ συνήθη). There follow more direct addresses to the deceased from the master of ceremonies inviting him to enter the House of the Lord, after which the crown is removed from the emperor's head and corpse is laid in the tomb.¹⁹

¹⁶ Fittingly enough – perhaps even too fittingly – the account preserved in *Theophanes Continuatus* VI 51–3 of the funeral preparations following the death of Constantine VII, who commissioned the Book of Ceremonies, follows closely the protocols described in the Book of Ceremonies. See *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. Bekker, (Bonn, 1838) 466–8. On the challenges of interpreting the evidence of Byzantine rituals, see M. McCormick, "Analyzing imperial ceremonies," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 1–20.

¹⁷ *The emperor's house: palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*, eds. M. Featherstone, J.-M. Spieser, G. Tanman, U. Wulf-Rheidt (Berlin; New York, 2015) 415, n.13.

¹⁸ The Greek here has τὰ ἐξ ἔθους which is doubly significant. First because it assumes that anyone who has need of a book outlining the ceremonial aspects of a royal funeral will nevertheless with the preparation of the body for burial. Second because it underscores the customary nature of so much associated with burial; cf. τὰ συνήθη in the next sentence.

¹⁹ *De cerimon.* 2.84–85: Ἐξέρχεται τὸ λείψανον διὰ τοῦ Καβαλλαρίου, καὶ τίθεται εἰς τὰ ἰθ' Ἀκκούβιτα ἢ χρυσῆ κλίνη ἢ ἐπονομαζομένη λύπη, καὶ πρόκειται ἐκεῖσε τὸ αὐτὸ λείψανον, ἐστεμμένον μετὰ διβητησίου

Quite apart from their generic formulation, the blueprint for imperial funerals in the *Book of Ceremonies* had become anachronistic in a number of respects by the time of Manuel's death. Undoubtedly the most obvious difference was at once a consequence and a catalyst of broader ideological changes among Byzantium's ruling élite: the change of venue for imperial burial and its attendant ceremonies. Rather than be entombed in the church of the Holy Apostles, which had housed the sarcophagi of Byzantium's emperors as far back as Justinian's expansion of the Constantinian mausoleum into a church, beginning in the mid eleventh century Byzantine emperors chose to be buried in churches or monasteries founded by their families. This shift stemmed from the aristocratic ethos and private religiosity of the clans which rotated on the throne. Henceforward emperors chose to forego the big public funerals which had culminated with burial in the church of the Holy Apostles near the imperial palace, along with all the ritual and symbolism associated with imperial funerals.

The choice not to be buried in the Holy Apostles may have reflected a number of developments, including the possible exhaustion of space for new tombs in the church (although one suspects a solution to such a problem could have been found). However it is quite probable that ideological factors combined with practical ones. Whether because he could no longer afford the upkeep of the old, stately palace, or in order to make the merger between imperial authority and Komnenian identity even more conspicuous – quite likely both – Manuel's grandfather Alexios I had transferred the imperial residence and seat of power from the so-called Great Palace near the district of Hagia Sophia, adjacent the Hippodrome, historically the capital's twin sites of religious and secular authority, to the private Komnenian residence in the Blachernae district, in the northwestern suburbs of the capital.²⁰ Imperial funeral processions had once set

καὶ χρυσῆς χλαμύδος καὶ καμπαγίων, καὶ εἰσέρχονται οἱ τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας γήλωνες καὶ ὁ κλῆρος, ὡσαύτως καὶ πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος ἀπὸ σκαραμαγγίων, καὶ ψάλλουσιν κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν. Εἶθ' οὕτως νεύει ὁ πραιπόσιτος τῷ τῆς καταστάσεως, καὶ λέγει ἐκεῖσε. «Ἐξέλθε, βασιλεῦ, καλεῖ σε ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν Βασιλευόντων καὶ Κύριος τῶν Κυριευόντων.» Τοῦτο λέγει τρίτον, καὶ παραντικά αἴρεται τὸ λείψανον παρὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν, καὶ πάλιν εἰσφέρουσιν αὐτὸ ἔνδον τῆς Χαλκῆς, καὶ τιθέασιν αὐτὸ ἐκεῖσε, καὶ ποιοῦσι τὰ ἐξ ἔθους. Καὶ ὅτε ὀφείλει ἀρθῆναι τὸ λείψανον, νεύει ὁ πραιπόσιτος τῷ τῆς καταστάσεως, καὶ ἄρχεται λέγειν ἐκ τρίτου τό. «Ἐξέλθε, βασιλεῦ» καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἐξέρχεται τὸ λείψανον ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκῆς, βασταζόμενον ὑπὸ βασιλικῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίων, καὶ διέρχεται διὰ τῆς Μέσης, καὶ τὸν τόπον καταλαβόντων, ἐν ᾧ μέλλει κηδευθῆναι, γίνετα ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς ψαλμωδίας καὶ τὰ συνήθη. Εἶτα νεύει πάλιν ὁ πραιπόσιτος τῷ τῆς καταστάσεως, καὶ ποιεῖται τὴν ἀναφώνησιν οὕτως. «Εἰσελθε, βασιλεῦ, καλεῖ σε ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν Βασιλευόντων καὶ Κύριος τῶν Κυριευόντων.» Ἐκ τρίτου. Εἶθ' οὕτως. «Ἀπόθου τὸ στέμμα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς σου.» καὶ εὐθὺς αἴρεται παρὰ τοῦ πραιποσίτου, καὶ τίθεται σημεντέινον μετὰ πορφυρᾶς λιτῆς, καὶ τίθεται ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ.

²⁰ On the Blachernae palace and district, see A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: the walls of the city and adjoining historical sites* (London, 1899) 122–153; on Komnenian renovations and additions to the Blachernae complex, see *idem*, 122–130; cf. *ODB*, 293. The Blachernae palace is attested in the

out from there along the wide boulevards of the capital, past the ancient imperial fora, which could accommodate large crowds as the funeral cortège wound its way through the city before arriving at the Holy Apostles. In contrast, a procession setting out from the Blachernae imperial residence on its way to the chapel of some smaller religious foundation affiliated with a single family and lacking the political dimension of the city's ancient churches would not likely have followed so 'public' a route or become so collective an event. Thus by the time of Manuel's death, imperial funerals had contracted considerably, in both a practical and symbolic sense.²¹ They had gone from being a state funeral to a more family and court-centred affair, the two becoming increasingly indistinguishable, as had in fact happened during Komnenian rule.

What appears not to have changed, however, is the muted religious character of imperial burials. Indeed, the entire affair does not appear to have been considered a religious ceremony, *sensu stricto*. Thus both the *Book of Ceremonies* and the description in *Theophanes Continuatus* of Constantine VII's burial in the Church of the Holy Apostles make no mention of clergy presiding, only attending. The funeral remained an affair for the emperor's family and the imperial household to conduct. This helps explain why founders had to stipulate with such precision the commemorative rites of prayer, lighting of candles, and hymns to be sung by the monks or clergy at their tombs. And so despite being motivated by piety and concern for the soul of the deceased, the centerpiece of the commemorative ceremony, the funeral oration, was not part of a religious ritual. This accounts for the rather limited references in funerary texts to religious or theological aspects of death and the afterlife, or much about the fate of the deceased's soul.²² Any such references were likely to have come during the actual burial rite. Funerary tributes, however, had another, more secular function.

Setting out from the Blachernae palace, Manuel's funeral bier would have made its way to the church of Christ Pantokrator, the housed within the monastic complex by the same name founded by his parents, John II and Eirene, in what may have been the greatest act of public euergetism of the Komnenian

ceremonial protocols contained in the 10th-century *Book of Ceremonies* (*De cerimon.*, chps. I.27, I.34, II.9, II.12). Manuel I, in particular, is credited with the construction of an elaborate outer wall, [4] and of several splendid new halls, such as the Hall of Irene (named after Empress Irene of Hungary) and the Polytimos Oikos ("Valuable House"), cf. van Millingen, *Constantinople*, 128–129.

²¹ J.P. Sodini, "Rites funéraires et tombeaux impériaux à Byzance," *La mort du souverain entre antiquité et haut moyen âge*, eds. B. Boissavit-Camus, F. Chausson et H. Inglebert (Paris, 2003) 167–182.

²² See now V. Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium: The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art* (New York, 2017).

era.²³ Equipped with a well staffed hospital, the richly-endowed monastic foundation of the Pantokrator appears like an attempt to recapture something of the lost grandeur of earlier imperial foundations, especially the church of the Holy Apostles.²⁴ Nestled between the twin churches of the Pantokrator was a specially constructed mortuary chapel dedicated to the archangel Michael, intended by its founders for their own and their descendants' entombment.²⁵ The chapel is referred to in both monastic charters and by historians as a *herôon* (ἡρώων), an archaizing term apt not just to the classicizing style of Byzantine literature beloved by the Komnenian court but also apt to the aristocratic self-image of individual valour and heroism cultivated by the dynastic clan and especially by Manuel and his panegyrists.

Flanked by the two churches into which it gave access, the chapel was part of the holy precinct while nominally observing the rule forbidding burials in churches (Fig. 1 below). The chapel was thus designed to be at once liturgically independent of the churches while communicating with them. The most thorough archaeological studies of the building to date hypothesize that the chapel's eastern bay was reserved for weekly liturgical services while the larger, western half housed the tombs of the founders, Eirene and John II, and their relatives. Manuel had had his own first wife, Eirene (*née* Bertha of Salzbach) buried there and had made lavish arrangements for his own interment, furnishing the central bay of the mausoleum with an imposing and highly distinct tomb which stood

²³ R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 3: Les églises et les monastères de Constantinople], 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969) 176–76, 344, 515–23. For recent archaeological studies, see R. Ousterhout, Z. Ahunbay, M. Ahunbay, A. Özügül, "Study and Restoration of the Zeyrek Camii in Istanbul: First Report," 1997–98, *DOP* 54 (2000) 265–270; R. Ousterhout, Z. Ahunbay, M. Ahunbay, "Second Report, 2001–2005," *DOP* 63 (2009) 235–256. For its 'Komnenian' influence, see R. Ousterhout, "Architecture, art and Komnenian ideology at the Pantokrator monastery," *Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life*. ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2001) 133–150. See also, *The Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople*, ed. S. Kotzabassi. (Berlin, 2013). On the founding of the Pantokrator as a family mausoleum, see V. Dimitropoulou, "Imperial women founders and refounders in Komnenian Constantinople." *Founders and refounders of Byzantine monasteries*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast 2007) 87–106; 89–90.

²⁴ R. Ousterhout observes that the chapel's design was intended to recall the imperial mausolea at the church of the Holy Apostles. "Byzantine funerary architecture of the twelfth Century," *Drevne russkoe iskustvo. Rusi i stranii byzantinskogo mira XII vek* (St. Petersburg, 2002) 9–17, 9. For the ideological intention behind the Pantokrator, see now A. Berger, V. Stanković, "Komnenoi and Constantinople before the building of the Pantokrator complex," *The Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople* (Berlin, 2013) 3–32, 3.

²⁵ R. Ousterhout has speculated that its founders had not initially intended the Pantokrator to serve as a family or dynastic mausoleum and only later adapted the design to this end. "Imperial impersonations: disguised portraits of a Komnenian prince and his father," *John II Komnenos, emperor of Byzantium: in the shadow of father and son*, eds. A. Bucossi, A. R. Suarez (London, 2016) 135–155.

in the center of the chapel and incorporated the *opus sectile* floor around it.²⁶ Thanks largely to its conspicuous colour and relief-work, Manuel's is the only tomb of the Komnenians recorded in an extant source.²⁷ Nicetas Choniates, the earliest witness we have, describes Manuel's sarcophagus as follows:²⁸

Τέθαπται οὖν παρὰ πλάγιον πλευρὰν τῶ τὸν νεῶν εἰσιόντι τῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος μονῆς, οὐκ ἐν αὐτῶ τῶ τεμένει, ἀλλ' ἐν τῶ περὶ τοῦτον ἡρώω. τοῦ δὲ τοίχου τοῦ νεῶ εἰς ἀψίδα περιαχθέντος ἢ περὶ τὴν σορὸν εὐρεία διαστέλλεται εἴσοδος. συνέχει δὲ τοῦτον λίθος τὴν μελανίαν ὑποκρινόμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στυγνάζοντι εἰκίως, ὅς καὶ εἰς ἑπτὰ διέσχιστα λοφιάς.

He was buried beside the entrance to the church of the Monastery of the Pantokrator, not in the temple itself but in the shrine attached to it. Where the church wall led round to an arch, a broad entrance way was opened around the sepulcher, which was faced with marble of a black hue, gloomy in appearance, and was divided into seven lofty sections.

Nicetas' enigmatic description of Manuel's sarcophagus has prompted much comment from scholars who have tried to solve the puzzle of its apparently sculpted surface.²⁹ But its inclusion in Nicetas' *History* is in itself revealing of the lengths to which Manuel himself, but more likely his widow, Maria, went to in order to mark Manuel's passing and to extol his memory. Besides the unusual carved sarcophagus, the most conspicuous artefact associated with Manuel's tomb was the so-called 'Stone of the Unction', a slab on which Christ's body was supposed to have been prepared for burial after his deposition from the cross.

Almost a decade before his death (c.1169–70), as part of an effort to rehabilitate his reputation as a self-gratifying and morally lax figure, as Magdalino has

²⁶ Ousterhout, "Byzantine Funerary Architecture," 10. The eventual inclusion of the so-called Stone of the Unction in the space adjacent Manuel's tomb capped off an iconographic and ideological programme designed to symbolize the parallels between Christ and his namesake Manuel. For a hypothetical reconstruction of the iconographic programme of the chapel as deduced from the Typikon, see Ousterhout, "Byzantine Funerary Architecture," 10–12, nn.16, 17; Magdalino, *Empire*, 486–488.

²⁷ Cyril Mango discussed a drawing of 1750 which he concluded accurately represented Manuel's luxuriously carved tomb--or, to be more precise, the lid of the tomb. C. Mango, *DOP* 16 (1962) 397ff.

²⁸ *Hist.* 222.71–76.

²⁹ Scholars have tried repeatedly to solve the archaeological riddle of the "divided into seven hills" described by Choniates. In 1962 Cyril Mango argued that one of a series of drawings depicting some recently unearthed sarcophagi near the Seraglio palace in 1750 by an eighteenth-century French merchant, Jean-Claude Flachet, then residing in Constantinople, corresponded fairly accurately to the tomb mentioned by Choniates. Flachet described the tombstone on one of the sarcophagi as being of verd antique and adorned with seven domes. Mango's hypothesis, that Flachet had recorded the tomb of Manuel I, has been widely accepted. C. Mango, "Three imperial Byzantine sarcophagi discovered in 1750," *DOP* 16 (1962) 397–402, 398. For lingering doubts, see A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge*, II (XIe–XIVe siècle) (Paris, 1976) 30. For further conjecture about how to translate Nicetas' enigmatic description into a plausible image of Manuel's carved tombstone, see Fatouros' ingenious conjecture that the tombstone was surmounted by a relief carving of St. Melania; G. Fatouros, "Das Grab des Kaisers Manuel I. Komnenos," *BZ* 93 (2000) 108–12; with proposed corrections by C. Sode, "Zu dem Grab Kaiser Manuels I. Komnenos," *BZ* 94 (2001) 230–31. For some additional hypotheses about the seven domes on the tombstone, see N. P. Ševčenko, "The tomb of Manuel I Komnenos, again," *On ikinci ve on üçüncü yüzyıllarda Bizans dünyasında değişim* (Istanbul, 2010) 609–616.

argued, Manuel arranged to have the alleged relic transferred from Ephesos to Constantinople. Nicetas Choniates reports that the stone's arrival at the Boucoleon harbour was celebrated with much pomp and that Manuel himself carried the stone part of the way from the harbour to the chapel of 'Our Lady of the Pharos', where it was originally housed as a holy relic before Manuel's widow had it moved to the chapel of the Pantokrator.³⁰ The stone's *translatio* to Constantinople and Manuel's physical participation in its arrival was fodder to the emperor's panegyrists. In what may be a typically understated parody of Manuel's encomiasts, Nicetas Choniates describes the emperor as "stretching his back below the stone like that of another god" (ὡς ὁμόθεον σῶμα).³¹

The relic was eventually transferred by Manuel's widow alongside the tomb sometime after his burial, with a probable *terminus ante quem* of 1182, when the regency fell. It is questionable whether the stone was already in the Pantokrator at the time of the Ἐπιτάφιος. It seems improbable that Eustathios would have passed up an opportunity to exploit its symbolism along with Manuel's great physical act of piety. The stone's eventual inclusion as part of the subsidiary chapel housing Manuel's tomb provides one more marker on the timeline for the commemorative ceremony and the approximate date of the oration's delivery. The splendour of Manuel's tomb was confirmed just a few years later by Robert de Clari, a French knight campaigning with the fourth crusade who took it upon himself to describe all he saw in Constantinople, including the burial sites of the Byzantine emperors. Among the monuments he visited in the city was the chapel of the archangel Michael – to whom John II and Eirene had dedicated the funerary chapel – containing the tombs of the Komnenians up to that time. After noting that the "abbey" in question held the tomb of Manuel, whom the older crusaders no doubt recalled as the last Byzantine emperor on an equal footing with the western powers, Clari observed that "never was anyone born

³⁰ T. Antonopoulou, "George Skylitzes' office on the translation of the Holy Stone: a study and critical edition," *The Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople*, ed. S. Kotzabassi (Berlin, 2013) 109–142. See also P. Magdalino, "L'Église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople (VIIe/VIIIe–XIIIe s.)," *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*. éd. J. Durand et B. Flusin (Paris, 2004) 15–30, 25.

³¹ *Híst.* 222.76–86 παράκειται δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ κρηπίδος καὶ προσκύνησιν δέχεται λίθος ἐρυθρὸς ἀνδρομήκης, ὃν εἶχε πρότερον μὲν ὁ κατ' Ἐφεσον ναὸς ἐκείνου εἶναι διαθρολλούμενον, ἐφ' οὗ Χριστὸς μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ σταυροῦ καθαίρεσιν νεκροταφίους εἰληθεῖς ἐσμυρνίσθη, ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐκείθεν μετακομίσας καὶ οἱ τὸν νῶτον ὑποστρώσας ὡς ὁμόθεον σῶμα καὶ γεγονὸς ὅπερ τὸ χρίσαν βασιτάσαντι ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Βουκολέοντα λιμένος εἰς τὸν ἐν τῷ φάρῳ τοῦ παλατίου νεῶν ἀνήγαγε. μετ' οὗ πολλὴν μέντοι ἐν ὑστέρω χρόνῳ περιόδον τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντος, καὶ ὁ λίθος οὗτος ἐξήρθη τῶν ἀνακτόρων καὶ μετενήνεκται ἐνθα δὴ ἄρτιως ἐμνήσθη, κεκράξων, οἶμαι, καὶ διατρανωσόμενος ὅποσα ὁ τῆ σὸρῶ σιωπῶν εἰργάσατό πως καὶ ἠγωνίσαστο. For the archaeological profile of the monument, see C. A. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine monuments," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–1970) 369–75, 372–5.

on this earth, sainted man or sainted woman, who was so richly and so nobly sepulchred as was this emperor.”³²

The details about Manuel’s sarcophagus and the architectural and iconographic profile of the burial chapel allow us to anchor the Ἐπιτάφιος in an actual physical setting. Few, if any, Byzantine orations up to then can be concretely situated in this way. This is an important first step in building an *occasional* profile for the oration as something more than a generic label. The funeral orations for Manuel were no doubt intended to be commensurate in rhetorical splendour to their material and symbolic surroundings. Moreover, physically and chronologically situating the funeral oration as a genuinely occasional text offers us a necessary reprieve from an increasingly ideational conception of Byzantine rhetoric as a self-reflexive form of language with few referents *in* the world. So that when we read in paragraph 69 of the Ἐπιτάφιος: καὶ τὸν τάφον περιϊστάμενοι, τὸν τοσοῦτου καλυπτῆρα καλοῦ, ἐξαγόμεθα καὶ πρὸς οἴκτους οἱ παραμυθεῖσθαι καὶ ἑτέρους ὀφειλέται ὄντες (“[a]nd standing round his tomb, the covering of so good a man, we, whose duty it is to console others as well, are ourselves driven to laments”), we appreciate the physical immediacy of the reference to Manuel’s tomb. Likewise, a little further along in the oration (Ἐπ. 72), when Eustathios apostrophizes the tomb itself in a rare concession to the usual histrionics of funeral laments: Ὡ τάφος, τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπάνθισμα κρύψας, ὃ τῆς φρονήσεως πλάτος συστειλάς, ὃ συγκλείσας τὸν ἀεκίνητον (“Oh tomb, you have hidden away the bloom of nature; you have enfolded the breadth of practical wisdom; you have confined the man who was ever on the move”), we may more accurately estimate the emotional contrivance involved in turning to address an actual tomb before a live audience.

Reconstructing the occasion for which an oration was composed and performed rejoins text to a context, quickening the imagination of the modern reader. Eustathios’ own proximity to Manuel’s entombed body, and the iconographic backdrop of the funerary chapel’s decoration, reminds us that rhetoric did not sever its tether to the world, even as it tried to present a formally elevated and edifying distillation of reality. Standing near the tomb, either in the chapel itself or not far from its entrance facing an audience gathered in either the north or southern church, Eustathios was performing in more than the suggestive sense

³² *Et si en i avoit une autre des abeies ou li boins empereres Manuaus gesoit, qu’il ne nasqui onques cors sur tere, ne sains, ne sainte, qui si rikement ne si noblement geust en sepulture comme faisoit chis empereres. Robert de Clari, Conquête de Constantinople, éd. par P. Lauer, (Paris, 1924) 90; trans. E. H. McNeal, Robert of Clari, The Conquest of Constantinople (New York, 1936; repr. 1996) 112–13.*

normally intended by this word. In the final paragraphs of the Ἐπιτάφιος, he appeals directly to the deceased emperor lying in the tomb only a short distance away with these words:

Ὡ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ὦ κάλλιστε μὲν προφανῆναι, ἀριστε δὲ πράξει, εἰπεῖν δὲ ἤδιστε· τί δὴ ποτε ἀποκρυψάμενος, τοιαῦτα καλὰ συναπέκρυσας; Σεπτὸς ὁ κατὰ σὲ τάφος, τοιοῦτον ἔσω κατακρύπτων ἄνδρα, οὐ μὴδὲ πᾶς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς κόσμος ἀντάξιός. Πικρὸς ὁ τάφος οὗτος, τοιαύτην ἀπαγαγὼν ἐξ ἀπάντων γλυκύτητα. Ἦδη τις ἰδὼν ὡς ἐπὶ σίμβλον δραμεῖται τοῦτον, τρυγῆσων τοῦ ἔνδον μελιτος· ἀπελευθεύεται δὲ χολὴν σπάσας, πικρίας καὶ θλίψεως κέντρῳ νυγεί· καὶ ψωμιεῖται δάκρυα. Τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔν μέτρῳ καὶ ποτιεῖ ἑαυτόν. Ὡ λίθος οὗτος τάφου, τὸν παντάρβην ἔσω λίθον κρυψάμενος. (Ἐπ. 73)

Oh most powerful emperor, oh most beautiful in appearance, most accomplished in deed, sweetest in eloquence; why have you hidden yourself, hiding along with you such virtues as well? Venerable is your grave, hiding within such a man, of whose our entire world is not worthy. Bitter is this grave, having snatched such sweetness from us all. And seeing it now, one runs to it as to a beehive, intending to gather the honey within; but he leaves having drawn bile, stung by the needle of bitterness and grief, and from it he harvests tears. And he drenches himself immoderately with these same tears. Oh great gravestone, hiding within that precious gem.

Eustathios muses in sorrow at the prospective visitors to Manuel's tomb, using language which recalls pilgrims seeking cures in the sweet-smelling miraculous liquids secreted by the tombs of holy men and women. In a fittingly mournful reversal of the image, Eustathios laments that such sweetness as there was to be had came from Manuel as long as he was alive; now there are only tears to savour. If there is something to gain from recovering the occasion of the text's delivery, it is that passages like those above cannot be dismissed out of hand as "mere rhetoric," composed solely in accordance with generic expectations and checklists drawn from rhetorical manuals. The text should dispel any doubts about whether Eustathios intended the Ἐπιτάφιος to be delivered *in situ*, before a live audience gathered in a space redolent with the political legacy of the Komnenian dynasty. Surveying the ecclesiastical monuments of Constantinople, V. Marinis observes that the churches of the Pantokrator monastery were sumptuously decorated, even by the opulent standards of Byzantine imperial foundations.³³ In such a visibly and materially epideictic setting, language had to be "consciously exalted to the level of an exalted theme."³⁴ As such, it had to adorn the occasion. It had to be made of rare materials, the best the language had to offer, a testament to the homage being paid to its august subject. As I argue in greater detail in the

³³ V. Marinis, *Architecture and ritual in the churches of Constantinople: ninth to fifteenth centuries* (New York, 2014) 143.

³⁴ J. D. Denniston, *Greek prose style* (Oxford, 1952) 2.

section on the style of the Ἐπιτάφιος, the orator's eloquence formed part of the ceremonial spectacle. Here I would underline that the reverse was no less true. The ceremonial backdrop was itself an integral component of the oration. As Magdalino notes, "the intellectuals had won themselves an honourable place in state ceremonial from which they would not be dislodged."³⁵ Eustathios' funeral oration was intended to demonstrate that the court orator's place was alongside the emperor, even at death.

A further aspect of the oration either neglected or potentially misconstrued, absent consideration of its delivery in a real physical setting before a live audience, an *occasion* in every sense, is the fact of its much touted *performance*. It has become increasingly commonplace to speak of the performance of texts of all types, including Byzantine texts.³⁶ To the extent that such emphasis on the inherent theatricality of literature across a variety of genres has made it possible to acknowledge the latent drama of texts, the so-called 'performative turn' in literary studies has been quite salutary. The designation by Byzantines of such events as *theatra* only shortens the step to performative understandings of medieval Greek literature. And yet the attention to textually encoded performance risks making the theatricality of the texts wholly rhetorical and interpretive in nature. Lost in such readings is an appreciation of actual physical or sensory enactment through voice and physical presence at a particular place and time which invested the performance with credibility. As the episode with the *anagnostes* related by Psellos above suggests, Byzantine audiences were eager for dramatic enactment of texts. Performance underwrote funeral orations as surely as it did panegyric more broadly.³⁷ Indeed, as part of elaborately staged ceremonials, funeral orations had an inevitable theatrical dimension.³⁸ We therefore need to imagine Eustathios, as plausibly as possible, acting out his rôle as panegyric laureate to Manuel's court, calibrating his voice in accordance with the dramatic require-

³⁵ Magdalino, *Empire*, 427.

³⁶ E. C. Bourbouhakis "Rhetoric and performance in Byzantine literature," *The Byzantine world*, ed. P. Stephenson (London and New York, 2009) 175–187.

³⁷ S. MacCormack. *Art and ceremony in late antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981) 1–15 for panegyric ritual, 222–266 for the gradual splitting of the ways between Latin and an emerging, distinct Byzantine ceremonial.

³⁸ R. Pichon, *Études sur l'histoire de la littérature latine dans les Gaules*. [Tome 1, Les derniers écrivains profanes. Les panégyristes - Ausone - Le Querolus - Rutilius Namatianus] (Paris, 1906) 43. Pichon's estimate of the contribution or function of the panegyrics at the court in Trier: "Le discours de rhéteur est un pièce nécessaire de la cérémonie, au même titre que le déploiement des soldats de lagarde impériale, la décoration du palais... Ce qu'on réclame de lui [du rhéteur], ce ne sont pas des idées sérieuses sur des sujets pratiques... on attend seulement que l'éclat de sa parole donne à la solennité un nouvel embellissement, une nouvelle parure."

ment of his text, possibly employing his hands, body, and head to underline the contents of the oration. Inquiring after the specifics of “occasional texts,” whether material or performative, brings us a little closer to the oration as a historical event.



Having established the occasional character of the Ἐπιτάφιος as a text recited before a particular audience in a specific place, it remains to be determined *when* such an oration might have been performed. The late Roman rhetorical manuals like *Menander-Rhetor* stagger the three types of funeral oration – *μονωδία*, *παραμυθητικός*, and *ἐπιτάφιος* – according to a kind of emotional decorum. Each funerary type is assigned a period matching the countenanced emotional states of the bereaved: pure lament (*μονωδία*) and consolation (*λόγος παραμυθητικός*) follow immediately after death; the more encomiastic and dispassionate funeral oration (*ἐπιτάφιος*) concentrating on the deceased’s virtuous traits and achievements is deemed appropriate only after sufficient time has elapsed and the intensity of grief has waned.³⁹ The period of intense grieving was limited (sometimes by law) to nine days.⁴⁰ But the prescribed period of mourning was one year, hence the final commemorative service in tribute to the dead.⁴¹ Although largely a matter of pious custom rather than liturgical regulation, family members appear to have observed a regular memorial calendar, holding *μνημόσυνα* for their dead on more or less precise dates following death and burial. These occurred most commonly on the third, ninth, and fortieth day after burial, as well as on the yearly anniversary of the death or burial.⁴² Élites able to fund regular

³⁹ Although neither section in *Menander-Rhetor* makes explicit mention of the most suitable time for such speeches, the references to the speaker “[giving the appearance of] being out of his mind and distracted by emotion” (413.13–14) or descriptions of the recent funeral (436.11) place both speeches closer to the death and burial; in contrast, *epitaphios* (419.1–6) is not recommended until sufficient time has passed.

⁴⁰ cf. P. I. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος και πολιτισμός* (Athens, 1948–1952) Δ 225.

⁴¹ John Chrysostom, *PG* 62.431 εἰ δὲ ἐνιαυτοῦ παρελθόντος ἐπιλέλησαι ὡς οὐδὲ γινομένου τίνος, οὐ τὸν ἀπελθόντα θρηνεῖς...».

⁴² Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος*, Δ 148–85; for an explanation of the commemorative calendar, cf. Eustratius Presbyter, *De statu animarum post mortem*, ed. P. van Deun, *Eustratii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Opera [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 60]* (Turnhout, 2006) 2362–79: ὅφ’ ἐν τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας τοῦ πένθους ἀπριθμήσατο. Νῦν δὲ οὐχ’ οὕτως οἱ τοῦ Λόγου και θεοῦ αὐτόπται και ὑπηρεταὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδσαν, ἀλλὰ τριχῆ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα διεῖλον ἡμέρας, εἰς τρίτα, και εἰς ἔννατα, και τεσσαρακοστά... Κατὰ οὖν τὸν τύπον τοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ταφῆς ἔως τῶν ἐννάτων δεῦτερον τὰς μνείας τῶν ὀσιῶς κεκοιμημένων ἐπιτελοῦμεν. ὁμοίως δὲ και τὰ τεσσαρακοστά, ἐπειδὴ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνελήφθη ὁ κύριος. That the practice needed shoring up by recourse to scripture may be seen in the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις of Michael Glykas on matters of routine piety. *Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Γλυκά. Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς*, ed. S. Eustratiades (Alexandria, 1912) ch.50: *πειθέτωσαν ἡμᾶς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μαθηταὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ και ἀπόστολοι τρίτα, ἔννατα, και τεσσαρακοστά, και μὴν και ἐνιαύσια τελείσθαι κοινῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι διαταξάμενοι.* Cf. John of Damascus, *Oratio de his qui in fide dormierunt*, *PG* 95.269: αἱ ὑπερ

commemorations frequently sponsored yearly memorials on the anniversary of the death of their relatives, which are documented in scrupulous detail in the many Byzantine monastic foundation charters.⁴³

The *Typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery had special and rather detailed provisions for thrice weekly liturgies and all-night vigils, as well as yearly commemorative ceremonies, on behalf of its founders and their descendants on the anniversary of their death (or burial?).⁴⁴ The main function of such remembrance ceremonies was to offer prayers on behalf of the souls of the dead.⁴⁵ A subsidiary function, seen in both consolatory orations (παραμυθητικοί λόγοι) and consolatory epistles addressed to surviving family members, appears to have been to assuage and channel their grief (whose disruptive potential was a perennial concern of Greek society dating back to archaic times) into salutary forms of piety.⁴⁶ Consequently, the most likely timeframe and occasion for a *μονωδία* or *ἐπιτάφιος* was in the days, weeks, and months after death and burial.⁴⁷ Laments, or *μονωδία*, which addressed themselves with almost lyrical intensity to the still raw grief of the mourners, were quite likely delivered very soon after death. This probably accounts for the uneven ratio of *μονωδία* to *ἐπιτάφιοι* in the manuscripts. Grief and mourning were both more immediate and inevitable

τῶν νεκρῶν λειτουργίαι, ὕμνωδία τε καὶ ψαλμωδία, τεσσαρακοστὰ σὺν τριτεννάταις, καὶ ἐτήσιοι μνήμῃαι καὶ τελεταί, αἵτινες οὐκ εἰς μάτην παρὰ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐπενοήθησαν. Cf. D. Abrahamse, "Rituals of death in the middle Byzantine period," *Greek Orthodox theological review* 29 (1984) 125–34; G. Spyridakis, "Τὰ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίην ἔθιμα τῶν Βυζαντινῶν," *ΕΕΒΣ* 20 (1950) 75–171; J. Kyriakadis, "Byzantine burial customs," *Greek Orthodox theological review* 19 (1974) 37–72.

⁴³ Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος* Δ 208. Cf. Sideras, *Grabreden*, 64–68. In Christian sources the earliest mention is found in the fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions*, where there are directives about services in both churches and cemeteries, as well as for regular post-burial commemorations on the third, ninth, thirtieth (in some manuscripts fortieth) day, and then yearly. The *Apostolic Constitutions* also offer the first explanation of the meaning of and reason for these regular commemorations: the third day is for Christ's resurrection, the ninth is in remembrance of the living and departed, the thirtieth reflects how long the Israelites grieved for Moses, and the yearly commemoration is offered in the memory of the deceased. *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, 3 vols, ed. M. Metzger (Paris, 1985–1987) VI.30, VIII.42.

⁴⁴ P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *RÉB* 32 (1974) 1–145, ll. 860–903.

⁴⁵ R. Garland, *The Greek way of death* (Ithaca 2001) 38–41, 104–105; M. Alexiou, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1974; 2nd rev. ed., 2002) 7; L. Safran, *The medieval Salento: art and identity in southern Italy* (Philadelphia, 2014) 138–139. See also F. Cumont, "La triple commémoration des morts," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 62 (1918) 278–94 who argues for Greek and pagan Syrian antecedents.

⁴⁶ Like their ancient counterparts, the Byzantines, too, were concerned about excessive grieving for the dead. However, questions of faith came to eclipse concern about social decorum. Cf. M. Alexiou, *Ritual lament*, 24–35.

⁴⁷ The burial itself might take place a soon after death, with the preparations and ceremony lasting only a few days, or it might stretch over weeks, as they did in the case of Constantine I. Cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, "L' adieu à l'empereur," *Byzantion* 61 (1991) 112–155, 114.

than the relatively detached panegyric of *ἐπιτάφιος*.⁴⁸ Explaining his decision to compose an *ἐπιτάφιος* instead of a *μονωδία* for his one time patron and fellow author, Nikephoros Komnenos, Konstantinos Manasses offers as an alibi his absence from Constantinople at the time of burial. He thus inadvertently confirms that a *μονωδία* was intended primarily for the period immediately following death.⁴⁹

In much the same vein, Gregorios Antiochos, a former pupil of Eustathios, notes in the title to his own funeral oration for Manuel, that it was not performed until some four months after Manuel's death.⁵⁰ We learn from the same heading in the manuscript that although it had been prepared well beforehand, the oration was postponed in order to be performed at the memorial service marking forty days since Manuel's death:⁵¹

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτάφιος λόγος εἰς τὸν αἰοίδιμον βασιλέα κύρ Μανουήλ, τὸν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθέντα Ματθαῖον μοναχόν, μετὰ ρ' κ' ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς ἐκφωνηθεὶς διὰ τὸ ὑπερτεθῆναι τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν τεσσαρακοστῶν, ὅτε καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐμπροθέσμως πεποίητο.⁵²

"A funeral oration by the same author for the celebrated emperor, lord Manuel, rechristened Matthew after having adopted the holy and evangelical habit, performed 120 days after his death on account of the recital being postponed at the time of the forty day-memorial ceremony, for which occasion the speech had been prepared well in advance."

The contents of Gregorios' oration can seem maudlin, and almost theatrically disconsolate, the product of a rhetorically contrived despair. Unlike the dispassionate appraisal of the *Ἐπιτάφιος*, the major note of Antiochos' oration was a highly rhetoricized anguish, no doubt still appropriate for the period of intense mourning on the forty-day anniversary of Manuel's death. The explicit mention in the heading to the *τεσσαρακοστά*, the memorial ceremony held forty days fol-

⁴⁸ Sideras, *Grabreden*, 75. Sideras counts 73 *μονωδία* vs. 31 *ἐπιτάφιοι*; he notes the occasionally use of *ἐπικήδειος* and, significantly, *ἐγκώμιον*; *θρηνηδία* and *ὑμνωδία*, though rare, are also not unknown. The designation *ἐπιτάφιος* appears to have been interchangeable, to some extent, with a number of *ἐπιτάφιοι* displaying traits similar or identical to those of *μονωδία*. See Sideras, 75 n.194. For a study of the meaning of *μονωδία*, see D. Hadzis, "Was bedeutet 'Monodie' in der byzantinischen Literatur?" *Byzantinische Beiträge*, ed. J. Irmscher, (Berlin, 1964) 177–185.; cf. Sideras, 188 n.56.

⁴⁹ *Orat. fun. in Nic. Comn.* 302–322, 322.621f: *τεθηκότι γὰρ οὐ παρῆν οὐδ' ἐπέσεισά σοι χοῦς μονωδοῦς*.
⁵⁰ For a profile of Gregorios Antiochos as a "writer and bureaucrat," see Kazhdan, *Studies*, 196–223, 206–207 for Antiochos' relations with the court under and after Manuel.

⁵¹ *Fontes* 191–228. The manuscript in question, *Codex Escorialensis 265* (better known by its older designation, Y-II-10) is among the richest miscellanies of middle Byzantine rhetoric, particularly of the twelfth century. The inclusion of the titles to works like Antiochos' oration point to their rôle as an extra-textual apparatus offering guidance to the student of the work.

⁵² Although he refers to his oration as an «*ἐπιτάφιος*», it is manifestly a *μονωδία* in its lacrimose contents and more plastic thematic structure. Cf. D. Hadzis, "Was bedeutet 'Monodie'?" 177–185.

lowing burial for which Gregorios composed the monody, tells us something about the climate of grief on the occasion.⁵³ Manuel died on September 24, 1180. Assuming he was buried within a few days of death, by Gregorios' own reckoning his oration was not delivered until *circa* January 24. Antiochos does not mention what may have delayed the delivery of his oration. Was the commemorative ceremony itself postponed, or was Antiochos' monody left off the program for that occasion? If the latter, then what could have been the new occasion for the recital of Gregorios' funeral oration? Or should we assume that Antiochos or someone else arranged for its performance without benefit of a ceremony? Perhaps events at court preempted the commemorative ceremony of the τεσσαρακοστά, until a later occasion. As the example of Leo VI's funeral oration for his father, Basil I, demonstrates, one could compose a eulogy almost two years after a death.⁵⁴

Might Eustathios and Gregorios have composed such different funeral orations for the same occasion? It may well be that a division of labour had each orator perform a distinct eulogistic task. Antiochos took up the dirge while Eustathios revisited Manuel's manner of governing, along with the accomplishments his supporters hoped would prove his enduring legacy. Antiochos' lament is structured by a memorable parallelism between Manuel's reign, in particular his ardent defence of the empire against enemies foreign and domestic (a reference perhaps to the very same faction which would soon seek to oust the regency), with a recurrent emphasis the Passion of Christ. The empire's foes are cast as sinners, while Antiochos exploits the motif of crucifixion to describe Manuel's self-sacrifice for the empire.⁵⁵ The choice of the Christ-like motif, which

⁵³ Byzantium had inherited the Greco-Roman notion of the progressive stages of the separation of the soul from the body on the third, ninth, and fortieth days after death. See G. Dagron, "Troisième, neuvième et quarantième jours dans la tradition byzantine. Temps chrétien et anthropologie," *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au Moyen Age—IIIe—XIIIe s.* [Colloques internationaux du CNRS 604] (Paris, 1984) 419–30; for the liturgical rites governing the distinct commemorations, see E. Velkovska, "Funeral rites according to the Byzantine liturgical sources," *DOP* 55 (2001) 21–51.

⁵⁴ V. Grumel conjectured, quite plausibly in my view, that Leo VI delivered his funeral oration at the memorial marking the second anniversary of his father's death. See V. Grumel, "Notes de chronologie byzantine," *Échos d'Orient* 35, No.183 (1936) 331–335, 333. Similarly, Libanios' *Epitaphios* for Julian was not composed until two years after the latter's death; and it was probably not circulated until a few years after that.

⁵⁵ Antiochos initiates the comparison at the moment of Manuel's death, as he is preparing to assume the monastic habit. He then works his way back to Manuel's long reign. Magdalino has argued that Eustathios stops short of such Christ-like parallels (*Empire*, 487). But midway through the Ἐπιτάφιος (Ἐπ. 45), Eustathios describes Manuel's initiative to go speak among the people as "not descending humbly, but *condescending* in a divine manner" (οὐ καταβαίνων ταπεινῶς, ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνων τρόπον ἔνθεον). The use of such theologically fraught vocabulary associated with Christ's redemptive descent into Hades to describe Manuel's willingness to "condescend" to address the common people is characteristic of Eustathios' almost facetious touch at times. In what was likely his last oration addressed to Manuel, Eustathios had used similarly allusive language to cast Manuel in the rôle of a Christ-like figure "hum-

in previous periods might have been perceived as verging on the blasphemous, confirms that praise of Manuel knew no bounds. With so many rhetors lining up to offer praise, encomiastic inflation was perhaps inevitable. Antiochos, however, was not the first to draw a parallel between Manuel and his divine namesake. Still, the comparison with Christ was the natural ceiling of earthly success.⁵⁶

Of course just as Eustathios includes elements of pathos and lamentation, so Antiochos makes mention of Manuel's military and broadly political achievements, though in more allusive language, less inflected by the kind of rationalizing we meet in the Ἐπιτάφιος. The difference lies as much in tone as in substance, however. While both the opening and closing of the Ἐπιτάφιος strike a somewhat disconsolate note similar to that of Antiochos' monody, the rest of the funeral oration assumes a consistently unemotional attitude. It dwells on often highly specific aspects of Manuel's personality and rule, instead of his death or the sorrow it elicited from his family or subjects.⁵⁷ Thus despite its length, the Ἐπιτάφιος strictly limits the time devoted to mourning and reserves what few consolatory words it has to offer for the bereaved widow and child. Eustathios (and no doubt his patrons at court) wished to emphasize Manuel's life, not his death. The reference at the start of the oration to other orators having struck up their song, forcing him "to join the chorus," may indeed have been to a commemorative occasion, possibly lasting more than one day, during which multiple tributes to Manuel were delivered, Anthiochos' included. If Eustathios did share the stage with other rhetors on such an occasion, then a date of at least a few months after Manuel's death and burial would seem more plausible, given the length and complexity of the text, but more importantly, in light of the minimal

bling himself" for his people; see *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 226.74–75 Ἐταπεινούς, βασιλέων ὑπέρτατε, σεαυτὸν, καὶ οὕτω τὸ σὸν ὕψιστον εἰς ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν κατεβίβαζες.

⁵⁶ Manuel had invited the association with the suffering Christ, going so far as to stage an elaborate penitential act by having the sepulchral slab from Christ's tomb shipped from Ephesos, where it had been on display, to Constantinople. Kinnamos describes a processional ceremony in which the emperor himself "put his shoulder into it", helping transport the stone from the Boukoleon harbour to the Pharos church in the palace (*Epit. re.* 277–278) οὗτος καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παλαιοῦ τοῦ χρόνου κείμενον λίθον ἱερὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀγαγὼν τοῖς τῆδε λοιποῖς ἀπέδωκεν ἀγίοις. ὅστις δὲ ὁ λίθος οὗτος καὶ ὅθεν εἰς Ἐφεσίων ἦλθε τὴν γῆν, ὁ λόγος ἐξῆς διηγήσεται (...) ἀχθέντα τοῖνον ἐς τὴν Δαμάλειος περὶ αἰὶν πομπῇ τοῦτον ἐκ Βυζαντίου διαδέχεται λαμπρά. ἐπλήρου δὲ ταύτην τὸ Ῥωμαίων τε γερούσιον ἅπαν καὶ ὄσον ἐν ἱεροπόλει καὶ ἐν μονασταίς ἦν, Λουκᾶ τοῦ τηνικάδε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰθύνοντος καὶ βασιλέως τέλους ἑκατέρου προαρχόντων. βασιλεὺς μέντοι καὶ τὸν ὄμον ὑπέσχε τῷ λίθῳ, ἐπεὶ τὰ γε τοιαῦτα καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν χρὴ ἐμετριοφρόνει καὶ ἡγάπα δουλοπρεπέστερον αὐτοῖς προσαγόμενος;

⁵⁷ The dedication of at least two funeral orations for a deceased, one monody and one epitaphios, was not unprecedented. Libanius may, however, have been unique in composing both for a single person, the emperor Julian, an ἐπιτάφιος (*Op.* II, 236–371) and a μονωδία (*Op.* II, 206–221). The monody was probably delivered at Julian's funeral while the epitaphios was intended for a later commemorative ceremony, or even as a non-ceremonial tribute, circulated among Julian's partisans.

time devoted to lament in the oration.⁵⁸ This is supported by the implication in the heading to Anthiochos' monody pointing out that he had composed the text for an occasion much closer to Manuel's death. Some months after, a monody was no longer conventional or even appropriate. In this respect, at least, *Menander-Rhetor's* schedule for funerary types remained current.

In a letter to Eustathios dated by the collection's most recent editor to the late Spring of 1182, Michael Choniates makes reference to a "banquet-like monody" by Eustathios: τῆς δὲ μονωδίας τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰ καὶ τράπεζαν... ὄψων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν γέμουσαν.⁵⁹ Choniates employs a metaphor favoured by Eustathios, that of rhetoric as a feast of delicacies.⁶⁰ An earlier editor had hypothesised that the monody in question was in all likelihood Eustathios' funeral oration for Manuel I Komnenos.⁶¹ Choniates' use of μονωδία instead of ἐπιτάφιος is hardly fatal to this conjuncture, since the two terms were sometimes used interchangeably. Nearly two years after Manuel's death seems a rather late date for the Ἐπιτάφιος. Not only would it have been far from any conventional commemorative date, but more significantly, the oration would have been delivered near the height of the political turmoil which by then engulfed the court and which would soon see Andronikos I come to power, bringing both the regency of Manuel's rightful heir Alexios II and the Komnenian dynasty to a wretched end. But such a late date for a commemorative occasion may have had its own, largely political logic. Indeed, there may have been no more appropriate time to recapitulate Manuel's accomplishments and the temperament required to achieve them than in the period just before open conflict erupted among the factions competing for the throne. The Ἐπιτάφιος may well have been part of an effort to shore up support for the regency by rallying the court around the memory of Manuel. The part of the oration devoted to reassuring the audience that Manuel's widow, Maria, was fit to rule *pro tem* as regent, by virtue of her long apprenticeship at Manuel's side was intended to deflect criticism about Maria's fitness to administer the empire:

⁵⁸ I do not share A. Stone's confidence in deducing the exact occasion as "days after the emperor's death" from the single reference to λαμπάδας at the start of the text (Ἐπ.1: Καὶ οἱ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἄνδρες... ἀνάπτουσιν ἄρτι, ὡσπερ τὰς πρὸς αἴσθησιν, οὕτω καὶ λόγου λαμπάδας τῷ κειμένῳ) which he misleadingly translates as "torches". These were the long candles used in liturgical or other processions. While such an early date cannot be ruled out, both the scale and purely encomiastic language with very little lament in the Ἐπιτάφιος favour a ceremony on a later date. Cf. A. Stone, "Funeral Oration," 242.

⁵⁹ Kolovou, *Choniatae Epistulae*, 52*. Kolovou follows G. Stadtmüller's dating in "Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen," *Orientalia Christiana* 33.2 (1934) 125–325, 239.

⁶⁰ Kolovou, *Choniatae Epistulae*, Ep. 6: Τοῦ περὶ νηστείας λόγου οὕτω γεγεύμεθα, τῆς δὲ μονωδίας τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰ καὶ τράπεζαν παραφέρων τις, ὄψων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν γέμουσαν, πρὶν ἢ καὶ χεῖρας ἐπιβαλεῖν εὐθὺς ἤρπασε, τὸν δαιτυμόνα ἀφείς ἐπιχαίνοντα καὶ μόνῃ τῇ ὄψει ἀνιαρῶς παραψάσσαντα. Δοίη σοι θεὸς ζῶν μακροχρόνιον.

⁶¹ Σ. Λάμπρος, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου - Τὰ Σωζόμενα*, τόμ. Β' (1880) 552.

Καὶ μὴν ἡ κοινῶν σοι καὶ βίου καὶ βασιλείας, καὶ συνέσεως ἄκρας μέτοχος, καὶ (τὸ πᾶν συνελεῖν) βασιλεῖ οὕτω μεγάλῳ εἰς συμβίωσιν ἐπιπρέπουσα, καὶ συμπάρεστι τῷ νέῳ αὐτοκράτορι, καὶ πάντα οἶδεν, οἷς οἰκουμένη κατορθοῦται, τῆς σῆς ἀποναμένη καὶ μαθήσεως καὶ μιμήσεως· καὶ τὰ διδασκάλια ἔργοις προΐσχομένη, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι, μὴ οὐκ εἰς τὸ πᾶν κατευστοχεῖν τοῦ κοινωφελούς. Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς καὶ νοῦν μὲν βασιλικὸν ἐθέλομεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείθεν ἀγαθὰ. (Ἐπ. 70)

And indeed your companion in both life and imperial rule, a woman of the highest intelligence, and (to sum up) one well suited to a common life with so great an emperor, stands at the side of the young emperor, and she knows everything by which the empire may prosper, having had the benefit of your teaching and example. And demonstrating in her deeds the lessons she has learned, she could not but achieve the common good in everything. But while we want both the understanding of imperial affairs and the good things which come from it.

A similar case could be made for such an endorsement of Maria's rule soon after Manuel's death, when scepticism about the empire's future under a regency would have needed immediate quelling. Plausible arguments may of course be made for either. But they remain inside the time-frame circumscribed by events, with Manuel's death at one end and the regency's collapse at the other. The window for a suitable commemoration at which a funeral oration of this length and ambitious scope could have been recited is not especially long. Where on that timeline we place the likely occasion of its delivery may affect how we interpret parts of the oration, as well as its overall intent in the volatile circumstances. The value in trying to determine when the funeral oration was delivered does not lie so much in our success in fixing the exact date as it does in keeping before us the vicissitudes and contingent circumstances in which the funerary ceremony was composed and delivered.⁶² Thinking about the occasion and the timing of the oration encourages us to read the text *in the world*, and not as an artificial distortion of it, as C. Mango's infamous characterization of Byzantine literature would have it. Only thus can we ensure that our understanding of the oration's contents and aims are anchored in its historical context and not in a purely abstract textual tradition. Pernot's observation regarding Roman panegyric remained in effect centuries later in Byzantium, namely, that "encomium was thought of [not] as an abstract rhetorical form but rather as a social practice embodied in speeches undertaken for specific occasions."⁶³ Only if we bear this mind can we leave aside the mistaken view that epideictic rhetoric of praise remained intrinsically aloof from reality.

⁶² On other funeral orations providing evidence for the time of their delivery, see Sideras, *Grabreden*, 65, nn. 117–119.

⁶³ Pernot, *Epideictic*, 20.

In the case of Manuel's death, the funeral oration was almost certain to acquire political overtones over and above any pietistic commemorative aim. This was more likely as long as the deceased emperor's legacy could be invoked to bolster a fledgling succession. Andronikos' designs on the throne even before Manuel's death were well known, even if the stories told about them later took on an almost farsical and parodic cast.⁶⁴ Eustathios must have therefore known that he was wading into politically troubled waters by composing a prose paean to Andronikos' long-standing political nemesis while publicly endorsing his heir. What's more, the Ἐπιτάφιος touches on a host of policies closely associated with Manuel's not seldom controversial governance. Although non-narrative in structure, Eustathios' funeral oration was necessarily retrospective in its time-frame and implicitly broached the future governance of the empire by means of normative and symbouleutic formulations. The occasion and the oration were perforce politicized. The conspicuous praise for Manuel, which until then had seemed a requirement of ceremonial protocol, risked being cast as vocal support for the regency.

Amid all this immanent conflict, Eustathios is not in the least coy about his desire to confer one last tribute to Manuel's legacy, and by extension to affirm his allegiance to Manuel's wife and son. Perhaps professional rhetors did not need to fear falling afoul of a new regime because they had rendered service to the old one. But by the time of Manuel's death, Eustathios was no longer simply a senior rhetorician. He was bishop of the strategically important city of Thessalonike and his delivery of a funeral oration could be interpreted as an act of voluntary partisanship. In any event, Eustathios' declared allegiance to Manuel's widow and to heir, Alexios II, did not prove irreversible. Only a few years later he would write an account of the Norman occupation of Thessalonike in which he went to some lengths to explain his good faith support of the disgraced usurper Andronikos I, the Komnenian prince who had ordered the death of Manuel's son Alexios. While not strictly part of the ceremonial frame of the occasion, these and similar considerations nevertheless must have coloured the context and were bound to be on the orator's mind as he composed the Ἐπιτάφιος for an emperor whose robust rule in life was sure to produce a power vacuum in the immediate wake following his death.

⁶⁴ Cf. E. C. Bourbouhakis, "Exchanging the devices of Ares for the delights of the Erotes: erotic misadventures and the History of Niketas Choniates," *Plotting with Eros: essays on the poetics of love and the erotics of reading*, ed. I. Nilsson (Copenhagen, 2009) 213–234.

The Ἐπιτάφιος as a paraenetic text; or a ‘distorting mirror’ of Princes

I hoped in the first place to encourage our Emperor in his virtues by a sincere tribute and, secondly, to show his successors what path to follow to win the same renown, not by offering instruction but by setting his example before them. To proffer advice on an Emperor’s duties might be a noble enterprise, but it would be a heavy responsibility verging on insolence, whereas to praise an excellent ruler (*optimum principem*) and thereby shine a beacon on the path posterity should follow would be equally effective without appearing presumptuous.

— Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* III. xviii

Was the Ἐπιτάφιος political? To which one might reasonably answer, how could it not be? Consider the *laudandus*, the occasion, and the audience, against the historical backdrop of the period immediately following Manuel’s death: threats from abroad and ruthless ambition in the ranks of the ruling élite. Could a funeral oration for an emperor studiously avoid any and all allusion to this reality? And yet this may not have been the orator’s most significant contribution to political reflection in these circumstances. The characterization of the Ἐπιτάφιος as political can suggest a range of involvement, from the immediate affairs at court to the broad ideological plane. Determining any of these poses challenges to how we read such a text. Another way to put the question would be to ask whether the Ἐπιτάφιος did double duty as a kind of *paraenetic* or *symbolleutic* treatise, at times even as a kind of ‘mirror of princes.’ The answers to these questions are anything but obvious, not least because there is no agreement as to what Byzantine political theory amounted to, or indeed whether it existed.

It is nevertheless fitting to ask the questions in relation to the Ἐπιτάφιος because the alleged absence of genuine political theory in Byzantium has long been seen as a direct symptom of the same ideological framework which re-

quired constant praise of the emperor, even after death.¹ How could a system of governance which expected to hear itself celebrated in imperial oratory, or βασιλικοί λόγοι, also tolerate authentic reflection on the nature and just application of political power? Perhaps most insidious of all, we assume, was the channelling of Byzantine society's eloquence to the abject flattery of rulers. If the best schooled minds were coopted by the very system of rule they might scrutinize, where would political thinking find a voice? But the flagrant obsequiousness we hear in the speeches before the emperor's court was hardly a Byzantine innovation. As the apparatus to this text demonstrates, no small measure of the imagery and panegyric formulas in the Ἐπιτάφιος had been bequeathed to Byzantium by ancient Greek and Roman archetypes.² Theoretical texts on kingship were thus not unknown in Byzantium.³

In one of the earliest attempts to describe the genres which might plausibly be grouped under the heading *Fürstenspiegel*, P. Hadot grouped *encomia* and 'mirrors of princes' together, since they often drew from a common pool of late Roman texts on ideal rule.⁴ In a similar vein, in his survey of secular prose genres, Herbert Hunger acknowledged that many *encomia* attempted to provide a magnificent portrait of the ideal virtuous ruler.⁵ The distinction between the rapidly multiplying *encomia* and the increasingly rare didactic texts on kingship lay in the following circumstance: the author of a 'mirror of princes' could count on his élite social rank and be more candid about his programmatic advice to the ruler. But that had long since ceased to be the case for most Byzantine encomiasts. So while Hunger noted the kinship between *encomium* and 'mirrors of princes', he nevertheless drew the line at funerary speeches. He did so by arguing that advice literature proper has a more immediate horizon for action it urges upon the ruler. This would have disqualified funerary speeches. Yet Hunger also noted that included among the texts drawn on by authors of Byzantine *Fürs-*

¹ E. Christophilopoulou, "Ἡ ἀντιβασιλεία εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον," *Symmeikta* 2 (1970) 1–144.

² M. Anastos, "Byzantine political theory: its classical precedents and legal embodiment," *The "Past" in medieval and modern Greek culture*, ed. S. Vryonis (Malibu, 1978) 13–52. Even if Byzantine authors did not cultivate the Greco-Roman tradition of political theory, that does not mean they were unaware of such works.

³ Aelius Aristides, held up as an exemplar by aspiring Byzantine rhetors, provided a model with his treatise, 'Εἰς βασιλέα. It matter little whether we think the work to have been authored by Aristides. The Byzantines thought it had been. See C. P. Jones, "Aelius Aristides, Εἰς ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ," *The Journal of Roman studies* 62 (1972) 134–152; cf. C. Körner, "Die Rede 'Εἰς βασιλέα' des Pseudo-Aelius Aristides," *Museum Helveticum*, 59 (2002) 211–228.

⁴ P. Hadot, "Fürstenspiegel," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1972) 8,555–632; Themistius, Julian, Libanios, Synesios' Περὶ βασιλείας, and Prokopios of Gaza, were all models for Byzantine panegyric.

⁵ Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, 158.

tenspiegel was Isocrates' funeral oration for king Evagoras, at once an archetypal ἐπιτάφιος and a portrait of the ideal ruler.⁶ Unsurprisingly perhaps, scholars have been increasingly willing to discern a significant subtext of politics in the panegyric tradition of Byzantium. Many see thinly disguised topical or immediate references, akin to criticism or endorsement of particular policies or decisions. And as I point out in the commentary, Eustathios includes a few such references to controversial policies. Though he does not veil them, for the most part, but comes out in open defense of Manuel's governing decisions and the rationale behind them. Some, however, describe the political subtext of imperial oratory in more normative terms. They point to a tendency to formulate praise in language which renders the *encomium* an illustration of an ideal implicitly urged on current and future rulers. That tendency is marked in the Ἐπιτάφιος.

An additional consequence of such efforts at identifying latent political thought in texts usually regarded as little more than undisguised propaganda has been the intellectual rehabilitation of authors of *encomia*. This has been especially important for middle Byzantine literature, since many panegyrists were among Byzantium's foremost intellectuals and writers: Arethas, Michael Psellos, Theophylact of Ochrid, George and Demetrios Tornikes, Konstantinos Manasses, Michael Italikos, Eustathios, Michael and Niketas Choniates, to name but the most prominent. All composed, and many will have performed, orations in praise of emperors. Byzantinists, for their part, have often felt embarrassed by the apparent lack of intellectual independence joined to a seemingly pliable integrity which led many of the empire's most educated and well spoken men to surrender their literary skill to burnishing the image of autocracy. Too often the extant orations, including the Ἐπιτάφιος, read like shameless efforts to glorify imperfect rulers and to ingratiate oneself with the court. The problem with such a view is that it presumes nothing but cynicism on the part of the panegyrists and, one must assume, on the part of their audiences as well. While this is not the place to revise wholly our understanding of βασιλικὸς λόγος, what I describe in the section on style as a kind of *illocutionary* speech, the Ἐπιτάφιος as a form of ritual expression, does allow us to explore alternate readings of Byzantine panegyric literature.

The way to such readings has been opened by the now well established concept of Byzantine *Kaiserkritik*.⁷ Historians eager to hear from Byzantines them-

⁶ Idem, *Profane Literatur*, 159.

⁷ The breakout work on Byzantine *Kaiserkritik* was F. H. Tinnfeld's doctoral dissertation, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie von Prokop bis Niketas Choniates* (Munich,

selves how they hoped to be ruled have sought traces of a distinctly subtle form of *Fürstenspiegel* or ‘mirror of princes’ in the panegyric literature of Byzantium.⁸ Responding to scholars who reduced imperial panegyric to uncritical praise of the emperor, P. Magdalino has written that “it is a mistake to assume that *encomium* necessarily lacked the edifying purpose of the ‘mirror of princes.’”⁹ Having received a thorough education in the precepts of ancient rhetoric, Byzantine orators would have been aware of the link between praise and *paraenesis* registered by no less an authority than Aristotle.¹⁰ While not as openly deliberative as the speeches of the Athenian assembly or the Roman republican senate, imperial oratory nevertheless had to vindicate the conduct of the emperor against what in many cases must have amounted to scepticism or open dissent, as is implied by the insistent rationale in the *Ἐπιτάφιος* for some of Manuel’s most conspicuous policies.

Court orators were practiced in the art of putting the best face on a regime. This was done by working backwards from the best course of action. The emperor was routinely praised not for what he *had* done but for doing what he *should* have done. As A. Giannouli points out, panegyric and *paraenesis* were not systematically differentiated in earlier scholarship because their shared ideological idiom made them appear as distinct occurrences of the same aim.¹¹ She

1971); for *Kaiserkritik* directed at Manuel I Komnenos, see P. Magdalino, “Aspects of twelfth-century Byzantine *Kaiserkritik*,” *Speculum* 58.2 (Apr., 1983) 3246; cf. Av. Cameron, “Early Byzantine *Kaiserkritik*: two case histories,” *BMGs* 3/1 (1977) 1–17.

⁸ A. Kazhdan, A. W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Berkeley, 1985) 109–116; cf. K. D. S. Paidas, *Η θεματική των «κατόπτρων ηγεμόνος» της πρώιμης και μέσης περιόδου (398–1085): συμβολή στην πολιτική θεωρία των Βυζαντινών* (Athens, 2005). Texts presuming to instruct or exhort Byzantine princes or emperors how best to conduct their own life and those of their subjects through good stewardship of the state most often carried such headings as *παραίνεσις*, *λόγος νοουθετητικός*, *ὑποθήκαι*, *βασιλικὸς ἀνδριάς ἢ περὶ βασιλείας*. Cf. P. Hadot, “*Fürstenspiegel*,” 555–632; W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel: Agapetos, Theophylakt von Ochrid, Thomas Magister* [Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur 14] (Stuttgart, 1958); G. Prinzig, “Bebobachtungen zu „integrierten“ Fürstenspiegeln der Byzantiner,” *JÖB* 38 (1988) 1–31.

⁹ Magdalino, *Empire*, 417; cf. K. Emminger, *Studien zu den griechischen Fürstenspiegeln* (München, 1913). Appropriately enough the term *Fürstenspiegel* was coined by Gottfried of Viterbo in the late twelfth century (d. 1191) in his *Speculum Regum*, or ‘mirror of princes’, addressed to Henry VI. See P. Hadot, “*Fürstenspiegel*,” 556. See also the survey of the Western medieval tradition of ‘mirrors of princes’ by W. Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1938; repr. 1952); none of these studies makes any allowance for Byzantine examples.

¹⁰ *Rhet.* I.1367b36–1368a9. Hadot, “*Füstenspiegel*,” 602, deems most ancient panegyric in Greek as Hellenistic-Roman in origin.

¹¹ See the remarks of A. Giannouli, “*Paränese zwischen Enkomion und Psogos: zur Gattungseinordnung byzantinischer Fürstenspiegel*,” eds. A. Rhoby, E. Schiffer, *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur* (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008), [Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 402: Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 21] (Wien, 2010) 119–128.: “Aufgrund des Inhalts und der rhetorischen Methoden stehen die beiden Textgruppen – die an den Kaiser gerichteten Paränesen und Enkomien – in enger

notes that Byzantine *encomia* shared both contents and form with traditional paraenetic texts. Praise proceeded from the same template of virtues and aimed at shoring up a model of imperial governance, what has come to be known as Byzantine *Kaiserideologie*. If the language is exalting instead of exhortatory, it need not mean that audiences did not hear the emperor and court being urged to pursue a course of action or adopt a standard of behaviour generally felt to be lacking. It might even be argued that all *encomium* is at once descriptive in principle and prescriptive in practice.¹² Accordingly, D. Angelov describes how imperial *encomia* of the Palaiologan restoration following the period of exile in Nikaia accomodated a sometimes surprising degree of political controversy and debate. This could happen so long as programmatic politics were couched in ideologically reassuring formulas, cautiously broached and subtly expounded.¹³

Angelov nevertheless cautions that “the rôle and function of imperial panegyric has not yet been sufficiently investigated to permit the passing of definite and unqualified judgment.”¹⁴ This would apply equally well to summary judgments dismissive of imperial panegyric’s genuine political function or its characterization as little more than unqualified celebration of individual emperors.¹⁵ All panegyric proceeds from certain ideal conceptions which give it a normative cast. We frequently reverse engineer the various *topoi* and clichés about emperors in a bid to arrive at the assumptions undergirding legitimate rule and good governance in Byzantium.¹⁶ But even as Byzantine orators “preached a sermon to the converted, including the emperor himself,” encomiastic oratory served to

Beziehung. Beide heben die Tugenden des idealen Königs hervor und dienen der Verbreitung der Kaiserideologie, wobei sie ihre Themen und Motive aus der gleichen Tradition schöpfen.”

¹² Pernot, *Epideictic*, 98. On this dual rôle, at once descriptive and prescriptive, see R. Borgognoni, “Parlare alle istituzioni, parlare delle istituzioni: retorica, verità e persuasione nell’Oriente tardoantico,” *Istituzioni, carismi ed esercizio del potere, IV - VI secolo d.C.* (Bari, 2010) 77–90.

¹³ D. Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium: 1204–1330* (Cambridge, UK; New York, 2007). Angelov discerns a greater temerity on the part of rhetors composing imperial panegyric in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, noting that they seem less shy in offering political counsel to imperial audiences.

¹⁴ D. Angelov, “Byzantine imperial panegyric as advice literature,” *Rhetoric in Byzantium: papers from the thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*. ed. E. Jeffreys (Hants, UK; Burlington, VT, 2003) 55–72, 57. The need for a reappraisal of imperial panegyric is demonstrated by the fact that the following twin articles remain the largest and most thorough analysis of the genre to date. See L. Previale, “Teoria e prassi del panegirico bizantino,” *Emerita* 17 (1949) 72–105, 18 (1950) 340–366.

¹⁵ Giannouli cites Demosthenes’ *Olynthiaca* III, 3,7–11 for the antiquity of the assumption that *encomia* conceal the true nature of rule while exhortatory texts seek to improve it. See Giannouli, “Paränese zwischen Enkomion und Psogos,” 121.

¹⁶ For a theoretical inventory of the emperor’s duties, see H. Hunger, *Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (Wien, 1964) 127–129.

sustain faith in the ideal.¹⁷ Put differently, orators at court were entrusted with the ideological blueprint of Byzantine society. So even as it claimed to relate the merits of the *laudandus*, court oratory was also proclaiming the particular archetype of excellence and virtue against which an emperor would be measured. Despotism, it should be remembered, had its own political and social logic, along with its own historical warrant, requiring frequent and *persuasive* re-articulation.¹⁸

Rhetors in Byzantium were stewards of an ideological idiom in constant need of renewal.¹⁹ The problem, as S. Bartsch has described it for an earlier period of Roman imperial panegyric, was how to restore meaning and credibility to the clichés and hackneyed praises without making them seem forced and discredited by a reflexive recycling.²⁰ The recurrence of *topoi*, formulaic characterizations, stock imagery and clichés one may find in the Ἐπιτάφιος, strike us as cripplingly unimaginative. It can appear as though Byzantine authors like Eustathios were afraid to venture out far beyond the safety of the well trodden phrase. Why else would authors who could call on such reserves of literary ingenuity and wide reading in both pagan and Christian classics have proven so reluctant to diversify their rhetorical, if not necessarily their political, idiom? One answer we have not considered sufficiently is that panegyric language like that of the Ἐπιτάφιος was conceived as part of a political ritual. Yes, *topoi* or established motifs were subject to some depreciation through constant and expanding re-use. The rhetor was charged with making “old *topoi* look as good as new.”²¹

On the other hand, commonplaces and formulas provided a measure of reassurance and stability to people who felt especially vulnerable to sudden and often wrenching mutability. Hence the traditional pejorative senses attached to novelty, or *καινότης*. In contrast, hearing a set of perennial norms invoked as touchstones of successful rule – the emperor’s prudence and self-control, his devotion to his soldiers and generosity to his people, his political schrewdness and diplomatic acumen, his ability to intimidate without necessarily resorting to violence – these had an almost ritual, iterative function in affirming the verities

¹⁷ Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 180.

¹⁸ As R. Webb observes, even speeches in praise of emperors, figures deemed too exalted to be subject to the normal procedures of evidence in support of praise, nevertheless assemble proofs to illustrate the ruler’s virtues in accordance with the requirements of forensic oratory. Webb, “Praise and persuasion,” 127–136, 131, n. 16. Cf. *Men.-Rhet.* 368.5–7.

¹⁹ Cf. Pernot, *L’éloge*, 720ff.

²⁰ S. Bartsch, *Actors in the audience: theatricality and doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994).

²¹ Magdalino, *Empire*, 418.

of good imperial conduct. Since the emperor's monopoly of coercion was never sufficient to keep him in power, a rationalizing ideology which underwrote that coercion had to be reiterated and acceded to volountarily. The rhetorical formulas thus helped create what L. Pernot aptly describes as a ritualized political "grammar of the encomium."²²

Oration like the Ἐπιτάφιος can nevertheless seem to us like instruments of heavy-handed propaganda.²³ But the effect sought may have been more subtle. And it may have cut both ways. It articulated the court's self-serving view of the emperor's achievements and motives, to be sure; but it also had its stated ideals forcefully articulated back to itself. This meant submitting to a lofty standard which the emperor perennially risked falling short of. Rhetorical conventions made few discounts in the profile of the ideal ruler. Indeed, it is questionable how much influence individual emperors had on the repertoire of imperial panegyric, including those emperors who put their strong stamp on the organization and administration of the empire, as Manuel had done. So while any one rhetor appears to us fawning and sycophantic, when seen as part of a panegyric tradition, Byzantine court oratory can seem remarkably impervious to ideological interference from the throne.

Assuming then that we accept the premise of a 'mirror of princes', what point was there in holding up a mirror to a dead prince? The question brings us back full circle to the function of the Ἐπιτάφιος. Was so lengthy and elaborate a panegyric of a recently deceased emperor simply about commemorating the memory of the deceased? What political function, if any, might commemoration have served? A funeral oration which eschewed lament in order to survey and celebrate an emperor's reign and temperament as a ruler invariably constituted a model of governance; all the more so, perhaps, in a period wracked by uncertainty about the stability of the succession. No one in the audience would have been unaware of the barely concealed ambitions of the men present with designs on the throne; in some cases, like that of the soon to be emperor Andronikos I,

²² Pernot goes on to describe the lists of *topoi* as "reference schemes, duly elaborated, specified, and articulated...efficient analytical frameworks which enabled the ancient encomiast to perceive objects clearly and to appreciate their merits equitably." What was true of the ancient encomiast remained true for his Byzantine counterpart. See Pernot, *Epideictic*, 49.

²³ We should not underestimate the contribution βασιλικοί λόγοι, including funeral orations for recently deceased emperors, could make to internecine debates and conflicts over governance by supplying memorably articulated account of the reality in question. In addition to their ceremonial function, such speeches constituted one among many "varieties of knowledge and opinion that must have existed among the audience of any speech and even within individual listeners." Webb, *Praise and Persuasion*, 134.

temperaments strikingly opposite to that profiled by the Ἐπιτάφιος. And even if Andronikos' disastrous rule could not have been anticipated by Eustathios, his reputation for spirited recklessness and swashbuckling valour made him the perfect foil to the poised and prudent imperial figure profiled in the Ἐπιτάφιος. Elaborating on *Iliad* 9.334 (ἄλλα δ' ἀριστήεσσι δίδου γέρα καὶ βασιλεῦσι) in the *Παρεκβολαί*, Eustathios had previously pointed to a deliberate distinction underlined by the ancient poet between those who displayed excellence and those who might become kings:

Ἐν δὲ τῷ «ἀριστήεσσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν» ὄρα τὴν διαφορὰν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἱ ἀριστεῖς βασιλεύουσιν οὔτε βασιλέων τὸ ἀριστεύειν ἐστί.²⁴

Although a misreading of the verse, *sensu stricto*, the observation is an example of how Eustathios' rhetorical analysis of the Homeric portrayal of rule was informed by and tailored to Byzantine preoccupations with the nature of effective governance. All that was beneficial about monarchy, it was assumed, flowed from the excellence or virtue of the individual on the throne. This was a premise running through all of imperial oratory, the Ἐπιτάφιος included. Eustathios could read the verse as he did because the potential disjunction between the *real* and the *ideal* ruler was all too vivid a prospect in a system of government so dependent on aligning the two.²⁵ Such an alignment nevertheless involved compromise from both ends, and in a telling episode presented in unusually vivid outline, Eustathios suggests that good emperors have also *to be made*, through wise counsel and political education. They are not simply born equal to the requirements of empire.

Thus early in the Ἐπιτάφιος Eustathios introduces a wider lesson about self-restraint and the dangers of impetuous decision-making by a future ruler. He locates the highly abridged story in the severe but also safe context of a paternal reprimand of the recklessly bellicose adolescent Manuel I by the young prince's father, the emperor John II. After the young Manuel has thrown himself headlong into battle without regard for his own safety, he incurs the stern reproach of a father who is at once outwardly angry but inwardly proud of his audacious son's martial spirit. John nevertheless hides his pride, lest he further encourage such behaviour in his young and politically immature son. He chooses instead to dissemble the part of an irate father in order to underscore the se-

²⁴ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.723.

²⁵ The potential for vice in emperors is illustrated repeatedly by Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.* 110.20–21, 432.61–65, 444.87–90, 548.3–4, 549.9–11.

riousness of the lesson he will teach Manuel about the need for self-restraint, as well as responsibility towards his subjects. The twin feelings represent the need to reconcile opposite tendencies, self-restraint and valour, readiness for war and prudence in its conduct. The passage deserves to be quoted in full because its narrative concision leaves just enough space for the audience to conjure the dramatic encounter between father and son, and the importance to a future ruler of subordinating his nature to a broader duty:

Ἦν γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἰδεῖν τὸν μὲν πατέρα βασιλέα διδασκαλιῶν τὰς ἀρίστας προβαλλόμενον, τοῦτον δὲ ῥᾶον δὲ ἀντιλαμβανόμενον, καὶ εἰς προβολὴν εὐθὺς ἐνεργείας τελείας ἐρεθιζόμενον· κάκεινον ἔστιν οὐ καὶ ἐπέχοντα τῆς εἰσάγαν ῥύμης, ὑφορώμενον, μὴ καὶ σφαιεῖη ὁ παῖς βασιλεὺς τῷ ὑπερλίαν εὐεκτικῷ τοῦ μεγαλοφυοῦς. Καὶ ποτε πρὸ ὥρας ὑγραῖς ἔτι χερσὶ (καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ παιδικαῖς) ὁ μὲν κατεθάρρῃσε μάχης (ἦν δὲ οὐ πολλοί, οὐδὲ τῶν γενναιοτέρων), καὶ περιέκειτο νίκην· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐντὸς μὲν ἔχαιρεν, ἐπαλείφων εἰς ἀρετὰς τὸν κατ' αὐτὰς δεξιότατον, τοῖς δὲ ἐκτὸς ἐμβριθῶς ἐσχημάτιστο, καὶ ἤνυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ μαθητῇ βασιλεῖ, ὃ μὴ τὸ πολέμιον κατεπράξατο. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ὑπεστάλη ὁ νεανίας· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ βασιλεὺς, ἐμβριμησάμενος, αὐτὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐπιπλήξας, εἰς φρίκην συνήγαγε μαθόντα, μὴ χρῆναι θάλος οὕτω νέον ἀνέμοις ἑαυτὸ παραβάλλειν, οἱ ἐκστρέψαι τῆς εἰς ὄρθον στάσεως καὶ ἐπὶ γαίης ἐκτανύσαι ἰσχύουσι· ἀκούσαντά τε καί, «μηδένα φαῦλον ἄνδρα πόλεμον αἰρέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αἰεῖ,» οὗς κρατυνθέντας μὲν πάνυ στερωῶς καὶ ἄθλοισ ἐντριβέντας μυριοῖς τάχ' ἂν ποτε δυσωπηθεῖη ἢ δυσπρόσωπος μάχῃ, παναπάλοισ δὲ οὐσι ταχὺ ἐγχανεῖται, καὶ ἀπαγάγοι πρὸ ὥρας, μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ὠφεληκότας τὸ βοηθούμενον· καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι παιδευθέντα, ἥρμα τὸ ἔμπρακτον προῖσχεσθαι, καὶ βαθμιδοῦν οἷον τὴν ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἀνάβασιν κατὰ εὐτακτουμένην προσαυξήσιν, ἵνα τῷ τελείῳ προσβάς, εἴη τῷ κόσμῳ χρησίμος· ὃ καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἐκβέβηκεν ὕστερον. (Ἐπ. 7)

For you could truly see his father the emperor setting forth the best teachings, while Manuel apprehended them easily, and he was immediately roused to demonstrate their fullest application; and there were times when his father even had to check his son's exceeding vehemence, since his father supposed that the young emperor could err by reason of his immoderately noble nature. One time, when he was still too young and his hands still soft (for what else could they have been belonging to a child), he had the courage to get into a fight (which few would have gotten into, not even the bravest) and he was crowned with victory; his father privately rejoiced, having trained the boy for such feats, to which he was so adept, though he pretended outwardly to be severe, and he managed to have the effect on the student emperor which the enemy had not. For the young man did not shrink from these men, while his father the emperor, rebuking him, and it must be said, punishing him, taught him through fear, that so young a shoot should not expose itself to the winds, which may bend it from its upright position and lay it flat on the ground; he heard as well that "war never deliberately selects the wicked, but always the brave," and whereas grim-faced battle may look disapprovingly at men quite severely hardened and worn by many contests, if they are still tender, she regards them straightaway with eagerness, and may take them before their time, so that they will have proven of little or no benefit to those whom they set out to help. And in all things he was instructed to progress gradually in their application, and to make his way up the slope of virtuous deeds, step by step, as it were, in an orderly progression, so that reaching perfection he might prove useful to the world, a thing he later put into practice.

The episode assumes, somewhat improbably, that despite his rank in the succession, Manuel was being groomed by his father for rule. Quite significantly, Manuel's feat of courage and his skill in fighting – natural sources of pride among warrior aristocrats like the Komnenians – though secretly admired by his father, do not come in for much praise from Eustathios. The episode of Manuel's youthful courage and skill in battle belonged, it seems, to palace lore and was included as a reassuring harbinger in quasi-official accounts, like Kinnamos' *Epitome*. The memorably epigrammatic quote from Sophocles («μηδένα φαῦλον ἄνδρα πόλεμον αἰρέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αἰεῖ») thus comes as a counter-intuitive lesson to the boy who might have assumed that heroic courage, the valiant *ethos* of his Komnenian ancestors, might have met with unqualified praise. Instead, he learns that as future emperor he must take a wider (and arguably non-aristocratic) view of war and exercise a caution commensurate with his duties if he is to prove “useful” to the world (εἴη τῷ κόσμῳ χρήσιμος).

Menander-Rhetor instructs anyone composing an *epitaphios* to provide examples of the subject's precocious nature with respect to later achievements (a prefiguration later borrowed by more biographic genres, including hagiography). Eustathios seems to conform to the rule and assures the audience that Manuel showed an early disposition to virtue, having before him the example of his ancestors. In some matters, however, he needed his father's guidance, even though he proved preternaturally resourceful in uncovering for himself good principles, “and especially all those which will be reckoned as models of governance and of noble achievements among his descendants”:

ὡς ἐκ σπαργάνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ παιδὸς εἰς ἀκμαῖον δι' ἀρετῶν ἦκων προέκοπτε, τὰ μὲν ἑτέροις προγονικοῖς ἐμβαίνων ἴχνεσι, τὰ δὲ καὶ πατρικῶς ρυθμιζόμενος, πλείω δὲ καὶ προσευπορῶν, καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἀγαθαῖς προσεξευρίσκων αὐτός, ὅσα καὶ αὐτὰ εἰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀγαθοπραξιῶν ἀρχέτυπα τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἐγγράφεται. (Επ. 6)

almost from the time he was in swaddling clothes, and from childhood until he reached adulthood, he proved precocious in the demonstration of virtues, in some cases following in the footsteps of his ancestors, in others as a result of being guided by his father, though for the most part relying on his own resources, and making additional discoveries in the principles of virtue on his own, and especially all those which will be reckoned as models of governance and of noble achievements among his descendants.

If Manuel's son and heir, Alexios II, was too young to grasp the *symbolleutic* implications of Eustathios' framing of the episode as one of imparting knowledge of virtuous rule either directly or through example, then surely those in the audience attached to the regency might be counted on to hear the *paraenetic* lesson.

As a profile of Manuel's exemplary conduct on the throne, the Ἐπιτάφιος was a distillation of all that the deceased emperor might have wished to impart to his heir and successor. The lesson taught in so dramatic a fashion by John II to his son thus holds up a mirror to the next prince.

The lesson elicited from John's reprimand, to heed prudence and give due consideration to the fullness of the obligations of an emperor, is encapsulated in the recurring invocation of φρόνησις as the paramount virtue in the governance of the empire. Deliberating with himself which of the many virtues he should give priority to, Eustathios cannot but give pride of place to φρόνησις, "that attribute which is universally acknowledged to compliment all other virtues. As long as it is heeded prior to any act," Eustathios assures his audience, the actions of a man will be 'humane', i.e., rational, and he will "in fact walk in the light": ἀνθρώπου ἔργα τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ ὑπὸ φωτὶ ἐκεῖνος βαίνει τῷ ὄντως, a conclusion which combines the ancient philosophical imperative to obey reason as only humans can with scriptural imagery in a bid to exalt the faculty of cautious deliberation as the hallmark of a wise and effective ruler:²⁶

Ἐνταῦθα δὲ πῶς ἂν ἔπειτα λαθοίμην πρωτείου τιμήσασθαι τὴν ἐπὶ πασῶν φρόνησιν, τὴν ἀπάσαν ἀρτουόσαν ἀρετάς, καί, ὡς οἶον εἰπεῖν, ἄλλας, καὶ αὐτὴν παγκόσμιον, δι' οὗ ἅπασιν ἀνθρωπικοῖς ἔργοις τὸ νόστιμον; ἥς προϊσταμένης μὲν τῶν πράξεων, ἀνθρώπου ἔργα τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ ὑπὸ φωτὶ ἐκεῖνος βαίνει τῷ ὄντως· παρεωραμένης δέ, ἄλλο τι ἐκεῖνα, καὶ ὡς οἷα κατὰ σκότον ἡλάσκει ὁ ἐργαζόμενος, καὶ ὡς παρεγκλίνας τὸ φῶς σκιά τις ἄισσει ἀπολωλεκυῖα τὸ στερέμνιον. (Ἐπ. 12)

At this point, how could I therefore fail to award the first prize to prudence in all things, which like seasoning prepares all other virtues, like salt, so to speak, and a worldwide one at that, by which all human deeds are rendered savoury? In those cases where prudence precedes action, the acts are indeed those of a human being, and that man walks under the true light; but when prudence is neglected, the actions become something else and the person performing them wanders as if in darkness, and turning aside the light flits like some shadow having lost its solidity.

Only a little further along in the oration Eustathios praises Manuel for exhibiting the very attributes of careful deliberation and resistance to rash decisions, as his father had urged. Manuel, it seems, achieved the desired (im)balance between bravery and sound judgement, ἀνδρία and φρονήσις, accumulating more accomplishments through the latter than through sheer displays of courage:

²⁶ The clauses are derived, respectively from Aristotle *EN* 1141b8–10: Ἡ δὲ φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἔστι βουλευσασθαι· τοῦ γὰρ φρονίμου μάλιστα τοῦτ' ἔργον εἶναι φαμεν and *Evang. sec. Io. 8:12*: Πάλιν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· ὁ ἀκολουθῶν ἐμοὶ οὐ μὴ περιπατήσει ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἔξει τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς. See the commentary *ad loc.* for more analysis.

Ἐντεῦθεν αἱ πανταχοῦ γῆς βασιλικάι πρόνοιαι πολυειδεῖς. Καὶ ἄνθρωπος εἰς οὗτος τοῖς μεγάλοις οἰκουμηνικοῖς ἑαυτὸν μεγαλοφυῶς ἐπεμέριζε τμήμασιν εἰς τὸ ἐνεργόν, προβαλλόμενος, ὅσα καὶ χεῖρας ἀμφιδεξίους, τὸ τῆς ἀνδρίας δραστήριον, καὶ τὸ τῆς συνέσεως ἐμπύριον, ὅσον τε ἐν τῇ λουπῇ φρονήσει, καὶ ὅποσον εἰς ἀγχίνοιαν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ σκεπτικῶς ἔχων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις, καὶ ἐφιστάνων διανοητικῶς· τὰ πλείω δὲ ἀγχιστα τῇ νόησει παρίστατο, καὶ ἀχρόνως οἶον τοῦ νοουμένου ἐδράττετο, καὶ τοῦτου βαθύτατα, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἐπιπολάζειν κατὰ τοὺς ταχεῖς μὲν φρονεῖν, οὐ τι δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς. καὶ ἦν μὲν αὐτῷ λίαν καλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας σεμνά· περιττότερα δὲ γε τὰ τῆς φρονήσεως, ἧς καὶ καταμόνας εἰς μυρίον πλῆθος ὠνάμεθα. (Ἐπ. 14)

It was as a result of this that imperial precautions of every sort were adopted in every part of the land. And this single man divided his time generously between the wide parts of the empire in an energetic way, displaying the initiative of his courage and his burning intelligence in a manner resembling an ambidextrous man, as much in matters related to the rest of practical wisdom as in those requiring shrewdness. For while he exhibited thoughtfulness in great matters, deliberating at length; in the majority of cases his mind got close to the heart of the matter, and he lost not time in grasping the situation, right to its very depths, not superficially like those who are quick to come to a decision but without ensuring its reliability and soundness. And while he could also claim extraordinary deeds of bravery, far more numerous were his acts of prudent governance, which, even if we considered them individually, we enjoy in great numbers.

Byzantine intellectuals were aware that the call to balance rational judgement and prudence (φρονήσις) with manly bravery (ἀνδρία), had ancient pedigree. Eustathios' audience would have understood this as shorthand for a readiness to commit not just himself to battle, but the whole empire.²⁷ The twelfth-century Aristotelian scholiast, Michael of Ephesos, included in his commentary to the *Nicomachean Ethics* the observation: δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς... ἀνδρεία αἰρετώτερα καὶ βελτίω εἶναι σοφίας καὶ φρονήσεως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο.²⁸ So while invoking φρόνησις in a funeral oration may strike us as oratorical bromide, when situated in a broader discourse about trying to redress the imbalance and risk of a warrior ethos of unchecked inclination to war, apparent cliché and *topoi*

²⁷ As any survey of ancient literature across genres will show, φρονήσις in the conduct of state affairs enjoyed considerable pedigree in the classical canon, which supplied post-classical writers with the vocabulary to articulate its imperative through advanced education in rhetoric and literature. Cf. Pl. *Symp.* 209a; Arist. *EN* 1140a24; *Isoc. Or.* 12.204; *Plu. Moralia* 2.97e.

²⁸ *Michaelis Ephesii in parva naturalia commentaria. Pars II: Michaelis Ephesii in libros De partibus animalium, De animalium motione, De animalium incessu commentaria. Pars III: Michaelis Ephesii in librum quintum Ethicorum Nicomacheorum commentarium*, eds. P. Wendland, M. Hayduck, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* Vol. XXII.I-III *Pars I* (Berlin; 2013) 483. In fact, the advice that acts of bravery had to be balanced, indeed surpassed, by wise decision-making, had already been part of the speeches celebrating Manuel's accession over four decades earlier, confirming perhaps that some at court were concerned about his temperament. Cf. *Michel Italikos, lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gautier [*Archives de l'orient chrétien* 14.] (Paris, 1972) 276–294. The conventional keynote theme of φρόνησις would have struck some as having special bearing on a young emperor who had thus far earned a worrisome reputation for bravery on the battlefield and libidinous appetites off it. In that case Italikos appears to have been perhaps anticipating scepticism about Manuel's immaturity and inexperience. Cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 435.

take on more immediate significance. Eustathios grants φρόνησις a prominence commensurate with the priority he thought it should be given in imperial decision-making, including prioritizing it over Manuel's (or any future emperor's) martial spirit:

καὶ ἦν μὲν αὐτῷ λίαν καλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας σεμνά· περιττότερα δέ γε τὰ τῆς φρονήσεως, ἥς καὶ καταμόνας εἰς μυρίον πληθὸς ὠνάμεθα.

Praise of the ruler's self-possession and checking of impulse are understandable virtues to stress in an absolutist system of governance without systemic constraints on a ruler's will.²⁹ This was especially so in a case when the very same qualities which the society had need of in its head of state – resolve, authoritativeness, martial courage – were the same ones which could lead to disaster if exercised imprudently. Ensuring that the rational ruler had the upper hand over the impassioned one was not an innovation of Komnenian political rhetoric. But it did receive repeated stress in the imperial *encomia* of this period.³⁰ Perhaps because a family of aristocrats, justifiably proud of their martial legacy, had to be constantly reminded to put the collective interest above personal honour and battlefield glory. Eustathios' lesson here is consistent with A. Kazhdan's observation that a dynasty which came to power as the Komnenians did on the strength of their warrior ethos brought with it a militarism not seen on the throne in generations.³¹ It is against this preeminence of heroic ethos cultivated by the Komnenian dynasty that we might perhaps read Eustathios' more balanced emphasis on qualities of good governance, strategic foresight, and above all, prudent exercise of power and self-restraint in joining the battle. Eustathios endorses Manuel's decision to command his armies at a safe distance from the

²⁹ C. Christoforotou, "The paradox of sovereignty from Pindar to Byzantium," *Exemplaria* 22.4 (2010) 349–370.

³⁰ Magdalino notes that much of eleventh-century imperial panegyric stressed the peaceful pursuits of governance over the emperor's martial exploits. He cites the example of Konstantinos Monomachos who was praised primarily for his patronage of learning, his support of monastic foundations and philanthropic generosity, as well as his building programme. See Magdalino, *Empire*, 418–425; cf. Dennis, "Imperial panegyric," 134–136.

³¹ A. P. Kazhdan, "The aristocracy and the imperial ideal," *The Byzantine aristocracy*, ed. Angold (Oxford, 1984) 43–57; see also, P. Magdalino, R. Nelson, "The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth century," *Byzantinische Forschung* 8 (1982) 123–183. Addressing Alexios I, Theophylact of Ochrid had obliquely delivered the same lesson by drawing a likeness with Achilles, the martial figure *par excellence*, nevertheless stressing the Homeric hero's achievement lay in his subduing of his θυμός by his λόγος and not just his peerless skill in war. See his *Λόγος εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κύριον Ἀλέξιον τὸν Κομνηνόν*. Nicetas Choniates (*Hist.* 160.26) portrays Manuel's audacious and "ill-timed ambition" (φιλοδοξία τίς ἄκαιρος) to mount an expedition to invade Ayyubid-ruled Egypt as war pursued for its own sake against an enemy who would not be dislodged from the lands he had long since conquered. It is telling, perhaps, that Eustathios makes no mention of a campaign on this scale. Cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 8.

front lines of battle, from where he could deploy his forces as the need arose – hardly a conventional funerary motif or likely to produce a triumphal scene for the panegyrist. Eustathios nevertheless included this fact, since it illustrated well in his view the prudent exercise of judgement on the part of an emperor who might otherwise have wished to campaign from the front and meet the enemy himself head-on:

Ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἄγαν ὑπερορίοις μάχαις οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔκρινε δέον παρῆναι, τοῦ ἀνέκαθεν χρόνου τὰ μεταξὺ τὰ μὲν ἐκπολεμώσαντος, τὰ δὲ ἐν ὑπόπτῳ θεμένου· ὅθεν καὶ ἦν ἀνάγκη, πρὸς τῷ μέσῳ εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ καρδίας λόγῳ τὰ περὶ θάλλπειν καὶ ζωογονεῖν· Οὐτ’ ἄν, εἴπερ αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν (ἔκρινε δὲ ἐν ἅπασιν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ζέον), ἀδυσώπητος ἔμενε πρὸς γε τοῦ συγκλήτου λάχους καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ. Ἀμέλει καὶ προελθῶν τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πῆ μὲν διχῆ τεμῶν τῷ στρατοπεδεύματι, πῆ δὲ καὶ ὑπερμεσώσας, ἐξέστελλεν ἐγγύθεν τὸ στρατιωτικόν, καὶ κατεπράττετο, οἷα θεὸς ἐδίδου, ὃ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβανόμενος. (Ἐπ. 63)

He did not deem it necessary to be present himself at battles far beyond the borders, since the preceding period saw some lands within the empire grow hostile, while others came under suspicion; for which reason it was necessary for the emperor to remain in the middle, and like the heart give life and warmth to the surrounding parts. Nor would he remain unswerving, even if he himself had decided something (since in all matters it was the passion of his soul which decided) in the face of the senate's vote and that of the others. Indeed, whenever he set out from the queen of cities, sometimes encamping half way to the enemy, at other times more than half, he would despatch the army not far ahead, and he proceed to accomplish what God had provided, who collaborated with him in these works.

Were this any other emperor, we might suspect such praise as covering for timorousness. However, the audience would have recalled that this was the emperor who nearly got himself killed at the battle of Myriocephalon in 1176 by riding outnumbered directly into a pitched battle against the Turks. Indeed, this was the emperor whom court panegyrists extolled for having defeated the Serbo-Hungarian commander Bágyon in single combat at the battle of Tara in 1150. Here lay an emperor who was reported by contemporary historians and court poets alike as having crossed the Danube in a small boat at the head of his army to lead the attack on the mustered enemy on the other shore. For all the drama of John II's lesson to the young and impetuous Manuel, the grown emperor did not heed his father's lesson. Both Eustathios and his audience knew this. Praise for commanding from the rear joined to a rationale why an emperor should do so would seem to exceed any attempt simply to credit Manuel with a particular foresight in waging war.³² Kazhdan's claim, therefore, that Eustathios endorsed

³² Cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 442, nn. 80–83.

a “knightly ideal” in his portrait of Manuel would seem in need of qualification in this instance. He was concerned with the broader questions of good governance.³³

Again and again in his orations to Manuel, and finally in the Ἐπιτάφιος, Eustathios stresses the temperament necessary to govern. Courage and skill in battle, he says, elicited awe (θαῦμα). But such virtues alone could not serve as examples of wise and effective rule for a future emperor, especially who might not prove as intrepid on the field. Of course it would not have entered Eustathios' mind to minimize Manuel's bravery and skill in battle. The Komnenians as a dynasty and Manuel as an individual emperor had too much of their political legitimacy invested in their military and strategic prowess. The emperor-soldier was simply too intrinsic an identity of Manuel and of his forefathers. Eustathios appears nevertheless to have sought a prescriptive balance in his commemorative profile of the emperor's image. One could argue that with the Ἐπιτάφιος Eustathios tried to marshal Manuel's legacy to a prescriptive ideal of effective rule. It is perhaps worth recalling here H. Hunger's insight that acknowledging *paraenesis* in panegyric would amount to a better appreciation of the enduring political function of rhetoric in Byzantium.³⁴ And while it would be a mistake to attempt to reduce the Ἐπιτάφιος to any single aim, it is also evident that Eustathios invested the oration with just enough political instruction as to transcend the historical contingency of Manuel's reign. As R. Riedinger has observed, panegyric does not graduate into *paraenesis*; it is encomium which originates in the idealized portrait of governance.³⁵ What *symbolleutic* elements might have formed part of the overall design of the Ἐπιτάφιος were likely rendered more effective for being consonant with the ritualized praise of the recent past.³⁶

³³ Kazhdan, *Studies*, 156; Kazhdan nevertheless sees an implicit critique of Manuel's “aggressive adventures” which put such a strain on the empire. He notes as well Eustathios' repeated hope that war itself will be banished. *Idem*, 157–158.

³⁴ Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, I 71–74.

³⁵ „Die Kaiser-Paränese wird als Übergangsform zum Enkomion aufgefasst, wobei das Lob seitens des Redners und der Untertanen neben dem von Got erteilten Lob und dem himmlischen Reich also Belohnung des idealen Königs dargestellt wird.” See Agapetos Diakonos, *Der Fürstenspiegel für Kaiser Justinianos*, ed. R. Riedinger (Würzburg, 1994). Cf. M. Mullett, “How to criticize the laudandus,” *Power and subversion in Byzantium: papers from the 43rd Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies, University of Birmingham, March 2010*, eds. D. Angelov, M. Saxby (Farnham, 2013).

³⁶ For the rôle of texts like the Ἐπιτάφιος in contributing to the re-affirmation of a broad consensus, see H. Hunger, *Aspekte der griechischen Rhetorik von Gorgias bis zum Untergang von Byzanz* [Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse 257/3] (Wien 1972) 17–20; H. G. Beck, “Antike Beredsamkeit und byzantinische Kallilogia,” *Antike und Abendland* 15 (1969): 101; G. L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine rhetoric 152–157*; cf. R. Maisano, “Introduzione a Niceforo Basilace,” *Niceforo Basilace: gli encomi per l'imperatore ed il patriarca* (Napoli, 1977) 39–40.

The Style which Shows: the poetics of prose in the Ἐπιτάφιος

The ways by which the mannered speaker would ingratiate himself with mannered listeners, or the plain-spoken one with blunt listeners, may thus become style gone wrong when the two groups cross

— Kenneth Burke, *Permanence and change*¹

The Ἐπιτάφιος survives because of anticipated interest in its style, the very part of it we have tended to find most objectionable, and not, as I argue above, because of historical interest in its subject, the life and conduct on the throne of Manuel I Komnenos, our primary interest in it thus far. This points to the diametrical disparity between our own and Byzantine motives for reading many texts. A hard enough thing to identify in the first place, style in the study of medieval Greek literature has more often given way to rhetoric. Robert Browning once observed with regard to this that “features of style slip through the fingers, while features of language can be listed and counted.”² He was referring to the fact that the first principles of rhetoric are more easily identified and taught, which was as true in antiquity as it remains today. Style, on the other hand, is a thing far less easily specified, although invariably more decisive in gaining an author esteem. Something analogous may be said of the modern analysis of Byzantine literature. Although we have gained considerable proficiency at itemizing the various figures of Byzantine rhetoric, we are not, as a rule, adept at providing an account of the style of most authors or texts. With the single exception perhaps of the *high-middle-low* paradigm, a system of classification which I argue below actually forestalls discussion of prose style, we have tended to shy away from style as a productive category for the understanding of Byzantine literature. We have, in

¹ K. Burke, *Permanence and change: an anatomy of purpose*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley, [c.1954] 1984) 50.

² R. Browning, “The language of Byzantine literature,” in *The “Past” in medieval and modern Greek culture*, ed. S. Vryonis (Malibu, 1978) 103–133; repr. in R. Browning, *History, language and literacy in the Byzantine world* (Aldershot, 1989) IX.

effect, conceded to historical critics of Byzantine prose style its unredeemable quality. In its place, we have sought a formally and intellectually more generous understanding of rhetoric. But should we surrender style so easily, and can it still teach us things about Byzantine literature and its audiences?

In his magisterial survey of Byzantine secular literature, Herbert Hunger placed the entire corpus of funeral oratory, including the Ἐπιτάφιος, under the broad rubric *Rhetorik*.³ The implication, never quite spelled out but also never dispelled, has been that such works were the product of formulaic, intrinsically 'generic' composition. These texts may have been skillfully executed, Hunger's presentation implied, but only according to fairly predictable conventions of recombining ready-made form and content. Vital to the designation of funeral oratory as a 'rhetorical' genre has been the concomitant claim that the paramount aim of such texts was "exhibition" – or ἐπίδειξις as the Greek would have it – of the author's talent. Both these elements, self-display and conformity, are somewhat paradoxically bound up in the conception of 'rhetoric' as a sweeping category applied to a broad swath of Byzantine writings. The result has been a kind of double stifling: of the authors and texts, as well as of what modern analysis of them can reveal. By effectively precluding the possibility that at least some of the texts amount to more than the sum of their 'rhetorical' parts, Hunger's otherwise useful overview of the broad contours of each genre made further study of individual texts seem almost superfluous. This is borne out by the often reflexive way Hunger's *Handbuch* is cited to account for the formal features of each genre featured in his survey, and by extension the individual texts which make up that genre. Style is one way to redress this imbalance, since it is the point where rhetoric may rise to the level of aesthetics.

Striving too obviously after style in our culture is regarded not merely as an affectation, it is also suspected of masking a lack of substance, or worse, screening an author's mercenary motives. We live in an age long accustomed to self-effacing prose styles in public life, and any foregrounding of style risks being perceived as a distraction from the text's contents, a self-indulgence on the author's part.⁴ But the style of Byzantine oratory as exemplified by the Ἐπιτάφιος was designed to make the audience perceive it as a thing made, a specimen of *Kunstprosa*. In an acutely *epideictic* setting like the occasions for which Eustathi-

³ Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, I, 'Rhetorik': 65–196; 'Epitaphioi und Monodien': 132–154; on Eustathios' for Manuel: 136, n.27.

⁴ The eminent historian and critic of rhetoric, Kenneth Burke, notes of literary style, that "[t]he artist's means are always tending to become ends in themselves." K. Burke, *Counter-statement* (Berkeley, 2nd ed. 1953) 54–55.

os frequently composed, language itself had to be “consciously exalted to the level of an exalted theme.”⁵ The patently performative character of texts like the *Ἐπιτάφιος* should prompt a different understanding of Byzantine prose style, one in which the orator’s eloquence and stylistic virtuosity formed part of the ceremonial spectacle.

But style is an aesthetic response to a set of circumstances. To find fault with a style, as the quote above from Kenneth Burke suggests, is often an indirect way to find fault with the situation which engendered that style. The text becomes a synecdoche for the occasion, audience, and expectations it satisfied. Byzantine oratorical style has been viewed as symptomatic of an intellectually suffocating sociopolitical order which protected itself against dissent by inhibiting the creative and honest use of language to describe reality. Habitually apprehensive of running afoul of church or the imperial court, Byzantine authors are said to have developed a talent for saying as little as possible in the most impressive way possible. But even if we assume this to have been true to the point of stifling the expression of any idea which could offend someone in power, it would still be incumbent on us as literary historians to ask whether all authors chose to demonstrate their ideological conformism in quite the same way. Yet a certain mismatch pervades the study of much Byzantine literature. Aligning our scholarly interests with those of the text’s intended reception is not easy.

As Eustathios, or his literary executor, correctly anticipated when he attached the heading to the *Ἐπιτάφιος*, citing its stylistic particularity as its chief attraction, Byzantine posterity looked to such texts primarily for the quality of their eloquence, not for information about their subject. But Byzantine literary style remains an obstacle. It is the shoal on which many discussions of Byzantine literature founder. And it happens in no small part because the historical analysis of style is not easily detached from our own deeply ingrained moral preconceptions regarding style, many of them the product of a post-Romantic view of language and authorship. By the late nineteenth century, when the systematic study of Byzantine literature received its modern impetus, cultural conditions had ceased to be auspicious for the appreciation of medieval Greek court oratory.⁶ Since then, some of the recent shifts in literary taste and aesthetics asso-

⁵ Denniston, *Style*, 2.

⁶ Although an account of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century scholarly reception of Byzantium, not least in matters involving the intersection of aesthetics and ideology, still remains a desideratum of the field, see now the rather comprehensive intellectual profile of the modern founder of Byzantine literary history, Karl Krumbacher, by P. A. Agapitos, “Karl Krumbacher and the history of Byzantine literature,” *BZ* 108/1 (2015) 1–52.

ciated with post-modernism have afforded a measure of (possibly misguided) sympathy and appreciation of the poetics of Byzantine prose. Scholars raised on a strict diet of Romantic literary values, especially as regards the paramount virtues of sincerity and authenticity in the use of language, saw in Byzantine style the antithesis of their aesthetic value system. But a gradually mounting critical engagement with rhetoric as a form of social logic applied to language has also made the gradual rehabilitation of Byzantine literary style(s) more possible than ever.⁷

But can a text like the Ἐπιτάφιος really be said to possess anything as aesthetically exalted as a *style*? Indeed, one might ask whether style is itself a fitting or productive way to think about Byzantine oratory. Is it not simply too elusive and nebulous a subject, all too prone to subjective evaluation, perhaps best left to literary critics rather than historians of literature? I am suggesting that our understanding of such texts not only stands to gain, but that without an appreciation of something along the lines of style, we are likely to remain permanently alienated from the motives of Byzantine rhetoric. For something very much like what we mean by style appears to have been aimed at by Byzantine authors in the higher register, which was in turn appreciated and rewarded by Byzantine audiences. Moreover, while we may be reluctant to employ the term in our scholarship, we nevertheless continue to respond to it as readers.



As texts geared for ceremonial occasions attended by the capital's élite, orations before the court were meticulously composed to foreground their formal attributes. The uncommon diction and striking manner of expression helped to underscore the importance of the event by adding a notable degree of verbal sumptuousness to the proceedings. We see just such an attempt to present the

⁷ There is now more scholarship which takes a neutral, when not outright favourable, view of rhetoric than at anytime in the last seventy years. And while the term "rhetoric" remains disparaging in ordinary usage, academic treatment of the operations and premises of rhetoric has grown more rigorous and analytical as it has spread well beyond the often self-satisfied confines of philology and into literary criticism and diverse social sciences. See, e.g., the many approaches and accompanying bibliography represented in the entries of *The encyclopedia of rhetoric*, ed. T. Sloane (Oxford, 2001), or the *Encyclopedia of rhetoric and composition: communication from ancient times to the information age*, ed. T. Enos (New York, 1996); as well as *Contemporary rhetorical theory: a reader*, eds. M. J. Porrovecchio, C. M. Condit (New York, 2016). The study of Byzantine literature has barely begun to benefit from such approaches. One need only note the absence of such pioneers of modern analysis of rhetoric as Kenneth Burke, quoted above, from scholarship about Byzantine literary aesthetics.

Ἐπιτάφιος as a verbal complement to the physical rites of commemoration in the lighting of candles and chanting by the monks:

Καὶ οἱ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἄνδρες, οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐλλάμπει, ἀνάπτουσιν ἄρτι, ὡσπερ τὰς πρὸς αἴσθησιν, οὕτω καὶ λόγου λαμπάδας τῷ κειμένῳ, κατὰ τινα καὶ αὐτοδεξιῶσιν ὀφειλετικὴν καὶ ὀσίωσιν πρέπουσαν... Εἴη ἀγεννῆς, καὶ ἐν μὴ δέοντι ἐνεός, καὶ οὐκ εἰδῶς ἑαυτὸν μετρεῖν, ἔνθα μὲν σιγητέον, ἔνθα δὲ λαλητέον, ὁ μὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς ὁμοιότητα συνδιεξαγόμενος. (Ἐπ. 1–2]

And the men who have only the best intention, in whom the word shines bright, have just lit the candles of speech for the man who lies here, just as they did the physical ones, like some willingly offered debt and fitting dedication... And anyone who does not in imitation join them in their efforts, would prove ignoble, inopportunistically dumb, and incapable of judging for himself, when it is necessary to be silent or when to speak up.

Eustathios thus assimilates the act of performing to the larger commemorative ceremony. Here we have the first indication that the author intends the oration as something which cannot be reduced to its propositional content. To do so would be to proceed on the false yet abiding supposition that the form of the oration may be separated from the content. Such an assumption is contradicted not just by Byzantine tradition, but by the better part of most Greek literary history prior to, and including the Byzantine era.

As the heading accompanying the text of the Ἐπιτάφιος in the single manuscript witness, *Basileensis* A.III.20 (hence Basel codex), indicates, future interest in Eustathios' funeral oration for Manuel I Komnenos was expected to turn on the rhetorical style of the work, and not on the reputation or memory of the deceased. To the extent that the emperor in question is mentioned in the title, it would appear to serve to identify the genre of the oration and the majesty of the occasion. When a prospective "cultivated" reader is mentioned in the reference to a discerning *παιδευμένος*, it is the manner in which the oration has been devised (*μεθώδευται*) and the resulting stylistic effect (*ἔστρουφνῶθη*) which take center stage:

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ γραφὲν εἰς τὸν αἰδίδιμον ἐν ἀγίοις βασιλεῦσι κύριον Μανουὴλ τὸν Κομνηνόν. Ὅπερ ὅτι οὐ τυχόντως μεθώδευται, ὁ παιδευμένος διακρινεῖ. Πολλῶν γὰρ ἄλλως γραψάντων, ἔστρουφνῶθη πρὸς διαφορὰν ὁ παρῶν ἐπιτάφιος. (Ἐπ. *Titulus*)⁸

⁸ For the possible origin of the heading and its codicological significance, see the commentary *ad loc.* For this sense(s) of *μεθοδεύω* relating to literary composition, see LSJ, s.v. *μέθοδος*, 5.a, c; on the possible meanings of *ἔστρουφνῶθη* as applied to the oration and its significance as a stylistic label more generally, see the discussion of *στρουφνότης* below.

Text by the same [author] dedicated to the lord Manuel Komnenos, celebrated among saintly emperors. Which the learned will discern has not been composed in a chance manner. For while many have written [similar orations] in a different manner, the present epitaphios was rendered in a more discordant style in order to distinguish it from the rest.

A kind of marketing caption for future readers, the heading dwells on what distinguishes this funeral oration from others. Its author, we are told, did not take its form for granted; the sense of οὐ τυχόντως being, I think, an indirect charge of complacency levelled at other rhetors. Instead, Eustathios is described as having deliberately chosen a style marked by στρυφνότης, an uncommon epithet for style designed to place the oration in a tradition of texts which included, among other works, the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Pindar's *Epinikia*, as well as Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*.⁹ As so often in Byzantine manuscripts, the title's formulation appears to derive, in part, from the contents of the text it headlines. Thus the reference to "many others having written" (πολλῶν γὰρ ἄλλως γραψάντων) appears abbreviated from the mention near the start of the oration to other rhetors having already eulogized Manuel. Indeed, among the reasons Eustathios cites for deciding to compose a funeral oration for the emperor in the first place is that his fellow orators had already done so, thereby prompting him to surpass them. Had the more silver-tongued rhetors kept their peace, he assures his audience, he too might have remained silent. But as they did not, Eustathios says he felt compelled "to join the chorus" (σιωπῶντων μὲν τῶν ἐλλογιμωτέρων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν' λαλοῦσι δὲ τὸ σύμφωνον ἐναρμόσεται).

The importance of an implicit rivalry cast in the language of propriety among rhetors ("I'd just as soon not have, but now that they've gone ahead and given speeches in honour of the emperor, I suppose I must as well") testifies to the self-regard of the orator. It also implies the audience's readiness to hear such motives foregrounded even on so solemn an occasion as an emperor's funeral; or perhaps especially on so august an occasion. Orators were expected to vie with one another, regardless of subject matter or setting. The similarity with the verbal *agon* of antiquity was not coincidental. Byzantine rhetors saw themselves in a direct line of inheritance with the orators of antiquity. This was bound to move the formal attainment of occasional oratory to the foreground. Precisely because of the occasion, Eustathios is not coy about this rivalry. In a self-referential turn exhibiting a subtly mordant humor typical of his writings, Eustathios lays the blame on the human impulse to imitate one's fellow man, "be he good

⁹ Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, 136, believes the heading to be apologetic for the structure and style of the oration. It is difficult to discern his rationale for such an interpretation.

or otherwise.” His fellow rhetors having availed themselves of the occasion to showcase their talents, he had to follow suit. He reminds the audience that his “life thus far had bred in him a desire not to be ranked inferior to anyone in speeches devoted to virtuous subjects”:

Μίμησιν γὰρ ἔχων ἅπας ἄνθρωπος διδάσκαλον, καὶ αὐτήν, ὅπη βούλοιο, εἴτε καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος εἴτε καὶ τῶν ὡς ἐτέρως ἔχόντων, σιωπῶντων μὲν τῶν ἔλλογιμωτέρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν· λαλοῦσι δὲ, τὸ σύμφωνον ἐναρμόσεται, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴπερ καὶ ὁ φθάσας βίος, τοιοῦτον τινα ἔτρεφε, μὴ θελόντα τινῶν ὑστερεῖν λαλιᾶς τῆς ἐπ’ ἀγαθῶ. (Ἐπ. 2)

For as every person has Imitation as his teacher, and may employ her in whichever direction he wishes, of either some good and worthy thing, or in imitation of its opposite, so that if the most eloquent orators stay silent, so might he. But now that they have begun to speak up he will add his own concordant voice in a harmonious fashion, all the more so, in cases when his previous life nurtured in him an unwillingness to lag behind others in the composition of speeches praising excellence, a few of which, we too I say, have turned out for the blessed emperor’s wondrous achievements.

None of the usual false modesty here of a *captatio benevolentiae* in which the rhetor disingenuously underplays his talent as a prelude to a virtuoso display. After long service to Manuel’s court, and an illustrious career as a teacher of rhetoric and ancient literature to men who would go on to make their own mark in church and state, some as accomplished rhetors in their own right, Eustathios no doubt felt he had earned the right to be considered the doyen of the capital’s orators. Even a cursory reading of the text confirms that the Ἐπιτάφιος showcases throughout its rhetorical designed-ness, the fact of its having been meticulously constructed. There was, of course, no pretense to natural speech or the feigning of simplicity in Byzantine court oratory. The speaker’s stylistic virtuosity was given a leading rôle in the performance of any oration. The particular form this verbal flair took would have distinguished one rhetor from another, and made a few orators like Eustathios stand apart from the rest.

Style was not a foreign concept to Byzantine authors, even if they did not invoke it explicitly as frequently as modern critics are wont to do. An awareness of its importance to oratory, and to literature more broadly, had nevertheless made its way into the so-called handbooks on composition consulted by Byzantine teachers of rhetoric. Although often described in reductionist terms as “rhetorical manuals,” a number of these late Hellenistic and Roman compositional treatises spoke to elements or characteristics of literary form that we would readily identify as “style.” Hermogenes’ system of ἰδέαι was by far the

most popular but not the only influential stylistic exposition.¹⁰ Complemented by numerous Byzantine commentaries, these works formed a theoretical canon on style, often illustrated with both ancient and post-classical exemplars, like the speeches of Demosthenes or the sermons of Gregory Nazianzus.¹¹ Byzantine stylistic understanding nevertheless remains elusive. This is due, in part, to the imprecise nature of stylistic labels, as much a problem then as it is now. However, Byzantine authors did occasionally comment on style. This usually took the form of analysis of canonical ancient authors, like the abridged stylistic notices in Photios' so-called *Bibliotheca*, which afford a glimpse into Byzantine thinking about the significance of matching style to subject and form to function. Similarly, Michael Psellos' comparative analyses of Euripides and George of Pisidia, or Achilles Tatius contrasted with Heliodoros, are but some of the better known examples.¹² Most would not have survived, if they were even written down in the first place. As the leading Greek philologist of the entire Byzantine era, Eustathios was extremely well placed to initiate us into the literary sensibility of his time.¹³

Widely acknowledged as a period of acute rhetorical self-consciousness, even by Byzantine standards, the latter twelfth century was characterized by its

¹⁰ For its part, Byzantium inherited a variety of models for analyzing style. As in other aspects of literary aesthetics, Byzantine rhetors exhibit considerable eclecticism (characterized as "confusion" by Ševčenko in "Levels of style," see note below) rather than systematic application of one doctrine regarding style. But as Ševčenko observed, Hermogenes' "horizontal" system of *ιδέαι* (sometimes misleadingly transliterated as "ideas") eclipsed the earlier Hellenistic models of (pseudo-)Demetrios and Dionysios of Halikarnassos, which were nevertheless partially retained to complement Byzantine stylistic understanding. Cf. G. R. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Berlin, 1956) esp. 90, 184–185. We remain without a survey of Byzantine opinions about style alongside the Hellenistic inheritance on the subject found in the Hermogenic corpus.

¹¹ T. Conley, "Late classical and medieval Greek rhetorics," in *Rhetoric in the European tradition* (Chicago, 1990) 53–72; cf. idem, "Demosthenes dethroned: Gregory Nazianzus in Sikeliotes' scholia on Hermogenes' Περὶ ἰδεῶν," *Illinois classical studies* 27/28 (2002–2003) 145–152.

¹² A. R. Dyck, *Michael Psellus: the essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* [Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia 16] (Vienna, 1986). For a discussion of this treatise's place in the tradition of Byzantine literary criticism, see E.C. Bourbouhakis, "Literary criticism and the ancient heritage in Byzantium," in *The Cambridge intellectual history of Byzantium*, eds. A. Kaldellis, N. Sinossioglou (Cambridge, 2017) 113–128.

¹³ Agapitos characterizes this sensibility as the "literarischen Sprach- und Stilgefühls" of the second half of the twelfth century. See P. A. Agapitos, "Mischung," 119–146, esp. 144. For all the attention to the innovation of this period, we lack more close studies of the works of individual authors. Although crying to be replaced by a more synthetic monograph study, T. Hedberg's *Eustathios als Attizist* (Uppsala, 1935) remains a significant and useful point of departure for the study of Hermogenic influence on Eustathios' stylistic practice; cf. P. Wirth, *Eustathiana: gesammelte Aufsätze zu Leben und Werk des Metropolitens Eustathios von Thessalonike* (Amsterdam, 1980) 59–143. For the relevant editions of these previously neglected Eustathian works, see the introductions to the editions of *Or. quadr.*, *De emend.*, *Ep.*

unprecedented literary experimentation and resourcefulness.¹⁴ It was only natural that it should have prompted authors to reflect on the compositional practice of their predecessors, as well as of their own day.¹⁵ In Eustathios' case, we do not have to guess at his literary aesthetics simply by extrapolating them from his works. We have the immeasurable added benefit of his exquisitely detailed parsing of the style and significance of the Homeric epics in the astonishingly comprehensive philological commentaries known as the *Παρεκβολαί*.¹⁶ While a thorough assessment of the *Παρεκβολαί* as a creative resource for Eustathios' forays into other genres remains a *desideratum* of Byzantine Studies, we may nevertheless gain some idea of how the study of Homeric poetry contributed to Eustathios' stylistic sensibility by examining a notable instance of critical vocabulary imported, as it were, from the *Παρεκβολαί* to the *Ἐπιτάφιος*. This is the reference to *στρυφνότης* in the title:

Ὅπερ ὅτι οὐ τυχόντως μεθώδευται, ὁ πεπαιδευμένος διακρινεῖ. Πολλῶν γὰρ ἄλλως γραψάντων, **ἔστρυφνώθη** πρὸς διαφορὰν ὁ παρῶν ἐπιτάφιος.

Even if the title was not by Eustathios himself, as I suspect it was, the reference to *στρυφνότης* shows its author to have been well versed in Eustathios' critical vocabulary. A conspicuous and somewhat enigmatic designation, *στρυφνότης* is usually taken to mean something like "harsh" or "austere," almost always in a negative sense. It was probably the reference to *στρυφνότης* which led Hunger to conclude that the heading was a *caveat* for the singular structure and difficult style of the oration.¹⁷ However this contradicts the premeditation of οὐ τυχόντως μεθώδευται, to which *ἔστρυφνώθη πρὸς διαφορὰν* appears intended as a complement, characterizing Eustathios' attempt to differentiate his funeral oration from others. The title strikes me more as an assertion of authorial skill than a disavowal of the oration's style. Still, the promise of *στρυφνότης* in a title to a Byzantine text appears to be unique to the *Ἐπιτάφιος*. Its presence offers some insight into the contiguity between Eustathios' philological work and his other writings, in particular his oratory. A rare enough term of literary analysis

¹⁴ The bibliography on the inventiveness, creativity, and all around literary flourishing of the twelfth-century is now too extensive to compress into a footnote. Good surveys may be found in recent publications such as I. Nilsson, *Raconter Byzance: la littérature au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 2014).

¹⁵ If a degree of authorial self-awareness is to be found in every literary tradition, those which relied on formal courses of rhetoric which systematically laid out alternatives and choices at every step of composition invariably inculcated a heightened sense of stylistic self-consciousness.

¹⁶ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.*, *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* For the important rôle of the *Παρεκβολαί* in Eustathios' activity as an author-orator, see the relevant section below.

¹⁷ See n.6 above.

in Byzantium, στρυφνότης is invoked with notable frequency in Eustathios' own analysis of Homeric epic and his preliminary scholia on the Pindaric *Epinikia*, as well as on the writings of some contemporaries.

As a characterization of style, στρυφνότης dates back at least as far as Dionysios of Halikarnassos, the turn of the first-century critic who famously characterized the prose of Thucydides as discordant and harsh, and in whose writings Eustathios may well have come across the term:¹⁸

αὕτη ἡ λέξις ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἔχει λείας οὐδὲ συνεξεσμένας ἀκριβῶς τὰς ἀρμονίας οὐδ' ἔστιν εὐεπῆς καὶ μαλακῆ καὶ λεληθότως ὀλισθάνουσα διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸ ἀντίτυπον καὶ τραχὺ καὶ στρυφνὸν ἐμφαίνει, καὶ ὅτι πανηγυρικῆς μὲν ἢ θεατρικῆς οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐφάπτεται χάριτος, ἀρχαϊκὸν δὲ τι καὶ αἰθαδὲς ἐπιδείκνυται κάλλος, ὡς πρὸς εἰδότας ὁμοίως τοὺς εὐπαιδεύτους ἅπαντας οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν ἄλλως τε καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ συγγραφέως ὁμολογήσαντος, ὅτι εἰς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἦττον ἐπιτερπῆς ἢ γραφῆ ἔστι, 'κτῆμα δ' εἰσαεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγωνίσμα εἰς τὸ παρὰ τὰ ἀκούειν σύγκειται.¹⁹

I need not say, when all educated people know it as well as I, that this passage does not consist of smooth, polished and precise arrangements of words; that it is not fair- and soft-sounding, gliding imperceptibly through the ear, but exhibits many features that are discordant, rough and harsh; that it does not even begin to approach the elegance appropriate to an oration delivered at a public festival or in the theatre, but displays a sort of archaic and independent beauty of its own. Indeed, the historian acknowledges that his work is but little calculated to give pleasure to the hearer: "it is composed to be a possession for ever, not an occasional piece for a single hearing."²⁰

Various rendered as "harsh," "abrasive," or "difficult," the precise meaning of στρυφνός/στρυφνῶ/στρυφνότης as applied to prose evades us. The relevant definitions in the lexicography trade on the metaphorical sense of στρυφνός as something "bitter, astringent, sour."²¹ It is not, however, clear how the metaphor applies in most of the instances where it is applied. More importantly, despite the

¹⁸ Though it is equally plausible that Eustathios came across the term among the many Hellenistic-era scholia he must have plumbed while composing the *Παρεκβολαί*. See the list of scholia drawn on for the *Παρεκβολαί* in van der Valk's "Praefatio" to *Comm. ad Hom. Il.*, LIXsqq.

¹⁹ *De compositione verborum* (epitome), eds., L. Radermacher and H. Usener, *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant*. (Leipzig, 1929; repr. Stuttgart, 1965) 6.22.

²⁰ Translation adapted from *Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Critical Essays, Volume II: On Literary Composition. Dinarchus. Letters to Ammaeus and Pompeius*, transl. S. Usher (Cambridge, MA, 1985). Cf. C. de Jonge, *Between grammar and rhetoric: Dionysius of Halicarnassus on language, linguistics, and literature* (Leiden, 2008).

²¹ See LSJ s.v. στρυφνός, esp. II.2; cf. LSJ s.v. στρυφνῶ, II, where Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.578 is cited for the relevant sense of the verb as applied to composition. The actual extent of Dionysios' application of στρυφνότης is partially hidden by the alternate spelling στριφνός in many manuscripts. A Hellenistic usage, στριφνός in the sense of "hard, firm, solid" may have been constructed by confusion with the Attic στιφρός meaning "solid, stout." See LSJ s.v. στριφνός. For study of the diachronic significance of στρυφνότης /στριφνότης and an analysis of the label as used in the Eustathian *Παρεκβολαί* to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, see E.C. Bourbouhakis, "Homer's astringent style: στρυφνότης in the *Παρεκβολαί* of Eustathios of Thessalonike" *Mnemosyne* [forthcoming]. Agapitos, "Mischung," 130 n.64 translates

negative connotation of most translations, the sense implied in many of these instances is at best ambiguous or affirmative. The recourse to metaphor is a fairly strong indication that we are dealing with a stylistic quality for which there was no existing critical vocabulary.²² Consequently most translations of στρυφνός/στρυφνῶ/στρυφνότης displace the stylistic riddle from a Greek metaphor to a corresponding one in Latin, German, or English. Still, the first attempt to translate the Ἐπιτάφιος into a modern language, by the nineteenth-century philologist Gottlieb Tafel, construed ἐστρυφνῶθη more promisingly in German as *dem Text eine mindergewöhnliche Form gegeben*, or “to give the work a less customary shape.”²³ Tafel’s translation left room for an endorsement of the style in question by implying a degree of innovation through a departure from the prevailing prose style. As I argue below, Tafel’s initial intuition was correct. In a note to this same translation, however, he went on to append the following amendment: “[e]igentlich ist ἐστρυφνῶθη ὁ : *acerbior et austerior facta est oratio sepulcralis*,” which suggests he was of two minds about the implied sense of στρυφνῶ. *Acerbior et austerior* lent themselves more readily to unfavourable judgements on the text, as has traditionally been the case with Dionysios of Halikarnassos’ verdict on the style of Thucydides. In fact, Tafel seems to have divided his translations between the two points made in the title. In German, he emphasizes the stated aim of making the oration “different,” or less conventional, as the phrase πρὸς διαφορὰν in the title suggests. However, Tafel’s Latin gloss stresses the metaphorical origins of στρυφνός as *acerbior et austerior*, which variously translates to “sharp, bitter, severe,” as well as “rough, plain, austere.” Assuming we could match these qualities or effects to specific elements of any Greek text, ancient or medieval, how might we arrive at a conclusive judgement as to whether στρυφνότης was intended as a positive label or not?

As it happens, we have no better guide to the intended meaning of στρυφνῶ during this time (and, by indirect testimony, to Hellenistic usage) than Eustathios himself. He invokes στρυφνότης as a characteristic of style more than two dozen times in his extant writings, with the majority of these coming from the Παρεκβολαὶ to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Στρυφνότης appears as both noun and verb repeatedly to characterize a key feature of Homeric poetics. Eustathios also cites

ἐστρυφνῶθη in German as *rau, hart* “rough, coarse, abrasive,” or “hard, severe,” the misunderstood connotations of which I discuss below. Cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il. II*, lxi; cf. etiam, *Pro. ad Pi.* 54.

²² Of course this might be said almost equally of such common rhetorical traits as *σαφήνεια*, *γοργότης*, or *μεγαλειότης*. I argue that these constitute stylistic coordinates of Greek prose and are frequently misrepresented by our etiolated conception of “rhetoric.”

²³ G. Tafel, *Kommenen und Normannen* (Ulm, 1852) 3.

στρυφνότης in the *Prooimion* to the (probably unexecuted) commentary for the *Epinikia* of Pindar.²⁴ Finally, there are scattered but revealing uses of στρυφνώνω applied to verbal expression in some of Eustathios' orations at court, as well as in one letter.²⁵ The appearance of a *recherché* philological label like στρυφνώνω to describe the prose style of the Ἐπιτάφιος offers appreciable grounds for supposing that even if we cannot be certain about the authorship of the manuscript heading, its vocabulary is consistent with Eustathios' own critical lexicon. The mention of στρυφνώνω suggests someone thoroughly familiar with Eustathios' writings and keen to underscore a stylistic virtue he himself had single-handedly revived in order to describe what he regarded as an important feature of the formal economy of Homeric poetry; an economy of style carried over by Eustathios from verse epic to prose panegyric.²⁶

Used literally to refer to sour or bitter-tasting foods, στρυφνός acquired the extended sense of "austere" (cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἀσθηρός), meaning an astringent and stern disposition as applied to character, as well as in manner of expression. Inclined to understand "bitter/harsh/austere" as absolute, and therefore negative, aesthetic judgements, we often misread the possible interpretations of στρυφνότης in relation to various types of composition. "Severity and astringency" were invoked as metaphorically apt to designate a style which made no concessions to sweetness or γλυκύτης of expression, itself a staple metaphor of stylistic criticism used to characterize texts which elicited pleasure in audiences by offering them an immediately intelligible and harmonious style. Dionysios' use of στρυφνός here and elsewhere in his literary criticism has been variously rendered as "rough" or "harsh," though without much explanation of what might have been meant by it, other than Thucydides' style makes for difficult reading.²⁷

²⁴ *Pro. ad. Pi.*, 54.

²⁵ For a complete inventory of στρυφνότης in Eustathios and in Byzantium, see Bourbouhakis, "Homer's astringent style."

²⁶ Agapitos expresses greater confidence than most about the Eustathian attribution of the titles, owing to their length and precise content. See Agapitos, "Mischung," 127. Cf. Peter Wirth, "Spuren einer autorisierten mittelalterlichen Eustathiosedition," *Byzantinische Forschung* 4 (1972) 253–257 (= *Eustathiana: gesammelte Aufsätze zu Leben und Werk des Metropoliten Eustathios von Thessalonike* [Amsterdam, 1980] 65–69).

²⁷ *De Thucydidis idiomatibus*, eds. L. Radermacher and H. Usener, *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant*. (Leipzig, 1899; repr. Stuttgart, 1965) 5.24: ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἶπω, τέτταρα μὲν ἐστὶν ὡσπερ ὄργανα τῆς Θουκυδίδου λέξεως. τὸ ποιητικὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸ πολυειδὲς τῶν σχημάτων, τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἀρμονίας, τὸ τάχος τῶν σημασιῶν. χρώματα δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ τε στρυφνὸν καὶ τὸ πικρὸν, καὶ τὸ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀσθηρὸν, καὶ τὸ ἐμβριθὲς καὶ τὸ δεινὸν καὶ [τὸ] φοβερὸν, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὸ παθητικόν. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Θουκυδίδης κατὰ τὸν τῆς λέξεως χαρακτήρα, ὃ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διήνεγκεν. Cf. Demosthenes, according to Dionysios, modeled his style on that of Thucydides, including his "concise turns of phrase" (τὰς συστροφὰς) and the "sharp" and "acerbic" tone (τὸ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ στρυφνόν). *De Demosthenis dictione*, eds. L. Radermacher and H. Usener, *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant*, 5.53: Ῥητόρων δὲ Δημοσθένης

“Jarring,” “discordant,” or “unharmonious” are probably equally fitting terms and may be closer to the particular qualities of syntactical arrangement in question. Dionysios’ judgement nevertheless became accepted in the post-classical period, and Byzantine readers of Thucydides viewed his prose style as deliberately averse to the easy charm of *mellifluous* eloquence associated with most Classical authors.

For all the ambivalence expressed by post-classical authors regarding aspects of Thucydidean style – Tzetzes’ sarcastic verses on the ancient historian were composed in imitation of this practice – we should nevertheless hesitate to construe a term used by an ancient authority like Dionysios of Halikarnassos to describe as canonical an author as Thucydides with an uncomplicatedly negative meaning.²⁸ As a stylistic label, στρυφνός seems to have been used to designate traits which could be either welcome or unappealing, depending on the nature of the text, its occasion, and audience. Paradoxically, it may have been this very ambiguous censure of his style that recommended Thucydides to Byzantine authors seeking to differentiate their texts from those of their peers, as Tafel suspected and which study of twelfth-century Byzantine poetics is increasingly bearing out.²⁹

By itself Dionysios of Halikarnassos’ assessment of Thucydidean style cannot account for the renewed currency of στρυφνότης in the twelfth century. Even if we could be certain that Eustathios appropriated the concept of στρυφνότης from Dionysios of Halikarnassos, it was its aptness to his reading of Homeric poetry, and to a commensurate degree the Pindaric odes, that seems to have convinced him of the usefulness of the term in describing certain stylistic features which might be transferable to prose more generally, and oratory more specifically. Eustathios appears to have thus given new life, and quite possibly expanded meaning, to στρυφνότης. Broadly speaking, he invoked it to designate a marked density of syntactic texture or economy of expression, often resulting in a degree of poetic opacity which he contrasts with an expected prosaic clari-

μόνος, ὡς περ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι μέγα τι καὶ λαμπρὸν ἔδοξαν ποιεῖν ἐν λόγοις, οὕτω καὶ Θουκυδίδου ζήλωντος ἐγένετο κατὰ πολλὰ καὶ προσέθηκε τοῖς πολιτικοῖς λόγοις παρ’ ἐκείνου λαβῶν, ἃς οὔτε Ἀντιφῶν οὔτε Λυσίας οὔτε Ἰσοκράτης οἱ πρωτεύσαντες τῶν τότε ῥητόρων ἔσχον ἀρετάς, τὰ τάχῃ λέγω καὶ τὰς συστροφάς καὶ τοὺς τόνους καὶ τὸ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ στρυφνὸν καὶ τὴν ἐξεγείρουσαν τὰ πάθη δεινότητα. Στρυφνός is (mis) spelled στρυφνός in some manuscripts, in all likelihood as a result of itacism, further testifying to its unfamiliarity until its revival by Eustathios. Cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.649.10–11 στέγω στεγνός, οὕτω καὶ στύφω στρυφνός. καὶ καθάπερ κέντρον, κέντρον, οὕτω πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ρ καὶ στρυφνός στρυφνός— ὁμῶς εὔρηται καὶ διὰ τοῦ ι προφερόμενον. στρυφνός γάρ φησιν.

²⁸ B. Baldwin, “Tzetzes on Thucydides,” *BZ* 75/2 (1982) 313–316.

²⁹ For an initial attempt at a more comprehensive treatment of this period which tries to encapsulate the now profuse scholarship on twelfth century literary culture, see Nilsson, *Raconter Byzance*.

ty.³⁰ To cite one example which may help us identify the alleged στρυφνότης of the Ἐπιτάφιος, we may look to Eustathios' parsing of the verse in *Iliad* 1.258. To illustrate the poet's use of στρυφνότης in the epic, Eustathios transposes the text from what he regards as its cryptic compactness to a more prosaic and, presumably, more transparent elaboration:

«Ὅτι τελείων ἀνθρώπων ἔπαινος τὸ «οἱ περὶ μὲν βουλῇ Δαναῶν, περὶ δ' ἔστὲ μάχεσθαι». αὐξάνων δὲ τις που τὸ ἐγκώμιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Δαναῶν πάντων ἔρει ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον· παραφράσας δὲ αὐτό, εἰ βούλεται, μεταγάγη ἓκ τῆς ποιητικῆς στρυφνότητος εἰς τοιαύτην τινὰ σαφήνειαν· οἱ περισσότεροι μὲν πάντων τῇ βουλῇ περισσότεροι δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον δεξιότητι.³¹

The verse “you, who surpass all Danaans in council, in fighting,” amounts to praise of flawless people. But if one were to further amplify the encomium, instead of all the Danaans he would say something else similar to it; but if he should wish to paraphrase it, he might shift **from poetic compendiousness to clarity along these lines**: “those of you who agree with the decision of the Danaans must also share in their prowess in war.”

Eustathios thus spells out more fully the highly abridged sense of the Homeric verse. He uses individual verbs for the subject of each clause and achieves syntactical and semantic balance, as well as unmistakable clarity, admittedly at considerable cost to style. But that is exactly his point. Homeric style involves trade-offs, including a willingness to risk the audience's expectation of immediate intelligibility. Στρυφνότης appears here to describe the kind of compact, synoptic phrasing encouraged by the metrical requirements of verse. Enjoying the latter requires you accommodate the former. The second, more insipid, version in prose does not arrest the audience's attention on the actual wording, which delivers the meaning with little stylistic fanfare. Eustathios did not think this was endemic to prose, nor did some among his more ambitious fellow rhetors, who studied Homer and other ancient Greek poets with an eye to assimilating their literary effects.

³⁰ For a complete listing of instances of words based on the stem στρυφν- in the Παρεκβολαί to the *Iliad*, see the relevant entries in H.M. Keizer, *Indices in Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarios ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes ad fidem codicis Laurentiani editos a Marchino Van der Valk* (Leiden, 1995); some illustrative instances include: *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.392.15 γενεαλογίας, καὶ ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, ὡς ἓκ τοῦ σοφοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος λεγόμενα, στρυφνότερον ἐγράφη καὶ γοργότερον καὶ ἑναγωνίως κατὰ σύγκρισιν; 2.749.3–5 στρυφνότερα μὲν ἢ ῥηθεῖσα τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῦς δημηγορία καὶ σεμνότερα καί, τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν, πρέπουσα πρέσβει βασιλικῶ. Ἡ δὲ ἐφεξῆς τοῦ Φοίνικος πειστικωτέρα; as well as two notable mentions in orations heard at court, the first of which includes praise of emperor Manuel's writing ability (*Or.* 7 [Λόγος Ζ] 117.1) ἔχει καὶ τὸ στρυφνὸν τῆς συνθέσεως, διεκφαίνει ἐν τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας οὕτω νηπίω καὶ τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ σύννουν συναγόμενος· ἔοικε μελετῶν λόγον γενναῖον εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξιν σκεπτομένω προβαλέσθαι λόγου ἀξίαν; (*Or.* 18 [Λόγος Ρ] 294.18) τοῦ δὲ λόγου τὰ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς ἦθος νεύει διὰ τὸν δεητήριον κανόνα, ἔχει δὲ τι πρὸς τῷ ἀφελεί καὶ ὄγκου διὰ ποιότητα προσωπικῆν, πέλεκτο δὲ που στρυφνότερον καὶ ἑναγωνίως διὰ τοὺς ἀπραγμόνως ὡς οὐκ ἀξίω λόγου τῷ πράγματι ἐπιβάλλοντα.

³¹ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.55.21–28.

Thus, in the analysis of *Iliad* 4.443 (οὐρανῶ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει = “she pressed her head against heaven, while she treads upon on the ground”) Eustathios once more describes the poet as having expressed the thought in an “austere/compressed manner” (στρυφνῶς πέφρασαι).³² He goes on to make clear the syntax and grammar of the verse, citing parallels for the relevant sense of στηρίζω³³ before he proceeds to render the phrase in more explicit form: ἕως εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐλθοῦσα οὐ δύναται ὑπερναβῆναι (“and coming as far as the sky she is unable to climb any higher”).³⁴ In keeping with the post-classical preference for prepositions over unmediated use of the oblique cases, a trend already more pronounced in late classical prose, Eustathios re-construes the verse to match the specific sense he reads in it. Once more στρυφνότης is defined by saying more with less. So far, there is little we might characterize as “harsh”, if by that word we mean something grating or unpleasantly expressed, though one begins to get a sense of the idea of phrasing which could be jarring to expectations of effortless listening or reading of a text.

So in a more expansive description of the language and structure of *Iliad* 17.98 (ὄππότε’ ἀνήρ ἐθέλη πρὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεσθαι), Eustathios writes:

Τὸ δὲ «πρὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεσθαι»³⁵ ταῦτόν μὲν ἐστὶ τῷ διὰ μέσου φωτὸς θεοφιλοῦς δαιμονομαχεῖν, στρυφνῶς δὲ καὶ συνεστραμμένως πέφρασαι διὰ συντομίαν. βούλεται δὲ λέγειν, ὅτι ὁ μαχόμενος ἀνδρὶ, ὃν δαίμων τιμᾶ, εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώπῳ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀληθῶς διὰ μέσου τοῦ τοιοῦτου δαίμονι μάχεται.³⁶

³² *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.784.20. The passage, *Il.* 4.442–445, in which Ἔρις (Discord) instigates strife among the Achaeans, reads:

ἦ τ’ ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσετε, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
οὐρανῶ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.
ἦ σφιν καὶ τότε νεῖκος ὁμοῖον ἔμβαλε μέσσω
ἐρχομένη καθ’ ὄμιλον ὀφέλλουσα στόνον ἀνδρῶν.

³³ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.784.21–23, Ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι Ὀμηρος μὲν εἰπὼν, ὡς Ἔρις οὐρανῶ ἐστήριξε κάρη, ἐντελῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἔφρασεν. Εὐριπίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ «κῦμα οὐρανῶ στηρίζον» ὑπερβολικῶς τε ἔφη κατὰ ἀφέλειαν τοῦ λαλοῦντος προσώπου καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνελλιπῶς, εἰ μὴ τις τὸ στηρίζον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγγίζον εἶπη καὶ στηριζόμενον.

³⁴ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.784.20–785.2, Τὸ δὲ «οὐρανῶ ἐστήριξε κάρη» στρυφνῶς πέφρασαι ἀντὶ τοῦ «ἕως εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐλθοῦσα οὐ δύναται ὑπερναβῆναι». Ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι Ὀμηρος μὲν εἰπὼν, ὡς Ἔρις οὐρανῶ ἐστήριξε κάρη, ἐντελῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἔφρασεν. Εὐριπίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ «κῦμα οὐρανῶ στηρίζον» ὑπερβολικῶς τε ἔφη κατὰ ἀφέλειαν τοῦ λαλοῦντος προσώπου καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνελλιπῶς, εἰ μὴ τις τὸ στηρίζον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγγίζον εἶπη καὶ στηριζόμενον. [Δῆλον δ’ ὅτι ἡ Ἔρις οὐρανῶ στηρίζει κάρη ἢ, ὅτε ἡ κατ’ αὐτὴν αὐτὴ οὐρανὸν ἴκει καθ’ Ὀμηρον, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἀλληγορικῶς οἱ ἐρίζοντες εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀφορῶσι καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ διοσημίας ἐπισκοποῦνται καὶ τὰ ἐκ Διὸς τέρατα].

³⁵ The full Homeric passage reads *Il.* 17.98. ἀλλὰ τί ἡ μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός; ὄππότε’ ἀνήρ ἐθέλη πρὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεσθαι ὃν κε θεὸς τιμᾶ, τάχα οἱ μέγα πῆμα κυλίσθη.

³⁶ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.21.2–4.

While «πρὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεσθαι» is the same thing as [saying] ‘to battle daemons by means of light from a favourable deity,’ only expressed in densely abridged and intertwined way through brevity. What he means to say is that anyone fighting with a man whom the daemon honours, even if he appears to be fighting only a man, nevertheless is in fact fighting with a spirit through this man.

In this case Eustathios provides two further characteristics of στρυφνότης. The first is the frequent joint appearance of στρυφνῶς πέφρασται with συνεστραμμένως, suggesting that “intertwined” or tightly knit syntax contributed to the compactness of poetic expression he wished his students to emulate in their prose.³⁷ The second, equally important, characteristic for an understanding of what ἐστρυφνῶθη would have meant to someone studying the Ἐπιτάφιος, i.e., the rhetorically πεπαιδευμένος referred to in the heading, may be seen in the amplitude of his entire analysis of the original Homeric phrase, πρὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεσθαι.³⁸ The artfulness of the abridged expression is relative to the amount of information distilled into so few words. Given our perception of twelfth-century Byzantine *high style* prose as loquacious to a fault, often unnecessarily expansive and repetitive, instead of concise or abbreviated after the manner suggested by στρυφνῶς πέφρασται, it comes as something of a surprise to see Eustathios dwelling on a literary style which aimed at an almost elliptical succinctness and brevity, qualities not usually associated with Byzantine literature.

Moving in the opposite direction, we can also gauge what quality of the Ἐπιτάφιος’ style would have qualified as στρυφνός by looking at those cases where Eustathios identifies unusually limpid passages in Homeric epic. Donning the composition teacher’s hat, Eustathios presumes to illustrate how Homer could have expressed himself more appropriately στρυφνῶς than he had:

Ἵτι ἐν τῷ «τῷ δὲ μνησαμένω», ἤγουν οἱ δὲ ἀναμνησθέντες, «ὁ μὲν Ἴκτορος ἐκλαιεν ἄδινά, αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκλαιεν ἔδον πατέρα, ἄλλοτε δὲ Πάτροκλον» καινῶς διὰ σαφήνειαν ἐσχημάτισεν ὁ ποιητής· ἠδύνατο γὰρ ἄλλως τὸ ὄλον στρυφνῶς οὕτω φράσαι· μνησαμένω ὁ μὲν Ἴκτορος, Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ πατρός, ἐκλαιον, ὃ δὴ καιρία λέξις.³⁹

³⁷ For this sense of συνεστραμμένως, see LSJ s.v. συστρέφω, VII.b; cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.942.28f., καὶ «προπάροιθε ποδῶν Ἀχιλλῆος ἔλυσθεῖς», ὃ ἐστὶ συστραφεῖς. In a letter praising the style of his former pupil Gregory Antiochus, Eustathios reiterates his endorsement of στρυφνότης alongside more customary rhetorical virtues like γλυκὺς... ῥυθμὸς, ὕψος, and λέξεως χάρις. *Opusc.* 325.76–78, Ἔτι με ὁ γλυκὺς ἐκεῖνος ρυθμὸς ἐπικροτεῖ· ἔτι με περιάγει τὸ κάλλος· τὸ τῶν νοημάτων ὕψος, ἢ πυκνότης, ἢ στρυφνότης· ἢ αὐταῖς ἀνακεκραμένη γλυκύτης· ἢ τῆς λέξεως χάρις· ἢ ἐν σχήμασι ποικιλία.

³⁸ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.21.2–12.

³⁹ *Il.* 24.509–411, τῷ δὲ μνησαμένω ὁ μὲν Ἴκτορος ἀνδροφόνου / κλαῖ’ ἄδινά προπάροιθε ποδῶν Ἀχιλλῆος ἔλυσθεῖς / αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς κλαῖεν ἔδον πατέρ’, ἄλλοτε δ’ αὐτὴ Πάτροκλον. Cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.942.24–27.

In the [verse] “the two men bringing to mind”, namely, those recalling, “the one [thought] of Hector [and] cried uncontrollably, while Achilles wept for his own father, or at other moments for Patroclus” the poet arranged [the words] with novel clarity. Since he could have expressed the whole thing differently, in a tersely sophisticated manner: “both men remembered [their dead], the one Hector, Achilles his father, crying” which is the key word here.

Paradoxically, Eustathios concludes that all the significant relations amongst the parts of the verse in question are almost *too* clearly spelled out. Such limpiness left too little room for the suggestive brevity and syntactic artistry he identifies with στρυφνότης. He stops short of calling it a fault – Homer remained the touchstone of rhetorical virtuosity, after all – but he does note that the poet has arranged things in a “novel” way for epic, i.e., unexpectedly lucid. To further illustrate his point, Eustathios offers what he regards as a paraphrase more consistent with the coordinated brevity and syntactical elision identified by Dionysios as befitting the best prose and poetry of antiquity.

Eustathios was interested in particular stylistic effects, such as conciseness, density, or intricacy of expression, as well as the means by which to achieve these in oratory, though without surrendering too much intelligibility, a concern for one composing for ceremonial occasions at court. Isolated from genre, these stylistic features could be found in both verse and prose, as the following example from a homily delivered by Eustathios to his diocesan flock in Thessalonike demonstrates.⁴⁰ In the sermon, Eustathios makes reference to the passage in I Corinthians, where Paul says: τὰ βρώματα τῆ κοιλίας καὶ ἡ κοιλία τοῖς βρώμασιν. Even as he continues to address his congregation, Eustathios reflexively channels the philologist inside of him and in his own indomitably academic manner adds the following stylistic comment about the text of Paul, who, it must be remembered, was also widely acknowledged as “ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ῥήτωρ” (which may have provoked the stylistic criticism from the former μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων):

στρυφνὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ φράσις ἀσυμφανῆς καὶ δυσόρατος ἡ τῆς ἐννοίας ἀκολουθία διὰ τὸ εὐπερίγραπτον καὶ πάνυ ἐπίτομον καὶ οἰοεὶ ἀφοριστικόν· ὡς δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ παραδηλώσωι τὸ πᾶν, κατὰ τινα χαρακτηριστῆρα ἐπιστολμαῖον ἐσχηματίσθαι δοκεῖ.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Or. 9 (Λόγος Ζ) 160.87–92.

⁴¹ Wirth prints ἡ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἀκολουθία, which makes little sense. ἀκολουθία was used of ‘sequence’ in general and could refer to logic, syntax, or rhythm, see LSJ s.v. ἀκολουθία; cf. Dion. Halik. *De comp.* 22,25. The correct expression joins ἀκολουθία to ἔννοια: as in *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.347.2 τῆ κατ’ ἔννοιαν ἀκολουθία; cf. Apoll. Dysc. *De Constructione* 2.2.65 (*Grammatici Graeci*, ed. G. Uhlig, vol. 2.2 [Leipzig, 1910; repr. 1965]) κατὰ μὲν τὴν τῆς ἐννοίας ἀκολουθίαν, Basil Caes. *Epist.* 188.9.1 (*Saint Basile. Lettres*, 3 vols. ed. Y. Courtonne [Paris, 1957–1966]).

The language is austere and the expression obscure and the sequence of thought hard to make out because of its concision and overall succinctness and, as it were, its sententiousness; so that it hints at the whole in very few words, and appears to have been composed in a manner resembling the style of a letter.

It might be argued that the characterization of Paul's passage is not inapt to Eustathios' own style, even if εὐπερίγραπτον καὶ πάνυ ἐπίτομον again do not readily come to mind as qualities of the Ἐπιτάφιος, or of Eustathios' writing more generally. More striking perhaps, and therefore revealing of Eustathios' composition, is to see the style of Paul's letters being described in terms deemed equally apt to the poetry of Pindar:

Οὕτω δὲ στρυφνῶς φράζει ταῖς ἐννοίαις κατὰ πολύνοιαν, ὡς ἔργον εἶναι πολλαχοῦ μιᾷ τινι σταθερῶς ἐννοίᾳ ἐνευστοχῆσαι τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα διὰ τὸ οὕτω καὶ οὕτω νοεῖσθαι αὐτήν... ἔστι δὲ δεινὸς καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ ἐν ἐπεκτείνειν παραφράσεις καὶ περιφράσεις καὶ τισιν ἑτεροίαις μεθόδοις.⁴²

And in this way he expresses ideas in a dense manner allowing for multiple meanings, so that in many places the task of the reader is to accurately arrive at some stable meaning by understanding it in such and such a manner ...and [Pindar] is quite able to extend [the meaning] not only of one thing with paraphrases and circumlocutions and certain other means.

As a description of what we now call Pindaric poetics, Eustathios' stylistic profile in the *Prooimion* to his planned commentary on the victory odes reveals a consistent preoccupation with certain features of composition which invested the *Epinikia* with a density and complexity already deemed challenging in antiquity. These were qualities Eustathios thought correspondingly suitable to the formally ambitious prose performed at court, not unlike Pindar's poetry had been.⁴³

The revival of στρυφνότης as a critical term in the *Παρεκβολαί* and the extension of the concept to the analysis of the prose styles of ancient Christian and contemporary Byzantine authors no doubt reflected Eustathios' academic bent. More significantly, I think, it formed part of a broader initiative towards literary renewal through a combination of creative archaism and experimentation.⁴⁴

⁴² *Sch. in Pi.* 20.19.

⁴³ *Pro. ad Pi.* 2.2, 3.2. Like his analysis of Homeric epic, Eustathios' analysis of Pindaric style assumes a broad historical consonance between performers at courts and the depiction of aristocratic and kingly virtue. As an author and instructor of prose and oratory, Eustathios is interested primarily in what rhetoricians refer to as *decorum* – the aptness or suitability of a particular style to the occasion and subject at hand. This allowed the twelfth-century rhetor to bridge the nearly 1,800 years separating him from Pindaric poetry.

⁴⁴ The now classic account of this "cultural change" and its construal as an incipient Byzantine humanism, is by A. Kazhdan and A. W. Epstein, *Change*. The most systematic attempt to evaluate the literary aesthetics of this period on their own terms remains Hunger, *Kommenzeit*. For a discussion of

Having identified στρυφνότης as a distinctive feature of two of antiquity's most eminent poets and exemplars of style, Homer and Pindar, Eustathios attempted to apply its lessons more broadly to the prose of his day. Accordingly, we hear him praise the eloquence of Michael Hagiotheodorites (the brother of his fellow bishop Nikolaos, for whom Eustathios composed an innovatively hybrid funeral oration). In describing Michael's formal achievement, he invokes the same combination of συνεστραμμένον and στρυφνόν employed in the parsing of *Iliad* 17.98, adding the further characteristic πυκνόν, or "density of expression":

τὸ τῆς ἐν προφορᾷ διαλέξεως σεμνὸν καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πυκνὸν καὶ συνεστραμμένον μὲν οἶον εἰς σφίγμα στρυφνόν, καλὸν δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ἡρτυμένον ἡδονῆς μέλιτι.⁴⁵

[I commend] not just the nobility of your oratorical style, but the dense, intricate wording as well on the one hand, austere as though held in check by a restraining harness, though in other respects beautiful and garnished with the honey of pleasure.

Taken altogether, the references to στρυφνότης in the *Παρεκβολαί* and elsewhere in his works suggest that Eustathios, and by extension perhaps, his students and patrons, placed a premium on a kind of 'poeticization' of prose style.⁴⁶ By this I mean an economy of expression achieved by omission and suggestive syntactical arrangements. These would have been different from the limpid syntax of balanced clauses and repetition demanded by the perennial injunction from authors of Greek to achieve σαφήνεια, a perennially contested aim in post-classical literary criticism. Each Byzantine author capable of composing in the highest registers was left to resolve the conflicting demands of clarity or intelligibility on the one hand and an appreciable style on the other. Στρυφνότης appears to have aimed at confounding the conventional economy of prose. Of course such a style demanded a more active participation from the audience or readership, as highly pronounced styles often do. Στρυφνότης was achieved by a tightly "interwoven" syntax (συνεστραμμένον), joined to tightly compressed, elliptical phrasing, which Eustathios likened to a harness, strap, or some form of "stringent fastening" (οἶον εἰς σφίγμα στρυφνόν). Of course by its very nature, such

the internal tensions which may have helped produce what we have come to call 'Komnenian literature', see A. Garzya, "Polemiken der Komnenenzeit."

⁴⁵ Or. (Λόγος Η) 145.54–56.

⁴⁶ Some time ago M. Lauxtermann proposed that Byzantine homiletic oratory may have incubated the otherwise unprecedented accentual poetry which arose in later Byzantine periods. To do so, it had to supplant metrical poetry's aesthetic appeal with its own euphony and prosaic melody. See M. Lauxtermann, *The spring of rhythm* [Byzantina Vindobonensia XXII] (Wien, 1999) 74–86.

a style might produce a measure of ambiguity and obscurity, as Eustathios acknowledges in the case of Homeric verse:

Σημείωσαι οὖν ὅπως ὁ ποιητῆς ἐνταῦθα στρυφνῶς γράψας καὶ δεινώσας τὴν φράσιν ταῖς συχναῖς ἀντωνυμίαις, τῷ «οἱ μὲν» καὶ «οἱ δέ» καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις, εἰς ἀσάφειαν τὸν λόγον περιήγαγεν, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο μερισθῆναι εἰς τριπλὴν ἔννοιαν.⁴⁷

Note, then, how the poet makes his text here unclear by writing in a strenuously elaborate manner and intensifying the expression through repeated oppositions of “those on the one hand” and “those on the other,” so that as a result this passage is divided among three [possible] meanings.

It is important to appreciate, however, the difference between an *incidental ἀσάφεια* owed to striving after the formal compendiousness of poetry, and a *deliberate ἀσάφεια* sought for its own sake or as a tactic of ideological or religious subterfuge, such as G. Kustas has suggested certain Byzantine authors aimed for.⁴⁸ We may nevertheless note the diametrically opposite perspective from which we lament the lack of straightforward expression in Eustathios’ prose and contrast it with the elliptical, dense, literary aesthetic he appears to have rated rather highly in his analyses of ancient poetry. Given our perception of twelfth-century Byzantine *high style* prose as anything but concise, we may be surprised to see Eustathios approvingly profiling a literary style whose hallmarks he identifies as succinctness and *under*-elaboration. Neither of these qualities is normally associated with the notoriously prolix imperial oratory Eustathios and other rhetors of his age performed at court.

If the actual orations strike us as either a failure, or worse, as pretentious, we do well to recall that Eustathios was not composing for our tastes. Whatever else we may conclude about the meaning of *στρυφνότης*, it was unquestionably understood by Eustathios and by the title to the *Ἐπιτάφιος* as complimentary, a testament to authorial skill. Inevitably, however, we must ask whether we can discern the *στρυφνότης* vouchsafed to the prospective reader of the funeral oration, or are we simply too far removed from the rhetorical sensibility of late twelfth-century Constantinople to reconstruct confidently the aesthetic evaluation it represents? Almost any paragraph of the *Ἐπιτάφιος* may be read as bearing out some of the stylistic traits Eustathios identifies in the commentaries on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The traffic in perception of stylistic patterns probably went

⁴⁷ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.239.15–18. For this sense of *δεινώω*, see LSJ s.v. *δεινώσις*.

⁴⁸ Kustas, *Studies*, 63–100. For the seminal discussion of the motives and tradition of deliberately obscure and otherwise inscrutable texts, see F. Kermode, *The Genesis of Secrecy* (Cambridge, MA, 1979).

both ways though. His composition affected what he sought or perceived in the epic poems, and his reading of ancient poetry seems to have left its mark on his prose. Admittedly the latter is harder for us to gauge because the correspondences are not going to be necessarily one to one. This is not simply because we are comparing verse with prose. It is because we are dealing with two distinct forms of Greek *Kunstsprache*, one archaic, the other medieval. It is nevertheless historically worthwhile see whether we can make out at least the contours of style represented by στρυφνότης in an elaborate prose text like the Ἐπιτάφιος.

The most significant feature of Homeric poetry Eustathios thought pertinent to prose oratory was the elliptical character of expression joined to a rapid movement he tried to emulate in short, sequential clauses. Again and again, Eustathios preempts expectations of more conventional prose structure through closely interwoven but syntactically loose phrasing, sometimes verging on the kind of elliptical, impressionistic sense we associate with verse. It was this syntactic disjointedness, I think, which he read as “harsh” or στρυφνός. Without metre to hold the words together, Eustathios had to rely on his delivery of the oration in order to help his audience hold the different parts of the text together and to move effortlessly from one thought to the next, often counting on internal rhythm more than grammatical structure alone. Modern, silent readers of the oration can testify to this challenge. Much of the Ἐπιτάφιος exhibits a highly compressed clausal structure, akin to a mix of *asyndeton* and *anakolouthon* though nearly always within the limits of prosaic coherence. Στρυφνότης signals the jarring quality resulting from frequent and sudden changes in grammatical construction, but above all the sense that the clauses accumulate rather join in concert, as the section below illustrates. Of course like any text, this one, too, cannot be reduced to any single stylistic trait. It remains for us to fashion a working vocabulary for Byzantine prose style which can accommodate the variations found both inside and among the different texts.



No Byzantinist would hesitate to label the Ἐπιτάφιος a *high style* prose text. For all the reluctance to pursue Byzantine literary style in any systematic fashion, the single most successful paradigm used to classify medieval Greek prose remains the venerable stylistic template of *high-middle-low*. For Byzantinists, the formal rationale for that model was given renewed force in a seminal paper by Ihor

Ševčenko nearly four decades ago.⁴⁹ Attempting to bring order to the discussion of Byzantine prose style, Ševčenko had recourse to the high-middle-low division as “a doctrine both ancient and timely.” In his view, the adoption of the tripartite classification was a matter of “scholarly scruple,” since, “a working Byzantinist does not need a precise definition of levels of style. He perceives them instinctively.”⁵⁰ Ševčenko conceded that there had been “little systematic treatment of the levels of style in Byzantine prose” and went on to list the main features of each.⁵¹

Although it was not his intention, Ševčenko’s characteristically concise and learned affirmation of the high-middle-low paradigm proved so successful that it effectively forestalled further inquiry into Byzantine prose style. The matter has seemed settled ever since. So convinced are we of the explanatory power of this model, that Ševčenko’s template has become something of a methodological fixture in the study of Byzantine literature.⁵² Like most, I routinely reach for it when talking or writing about medieval Greek texts. And yet for all the appeal of its internal coherence, the high-middle-low system lacks more specific content. It identifies the style of one level of texts by contrasting it against that of another, instead of identifying the salient differences *within* levels of style.⁵³ Perhaps most misleading of all, the vertical arrangement of high-middle-low implicitly coor-

⁴⁹ I. Ševčenko, “Levels of style in Byzantine prose,” *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien, 4–9. Oktober 1981*, Akten, I. Teil. 1. Teilband: Hauptreferate (= *JÖB* 31:1, 1981) 289–312. Of course Ševčenko was not the first to invoke the three levels of style. Antonio Garzya, writing about Byzantine hagiography, had previously proposed an allocation of texts into the “[tre] livelli linguistico-stilici,” in “Lingua e cultura nell’agiografia italo-greca,” *Italia sacra*, 22 (1973) 1179–1186. Both looked back to older rhetorical models from antiquity and the Renaissance. Ševčenko dated the three levels to the first century BC and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, whence it came to influence Roman (and later Latin) rhetorical instruction and through it, early modern European ideas about style.

⁵⁰ Ševčenko, “Levels of style,” 291.

⁵¹ The examples are all drawn from hagiography, one of few genres in medieval Greek which can supply texts from all three levels. Since he states from the outset that he will not broach “the relation between levels of style and genre,” (“Levels of style,” 292) Ševčenko does not confront the question of the stylistic incommensurability of Byzantine genres. Hagiography, for example, does not produce ‘high style’ prose on the order of, say, historiography, or of court oratory. The ‘three levels’ thus tend to be applied inside, rather than across, genres. For such a discussion, without the questioning of the ‘three levels’ theory, see H. Hunger, “Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas,” *Byzantine Studies* 5 (1978) 139–170.

⁵² Considered by many the American doyen of the study of prose rhetoric, Richard Lanham has perceptively written that “the problem with the tripartite division is not that it is vague and thus inapplicable” but that “it is so vague [that] it is nearly always applicable.” R. Lanham, *Style, an anti-textbook* (Philadelphia, 2007) 74.

⁵³ Browning has made the point by noting that linguistic register, on which the Byzantine levels are primarily founded, does not amount to a style, though it can contribute to it. “Within the limits by the occasion, the literary genre, the expected audience, and his own education a Byzantine author,” Browning argued, “could choose between different linguistic patterns,” a somewhat roundabout description of style. See Browning, “The language of Byzantine literature,” 103–133, 103, 105.

dinates style with a corresponding social and cultural hierarchy of authors and audiences. There is a *prima facie* social logic to texts designated *high* in style to be seen as intended for audiences which answered to a similarly “high” rank. Styles labeled *low* are commensurately thought to have been composed for more “lowly” audiences. In this scheme, the middles, in both style and social hierarchy, find their place by maintaining equal distance from both ends, high and low. Such a stylistic paradigm can seem convincing in an abstractly logical way. But how well does it stand up to scrutiny when specific Byzantine texts like the Ἐπιτάφιος are brought to bear on it?

The high-middle-low scheme fails to map accurately the style of Byzantine prose texts, in as much as it fosters complacency about an author’s particular formal choices. It also fosters neglect of broader, and subtler, patterns which may not conform to the paradigm’s basic premise of contrasting registers instead of styles. One such pattern is concealed behind the assumption, underlined by Ševčenko, of the high style’s marked preference for periodic sentences and hypotactic syntax. This assumption is based less on profiles of individual Byzantine texts than on a reflexive ordering of syntax in accordance with certain ancient prose models, as well as modern European literature which consciously sought to imitate such models. In contrast, Ševčenko observes, works in *low* style are assumed to employ “largely paratactic structures.”⁵⁴ This is consistent with a perceived linguistic competence whereby *parataxis* is viewed as a sign of literary underdevelopment rather than a stylistic choice. Since it is presumably harder to achieve, *hypotaxis* or a periodic style signals greater verbal fluency.

Highly developed *hypotaxis* is of course harder to follow, especially in oratory. And so it has gone largely unnoticed that otherwise sophisticated *high style* Byzantine oratory, including the Ἐπιτάφιος, actually tends to employ various degrees of paratactic syntax. The clauses of such texts function largely as self-contained units of meaning, proceeding in *seriatim* fashion. This, incidentally, is a syntactic formula apt to the στρυφνότης Eustathios identified in Homeric verse, with its internally dense units of meaning (a feature translators of these texts can attest to). Sentences are thus coordinated by strings of conjunctions (καὶ... καὶ... καὶ) or just as often appear without conjunctive links, a rhetorical device known as ἀσύνδετον, employed by Eustathios to great effect; especially, one assumes, when performed. The sense units of such prose correspond to the syntactic equivalent of individual *cola*. As D. R. Reinsch has noted, this is a compelling

⁵⁴ Ševčenko, “Levels of style,” 291.

rhythm-bearing structure. *Parataxis* allows prose to approximate the rhythmical impression of verse.⁵⁵ This is quite significant for a text *heard* by its original audience. It is also a stylistic feature of oratory conspicuously unaccounted for by the high-middle-low paradigm.⁵⁶ Of course, as students of poetry know, paratactic phrasing can be as contrived and stylistically marked as the most ostentatiously periodic prose.

Contrary to our own intuitions about high and low styles, Eustathios only infrequently introduces hypotactic syntax into his otherwise high style prose orations. Greek allows for a measure of periodic syntax with minimal subordination, sometimes approaching *parataxis* in the accumulation of meaning, as in the following example of a periodic-style interrogative:

Συγκροῦσαι δὲ πολεμίους ἀλλήλοις,
καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀταράχῳ καὶ οὕτω καταστήσαι
καὶ τὸ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γαλήνιον καταπράξασθαι,
τίς ἄρα κατ' ἐκείνον δεινότετος; (Ἐπ. 17)

Such exceptions are permitted because one immediately perceives the relevance, and anticipates the function of the clauses preceding the main sentence. Still, they are exceptional in the Ἐπιτάφιος and throughout most of Eustathios' oratory. More common to Eustathian prose are sentences that strike a compromise between *parataxis* and *hypotaxis*, such as the following detailing the equal distribution of Manuel's governance and euergetism throughout the empire:

Καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ βασιλικὸν τοῦτο προμηθὲς, ἰκανόν,
καὶ συνδιήκε τοῖς ὄλοις,
καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἕως καὶ κάτω ἰκανούμενον, ἀνεχέετο εἰς τὰ κύκλω
καὶ ψυχῆς δίκην, τοῖς τοῦ παντὸς ἐγκατέσπαρτο μέρεσι
καὶ μικρολόγον εἶχεν οὐδέν,
ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα θεῖα,
καὶ ὅποια βλέπων τις,
ἀνευδεῖ βασιλέα τοῦτο εἶπεν καὶ μόνον,
καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄρκουντα,
καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπάντων ἐπιδεόμενον,
εἰ μὴ ὅτι γε, εἰς τοσοῦτον,
εἰς ὅσον αὐτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ φύσει δουλευτικὸν ἐνδείκνυσθαι,

⁵⁵ Lauxtermann, *Spring of rhythm*, 61–86; cf. V.Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and rhythm in Byzantium: the sound of persuasion* (Cambridge, 2013) 69.

⁵⁶ D. R. Reinsch conducts an analysis along similar lines on Andrew of Crete's homily on the beheading of John the Baptist. See his "Literarische Bildung in Konstantinopel im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert. Das Zeugnis der Homiletik," *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca*, ed. G. Prato (Firenze, 2000) 29–46, esp. 31.

δι' οὐ τὸ τοῦ βίου μὲν ἄνομον καὶ θηριῶδες μακρὰν ἀφορίζεται,
τὸ δὲ πολιτικόν, καὶ νόμιμον εἰσοικίζεται.

Even though they are syntactically subordinate, the hypotactic blocks represented by the indentation do not require the audience to first resolve their relation to the first degree of syntax in order to communicate their sense. This is hypotaxis with minimum periodicity, and it seems to have been a conscious choice of Byzantine author-orators of Eustathios' caliber, adopted as a style. Mapped out syntactically, the typical passage of the Ἐπιτάφιος reveals itself to be at once syntactically uncomplicated but stylistically more intricate than we might expect. So while there is some subordination, almost inevitable given the length of the oration, it is rarely sustained or extended past what we might call the first degree of *hypotaxis*. Thus in a typical extended passage, describing Manuel's generous assistance to the reconstruction of churches, Eustathios adopts short, narrative-like statements which formally catalogue the destruction visited upon the buildings, followed by the emperor's generous interventions to reverse the effects of the damage. The passage reads as follows:

Σεισμοὶ ποτε ἀναταράττοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐκμοχλεύειν ἔχοντες, καὶ ἡ γῆ τοὺς θεμελίους ἀνέπτυνε· καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ χεὶρ, ἀνίστα τὰ ἱερὰ πτώματα. Εἰ δὲ μὴ θεμελίους ἐπεβούλευε τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μὲν ἀφίει κατευμεγεθεῖν τοῦ βλάπτεσθαι τοῦ δ' ὑπερφαινομένου κατεπεχειρεῖ, ἐνταῦθα μικρὸν ἐδόκει τῇ βασιλικῇ μεγαλοδωρεᾶ τὸ ἐνδόν ἀναπληρῶσαι τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἀγαθοχυσίας ἐμπλήσει τοῖς ἐν ἀναθήμασιν ἱεροῖς. Καιροὶ τινες, καὶ ἀνήφθη πῦρ ἢ αὐτόματον ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπίβουλον, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἠναιδεύσατο, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν φειδόμενον, καταβοσκηθὲν δὲ καὶ πολλὰ ὦν ἦν τὸ πολλοῖς ἄβατον. Καὶ πάλιν κἀνταῦθα τὸ βασιλικὸν προμηθὲς ἀντεπεξήγητο τοῖς καιρικοῖς, καὶ τὸ ἀπελθὸν καλὸν ἀποκαθίστατο. Καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχει τις εἰπεῖν κακὸν οὕτω φιλονεικηθὲν ἐκκορυφωθῆναι εἰς μήκιστον, ὃ μὴ ταχὺ ἐξηφάνιστο. (Ἐπ. 49)

At some point, earthquakes convulsed these buildings and toppled them, and the earth churned up their foundations. But the imperial hand raised the fallen holy bodies. And in cases where evil did not conspire against the foundations, but allowed these to resist destruction, it nevertheless attacked the structure above. In such circumstances it seemed but a small thing for the emperor's generosity to rebuild the part of the structure in need of repairs, at least when he did not proceed to fill the interior as well with sacred offerings as a result of an outpouring of his goodness. And there were times when fire broke out, either by accident or deliberately set, and it proceeded unchecked, not sparing public buildings, and consuming many of those to which entry is forbidden to most. And once more in this case imperial munificence responded to the occasion and restored the good that had been lost. And no one may say that there was any disaster demanding to be overcome which reached such a great height and which did not immediately vanish.

The implied narrative of the emperor's generous euergetism is evenly distributed among the participles and verbs of this passage, with minimum subordination. Even a dependent clause like *εἰ δὲ μὴ θεμελίους ἐπεβούλευε τὸ κακόν* is rendered effectively paratactic, in as much as the condition is folded into the narrative sequence. Meanwhile, the two short relative clauses: *ὧν ἦν τὸ πολλοῖς ἄβατον... ὁ μὴ ταχὺ ἐξηφάνιστο*, introduce briefly sustained variation in the syntax, though little in the way of genuine circumstantial contingency. The effect of the syntax is to make Manuel's repairs to the buildings seem decisively immediate. So where a hypotactic style relies causal or temporal conjunctions to reveal the relations between the different parts of a sentence, a paratactic style will tend towards *polysyndeton*, using frequent conjunctions, alternating with *asyndeton*. Rather significantly, such syntax relies on the audience to work out the implied, and for that reason sometimes ambiguous, relations among the statements. If we visualize the syntax of the passage, in place of cascading hypotactic structures we get a paratactic inventory along these lines:

Σεισμοὶ ποτε ἀναταράττοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα
καὶ ἐκμοχλεύειν ἔχοντες,
καὶ ἡ γῆ τοὺς θεμελίους ἀνέπτυνε·
καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ χεὶρ ἀνίστα τὰ ἱερὰ πτώματα.
Εἰ δὲ μὴ θεμελίους ἐπεβούλευε τὸ κακόν
ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μὲν ἀφίει κατευμεγεθεῖν τοῦ βλάπτεσθαι
τοῦ δ' ὑπερφαινομένου κατεπεχείρει,
ἐνταῦθα μικρὸν ἐδόκει τῇ βασιλικῇ μεγαλοδωρεὰ τὸ ἐνδέον ἀναπληρῶσαι τῆς οἰκοδομῆς,
εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἀγαθοχυσίας ἐμπλήσει τοῖς ἐν ἀναθήμασιν ἱεροῖς.
Καιροὶ τινες,
καὶ ἀνήφθη πῦρ ἢ αὐτόματον ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπίβουλον,
καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἠναιδεύσατο,
μήτε τῶν κοινῶν φειδόμενον,
καταβροσκηθὲν δὲ καὶ πολλὰ
ὧν ἦν τὸ πολλοῖς ἄβατον.
Καὶ πάλιν κἀνταῦθα τὸ βασιλικὸν προμηθὲς ἀντεπεξήγετο τοῖς καιρικοῖς,
καὶ τὸ ἀπελθὸν καλὸν ἀποκαθίστατο.
Καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχει τις εἰπεῖν κακὸν οὕτω φιλονεικηθὲν ἐκκορυφωθῆναι εἰς μῆκιστον,
ὁ μὴ ταχὺ ἐξηφάνιστο.

When looked at as printed prose, the clauses in the passage above appear more formally daunting than the actual breakdown of the syntax warrants. If recited, however, the paratactic structure emerges as a succession of grammatically self-contained clauses which generate meaning by accumulation rather than by means of subordinated qualification. So even if one were to argue for a degree

of dependence in some of the participles: ... ἀναταράπτοντες ... καὶ ἐκμοχλεύειν ἔχοντες, the passage would hardly qualify as hypotactic. Of course a paratactic style need not be completely free of subordination, as the following dependent clauses of the passage above illustrate: Εἰ δὲ μὴ ... ἐπεβούλευε ... εἰ μὴ ... ἐμπλήσει ... ὦν ... ἄβατον ... ὃ μὴ ταχὺ ἐξηφάνιστο. Similarly, a periodic or hypotactic style can occasionally introduce paratactic syntax without significantly compromising its hypotactic character. In the short passage of the oration just cited, the conjunction καί, the syntactic hallmark of parataxis, appears no fewer than ten times within the span of a few lines, joining the clauses like irregularly placed posts holding up a long string of telegraph wire on which information streams along. This meant that the audience could process most of what was said as it was being recited, a vital feature of any oration. Listeners did not hold long strings of propositions in their mind while waiting for a grammatical lynchpin to fall into place for the meaning of the whole to emerge. Even those passages containing more subordinated syntax mitigate the effects of genuinely hypotactic prose by organizing their contents in a manner which sustains the paratactic delivery of information, as the syntactic breakdown of the following passage illustrates:

Τί δέ;
 Γένος μὲν οὐ πολυπραγμονητέον ἐνταῦθα
 οὐπερ ὁ κατάλογος ὑπὲρ τὰ ἠρωϊκά,
 ὦν τὰ σεμνὰ, ἔστι κατανοεῖν τῷ μαθήσεως εὐ ἤκοντι, ἐς ὅσον
 βραχύτητος περιγράφεται
 τροφῆς δὲ κανόνα διαχειριστέον
 ὃς δὴ τῷ γένει συναναφαίνεται.
 Καί τις ἂν ἐπιμετρήσῃ χρόνον ἄρκοῦντα,
 ἔνθα τὸ ἀκροατήριον ὀλίγα μὲν ἔχει πρὸς τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν λαλουμένοις
 τὰ πλείω δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸ στρέφεται,
 καὶ τῷ θαύματι πεπηγότες,
 ἢ συστέλλουσι τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐνεργήματα
 ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ ἀκροᾶσθαι,
 ἢ ἀλλὰ τὰς ψυχικὰς παρανοιγνύντες δέλτους αὐτοὶ λογογραφουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κατ' ἄλλος
 ἄλλον τρόπον τοῖς τοῦ κειμένου ἐπεξιόντες θαύμασιν;
 ἐν οἷς, καὶ ὡς ἐκ σπαργάνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ παιδὸς καὶ εἰς ἀκμαῖον δι'
 ἀρετῶν ἦκων προέκοπτε,
 τὰ μὲν ἑτέροις προγονικοῖς ἐμβαίνων ἴχνησι,
 τὰ δὲ καὶ πατρικῶς ρυθμιζόμενος,
 πλείω δὲ καὶ προσευπωρῶν,
 καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἀγαθαῖς προσεξευρίσκων αὐτός,
 ὅσα καὶ αὐτὰ εἰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀγαθοπραξιῶν ἀρχέτυπα τοῖς
 ἐπιούσιν ἐγγράφεται.

Although nominally hypotactic across its three principal segments, the passage nevertheless shows a marked paratactic tendency within each syntactical sub-section. This is in keeping with the accumulative character of the oration and of Eustathian prose more generally. As I argue in the section on the orality of the Ἐπιτάφιος, the text was composed in adherence to the demands of an *aural* genre whose prevailing syntactical idiom, *parataxis*, catered to an audience of listeners. Moreover, *parataxis* favours the poet or orator who wishes to appear to be thinking on his feet, instead of the precarious and rehearsed-sounding syntactical architecture of *hypotaxis*. Paratactic syntax not only better imitates the spontaneity of actual speech, it also significantly frees the rhetor from the burden of reproducing every clause and phrase in a very precise order. It thereby leaves room for some studied improvisation of the sort Eustathios points to when he praises Manuel for having reproduced his own speeches *nearly* word for word.⁵⁷

Even recited, a long text would have offered numerous opportunities for stumbling over complex syntax. This was more easily avoided by limiting subordination and long periods. While the “and ... and ... and” of paratactic prose may seem rather monotonous when read silently, in the mouth of a practiced orator able to dramatize the actions of the verbs and participles, modulating intonation to stress the qualities of the adjectives, such frequent connectives offer opportunities to slow down or quicken the pace of the speech in accordance with the thematic demands of the subject. Moreover, the rhetor could more effectively anticipate the natural emphases and dramatic turns, making the otherwise simple(r) syntax work to his advantage.⁵⁸

Paratactic syntax occurs more frequently in Byzantine prose, at all levels, high and low, than is usually assumed by the hierarchical division of registers. The reason cannot have been linguistic competence. Authors at Eustathios’ level did not lack the necessary proficiency in classical prose to reproduce periodic

⁵⁷ Ἐπ. 33; for analysis of the passage, see the section on orality in the introduction.

⁵⁸ It should be added, however, that besides simplifying the relations between the propositional units, paratactic syntax also inevitably enlivens the pace of delivery. In Classical rhetorical theory such an accumulation of coordinated, generally shorter clauses with few conjunctive links and little subordination was thought to contribute to γοργότης, or “rapidity,” lending vigour to the phrasing or λέξις of the text. While this quickening of the oration’s pace would no doubt have also depended on the orator’s delivery, it nevertheless helped sustain a sense of forward motion in the text; a not unimportant virtue in a long oration. Cf. Hermogenes, *Id.* 2.1;1.9; cff. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.*1.306.13–16, ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα οὐ μόνον οἷς ἔπραττε σπεύδοντα, ὡς προείρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς κομματικῶς καὶ γοργῶς ἔλεγε. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ποιητῆς συνεπισπεύδων ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ καιρῷ συσχηματίζων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον ἑλλειπτικῶ ἐνταῦθα ἐχρήσατο σχήματι διὰ γοργότητα.

syntax.⁵⁹ In Eustathios' case this ability was even more pronounced, given his long years of instruction and methodical parsing of ancient texts. Byzantine prose syntax was therefore a matter of choice, proceeding from a constellation of factors to which style was the response. One possible reason *parataxis* became the default syntax of so much Byzantine prose literature (it is almost unavoidable in most Byzantine metrical verse), and especially in ceremonial oratory, might be sought in the legacy of late Hellenistic literary style Herbert Hunger characterized as “die Zerhackung der Perioden in kleine Kommata” (“the chopping up of periodic sentences into small clauses”).⁶⁰ More importantly, perhaps, paratactic syntax became synonymous with a particular gamut of prose styles whose aim was ἐπίδειξις. If that is the case, what happens to the division of *high-middle-low* when the *high* and *low* end up sharing a key feature of style? The question is important because it reveals the inherent unhelpfulness of the oft invoked ‘levels of style’.

Style has tended to be assigned to Byzantine texts *grosso modo*. We flatten most distinctions inside each “level” and emphasize broad continuity among authors and genres. This betrays an indifference toward such variations in style as might have seemed important to Byzantine authors and audiences, as the πρὸς διαφορὰν of the heading to the Ἐπιτάφιος suggests, and indeed comments across a variety of Byzantine works indicate. These were the very same differences which could earn an author like Eustathios much coveted patronage and a following among aspiring authors. Somewhat ironically, it is texts in the *high style* which are regarded as most interchangeable in this respect, despite the pronounced efforts on the part of their authors to distinguish themselves in the relatively small and highly competitive *epideictic* environment of the capital, with its public and privately sponsored *theatra*.⁶¹ Eustathios confirms the merits of

⁵⁹ It is worth noting that while we do not doubt our own students' ability to imitate classical Greek periods and plausible Attic prose, we frequently assume that Byzantine authors raised on ancient Greek literature were somehow not capable of this. We rarely discuss the possibility that they simply chose not to compose exactly as fifth and fourth-century Attic authors had, much as we choose not to write in the style of eighteenth or nineteenth-century English authors, despite our deference to them as ‘classics’.

⁶⁰ Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, 88. It may also have served to compensate as a relatively simple structure for the often learned diction and exacting phrasing which the heading of the Ἐπιτάφιος boasts as the distinguishing feature of Eustathios' style. Individuals in the audience who may have lost the thread of the speech might have been able to recover more quickly from short hiatuses in comprehension caused by an unfamiliar word, an unconventional metaphor, or simply as a result of a wandering attention. In contrast, hypotactic syntax or a periodic style make inordinate demands on its audience's ability to follow a more labyrinthine pattern of thought.

⁶¹ See Felgentreu, “Aufbau und Erzähltechnik,” 53–68 and I. Toth, “Rhetorical theatron in late Byzantium: the example of Palaiologan imperial orations,” *Theatron: rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und*

an accomplished style when in the course of another oration he extols Manuel's eloquence by singling out qualities he no doubt regarded as characteristic of his own prose as well:

ἔχομεν τοίνυν διὰ ταῦτα ὑπόδειγμα καὶ τοῦτο κράματος ἰδεῶν δυσκατεργάστου, τεθρυλημένου τοῖς γράφουσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ συναγαγεῖν εἰς ἓν νοημάτων σεμνότητα καὶ λεπτότητα καὶ τῷ τοῦ λόγου ἐξάρματι ἐγκαταμίξει τὰς χάριτας· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἀσύμβατα, ὡσπερ βρυχᾶσθαι λεόντειον καὶ κελαδεῖν ἀηδόνειον οὕτω καὶ σεμνοπροσωπεῖν ἅμα τοὺς λόγους καὶ εἰς χάριν διαγελαῶν (ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ὕψους, τὸ δ' ἐτέρως ἔχον κρίνεται), ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα τεχνικῶς τὰ δυσχερῆ κεράννυσθαι μέμικται.⁶²

And this, too, may serve as a perfect example of a mixture of styles which is hard to achieve, legendary among authors, which is to join into one the importance and nuance of meaning while combining it with the pleasures associated with oratory's cresting eloquence. For if things which are otherwise incongruous, such as roaring out [one's speech] like a lion and singing like a nightingale, just as giving one's speeches the appearance of seriousness at the same time as eliciting laughter for the sake of entertainment (for the one is lofty, while the other is judged lowly), well it is precisely here that contradictory styles have been expertly blended by being joined together.

Whatever else he may have had in mind when invoking the Hermogenic or Hellenistic *ἰδέαι*, Eustathios' praise of a "mix of stylistic features ... legendary among authors" (κράματος ἰδεῶν...τεθρυλημένου τοῖς γράφουσιν) was not intended to contrast Manuel's style from those lower down the axis of styles but from those in the same level. Here, as elsewhere, Eustathios is contrasting one *style* with another, not one *level* with another. To be sure, some of these distinctions may strike us as little more than the proverbial narcissism of small differences carried over into prose composition. We must nevertheless rely on Byzantine witnesses for which differences were significant and which trivial, making note of formal choices which have hitherto gone unnoticed or seemed of a piece when seen from the lofty vantage of the high-middle-low scheme.⁶³

But if not through recourse to a high-middle-low paradigm, how else might we approach the question of style in works as elaborate and demanding as the *Ἐπιτάφιος*? There has long been a consensus that the programmatic statements

Mittelalter, ed. M. Grünbart [Millennium-Studien, 13] (Berlin, 2007) 429–448.

⁶² *Or. 13* (Λόγος Μ) 226.89–96.

⁶³ One could cite the telling example of the so-called metaphrastic lives of saints. After being 'translated-rendered' into another register, the *high-middle-low* scheme tells us too little about the choices available within each register. The 'high' style achieved for the metaphrastic corpus of saints' lives, like the paraphrase of Anna Komnena's history of Alexios' reign, do not simply climb or descend a stylistic ladder adding or subtracting features according to a measure of difficulty. The texts had to be reconstituted and, invariably, altered. For the significance of such 'translations' in the fourteenth century, see G. Horrocks, *Greek: a history of the language and its speakers* (Cambridge, 1997) 196–200.

by Byzantine authors in commentaries to ancient rhetorical handbooks offer little guidance.⁶⁴ The reliability of Byzantine pronouncements on style notwithstanding, the overall tendency of the terms employed points unmistakably to something we might characterize as an attitude or disposition toward style, rather than a combination of specific linguistic features. That attitude may be summed up as proceeding from what might be termed the *epideictic habit*.⁶⁵ By this I mean the marked tendency among certain authors in Byzantium to draw attention to their works *qua* verbal artifice or composed text. Such texts underline their own *designed-ness* by drawing attention to the fact of their composition. This meant foregrounding the style of a work: the deliberate and calculated arrangement of carefully selected words from any register, but especially the highest and lowest, into a kind of *Kunstsprache*. Such arresting patterns would have been hard to ignore. This is what I call “the style which shows”: literature which foregrounds its formal choices. Such works, I argue, make their design a part of their message.

Instead of a vertical high-middle-low scheme which fails to provide much guidance within each “level,” even as it encourages a spurious social ranking of texts, we might distribute medieval Greek texts like the Ἐπιτάφιος along a horizontal spectrum of style. This would range from the quite *transparent*, formally insipid, to the stylistically ostentatious, highly wrought and *opaque*. This last characterization, “opaque,” has rather tellingly been employed previously to describe what were perceived as the failings of Eustathian prose. In a lengthy and otherwise favorable intellectual profile of Eustathios as rhetor, scholar, and bishop, Alexander Kazhdan nevertheless felt it necessary to concede that “his rhetoric can appear alarmingly opaque.”⁶⁶ Kazhdan was referring to the reputation of Eustathios for almost exasperatingly difficult, intricate, and dense prose. Significantly, Kazhdan did not find fault with Eustathios’ ideas, indeed he credited many of them with unusual originality and humanistic intelligence. He argued, instead, that a prolix, needlessly convoluted, and unfortunate style frequently obfuscates Eustathios’ message by erecting a kind of linguistic screen.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ See, as an example, G. Aujac, “Michel Psellos et Denys d’Halicarnasse: le traité ‘Sur la composition des éléments du langage,’” *Revue des études byzantines* 33/1 (1975) 257–275; Cf. P. Gautier, “Michel Psellos et la rhétorique de Longin,” *Prometheus* 3 (1977) 193–203.

⁶⁵ The phrase is a variation on Ramsay McMullen’s celebrated coinage “epigraphic habit,” used to characterize the epigraphical patterns of ancient Roman society and their contribution to ‘Romanization.’ R. MacMullen, “The epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire,” *The American journal of philology*, 103/ 3 (Autumn, 1982) 233–246.

⁶⁶ Kazhdan, *Studies*, 140.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Opaque means a *too* visible and thereby non-transparent surface. By a kind of metaphoric extension in literature, this has come to mean unintelligible or baffling prose, in as much as the “surface of the text” – its style, really – comes between us and the meaning we seek. It is, in effect, what happens when language makes itself felt too strongly as *parole*, in Ferdinand de Saussure’s pioneering formulation. The aptness of the metaphor aside, it is unlikely that generations of Byzantine authors and audiences failed to notice that their literature was not *transparent* enough, providing them an unimpeded view unto the world like a window, but opaque. We thus meet an enduring postulate in descriptions of Byzantine style, namely, that style gets in the way of substance. The characterization “opaque” reflects a widespread and often moralizing conviction that language, specifically prose, has a duty to be as transparent as possible. It must get out of the way so that the author’s message may be grasped quickly and with as little effort as possible. If the language of the text is too elaborate, we tend to assume, it distracts from that message, if it does not altogether disfigure it. It is as if the too precisely choreographed style of much high style Byzantine prose got the better of its authors. Implicit in negative appraisals of “opaque” styles is the conclusion that Eustathios and other Byzantine authors composed as they did *faute de mieux*.

Yet what if we were to begin by assuming that like any other feature of his works, any opaqueness in Eustathios’ style was not inadvertent (and thus infelicitous, as Kazhdan’s analysis implies). What if we were to assume, instead, that it was quite deliberate and, more importantly, that it might have also been quite effective *as a style* for precisely that reason? The relevant question might then be whether the audience is invited to look *at* (or listen *to*) the text’s surface as part of attending to its content. In such a scheme, texts which invite the audience to take notice of their style, as the Ἐπιτάφιος certainly does, would end up on the opaque end of the spectrum, in accordance with the degree to which their style makes itself felt *as style*, through marked figures of language, diction, the marshaling of patterns of sound or rhythm, etc.⁶⁸ In poetry, this would mean that the stately, archaizing hexametric paeans of Theodore Prodromos to John II Komnenos be placed not too far from the Rabelaisian and patently demotic verses of the Ptochoprodromic corpus.⁶⁹ Much of so-called vernacular Byzantine poetry

⁶⁸ R. Lanham, *Analyzing prose* (2nd ed., New York, 2003) 160–189. Lanham makes his case for a different approach to prose rhetoric using later English language texts. His analysis is nevertheless thoroughly informed by both ancient rhetorical analysis and its post-Renaissance legacy.

⁶⁹ *Carm. hist.* 111–118, where *Stil* comes under the telling heading, *Rhetorisches*; H Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromus: Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar* (Köln, 1991).

is arguably designed to showcase its “demotic” form and would be accordingly classified alongside the equally exhibitionist archaizing poetry or prose. By placing them, as we have, on different ends of the high-middle-low axis, we suggest that they were different in kind and overlook a vital common feature: their shared willingness to showcase their respective styles.

Debates among scholars for which author or work deserves to be placed further along the opaque scale would have the added benefit of promoting a closer analysis of Byzantine prose styles. For stylistic analysis to bear fruit, however, one must proceed from the premise that style is no mere ornament. It reflects an author’s attempt to respond to, and in turn to shape, the audience’s attitude toward the subject at hand. Such a perception of style could be termed aesthetic rather than strictly rhetorical, in as much as it elicits a degree of self-consciousness on the part of the audience about the verbal artifice on display; whereas rhetoric tends to draw our attention to the choices of authors. Might this not be a start in gaining a better sense of where the appeal of Byzantine court oratory may have rested with audiences?

A veteran instructor of rhetoric Eustathios was bound to have been self-aware as an author. We thus see him addressing his own authorial choices, including that of style, in the heading to another funeral oration, this one almost certainly overseen if not written by him, for his recently deceased friend and fellow cleric, Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites, until then bishop of Athens. The funeral oration appears to have been intended for a ceremony in a church on the outskirts of Thessalonike. Hagiotheodorites’ funeral cortège had scheduled a stop on its way to Constantinople, where Nikolaos would finally be laid to rest.⁷⁰ Eustathios decided to exploit both the occasion’s irregularity and his intimacy with the deceased to depart from rhetorical convention. He therefore borrowed from the two main funerary genres, monody and epitaphios, joining the pathos of the one to the panegyric-like quality of the other. More to the point, we learn most of this once more from the equally revealing heading accompanying the manuscript:⁷¹

⁷⁰ On Nikolaos himself, see M. Loukaki, *Grégoire Antiochos. Eloge du patriarche Basile Kamatèros. Texte, traduction, commentaire suivis d’une analyse des oeuvres de Grégoire Antiochos* (Paris, 1996) 9–11; Sideras, *Grabreden*, 185–187. On N. Hagiotheodorites and his family, see V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l’empire byzantine*, v. 2 (Paris 1963–81) nos. 225–440; *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, nos. 240–41. Eustathios testifies to his friendship with Nikolaos in the funeral speech, where he also mentions a regular exchange of letters, as he does in a letter to Michael Hagiotheodorites, Nikolaos’ brother, just before the latter’s death (*Opusc.* 342.41–343.16).

⁷¹ Sideras, *Grabreden*, 185–187. For the Eustathian authenticity of the heading, see Agapitos, “Mischung,” 127. Much depends on whether one believes Eustathios produced an “authorized” edition of

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀναγνωσθεὶς ἔξω τῆς μεγαλωνύμου πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης ἐν τῷ θείῳ ναῷ τοῦ μυροβλύτου ἁγίου Νικολάου ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θήκῃ τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἐν αἰοιδίμῳ τῇ μνήμῃ πανιερωτάτου Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ ὑπερτίμου, ὅτε εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ἀνεκομίζετο· μικτὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ οὔτε μονωδικὸς ἀκράτως (οὐ γὰρ ἔπρεπε τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος εἰς ἀκέραιον οὔτε τῷ κειμένῳ οὔτε τῷ γράψαντι) καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐπιτάφιον ἐντελῶς διεσκευασμένος διὰ τὸ ἀμελέτητον, κεκραμένος δὲ ἔξ ἁμοφίων καὶ μονωδικῶς μὲν παθαινόμενος, ἐπιταφίου δὲ νόμου ἔστιν αἰς τῶν πράξεων ἑλλαμπόμενος καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ γοργότητος· εἰ δέ τινα καὶ ἄλλα μεσολαβεῖται τῷ λόγῳ, μέθοδος ἰδία ταῦτα τοῦ γράψαντος, χαίροντος τῇ ἰδέᾳ ταύτῃ ὡς τὰ πολλά.⁷²

An oration by the same author recited on the outskirts of the glorious city Thessalonike in the sacred temple of St. Nicholas the Sweet-Scented in the presence of the casket bearing the remains of the estimable and thoroughly holy [bishop] of Athens, a man of truly lasting memory, as he was being taken to the great city. The oration was mixed, neither unrestrainedly monodic (for the pure form of such a type would be unfitting for both the man lying here and the author) nor designed wholly in conformity to the style of an epitaphios so that it might retain the character of an improvised speech, a blend of both so that it is passionate in the manner of a monody but shining as well with his accomplishments in accordance with the conventions of epitaphios, which will be presented with a brisk style. If additional things should be introduced into the oration, it is the result of the author's own practice, who delights in proceeding this way generally.

In both cases the heading underlines the very deliberate nature of the oration's form. Deeming an unreservedly emotional style unbecoming for both the deceased and the author – thereby acknowledging the persistence of the idea of matching style to individual character – but not wishing to furnish the oration with all the rhetorical trappings typical of an *epitaphios*, lest it forfeit the character of an improvised speech, Eustathios is described as having mixed both styles while making sure that the inventory of Nikolaos' achievements was delivered in a brisk pace. As a kind of authorial coda, the heading adds that any further features inserted in the oration are a function of the writer's customary way of composing, “in accordance with his own pleasure.” Again, we are reminded of motives which align more closely with conceptions of style and not simply “rhetoric” in the mechanistic sense we are wont to think of.

his own works and therefore composed or at least supervised the placement of headings for individual texts. See Wirth, “Spuren,” 253–257. As I note both above and in the commentary, whether Eustathios composed the headings himself or not should not distract from their consonance with his rhetorical programme and literary aesthetics, including the precise and consistent use of technical terms.

⁷² The text of Eustathios' funeral oration for Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites is contained in Codex Escorialensis Y-II-10 (cat. Andrés 265), ff.34r-37r, and was first edited by A. Sideras, *Or.* 3, 31–50; note that Sideras has a full stop after ἀνεκομίζετο and he separates everything after μικτὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος from the rest of the title and the main body of the oration. He offers no explanation, though the smaller typescript here suggests, perhaps, that he deemed it either an interpolation or a supplementary note by Eustathios or his editor. The oration is included in the critical edition of Eustathian occasional speeches by P. Wirth, *Or. in Nic. Hag. (B) Λόγος A*, 3–16. For brief, mostly prosopographical, commentary on the text, see Sideras, *Byzantinische Grabreden*, op.cit. 185–187.

In a detailed and exemplary analysis of this text, P. A. Agapitos offers a lesson in what close attention to style can reveal.⁷³ He notes the assertion of independence from the conventions governing such orations. By mixing the two main funerary sub-genres and flouting the received rules of rhetoric governing each, Agapitos argues that Eustathios took the necessary first step on the way to fashioning an “original literary work of art.”⁷⁴ A key element of this was the perpetual reworking of familiar motifs and commonplaces into a new yet reliably suitable form. Agapitos observes that Eustathios’ attempted not only to introduce greater variety to the traditions governing funerary oratory, but to fashion altogether new kinds of works. In this, he represents a broader trend of the twelfth century.⁷⁵ Moreover, by offering an account of Eustathios’ commitment to an originality seldom granted to ceremonial oratory of this period, Agapitos implicitly raises questions about our received model for classifying, rather than inquiring into, Byzantine prose style. Eustathios’ aim in this funeral oration, he concludes, was to create a verbally stylized semblance of the impassioned, spontaneous expression of grief characteristic of *monodia*, while retaining the encomiastic themes of *epitaphios*. We cannot appreciate the difference sought with this fusion unless we register style. Still, as revealing as Agapitos’ specific observations on the formal novelty of this funeral oration are, their larger significance lies in the methodological path he carves out for the future study of Byzantine prose style(s).



The rhetorically luxurious style of the Ἐπιτάφιος was intended as a fitting tribute to its subject, a verbal pageant in the emperor’s honour. It was also, however, a tribute to its audience. They, after all, were the ones alive to appreciate it, and in doing so, to share in the prestige its performance conferred on participants. Writing of the motives at work in a conspicuously Hellenizing, i.e., archaizing, style of Byzantine court literature, A. Kaldellis observes that orations were also a “performance [which] took place in an idiom sufficiently removed from spo-

⁷³ Agapitos, “Mischung,” 145–146, with relevant illustrations of both styles in nn. 98, 98.

⁷⁴ Idem, 146, n.100, where he notes Kazhdan and Franklin’s commensurate conclusions with regard to style in *Studies*, 224–225.

⁷⁵ Speaking of “ancient models and novel mixtures” Agapitos has characterized the tendency towards stylistic and thematic novelty and variety in Komnenian society as “an experiment that gave conscious expression to artistic innovation and that, ultimately, elevated the transgression of boundaries and the mixture of genres to an important characteristic of literary production in Komnenian society.” (quoted from the text of a lecture delivered by the author at Harvard University’s Classics Seminar in the Spring of 2001, and made available to me by the author).

ken Greek [so as] to act as a marker of identity.”⁷⁶ With more and more rhetors entering the capital’s ranks of aspiring sophists seeking patrons among the élite, distinguishing oneself in the Hellenizing idiom of oratory meant fashioning a more distinct style. An inordinate concern with linguistic form and rhetorical technique inevitably spoke not just to the author’s reputation but to the self-image of those in attendance. A text addressing a status-driven audience gathered in settings rich in ceremonial, decorum, and solemnity, was bound to seek a style corresponding to the social and ideological significance of the event. And yet no issue has impaired discussion of high style Byzantine prose quite like that of its presumed (un)intelligibility to any but a small coterie of authors and intellectuals. Is there any sense, asks H. G. Beck, in seeking after the binding features of Byzantine literature (by which he means literature in the upper registers) “when only the most selective group of philological connoisseurs were able to deal with [the texts]?”⁷⁷ How many people in Byzantium, it has often been asked, had the training in rhetoric and the sustained experience of both ancient and Byzantine literature, secular as well as religious, in order to follow – much less appreciate – an oration by Eustathios?

Without necessarily conceding the claim that most high style texts were as daunting as they are often made out to be, we may perhaps ask how few readers or listeners are *too few*. For that matter, how many would we consider enough?⁷⁸ Estimates of no more than a few hundred sufficiently schooled audience members (the *πεπαιδευμένοι* of the manuscript heading) are often cited to back up the argument that high style, secular, Byzantine prose was a socially and culturally marginal affair with little reach beyond a small cadre. In this view, even an oration for a significant ceremonial occasion amounted to little more than a self-indulgent exercise in cultural preening by and for a self-selecting intellectual

⁷⁶ A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: the transformations of Greek identity and the reception of the classical tradition* (Cambridge; New York, 2007) 238.

⁷⁷ Beck, in his admirably concise account of “literary creation in Byzantium” writes of a literature in the upper registers “deren Texte in einer schwer oder kaum verständlichen Sprache abgefaßt waren... eine Literatur ferner, die sich in einem Rahmen bewegte, der oft tat, als lebe man noch in den Zeiten Platons oder doch Lukian.” Beck, *Literarische Schaffen*, 9–10. Beck’s claim that the archaizing language of such literature must have been “hardly intelligible” is widely accepted, though rarely substantiated with the kind of evidence which might account for the simultaneous profusion of such allegedly unintelligible literature.

⁷⁸ Might not similar objections be raised about many significant works of ancient Greek literature, about Dante, or Chaucer? Were all those who attended the great Dionysia equally equipped to fathom the more enigmatic choral strophes of Sophocles? Was every Pindaric treatment of myth in the singular idiom of the victory odes transparent to all who attended the victor’s celebrations?

clique.⁷⁹ Yet given his many occasional addresses, it would seem that Eustathios composed for diverse, and at times, probably overlapping audiences. Some of those who heard his orations at court might have also heard his homilies, or attended private *theatra* where his essays were recited, or possibly heard his lectures on ancient literature. Moreover, as bishop of Thessalonike, Eustathios had to preach to large, mixed congregations in a city without the cultural resources of the capital. The occasional character of so many of his surviving works, along with the broader profile of the élites likely to have made up the audiences on ceremonial occasions, belies the claim that he would have been composing for a small fraction of the capital's most proficient intellectuals. On the day of the funeral commemoration for Manuel, Eustathios would have expected the audience gathered in the Pantokrator to be drawn from τῶν... γλῶσσαν λογάδα ὀμιλούντων or τοῖς λαλοῦσιν εὐγενῶς.⁸⁰ Those claiming such status exceeded the small coterie of superbly learned intellectuals sometimes described as making up the only audience with access to high style prose.⁸¹ This, after all, was the language which distinguished the upper strata of Byzantine society made up of the educated and well-born. To be sure, not everyone who counted him (or herself) among the well-born possessed equal proficiency in the richest forms of medieval Greek. It would have been enough, however, that they swelled the ranks of those who did.⁸²

⁷⁹ The precedent for such calculations was initially set by Paul Lemerle in his influential study, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, in which he estimated the number of students receiving the necessary education to become proficient in the so-called ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία to be between two and three hundred. *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, (Paris, 1971) 257. Lemerle's figures, cited repeatedly over the years, were impressionistic, at best (indeed he himself cited the figure tentatively). The subject stands in need of considerable re-examination, taking into account such evidence as we have from a wider variety of genres, including metaphrastic hagiography, sermons, so-called "popular" poetry, and genres once thought to have been the preserve of very few, like historiography. For the kind of case-by-case study which should precede general conclusions about the audience of Byzantine 'high' literature, see the recent discussion by Athanasios Markopoulos, "Le public des textes historiographiques à l' époque Macédonienne," *Parekbolai* 5 (2015) 53–74.

⁸⁰ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.117.23; *Comm. ad Hom. Od.*, 2.58.9. Elsewhere Eustathios contrasts such speech with ἀγροικικῶς λαλεῖν (*Opusc.* 19.52). Contrary to claims about Byzantine dogmatism regarding the use of an unadulterated archaizing Greek in the 'high style', Eustathios expresses an appreciation for the creative contribution of 'foreign' loan words. E.g. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 2.189.14–16 ὄλωσ δὲ εἰπεῖν, γέμει διὰ τὰς ἐπιμυξίας μυρίων ἔθνικῶν λέξεων ἢ Ἑλλάς γλῶσσα. ὁ περ εἰ καὶ παρεκβατικῶς τεθεώρηται, ἀλλ' οὐτε ἀμούσως ἐχει, καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν χοίνικα σκέψεως ἀπεσχοίνισται, εἰ χρὴ πάλιν ἐθνικὴν εἰπεῖν λέξιν ὅποια ἢ σχοῖνος, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ἀποσχοίνιζεσθαι. As Koukoules noted, Eustathios showed an equal, if not greater, linguistic broad-mindedness and curiosity about the lowest registers of Greek (where the number of loan words was also the highest). See See Koukoules, *Γραμματικά καὶ Λαογραφικά*.

⁸¹ K. Metzler defines the traits of such an audience while wisely avoiding pronouncement on its potential size. See *De Emend.* 53.

⁸² A situation analogous to that of today's 'literate' college educated classes who attend and support the arts out of all proportion to their actual understanding of it.

Like everything else, quality and extent of education must have varied among the élite, as must have the commitment to literature. Intelligibility and enjoyment of artfully composed speeches would have risen and fallen in accordance with such education and individual experience of texts.⁸³ Nevertheless, few of those in attendance at the ceremony for Manuel would have felt entirely excluded from the sense of having *listened* to the funeral oration, even if only a few may have been able to appreciate every historical allusion, play on words, or arcane piece of vocabulary. Rather than a single audience of fluent Atticists able to make sense of the Ἐπιτάφιος, we should perhaps conceive of concentric circles of comprehension. Those within each circle would have experienced the intelligibility of Eustathios' funeral oration in accordance with their level of education, probably aided by repeated exposure to oratory containing similar panegyric formulae and *topoi*. In some important respects, Byzantine occasional oratory created its comprehending audience. Most importantly, perhaps, the variously proficient members of the audience had every incentive to leave satisfied that they had participated at the event, much as modern wealthy patrons of high art do today, despite, say, having trouble following the libretto of an Italian opera or the score of a Mahler symphony.⁸⁴

In her detailed study of Eustathios' polemical treatise calling for a reform of contemporary monasticism, K. Metzler similarly surmises that the monks who made up the audience of the text were "obviously well educated and intellectually sophisticated," having probably come from the élite strata of Byzantine society. While Metzler is right to point to an élite audience, I am suggesting that it need not have excluded everyone but the most highly educated, since there would have been many among the lay and clerical élite who were somewhere on the sliding-scale of comprehension.⁸⁵ Such a model is sometimes referred to by literary critics as one of "audiences within audiences." The men and women who

⁸³ On the audience's understanding of texts composed in a rhetorically demanding style: Reinsch, "Literarische Bildung," 29–46. Reinsch writes of a public which, if it was to understand what was said to it, had to read books.

⁸⁴ Martin Gilbert recounts the story of a British officer who described a non-English audience hearing Winston Churchill speak: "Everyone was deeply moved, carried away by the emotion that surged from Churchill in great torrents. It was not necessary to understand his words to seize his meaning." M. Gilbert, *Finest hour: Winston Churchill 1939–41* (London, 1983) 444–445. Of course, unlike Churchill's audience, those at the Byzantine court were in the main native Greek speakers and so likely to grasp no small part of any oration. But might this have also made them more likely to feel alienated from such lavish displays of eloquence? Perhaps a bit of both.

⁸⁵ K. Metzler, "Eustathios und sein Publikum," *Monastères, images, pouvoirs et société à Byzance: nouvelles approches du monachisme byzantin. XXe Congrès international des études byzantines, Paris, 2001*, ed. M. Kaplan (Paris, 2006) 49–60.

commissioned and sought instruction from epitomizers and exegetical works on ancient myth and literature from authors like Ioannes Tzetzes, for example, quite likely did so in order to participate more fully in the court culture presided over by the emperor and leading members of the Constantinopolitan élite. Some among this élite, like Nikephoros Komnenos, a cousin of the emperor, were such literary enthusiasts that they took up the pen themselves, achieving an estimable degree of rhetorical fluency. Nikephoros, as it happens, was a friend and, in all likelihood, a former student of Eustathios.⁸⁶ One can imagine an audience at court made up of both Tzetzes' decently educated patrons and Eustathios' quite advanced former students, each group able to appreciate an oration to differing degrees, all the while forming a single audience.

Of course Byzantine authors were not unmindful of the fact that an elaborate style employing learned vocabulary might alienate the less educated among their audience. They did, however, seem to believe in the possibility of a common rhetorical frequency in which to address both the educated patrician and the "simple" man.⁸⁷ Eustathios appears to address the question while praising Manuel's ability to speak at once to the high and low-born, thereby confirming that striking such a balance between rhetorical ambition and intelligibility was at least an acknowledged, if elusive, virtue:

Ὡ γλυκύτης ὁμιλίας· ὦ πλοῦτος ἐπιχειρήσεων· ὦ νοημάτων βυθὸς τιθεμένων σκότος ἀποκρυφὴν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς γνώσεως· ὦ ῥημάτων φῶς διαυγάζον τὸ βάθος τῶν νοουμένων τῷ ἠλιώδει τῆς φράσεως· ὦ γλώσσα πυρίνη πνεύματος μερίζομένη μὲν ποικίλως, ἐκάσταις δὲ ψυχαῖς καθ' ὀλόγητα ἐναρμόττουσα, ἔνθα καὶ πλέον ἔκειτο τὸ ξενίζον τοῦ πράγματος καὶ πλείω τὰ τοῦ θαύματος διὰ τὴν ἰδιοτροπίαν τοῦ κράματος· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ λόγους μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐκεῖνος ἦν εὐπρόσιτος, ἐξέκλειε δὲ τὴν ἰδικωτέραν ἀκρόασιν, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν ἐφείλκετο μὲν τὸν ἀπλούστερον ἄνθρωπον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τρόφιμος μὴδὲν ἐκείθεν ἔχων ἀπήρχετο οὐδὲ τὸ μὲν τι τοῦ λόγου τούτοις εἰς ὄφελος, τὸ δ' ἐκείνοις ἀπεμερίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καλὸν ὁμοτίμως παντὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐνέλαμπε καὶ ἅπας ἀκροώμενος ὅλου ἦν τοῦ καλοῦ.⁸⁸

oh what sweetness of speech, what richness of arguments, what deepness of meaning, plumbed from obscurity by the depth of his knowledge, what brilliance of language shed-

⁸⁶ K. Varzos, *Η Γενεωλογία των Κομνηνών* (Thessalonike, 1984) no. 115.

⁸⁷ So Michael Psellos, in his praise of the Greek Church Fathers as stylists, singles out their ability to combine higher and lower registers in a bid to amplify their message and reach wider audiences, which he submits more than compensated for their trailing the illustrious orators of antiquity in style and structure. Psellos compares the sermons of each of the Church Fathers with a famous ancient paragon (Demosthenes, Thucydides, Isocrates, Herodotus, Lysias), noting however the versatility and accessibility of each: «τῶν δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήσι ῥητόρων ἕκαστος μίαν ἰδέαν τοῦ λόγου μεταρμώσασμενος, ἢ τὴν ὑψηλὴν ἢ τὴν μέσην ἢ τὴν λεπτὴν, πρὸς μόνην αὐτὴν ἀπεικόνισται... ὁ δὲ γε μέγας Βασίλειος... οὐ ζηλοῖ τὰ πολλὰ τὰς ἐμμεθόδους τούτων δεινότητος· καὶ ἔστι μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος ἀνεπιτήδευτος, βρωντᾶ δὲ ἀτέχνως ὥσπερ ἐκ νεφῶν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀποκρύπτει φωνήν. *On the Styles* 124–131.

⁸⁸ Or. 13 (Λόγος Μ) 226.77–89.

ding light on the depth of the meaning by the sunlight of his phrasing, oh what a fiery tongue partaking in so many ways of the spirit, entirely in tune with each and every soul, especially in those places where the matter was most unfamiliar, and all the more to be wondered at, given the distinctness of the mixing [of styles]. For his oration was not accessible just to the literati while excluding the more common listener, nor in turn did it appeal to the simple person while the literate man derived nothing, nor was some part of the speech profitable to the latter while another part was destined for the former. Instead its good qualities shone equally throughout the oration and everyone in the audience appreciated the entire oration.

Eustathios validates here an inclusive model of style by ascribing it to the emperor, though we should not dismiss the possibility that as in many other things, Manuel was eager to showcase his skill and may even have tried his hand at oratory (or possibly commissioned texts from professional speech-writers). Without defining its outer boundaries, Eustathios invokes the venerable model of a style balanced between the learned and the lucid. It is worth noting here that we have no evidence that authors of Eustathios' caliber sought to exclude everyone but the most learned members of any audience, whose make-up they could not control on ceremonial occasions. Otherwise this meant shutting out the largest part of the empire's élite, whose education and literary proficiency would have placed them at various levels below the topmost rung of the intellectual hierarchy, though by no means altogether out of its reach.

It goes without saying that dense, learned prose can be difficult. We must nevertheless maintain some meaningful distinction between formally ambitious oratory and premeditated or deliberate obfuscation designed to exclude all but a very few. The former runs the risk of effectively baffling some in the audience; the second aims at confounding and mystifying most.⁸⁹ There is no evidence that Eustathios had such an aim in mind. In contrast, there is plenty of reason to think that he strove, perhaps at times unsuccessfully, to combine stylistic virtuosity and a pragmatic degree of intelligibility, albeit within the bounds of a style fitting to the occasion. Otherwise we must explain a highly implausible cultural

⁸⁹ It is especially interesting to find authors notorious for their convoluted, ponderous sentences – Arethas and Theodore Metochites come to mind – denouncing the style of rival intellectuals as exasperatingly incomprehensible. *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis Scripta minora*, rec. L. G. Westerink. (Leipzig, 1968–1972) I 202.20–203.6); cf. a response written by Arethas to an unknown critic who had charged him with 'obscurity' (I, pp. 186–91). For the acrimony over, among other things, style, between Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos, see Ihor Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Bruxelles, 1962). The acrimony over style has been viewed as insincere, a pretext for discrediting rival rhetors in what must have been a cramped cultural market. But even if that is the case, such publicly conducted animosity over style gives us a measure of the significance attached to it by prospective audiences and authors alike. Moreover, it underscores the diversity or range of styles perceived by the Byzantines themselves within the same register. This last fact is important given our own habit of lumping all 'high style' texts together into one category.

model whereby a small group of rhetorical *aficionados* managed to procure support from an élite largely excluded from the texts they had sponsored or underwritten with precious resources.⁹⁰ But can we really apply a cultural model to the Ἐπιτάφιος which rendered it little more than high-sounding gibberish to most of those who gathered on a solemn and politically charged occasion to hear a long-ruling emperor eulogized? Might we not more profitably consider a model of intelligibility which afforded a significant share of the court élite various degrees of access? The audiences who gathered to hear orations in praise of Byzantine emperors, living or dead, were conditioned to recognize the formal qualities of such speeches as the public eloquence of their time. The real difficulty, therefore, in discussing Byzantine prose style stems from the mismatch between Byzantine aesthetics and our own literary sensibility. Rigour in any discussion of Byzantine prose style(s) must ultimately be grounded in our best historical reconstruction of their aesthetic perceptions.⁹¹ Unless we can discuss the style of Byzantine texts like the Ἐπιτάφιος as an integral part of their performance and subsequent publication, the field will not have achieved the normalization it seeks for its subject.

⁹⁰ Relying extensively on Kustas, *Studies*, A. Stone has argued for “obscurity” or deliberate ἀσάφεια, alongside Atticism and variety, as a stylistic aim of Eustathian panegyric, in conformity with Hermogenic compositional prescriptions. “The arcane quality of many passages in Eustathios,” he writes, “is very probably to be explained by a contemporary admiration of the virtue of obscurity.” He attempts to showcase such calculated obscurity in a passage from Eustathios’ Epiphany oration of 1176, an address to Manuel which may justly be regarded as having rehearsed many of the themes of the Ἐπιτάφιος. However, Stone fails to demonstrate how the motives identified by Kustas as underwriting the use of obscurity in writers like Sikeliotes and Geometres would have been equally suited to the circumstances or purposes of occasional oratory at the Komnenian court. A. Stone, “On Hermogenes’s features of style and other factors affecting style in the panegyrics of Eustathios of Thessaloniki,” *Rhetorica: a journal of the history of rhetoric* 19.3 (Summer 2001) 307–339, esp. 329. For a diachronic profile of ἀσάφεια as a literary or rhetorical device in post-Classical rhetoric, see Kustas, *Studies*, 63–100.

⁹¹ On the question of how to approach the question of Komnenian literary taste with historical rigour, see D. R. Reinsch, “*Historia ancilla litterarum?* Zum literarischen Geschmack in der Komnenenzeit: das Beispiel der Synopsis Chronike des Konstantinos Manasses,” *Pour une “nouvelle” histoire de la littérature byzantine. Actes du colloque international philologique, Nicosie, 25–28 mai 2000* (Paris, 2002) 81–94.

The Aurality of the Funeral Oration

“The words the reader sees are not the words that he will hear.”

— James Joyce, *Finnegan's Wake*

A funeral oration, as the name should make obvious, was a text composed to be heard. Stressing the *aurality* of the Ἐπιτάφιος therefore seem like belabouring the obvious. The point has nevertheless to be made, and its implications acknowledged. Despite an impressive number of surviving orations, including panegyrics, occasional addresses, and not least sermons, Byzantium is not frequently credited with a living tradition of oratory. When we refer to a Byzantine author as a rhetor (ῥήτωρ), we tend to think of his commitment to a set of formal rules regarding composition, and not, as Byzantines did, to the performance of such compositions. In contrast, “orator” is a term rarely used of authors like Eustathios. And yet most Byzantine authors could not have expected their works to reach a wider audience in written form alone.¹ Recital remained the most common means by which texts gained any kind of an audience.² Copies of a text could always be had, of course, but at considerable expense and/or expenditure of time and effort. Economic and material scarcity meant that the ratio of texts to audiences continued to favour recital. Moreover, individual reading from any

¹ Estimates about readership are difficult to substantiate. Most of our evidence is extrapolated from palaeographical studies and incidental information about education, the latter of which is unfortunately scarce. Collated, the following articles map Byzantine readership in broad contours. B. Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine*. Première partie: Termes désignant le livre-manuscrit et l'écriture (Thessalonica, 1971); N. G. Wilson, “Books and readers in Byzantium,” *Byzantine books and bookmen* (Washington, D.C., 1975); R. Browning, “Literacy in the Byzantine world,” *Byzantine and modern Greek studies* 4 (1978) 39–54; H. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz: die byzantinische Buchkultur* (Munich, 1989); the strict conflation of literacy with reading has perhaps produced very conservative estimates of ‘literate’ audiences. Studies of pre-modern, oral/aural cultures, including those of ancient Greece and Rome, have given credence to a much wider ‘literate listenership’: J. Goody, *Literacy in traditional societies* (Cambridge, 1981); for a survey of western mediaeval scholarship, see D. H. Green, “Orality and reading: the state of research in medieval studies,” *Speculum*, 65 (1990) 267–280, and *Vox intexta: orality and textuality in the Middle Ages*, eds. A. N. Doane, C. B. Pasternack (Madison, 1991); for a recent look at various aspects of reading and literacy in Byzantium, see G. Cavallo, *Lire à Byzance* (Paris, 2006).

² W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Wien, 1981) 50.

but the most deluxe Byzantine manuscripts was not easy. With the exception of codices of the bible, most Byzantine manuscripts make few concessions to readers, such as word division or unabbreviated forms of words. Most manuscripts assume an expert reader or ἀναγνώστης who is familiar with scribal conventions. Even educated Byzantines were generally more likely to hear literature recited to them than they were to peruse a copy of a text for themselves.³ Recital remained the default setting for first acquaintance with texts.⁴ As was the case for most of pre-modern history, writing and reading were seen as facilitating the spoken word, not displacing it.

A number of factors, not least that Byzantine orations survive in written form, with all too few concrete references to the occasion or setting for their performance, much less to the audience, has tended to mask this vital acoustic dimension. The muteness of the written text is further exacerbated by modern editorial conventions which print all texts in a manner which encourages modern reading habits. Thus the pragmatic necessity of reading orations like the Ἐπιτάφιος becomes part of our interpretive framework. So while there exists an abstract awareness that a great many works were initially intended to be heard by live audiences, this rarely figures in the close analysis of specific texts. Herbert Hunger, in the standard reference work on secular Byzantine literature, lists “miscellaneous occasional speeches” (*Sonstige Gelegenheitsreden*) as a sub-section of the sweeping category “Rhetorik,” which is presented throughout as intended for readers.⁵ Hunger’s *Gelegenheitsreden* does not explicitly refer to orality as a key constituent of either the occasion or the design of the texts. Instead it focus-

³ Hörandner goes on to disabuse us of the mistaken belief that reading aloud was less common in Byzantium than it had been in antiquity. See Hörandner, *Prosarhythmus*, 125: “Es ist ein Irrtum zu glauben, daß im Mittelalter in Byzanz weniger oft laut gelesen wurde als in der Antike,” citing A. Kazhdan, “Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte” *JÖB* 28 (1979) 14, n.24. In a bid to illustrate Manuel’s capacity for recalling everything he had read or heard, Eustathios sets the two, reading and hearing books read aloud side by side as equivalent: (Ἐπ. 33) ὅτε καὶ βιβλίον ὄλην, ἢ αὐτὸς ἀναπτύξας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν, ἢ ἄλλ’ ἑτέρου περιόντος, καὶ ἀκούεσθαι τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ νοῦν ἀναλεξάμενος (“whenever, either he himself set to reading an entire book, or someone else made his way through the whole book so that he effectively read it by hearing its contents read aloud”).

⁴ In contrast, Kazhdan and Constable argue that, unlike ancient literature, which relied on oral performance and only secondarily on the written text as a kind of storage medium, Byzantine literature “was addressed primarily to the solitary reader.” See A. Kazhdan, G. Constable, *People and power in Byzantium: an introduction to modern Byzantine studies* (Washington, 1982) 104.

⁵ Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, 145–157. In his survey of Byzantine ecclesiastical and theological literature, H. G. Beck did not address the delivery and reception of ecclesiastical or liturgical texts whose ‘structural aurality’ would have had some significant effect on content. A study of the aurality of Byzantine homiletic literature, for example, remains a *desideratum*. See H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 12. Abt., 2. T., 1. Bd.] (München, 1959).

es on the enabling circumstances, the historical timing of the text. Hunger does admit a measure of orality, albeit not necessarily as a defining, structural characteristic of the texts inventoried.⁶ But an oration cannot be reduced to a text anymore than a musical performance can be reduced to its score. The Ἐπιτάφιος, to take the example at hand, was a part of a larger ceremony involving all the senses, including hearing.

Byzantine prose genres are more often than not discussed in the scholarship as though they were published treatises to be pored over by a succession of attentive readers. To be sure, there were readers in Byzantium, perhaps never quite as many than in the prosperous twelfth century, with its many schools.⁷ But readers would not have made up the majority of audiences for occasional works like the Ἐπιτάφιος. That audience was by necessity made up of listeners. Unsurprisingly, we find no fewer than eight direct references to hearing and to “listeners” in the Ἐπιτάφιος.⁸ It has been argued that such references to speech and hearing in literate contexts amounted to little more than a long fossilized usage, a feigned or vestigial orality.⁹ However, such designations run the risk of being presumptive. Varying degrees of orality and literacy no doubt co-existed, often in a kind of mutually reinforcing dialectic, such as we see in much of the medieval world.¹⁰ For all its legitimate cultural associations with monastic scrip-

⁶ Hunger suggested that recital of texts was perhaps intended to compensate for widespread illiteracy in Byzantium. Letters, whose reading aloud he cites as possible evidence, certainly lend themselves to such scenarios. A more literate acquaintance might have served as ἀναγνώστης and read from a letter for the benefit of its intended recipient. See Hunger, *Schreiben*, 125. Hunger’s apologia for orality assumes its inferiority. It is a thing in need of a justification.

⁷ On the question of readers and listeners in Byzantium, see the remarks of Cavallo, *Lire*, 57–66.

⁸ Ἐπ. 6: τὸ ἀκροατήριον, τὸ ἀκροᾶσθαι; 8: τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς; 9: τὸ ἀκροατήριον; 22: τοὺς φίλακροάμους; 30: τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀκροάσει, τὴν ἀκρόασιν.

⁹ References to aurality have been interpreted as metaphoric markers of immediacy rather than necessarily bearing on context and occasion. This is sometimes described as a *Sprache der Nähe and Sprache der Distanz*, as first formulated by the Romance linguists P. Koch and W. Österreicher, for whom proximity and distance represent two different conceptions of communication. See idem., “Sprache der Nähe – Sprache der Distanz. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgeschichte”, *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 36 (1986), pp. 15–43. Whether such an understanding applies to Byzantine court oratory and other occasional prose texts cannot be settled definitively without further study of the phenomenon across a wider sample of works, perhaps even across genres, including poetry.

¹⁰ Among the scholars who have written most widely about the extent, as well as the limits of western medieval literacy, B. Stock has observed that “one cannot speak of [Christian] literacy without the primal force of the spoken word.” The history of medieval literature, in his words, was “the continual reworking of this arrangement” between recital and the written text, between orality and literacy. The medieval ‘symbiosis’ of voice and text has nevertheless proven a challenge to scholars. See B. Stock, *Listening for the text: on the uses of the past* (Baltimore, 1990) 4; cf. *Orality and literacy in the Middle Ages: essays on a conjunction and its consequences in honour of D.H. Green*, eds. M. Chinca, C. Young (Turnhout, 2005); see also, *Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im englischen Mittelalter*, Hrsg. W. Erzgräber

toria – associations underwritten largely by the emphasis on the copying and transmission of Classical rather than contemporary medieval literature – Byzantium remained throughout its millennium-long history a decidedly oral society, with a significant part of its literature intended for aural reception, usually through recital in what came to be called *theatra*, i.e., live audiences.¹¹

In spite of the centrality of various oral genres, including homilies, imperial addresses, hagiographical recitals, and myriad forms of ‘theatrical’ lectures, Byzantium has nevertheless failed to acquire a reputation for oratory *per se*.¹² Indeed, the word itself is rarely used by the discipline. Oratory, after all, brings to mind the lofty eloquence of democratic Athens and republican Rome, or their modern heirs in the parliamentary speeches of a Gladstone and the addresses of Abraham Lincoln.¹³ With the possible exception of sermons, we have difficulty conjuring the setting or circumstances in Byzantium where speech could make a difference in the lives of people. We therefore routinely understate its occurrence and significance. We carry around images of a scriptorial middle ages against a declamatory antiquity, with their visual analogues of monks hunched over manuscripts in dimly lit *scriptoria* contrasted with ancient orators and philosophers depicted holding forth or declaiming in well-lit settings surrounded by attentive, eager listeners. In short, oratory is implicitly assumed to have been predicated on the classical culture of debate and persuasion, elements thought to be missing from intellectual life in Byzantium.¹⁴ Thus a society in which the

(Tübingen, 1988); J. Goody, *The interface between the written and the oral* (Cambridge, 1987); *Literalität und Oralität*, Hrsg. S. Haltmayer (Frankfurt am Main; Wien, 2005).

¹¹ It is interesting to note that remarks such as the following by D. R. Reinsch are not assumed to be belabouring the obvious but to be calling attention to an often overlooked aspect of Byzantine literature, namely, its orality: “Die byzantinische Literatur war insofern eine mündliche Literatur, als ihr Ziel in aller Regel der mündliche Vortrag war. Dabei spielt es keine Rolle, ob die Literatur nur mündlich konzipiert oder sogleich beim Akt des Schaffens schriftlich festgehalten wurde. Auch wer schriftlich Fixiertes für sich allein las, tat dies normalerweise laut, zumindest gemurmelt mit Lippenbewegung; völlig stummes Lesen ist die große Ausnahme.” D. R. Reinsch, “Palinodien eines Editors,” *From manuscripts to book: proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts* (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009) = *Vom Codex zur Edition: Akten des internationalen Arbeitstreffens zu Fragen der Textkritik und Editionspraxis byzantinischer Texte* (Wien, 10.–11. Dezember 2009), eds. A. Giannouli, E. Schiffer (Wien, 2011) 175–184, 175. Cf. the remarks of Cavallo, *Lire*, 14–18.

¹² For the sermon as a neglected form of post-Classical oratory, see *Preacher and his audience: studies in early Christian and Byzantine homiletics*, eds. M. B. Cunningham, P. Allen. (Leiden; Boston, 1998); on preaching in Byzantium, see Beck, *Kirche*, XVI, 454–459, 500–506, 542–557.

¹³ It is worth recalling the primacy of the Attic orators in the Byzantine educational canon, alone among school texts to be reviewed by Photius in the *Bibliotheca*. And yet Demosthenes, Isocrates, or Aeschines are rarely thought of furnishing models of oratory and presumed to be simply exemplars of good prose.

¹⁴ See the discussion on *paraenesis* for the persuasive dimension of the Ἐπιτάφιος.

vast majority of people heard texts recited or performed, has nonetheless found itself without orators or oratory as a productive category of literature.

A prolific author of diverse and voluminous works, Eustathios is most often described as a writer. Yet he owed much of his success at the patriarchal and imperial courts to his talents as an orator. Eustathios gained favour by harnessing his skills as a public speaker to the interests of his patrons, the emperor and patriarch. His role as the pre-eminent orator of Manuel's court and at the Patriarchate became so much a part of his public profile that his own eulogists cite it among his most important accomplishments.¹⁵ Michael Choniates, a former student and himself an accomplished author and orator, gives equal billing to Eustathios' career as an orator as he does to his appointment as bishop of Thessalonike; tacitly acknowledging perhaps, that the latter honour was conferred in no small part in recognition of his skill and its potential for a cleric:

Ἄειδε μὲν γὰρ κλέα βασιλέων μεγαλοργῶν καὶ ὑψιθρόνων πατριαρχῶν, τὰ δ' ἐπέρρειον ἔθνεα σοφιστῶν καὶ παντοίων ἐτέρων ἀκροατῶν, ὡς ὑπὸ κρουμάτων Ὀρφέως ἐλκόμενα. Ἐξέπληττε δ' αὖ ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυγκυκῶντά ποτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα δημηγορία Περικλήν, οἷς ὑπερεφώνει τὴν ὑπέρτονον Δημοσθένους ἠχώ καὶ τὸν ὑψήγορον βόϊζον Πολέμωνος¹⁶

For he sang, on the one hand, the glory of emperors engaged in great deeds and of patriarchs seated high upon their throne, meanwhile hosts of sophists and every kind of listener flowed in, drawn as though by the strumming of Orpheus. And he stunned [his audience] in turn, with a thundering brilliance exceeding that of Pericles, who set all Greece astir with his public oratory, since he surpassed the stentorian eloquence of Demosthenes and the piercing grandiloquence of Polemo.

The comparisons with Orpheus, Pericles, Demosthenes and Polemo in Choniates' paean to his former teacher's career as an orator – all to the advantage of Eustathios, of course – point to a neglected dimension of what is usually characterized as Byzantine “rhetoric”: namely, that it was an oral phenomenon as much as an abstractly linguistic and broadly cultural one. Even if Byzantine rhetors are assumed to have made more extensive use of writing than did their ancient predecessors, they nevertheless persistently styled themselves as continuators of a tradition of public speaking and persuasive eloquence. This is further corroborated by the Hellenistic and Late Antique handbooks on rhetoric to which Byzantine education in composition had consistent recourse. These represented the consummation of an educational model which assumed that the “young stu-

¹⁵ K.G. Bonis, *Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη μητροπολίτου Νεῶν Πατρῶν. Τὰ σωζόμενα* [Θεολογικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 2. Athens 1937] 78–83; *Mon.* 283–306.

¹⁶ *Mon.* 291.8–14.

dent learned how to read a text with attention to its dramatic performance.¹⁷ If many of the medieval Greek texts testifying to this oratorical eloquence strike us as ill-suited to the task, rhetorically over-wrought and too rarefied in their vocabulary to be intelligible even to a modest sector of the Byzantine élite, we must nevertheless defer to the Byzantine valuation of their capacity to captivate, amuse, and edify listeners.

Although overshadowed by his voluminous commentaries on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the better part of Eustathios' remaining corpus would have made its debut in recital before an audience.¹⁸ In addition to more conventional pangeirics and other occasional speeches, Eustathios composed numerous sermons and hagiographic works, as well as various 'theatrical' texts intended for informal audiences of students, patrons, or friends, like his dialogue between two clerics debating the merits of their respective sacred names, a historical diatribe against hypocrisy, or an *ethopoia* involving a proud monk.¹⁹ All of these exhibit the rhetorically exacting standards of aurally attuned composition. Choniates' recurring praises for his teacher's public eloquence become more plausible if we bear these in mind. For they reveal the extent to which Eustathios' reputation was founded on his talent for displaying his verbal talents before appreciative audiences:

Ζητεῖ καὶ σύνοδος ἱερὰ τὸν ἑαυτῆς διαφανέστατον ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ τὰ βασιλεια τὴν περιλαλοῦσαν ταῦτα φωνὴν καὶ περιαγνυμένην τοῖς πέρασιν... Μέλιτος γὰρ ἀπέσταζον αἱ τῶν ὁμιλιῶν Εὐσταθίου χάριτες ὡς ἀτεχνῶς ἀπορρωγές τινες νέκταρος, ὅθεν καὶ εἰς ἄκρον ψυχῆς μυελὸν τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς εἰσδύομενα τὰ διδάγματα καὶ ἄντικρυς ἐγκαθόμενα, διετηροῦντο ἀνέκπλυτα λήθης βρέυματι.... Πόσοι μέχρι τούτου ῥητορικαῖς χάρισι θύειν νόμιζον, ἕως τῶν Εὐσταθίου σειρήνων ἠκροάσαντο.²⁰

The holy synod seeks her most percipient eye and the imperial court the voice which pronounced these things and reached to the ends of the earth... The graces of Eustathios' speeches dripped with honey as though naturally distilled from nectar, for which reason

¹⁷ Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and rhythm*, 94; Valiavitcharska cites the grammar of Dionysius Thrax, which remained a staple of Byzantine education throughout the middle ages. It is worth noting Dionysius' definition of reading as "unerring pronunciation of verse or prose": Ἀνάγνωσις ἐστὶ ποιημάτων ἢ συγγραμμάτων ἀδιάπτωτος προφορά. For the central place of declamation in education as bequeathed to Byzantium by Late Antiquity, see R. Criboire, *Writing, teachers, and students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: 1996); also, by the same author, *Gymnastics of the mind: Greek education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton; Oxford, 2001).

¹⁸ Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and rhythm*, 101, with n.26, raises the intriguing possibility that Eustathios' Παρεμβολαί might have been "rea[d] aloud in a social setting." Valiavitcharska cites the example of Tzetzes commentaries. These, however, were quite different in kind from the detailed parsing one finds in the Παρεμβολαί. Tzetzes' works on the *Iliad* were intended for a different level of audience.

¹⁹ *Or. quadr.*

²⁰ *Mon.* 285.19–21, 287.8–12, 289.12–13.

his lessons penetrated deep into the marrow of the audience's soul and seared directly onto it, preserved unscathed by the stream of oblivion... How many up to that time thought themselves to be offering sacrifices to the rhetorical Graces, until they heard the sirens of Eustathios.

Choniates attests to Eustathios' legacy as a practicing orator, able to make someone "while away the whole day listening to him quite gladly, forgetting his own affairs like the storied lotus eaters" (ὡς τὸν ἀκροώμενον διημερεύειν ἀσμένως, τῶν οἴκοι κατὰ τοὺς λωτοφαγούντας λαθόμενον).²¹ We may suspect that he dwells on Eustathios' virtuosity as an orator precisely because it was a key skill which enabled men like himself to present themselves as candidates for high ecclesiastical office. Piety and thoroughgoing knowledge of scripture could only prove effective to a high-ranking cleric if harnessed to a requisite eloquence.²² This observation tracks well with the coincidence of those who had formerly held the grandiose title of μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων, an imperially sponsored post as the capital's leading instructor of rhetoric.²³ The post itself has attracted its share of scholarly interest in no small part because it illustrates the institutional formalization of the symbiosis between the regime and its leading rhetoricians.²⁴ This has generally been seen as being consistent with the preference for learned men in the hierarchy of church and state. But erudition alone does not account for the emphasis on oratory associated with this position. Choniates' portrait of Eustathios may thus be read as a highly stylized but not inaccurate estimate of the latter's activity and reputation as a professional orator while he held the post μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων.²⁵

²¹ *Idem.*, 290.9–10.

²² Ironically for someone who had praised his teacher as another Pericles and Demosthenes, Choniates would discover the limits of his own eloquence while addressing his Athenian congregation after being appointed as bishop of Athens. See Michael Choniates, *Τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. S. Lampros (Athens, 1880) I, 124: Ἐγὼ μὲν ἤσκουν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν παρέθηγον καὶ πρὸς ἀκροατὰς Ἀθηναίων ἀπογόνους ἐνεγυμναζόμεν... Τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν φιλολόγων ἀπογόνους ἐλπίζων ἔχειν ἀκροατὰς, ἤσκουν ἑμαυτὸν ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὸ σοφώτερον ἐβιαζόμεν τι καὶ οὐ κεκοιμημένον, μὴ οὐκ ἀνάξιος τροφῆς τὰ ἐς λόγους τοιαῦς δε φανήσομαι πόλεως. Ἀλλ' ἔψευσμαι τῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ τῆς προσδοκίας ἐκπέπτωκα.

²³ While the erudition and articulateness of candidates for important bishoprics is often mentioned in connection with the background in rhetoric many bishops had, their talents as practiced orators are elided. For the intellectual profiles of many high profile bishops under the Komnenians, see Angold, *Church and society*, 94, 146–147, 179.

²⁴ For the institutional aspects of the office of μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων, see J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les Ὀφφίκια de l'Église byzantine*, [Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 11] (Paris, 1970) 69, 78–79. Magdalino, *Empire*, 414–427, situates the μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων within the broader "image-making" machinery of the court, aptly likening his rôle to that of the mint which produced coins with the emperor's profile.

²⁵ Gregorios Antiochos informs us in a funeral oration for Nicholas Kataphloron, his and Eustathios' common teacher (indeed so much a mentor to that Eustathios appears to have been known as τοῦ Καταφλόρων, later mistaken as his patronymic) their former teacher had also held the post of μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων. Sideras, 25 *Undeunte Grabreden*, 51–74; cf. P. Wirth, "Zu Nikolaos Kataphloros," *Classica et mediaevalia XXI* (1960) 213f.

Paul Magdalino has given us a landmark account of the contributions of the rhetors to Manuel's ideological profile. Such a profile is possible in the first place because of the unusually high number of surviving orations praising Manuel, which Magdalino reasonably attributes to the dramatic increase in the production of panegyric 'literature' during Manuel's reign.²⁶ And while he notes, in passing, that such encomia were "composed, in principle, for oral delivery to the 'theatre' over which the emperor presided," the poetics and pragmatic requirements of this efflorescence in oratory – texts carried by the voice to the ear – is eclipsed in Magdalino's account by the political and propagandistic motifs and topoi of the speeches.

In a much quoted earlier survey of the surviving corpora of imperial panegyric, George Dennis had attempted to address some of the questions which arise from consideration of these texts as a genre. More inclined to give form its due, Dennis asked whether it was possible to express a well grounded opinion about these texts, in light of the often overlooked fact that they had been composed to be heard, while the modern scholar can only read them.²⁷ Dennis' methodological quandary bears quoting at length since it allow us to appreciate how orality has been framed on those rare occasions when it has been invoked for specific texts. Also because the imperial panegyric he is referring to is similar in both form and content to the Ἐπιτάφιος:

It is very difficult to evaluate these panegyrics as rhetoric and as literature. These were speeches, and, unless we hear them delivered orally and in the language in which they were composed, accompanied by the appropriate gestures, we miss their full impact. Were they any better or worse than the baroque orations of, say, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries given at royal and pontifical courts? We dislike much about their speeches, but they clearly seem to have liked them. Certainly the emperors liked them; at any rate, they kept inviting the speakers back to give yet another speech....²⁸

Dennis' admonition not to judge the aesthetic merits of panegyric oratory, deferring rather to contemporary Byzantine taste now seems doubly out of step with current modes in scholarship. As staunch relativists in all matters of culture,

²⁶ Magdalino, *Empire*, 414.

²⁷ Obviously having ancient Roman oratory in mind, Dennis added the flourish of the orator's physical gestures, though I am unaware of any evidence for the physical deportment of the orator/reciter of a βασιλικὸς λόγος, or indeed of any other kind of public recitation, including performances, as we suggestively call them, of texts at privately sponsored 'theatra', i.e., small informal audiences. I am not aware of anything in the visual record of illustrated manuscripts, like the Madrid Skylitzes, to contradict or qualify this impression. Dennis, "Imperial panegyric," 131–140, esp. 133, 137.

²⁸ Dennis, "Imperial panegyric," 137.

we are unlikely today to formulate an opinion about the aesthetic merits of a medieval text like the Ἐπιτάφιος. More importantly, however, we are even less likely to insist on intrinsic pleasure as a decisive factor in their production of the text. The emphasis in current analysis on the broadly thematic or ideological content of encomia has relegated consideration of form or style and its gratifications to a largely subordinate, if not altogether peripheral, status. A focus on orality means the return of form to an equal footing with content; not so much on the basis of vague estimates of 'taste' but on the firmer ground of discernable rhetorical structure and other acoustic effects. One may thus ask how much of *what* is said in the Ἐπιτάφιος was at least as much a function of *how* it was said. The dialectic between form and content, always present in any text, nevertheless becomes more pronounced when every formal choice must prove effective in recital or performance.

By raising the issue of a largely irretrievable aural dimension of panegyric, Dennis was introducing a pragmatic, albeit slightly pessimistic, historicism to the study of these texts. Yet there is also something heterodox about Dennis' argument. While it is routinely acknowledged that imperial panegyrics (which would include the Ἐπιτάφιος) were in fact intended as orations, Dennis also raised a potentially more interesting and methodologically consequential point. He asked, in effect, whether texts delivered in one medium, in this case an oral one, to which performative gestures may well have been added along with modulation of voice, physical setting, and the expectations engendered by a ceremonial occasion, can really be evaluated in another medium, the mute written text shorn of its performative dimension. Ultimately, the answer to Dennis' question is furnished by the Byzantines themselves. These same texts were copied out and circulated in order to be studied as models of oratory, demonstrating that some basic measure of effective orality was thought to be transferable in writing, at least to readers with a practiced and discerning ear. Hence the reference to πεπαιδευμένοι and to the manner of composition in the heading to the Ἐπιτάφιος. No one commissioning a copy of the funeral oration for Manuel could have expected to see and hear it performed again.²⁹ Practicing or aspiring Byzantine rhetors nevertheless assumed that they could, with occasional help from the manuscripts, read for oral effects. They were, in effect, listening for the

²⁹ It is tempting to imagine such orations copied, then circulated in the provinces in order to be recited to local élites in a bid to bind them to the governing programme and ethos of the imperial court. I am unaware of strong evidence for such dissemination of court oratory, though it may be that we have not been looking for evidence of this. The illustrations of recital in the Madrid Skylitzes may offer some clues.

sound of the text's structure. They could, therefore, read a text like the Ἐπιτάφιος and remain attentive to the *aural* potential of its syntactical cadences, calculated stress patterns, internal respiration, sound play (like consonantal assonance), repetition with variation, rhythmic anaphora, occasional rhyming and accentual patterns. Such alertness to the acoustic features of oratory no doubt came more easily to ears accustomed to the manner, tempo, and the dramatic inflection of recitation.³⁰ The ability to read for orality *in* the text, and not simply equate orality with the act of recitation, reminds us that orality is not something simply done *to* an existing text by means of the voice; it is something intrinsic to the rhetorical skeleton and sinews of a work, affecting nearly every facet of its composition, from diction to punctuation. It nevertheless remains for us to identify the *orality* of Byzantine oratory.³¹

Rhetorical effects communicable by voice are more discernable in some cases. In a work like the Ἐπιτάφιος they can be more elusive. The most conspicuous form of aurality are the patently rhythmical clausulae which round off the sentences of certain prose texts. These were analyzed and comprehensively catalogued by Wolfram Hörandner in his seminal study, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner*.³² Hörandner asked a relatively simple question: do Byzantine prose texts exhibit the kind of discernable rhythmical flourishes at the end of periods as one finds in the stylistically mannered 'Asiatic' Greek and Latin *Kunstprosa* of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods?³³ His meticulous inventory of the various types and sub-types of medieval Greek rhythm-inducing accentual patterns which close the periods of Byzantine prose has since become a basic starting point for the study of embedded orality. The quasi-metrical, sing-song quality exhibited in the accentual patterns of some Byzantine prose, Hörandner emphasizes, were of a piece with rhetoric's tradi-

³⁰ Eloquence in composition was taught since antiquity as derived from word arrangement and clausular cadence: cf. *Rhet. gr.* 7.2.885–886, σύνθεσις ἐστιν ἡ τῶν λέξεων ἁρμονία... ὅπερ ἐν ἀναγνώσει ("Composition is the harmony of words... evident when reading aloud.") Like so many other features of prose style, elementary principles of rhythm in Byzantium were taught using Hermogenes' *On Types of Style*, where rhythm is a function of word order (συνθήκη) and cadence (ἀνάπαυσις) (*Hermogenis opera*, ed. Rabe (Lipsiae, 1913) 219–221).

³¹ We may take some heart from precedent: scholars of ancient oratory continue to search for demonstrable traces of orality in texts whose fame rests in no small part on having been performed before live audiences of jurors or citizen-legislators. See M. Gagarin, "The orality of Greek oratory," *Signs of orality: the oral tradition and its influence in the Greek and Roman world*, ed. E. A. Mackay (Leiden, 1999) 163–80.

³² Hörandner, *Prosarhythmus*.

³³ Hörandner's investigation took as its point of departure the equally seminal, if at times exaggerated, conclusions of Friedrich Blass' *Die Rhythmen der asiatischen und römischen Kunstprosa: Paulus, Hebräerbrief, Pausanias, Cicero, Seneca, Curtius, Apuleius* (Leipzig, 1905).

tional appeal to “acoustic appreciation.”³⁴ But while Hörandner’s specific findings have enjoyed wide acceptance, they have not prompted further inquiry into the necessary premise of his authoritative study, namely, that all rhythmical elements derive from, and in turn re-enforce, the acoustic reception and appreciation of Byzantine prose.³⁵ For rhythm, like most features of Byzantine rhetoric, Hörandner observes, originated in a presumed orality (*Mundlichkeit*) whose venues ranged from the classroom, the ambo, the imperial audience hall, or the privately sponsored *theatron*.

The methodical study of accentual design in clausulae and periods has raised the possibility of isolating the rhythmical ‘signatures’ of different authors, a potential boon to the bedeviling work of *Echtheitskritik*, the attempt to either confirm or refute the authorship of particular works.³⁶ Such utility aside, however, Hörandner’s seminal study has not fulfilled what I regard as its more fundamental promise. It has not prompted the kind of rigorous inquiry into a wider range of oral/aural features of Byzantine prose. We have made few gains in re-conceiving medieval Greek literature in more systematic fashion as intrinsically keyed to oral delivery and aural reception. To take the example at hand, authors of later medieval Greek literature destined for recital and performance were not likely to have been indifferent to the rhythm and cadence of their prose, even if they did not adopt the more obvious patterned clausulae recorded by Hörandner.³⁷ But rhythm in oratory, including imperial encomia and funeral orations, was not likely to have been confined to a few syllables at the end of a final period, despite the musical effect. As Vessela Valiavitcharska observes in her close study of rhythm in the rhetorical prescriptions of the Late Antique handbooks, “the unit of prose rhythm is not simply the closing cadence.”³⁸

I would argue instead that oral delivery or recitation in various settings from the classroom to the refectory rendered Byzantine authors reflexively responsive to the aural requirements of composition. The absence, therefore, of discernable accentual patterns in a Eustathian oration like the Ἐπιτάφιος should not be

³⁴ “All die Mittel, die die Metrik und auch die Rhetorik einsetzt, sind auf akustische Wahrnehmung angelegt, sei es im öffentlichen Vortrag, sei es in der Rezitation im kleinen Kreis der Freunde, sei im Übungsbetrieb der Schule.” Hörandner, *Prosarhythmus*, 50.

³⁵ The rhythmical flourishes indexed by Hörandner inevitably bring back the aesthetic question raised by Dennis for imperial panegyric, though without the anachronistic factor of modern appreciation of Byzantine prose styles.

³⁶ The tendency of Byzantine authors to write in formally distinct genres while adopting the conventions of those genres, limits the potential utility of an authenticating rhythmical ‘test’.

³⁷ Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and rhythm*, 15–16.

³⁸ Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and rhythm*, 38.

construed as an indifference to the rhythmical patterning of its content. In fact, it should prompt us to be on the look-out for more diffuse forms of rhythm and other sensory acoustic patterns. Eustathios' own interest in rhythm, as both an instructor and practitioner of rhetoric, may be gauged by his attentiveness to the subject in his extensive and meticulous analysis of Homeric epic, which he cast as a form of apprenticeship for aspiring rhetors. Although there he broaches the subject of rendering a work rhythmical (εὐρύθμως) in connection with the metres of ancient poetry, it is the former which constitutes the lesson for his contemporaries since it was the more immediately relevant of the two.

Commenting on *Iliad* 9.122–123, where each dactylic foot aligns perfectly with the word division in the line, Eustathios observes that such a coincidence allows the rhythm to overwhelm the metre.³⁹ In identifying an admittedly minor fault in versification (Eustathios stops short of labelling the verses cacophonous or otherwise unworthy of 'the poet'), he reiterates a basic assumption about prose rhythm in the post-Classical era: namely, that it derived from discrete clausal sequences, which in turn depended on the internal cadence of individual words and their stress pattern across syllables. This tended to mark individual blocks of sense off as distinct rhythmical units. Moreover, the acoustic effect of rhythm was almost wholly dependent on the orator's modulation and tempo during delivery, a facet of the text lost in our "silent and *sluggish* reading of Komnenian literature" which was originally designed to be performed by "trained orators."⁴⁰ Byzantine oratory thus generated, and proceeded to satisfy, a form of patterned aural anticipation we tend to associate with verse, albeit without the easily identifiable regularity of most ancient metres.⁴¹ In this respect, it is worth noting the degree to which the Byzantine perception of prose oratory can sometimes resemble a form of free verse if voiced as semantic sequences at once

³⁹ *Il.* 9.122–123 ἔπτ' ἄπυρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα / αἰθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἑείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους. For Eustathios' rhythmical parsing of these two verses see *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.671.27–672.9, "Ἐνθα δυοὶ στίχοις φιλοτιμείται τέσσαρα δῶρα ἐμπεριγράψαι, εἰπὼν «ἔπτ' ἄπυρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα, αἰθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἑείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους». Τούτων δὲ τῶν στίχων ἑκατέρου ἢ εἰς ἀνά δύο ἔννοιας τομῆ οὐ πᾶν μετρικῶς ἔχειν δοκεῖ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, οἱ φασιν, ὅτι τὸ μέτρον χαίρει μὲν συνδυσμεῖσθαι τοὺς πόδας ἀλλήλοις, ὡς κατὰ μὴδὲν εἰς μέρος ἀπαρτίζειν λόγου, οἷον «Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσε». Παραιρεῖται δὲ ὡσπερ τὸ κατὰ πόδα τέμνεσθαι, οἷον «ὔβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε, σὺ δ' ἴσχεο, πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν», ἔνθα καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον πόδα καὶ μέρος λόγου ἀπαρτίζεται, οὕτω καὶ τὴν δίχα τομῆν, ἧγουν τὴν εἰς δύο ἔννοιας, ὡς τὸ «ἔνθ' οὗτ' Ἴδομενεὺς τλῆ μίμνεν οὗτ' Ἀγαμέμνων». οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν τριχῆ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον διαίρεσιν. Ῥυθμικὰ γάρ, φασί, ταῦτα ἢ μετρικὰ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα δύο ἔπη ῥυθμικώτερον διακένται. καὶ οὕτω μὲν τοῦτο.

⁴⁰ Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 237.

⁴¹ Hence the recommendation from Dionysius of Halicarnassus that prose "should appear metrical but not be in meter" (*De comp.* 25); cf. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and rhythm*, 37, n.24 for further examples.

rhythmically independent and contextually interrelated. But as Valiavitcharska observes of the theoretical affinity between Byzantine analysis of verse and cadence in rhetoric, oratorical rhythm lay somewhere “at the intersection of prose and poetry.”⁴² Paradoxically enough then, between medieval Greek prose destined for an audience of listeners and one with equal amounts of Greek verse, it is prose which proves the more dependent on oral delivery in order to achieve its acoustic effects.

Assuming the Ἐπιτάφιος was delivered in some version not too dissimilar from the one we have.⁴³ Is the orality of the text still perceptible? Can the mind, aided by the eye, without benefit of a historical ear, discern the aural surface and organization of the text? The real question, then, is how to uncover the vocal dimension in a transcribed text; how to read for voice.⁴⁴ As I explain at greater length in the section dealing with the στίξις of the Basel Codex, the punctuation preserved by the manuscripts may provide some guidance for the suggested pacing of delivery, such as where to pause or halt for effect, or where to move briskly through the text, tying all the elements of the sentence together in a single articulated segment. This would not be possible in any systematic fashion unless it had been built into the design of the text. Employing the analogy once more of a musical score to its performance, the text of an oration is not unlike an unsung libretto. But the auralty of the Ἐπιτάφιος was not simply a function of the orator’s delivery, just as the drama in a script is not simply a matter of an actor’s locution. Orality framed the text’s composition, from its diction to its syntactical relations. And while we cannot replicate the experience of hearing the text performed, we may nevertheless be able to isolate enough of the features upon which the performance rested. We may thus be able to arrive at a partially reconstructed frame of reference for oral features of texts.⁴⁵ Again, this should not be confused with anything like a step towards recreating the historical expe-

⁴² V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm*, 89. Not coincidentally, perhaps, a formally stylized dimension of orality embedded in certain types of Byzantine prose was mapped by a specialist in Byzantine verse, W. Hörandner. Building on Hörandner’s work, M. Lauxtermann has conjectured that Byzantine twelve and fifteen-syllable accentual poetry evolved not from earlier verse models but from post-Classical rhythmically inflected prose designed for performance. See “The velocity of pure iambs: Byzantine observations on the metre and rhythm of the dodecasyllable,” *JÖB* 48 (1998) 9–33; as well as the groundbreaking study by Lauxtermann, *Spring of rhythm*.

⁴³ For the possibility of revisions prior to ‘publication’, see the discussion below.

⁴⁴ F. H. Bäuml, ‘Medieval texts and the two theories of oral-formulaic composition: a proposal for a third theory,’ *New Literary History* 16 (1984) 31–49.

⁴⁵ In his landmark study of orality and sound in Western mediaeval literary genres, Paul Zumthor compared the difficulty of ‘listening’ to the extant texts with that of seeing the glass when looking at a mirror: “Il s’agit alors pour nous d’essayer de voir l’autre face de ce texte-miroir, de gratter au moins un peu de tain.” P. Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix, ou de la “littérature” médiévale* (Paris, 1987) 37.

rience of hearing the text. The use of the word ‘performance’ is intended here as a reminder that the delivery of the text on the specific occasion amounted to more than mechanical recital; it involved a sense of drama inherent to the text.⁴⁶ This, more than the mere fact of voiced text, lay at the heart of Dennis’ reluctance to draw conclusions from panegyric speeches intended for recital and meaning to the audience.

Among the easiest aural elements to identify in the Ἐπιτάφιος are those perennial rhetorical devices involving patterned acoustic effects. Most of these rely on aurally conspicuous repetition whose effects though discernable to the alert eye nevertheless fall on the deaf ears of the silent reader and may simply be dismissed as formally and rhetorically shallow. Most commonly these involve alliteration (recurrence of an initial consonantal sound), assonance (resemblance of internal vowel sounds between words in sequence), consonance (resemblance of stressed consonants where the surrounding vowels differ), as well as *homoiototon* (a cluster of words with similar case endings), *homoioteleuton* (strings of uninflected words with similar sounding endings), *paromoiosis* (parallelism of sounds between words of clauses of similar length), *anadiplosis* (repetition of last word of a clause or sentence to begin the next), *anaphora* (repetition of a word to begin successive clause or sentences), *palilogia* (repetition for the sake of vehemence or emphasis), *polyptoton* (repetition of words derived from the same root but in different cases), *polysyndeton*⁴⁷ (repeated use of a conjunction between clauses). To these we may add the rhythmical effect of isosyllabic words, responsion both within and across clausulae, internal rhyme, syntactic parallelism, and occasional accentual responsion (which is distinct from the accentual formulas adopted at the end of clausulae or sentences described by Hörandner). Eustathios makes use of most of these, as well as others, in the Ἐπιτάφιος, as he does in most of his other orations. The following examples are intended to illustrate how diffuse such effects are in the Ἐπιτάφιος. Such parsing of the aural rhetorical devices in the oration proceeds from the premise that nothing in the text is there by chance, including noticeable patterns of sound which accompany the desired sense.⁴⁸ We thus meet patterns which run the gamut from the mildly intrusive

⁴⁶ Cavallo, *Lire*, 63, notes the oral/aural aspect of βασιλικοί λόγοι contributed to the virtual “mise en scène” of the occasion. He underlines the necessity of maintaining the appearance of a performance, in effect transforming the place of their delivery into “a sort of theatre.”

⁴⁷ This feature is explored more fully in the section on style under the rubric of paratactic syntax.

⁴⁸ It would matter little if it were there by chance or accident, since an audience conditioned to appreciate the occurrence of any acoustic pattern joined to semantic sense would regard any such feature as intentional.

or perceptible to the brazen and unmistakable, ranging from a few words to a succession of clauses:

(Ἐπ. 7) τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς... εἰ τάχ' ἂν ποτε **δυσωπηθείη** ἢ **δυσπρόσωπος** μάχη

With simple and brisk alliteration Eustathios underscores the capacity of proverbially malevolent-faced battle to 'look askance at' at its victims. Eustathios wanted the alliteration badly enough to seek out the passive use of this uncommon verb with an accusative object. Examples of alliteration abound in the Ἐπιτάφιος and throughout Eustathian panegyric.⁴⁹

εἰς ὅσον δύναμις. Δύναμις δέ... (Ἐπ. 11)

An example of *anadiplosis*, the repetition of the last word of a clause or sentence to begin the next.

οἱ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς θαυμαστώσαντες ἐκείνην **ὀδόν**· ὀκνῶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν εὐμέθοδον **ἔφοδον** (Ἐπ. 21)

Combines alliteration (ὀδόν· ὀκνῶ) with *homoioteleuton* (ὀδόν... εὐμέθοδον ἔφοδον), effectively binding sense with sound. Here the words *road*, *strategy*, and *campaign* are inextricably linked for the listener to form a verbal triptych of strategic failure on the part of the western crusaders.⁵⁰

Ἦν δὲ δεινός, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπολῆς καὶ κατ' ὄψιν προσβάλλων, τὰ ἐν βάθει κατοπτρεύειν καὶ ἐξακριβοῦσθαι σοφωτάτῳ φύσεως γνώμονι. Καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἦν στοχάζεσθαι ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐν ἀληθείᾳ εἶναι καὶ μὴ διεκπίπτειν τὸ λαληθέν, ὡς καὶ εἰκοτολογίαν τινὰ συνελογίσαστο ἐμβριθῆ (καὶ ἦν τοιοῦτος ὁ νοηθεὶς), ἀλλὰ εὐήθη. Καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἕτεροῖος ὁ γνωματευθεὶς· διώπτετε τὸν κρυψίνου, τῷ παντὶ πλέον τὸν ἐπιπόλαιον, τοὺς τῶν λοιπῶν ἠθῶν ὁμοίως. Καὶ εἶπεν ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν ἅπας ὅστισοῦν, καρδίας αὐτὸν ἐμβατεύειν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς τὴν φύσιν ἐνδοθέν ποθεν αὐτῷ ἐκλαλεῖν τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀπόρρητα. (Ἐπ. 41)

a series of braided internal semantic correspondences backed up by suggestive alliteration (ὄψιν... κατοπτρεύειν... διώπτετε... ἰδὼν / φύσεως... φύσιν / γνώμονι... γνωματευθεὶς / λαληθέν... ἐκλαλεῖν) are buttressed by frequent effects of aural equivalence, e.g., ἐμβριθῆ (καὶ ἦν τοιοῦτος ὁ νοηθεὶς), ἀλλὰ εὐήθη / τῷ παντὶ πλέον τὸν ἐπιπόλαιον, to which must be added such features of the disciplined orator's voice as rhythm, cadence, and intonation.

⁴⁹ For examples of alliteration in the panegyrics of Eustathios, see A. Stone, "Aurality in the panegyrics of Eustathios of Thessaloniki," *Theatron: rhetorical culture in late antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Grünbart (Berlin, 2007) 419–28, 422.

⁵⁰ Stone, "Aurality," 420–421, provides examples of *homoioteleuton*, sometimes with alliteration, in the panegyrics of Eustathios.

Συγκροῦσαι δὲ **πολεμίου**σ ἀλλήλοισ, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀταράχῳ καὶ οὕτω καταστήσαι, καὶ τὸ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γαλήνιον καταπράξασθαι, τίς ἄρα κατ' ἐκεῖνον δεινότατος; Μέθοδος γὰρ καὶ ταύτην στρατηγικὴν ἐτέχνου, τὸ μὲν ὑπήκοον **φυλάττειν** ἀναίμακτον ἐπὶ μεγίσταις τροπαίων ἀναστάσεσι, προσαράσσειν δὲ τοὺς **πολεμίου**σ ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐκ**πολεμοῦ**ν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλλοις τὸ σφίσειν αὐτοῖς **ὀμόφυλον**, ὡς καὶ ἐντεῦθεν αὔξασθαι μὲν τὰ ἡμέτερα, μειονεκτεῖσθαι δὲ τὸ **πολέμιον**, καὶ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον μηκέτι ξυνὸν εἶναι, μηδ' ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν φθισήνορα, ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι ἐξήσαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς **πολεμίου**σ ἀπονεμεῖσθαι τὸν βροτολογόν. (Ἐπ. 17)

Some variation of the root πολεμ- (πολεμίουσ, ἐκπολεμοῦν, πολέμιον, πολεμίουσ) appears no fewer than five times (possibly in deliberate combination with ἀλλοφύλλοις and ὀμόφυλον) in the short span of this passage, so that semantic sense of being on a constant war-footing is re-enforced through repetition and alliteration

Στάσιν δὲ ὀρθίαν, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐρρέθη, ὡσεὶ καὶ κίων ἐκπονησάμενος ἀστραβῆς, καὶ **ἀναστηλῶ**ν ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὕτω πρὸς εὐκλείαν, οἷς ἀνεῖχεν **ὑψοῦ** τὰ ἡμέτερα, **γόνατα** κάμπτειν αὐθις θεῶ εὐχῆς λόγῳ, καὶ οὕτω πρεπόντως ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τοῦ **γουνάξασθαι**, ἀρχετύπῳ παράμιλλοις ἦν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐκεῖνῳ δικαίῳ, οὐπερ οἱ τῶν **γονάτων** τύλοι τὸ συχνὰ **γουνυπετέ**ς ἠγόρευον. Καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἐν ἀριστεύμασιν **ἀνάστημα** πεπραγματεύτο. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν τὸν εἰς θεὸν κατανεύοντα μὴ κατεξανίστασθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, μηδὲ τὸν ἐξ **ὑψοῦ**σ οὕτω μακροῦ ἑαυτὸν **ταπεινοῦ**ντα μὴ θεόθεν **ὑψοῦ**σθαι, καὶ τοῦ μέχρι καὶ εἰς γῆν **ταπεινοποιοῦ** ἀντιλαμβάνειν **ὑψωμα** εὐκλείας οὐράνιον. (Ἐπ. 59)

An example of the lexical dexterity and rhetorical ingenuity of Eustathius' writing, employing the roots of ἴστημ-/ἴσταμ-/ἀναστηλ- and the root of γόν-/γουν-, as well as ταπειν- and ὑψο-, to weave a thematically consistent passage with internal echoes of alliteration, assonance, and a varying *diacope* through repetition of words across clauses and phrases.

Οὕτω Πέρσαι Πέρσαισ ἀντίμαχοι μεθόδοις βασιλικαῖς· καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰρηναῖον ἐπαιανίζομεν.
Οὕτω Σκύθαι Σκύθαισ εἰς γῆν κατεστρώννουσ (Ἐπ. 17)

An example of *anaphora* joined to *polyptoton* which reiterates aurally what the emperor is said to have achieved in practical terms, namely, that the emperor managed to pit the empire's arch enemies to turn on one another.⁵¹

ἀγαθῶν ὑπορρέόντων ἦν **καινιστής**, ἀταξίας ἀρμοστής **καιρικῆς**, ἐπισκευαστής τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀφωρισμένων (Ἐπ. 48)

⁵¹ Stone, "Aurality," 420, gives numerous examples of *anaphora* in Eustathian panegyrics.

Note the alternating, interwoven structure of genitive-nominative / genitive-nominative-genitive / nominative-genitive, with their audible succession of endings (*homoiototon*).

There is hardly an extended passage of the funeral oration without some combination of such easily appreciable rhetorical or acoustic devices. There is an important element of sensual delight in all this which should not be underestimated. This is not to argue that every similarity of sound was part of a calculated effect; only that figures like alliteration, assonance, and variations on the theme of repetition at the beginning or end of words, phrases, or clauses, made up a significant part of the orator's store of legitimate devices. In some cases, these could lend aural support to the idea being communicated by drawing the senses into the argument, inducing the mind to reach conclusions through rhetorical artifice.⁵² Were the orality of a text like the Ἐπιτάφιος limited to these, it would not be worth dwelling on and would hardly amount to a kind of oral poetics. Less easily identifiable is what I would call *structural aural*ity; an aurality embedded in the syntactical, rhythmical, and acoustic architecture of the Ἐπιτάφιος. To isolate this aurality requires us to free ourselves provisionally from certain modern conventions of reading and to attempt to recreate something akin to a hypothetical, albeit necessarily visual, aurality on the page. As an example of such structural aural poetics I would like to consider three versions of the same text: the first (Fig. 1) is what the Ἐπιτάφιος looks like today when printed in conformity with modern editorial conventions; the second (Fig. 2) is what the text looks in the manuscript, including its absence of word division, sectioning, original punctuation, and layout; finally, some examples (Figs. 3 and 4) of what I think the funeral oration sounded like when voiced, not so much to reproduce what the oration would have sounded like to the ear – an impossibility in any case – but a visual breakdown of the text and the distribution of sense across units of sound and syntax.

⁵² Some scholars would go further. Citing the concept of “aural suggestion” developed by Michael Silk to further bolster the manner of interaction between poetic imagery and the object represented in archaic Greek poetry, Stone (“Aurality,” 422–425) attempts to correlate acoustic features akin to those of assonance and alliteration with “sound pictures” matching the semantic contents of the text. But the examples Stone cites of the letter κ deployed repeatedly in a passage “to emphasize the smiting force of the wave created by the crusaders of the Second Crusade” presupposes a degree of certainty about the associations evoked by any given combination of sounds or “phonemes” that we simply do not possess. Κ is “percussive” only in metaphorical and not necessarily cognitive or in strictly linguistic terms. See M. S. Silk, *Interaction in poetic imagery: with special reference to early Greek poetry* (London; New York, 1974), see esp. 191–193.

τοὺς ἀγώνας ἡμῖν εἰ καὶ πολὺ τὸ εὐκλεῆς τρόπον ἄλλον ἐπισύρεται, οἷς τὸν αὐτο-
 κράτορα κατὰ τοὺς ἐν ἐπαγγελίας ὠσιωμένους τῷ θεῷ διατίθεται. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ πάν- 10
 ὑπνίων καὶ ὄραμάτων λόγοις φιλοσοφοῦνται· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα,
 θεὸς τοῖς λιχνευομένοις τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἀνεκάλυψε, καὶ τὸ προτεθειμένον εἰπεῖν,
 ἐπηγγέλατο ἐν αὐτοῖς.
 11 Ἀναθέμενοι οὖν οὕτω καὶ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπιδραμόντες, ἐπιβαλοῦμεν τοῖς
 τούτων ἐχόμενοις εἰς ὅσον δύνάμις. Δύναμις δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς μεμετρημένοις τὸ 15
 λέγειν, καθ' ὁμοιότητα πέλαγοστόλου νεῶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διεξάγειν
 τοὺς λόγους. Ἐκείνη τε γὰρ ὡς οἶον γραμμικῶς τέμνει τὸ πέλαγος ὀλίγας τινὰς που
 ἔλικας περιάγουσα ὡς ἐξείναι καὶ ἐτέραις μυρίαῖς ὅσας ναοὶ τὸν ὁμοιον τρόπον
 διαθέειν καὶ μὴδὲ οὕτω τὸ πᾶν πέλαγος γενέσθαι πλεῦσιμον· καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔσται 20
 οὕτως ἰκανὸν τὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ φορὸν πνεύματος, ὡς ἔξαρκεῖν ἐμπλατυναμένους, πολ-
 λὴν εὐθυπλοῆσαι τοῦ τῶν βασιλικῶν θαυμασιῶν ὠκεανοῦ ὧν οὐδ' ἂν, ἀνάριθμοι

Figure 1: *Oratio funebris Manuelis Comneni, editio nova*

The syntactical breakdown mapped above, negotiable at its grammatical margins in certain instances, can serve as a first step to resolving the text into its constituent oral building blocks. One may begin by noting various acoustic devices inside and across these clauses, such as the *isocolon*, *anaphora*, and *homioptoton* of ἔνθα μὲν σιγητέον / ἔνθα δὲ λαλητέον cited in the first example, whose identical accentual pattern lends its rhythmical support to the semantic symmetry, combining meaning with something akin to vocalized meter: / - - - - / - | | / - - - - / - . Similarly, the balanced *anaphoric* structure of εἴτε καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος / εἴτε καὶ τῶν ὡς ἐτέρως ἐχόντων from the same passage, exploits the musical phrasing of *isocola* and near matching accentual patterns. A sentence by sentence, clause by clause analysis of the Ἐπιτάφιος would produce a significant number of such aural patterns.

The greatest and perhaps unavoidable weakness of this approach, however, is its reliance on aural patterns or effects that can be immediately *seen*, like the various figures of repetition (*alliteration*, *assonance*, *anaphora*, *homioptoton*, *homoioteleuton*, etc.) or noticeably symmetrical and balanced structures (*isocola*). Such conspicuously patterned sound effects were probably the proverbial tip of a text's oral iceberg. There may well be a mass of acoustic effects lying under the surface of the manuscript page. The spell exercised on the listener by euphony is not so easily reducible to visible patterns or devices. So while I have marked the coincidence of cola and accentual phrasing in a handful of examples, I hesitate to say that I have isolated all the *heard* rhythms resulting from the vocalization



Figure 2: Basileensis A.III.20, f.173v

Εἶη ἀγεννής,	/---/
καὶ ἐν μὴ δέοντι ἐνεός,	-- / /---- /
καὶ οὐκ εἰδῶς ἑαυτὸν μετρεῖν,	- / ---- / - /
ἐνθα μὲν σιγητέον,	/---- / -
ἐνθα δὲ λαλητέον,	/---- / -
ὁ μὴ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις πρὸς ὁμοιότητα συνδιεξαγόμενος.	- / x - / ---- / ---- / --
Μίμησιν γὰρ ἔχων ἅπας ἄνθρωπος διδάσκαλον,	/---- / - / - /---- / --
καὶ αὐτήν,	-- /
ὄπη βούλοιο,	/ - / --
εἶτε καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος,	/ -- / ---- / --
εἶτε καὶ τῶν ὡς ἐτέρως ἔχόντων,	/ -- x -- / -- / -
σιωπῶντων μὲν τῶν ἐλλογιμωτέρων,	x - / -- / ---- / -
καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν·	-- / -
λαλοῦσι δὲ	- / --
τὸ σύμφωνον ἐναρμόζεται,	- / ---- / --
καὶ μᾶλλον εἶπερ καὶ ὁ φθάσας βίος τοιοῦτον τινα ἔτρεφε,	- / - / ---- / - / -- / ---- / --
μὴ θέλοντα τινῶν ὑστερεῖν λαλιᾶς τῆς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ,	- / ---- x -- / - / x ---- /
οἶους φημί τινὰς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίστου βασιλέως ἀποβῆναι θαυμασίοις.	
Ὅποι γὰρ ποτε παρήκοι, οὐδ' ἡμᾶς ὁ χρόνος εὗρεν ὀκνοῦντας τὰ δυνατὰ ἐγκώμια.	

Figure 3

of the words in the Ἐπιτάφιος. Too much would have depended on the orator's rhythmical discretion. Elision or syncopation, inevitable features of any long structured speech given with an ear to effective delivery, no doubt played their part in rendering the text aurally persuasive. The architecture of aural quality, may nevertheless be seen in the combination of choice and placement of words, variation and coordination of cola, the resonances of vowel and consonantal combinations, patterns of alliteration and assonance, as well as an eclectic mix of other rhetorical devices which heighten the aural quality of an oration, like *palilogia*, *polyptoton*, *polysyndeton*, to name but a few. If one adds the original punctuation of the manuscript⁵³ to this visual breakdown of the aural syntax of the text, the oral, performative, design becomes even clearer.

⁵³ See the discussion below in the section on the punctuation of the Basel Codex.

Ἐντεῦθεν αἱ πανταχοῦ γῆς βασιλικαὶ πρόνοιαι πολυειδεῖς
καὶ ἄνθρωπος εἰς οὗτος τοῖς μεγάλοις οἰκουμενικοῖς ἑαυτὸν μεγαλοφυῶς ἐπεμέριξε
 τμήμασιν εἰς τὸ ἐνεργόν,
 προβαλλόμενος,
 ὅσα καὶ χεῖρας ἀμφιδεξίους,
 τὸ τῆς ἀνδρίας δραστήριον,
καὶ τὸ τῆς συνέσεως ἐμπύριον,
 ὅσον τε ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ φρονήσει,
καὶ ὅποσον εἰς ἀγχίνοιαν.
 Ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ σκεπτικῶς ἔχων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις,
καὶ ἐφιστάνων διανοητικῶς·
 τὰ πλείω δὲ ἄγχιστα τῇ νόησει παρίστατο,
καὶ ἀχρόνως οἶον τοῦ νοουμένου ἐδράττετο,
καὶ τοῦτου βαθύτατα,
καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἐπιπολάζειν κατὰ τοὺς ταχεῖς μὲν φρονεῖν,
 οὐ τι δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς.
καὶ ἦν μὲν αὐτῷ λίαν καλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας σεμνά·
 περιττότερα δὲ γε τὰ τῆς φρονήσεως,
 ἧς καὶ καταμόνας εἰς μυρίον πλῆθος ὠνάμεθα.

Figure 4

The different visualizations of the Ἐπιτάφιος in figures 1–4 above reflect differences in what linguists refer to as the pragmatics of the text, namely, the use made of a text in specific contexts; not least of all, the way in which a text generates meaning as a function of *the way in which its audience experiences it*. Of course each visualization serves as a kind of metonymy for a set of practices on the part of the author/orator and of the audience/reader of the text. I have already noted some of the consequences of tacitly approaching a text intended for oral delivery like the Ἐπιτάφιος with the mental habits engendered by the conventions of print (Fig. 1) – the baroque apparatus of a modern print edition, with word division, capital letters, fully spelled out words, consistent punctuation, paragraph division, page and line numbers, wide margins, and clear titles and introductory material, indexes, etc., all designed to facilitate reading of the text. Alongside these intellectual reflexes which attend reading are less easily discernable, yet

potentially significant, differences, such as the fact that silent reading is carried out by individuals, most often in relative isolation. In contrast, orally transmitted texts are heard by groups of listeners. Each member of an audience is cognizant of being addressed as part of a larger, collective identity, and will tend to listen *as such*. It is not just the author who selects his content with a specific collective audience in mind; the listeners, too, select for the meaning they regard as intended for the particular audience they are part of.

In comparison, the text as it appears in the manuscript (Fig. 2) appears aimed at a narrow compass of practiced readers well versed in scribal protocols ranging from systematic use of abbreviations and ligatures to the absence of word division. Indeed as anyone who has pored over a manuscript of a medieval Greek text can testify, reading such a text for sense invariably means *re-reading*, since the first time around one must 'locate' the text, as it were, word by word, identifying its syntactical architecture, and familiarizing oneself with its rhetorical arrangement and development (where in the sentence am I?). Such rehearsal, as it were, seems better suited to recital or oral delivery, not as a prelude to reading in silence on one's own. This does not mean that no readers were ever envisioned for orations like the Ἐπιτάφιος; quite the contrary. As I point out in 'The Style Which Shows', the principal motive for including the Ἐπιτάφιος and other orations in the Basel Codex was to make it available for study, which may well have involved reading it aloud. Its exemplarity presumably lay in the way its particular style and arrangement, the στρυφνότης and μέθοδος of the title, were applied. With figures 3 and 4 we see, quite literally, orality/aurality on display. I hasten to note once more that this arrangement of the text is but a structural simulation of the text's aural design. It cannot serve as a reproduction of what it would have sounded like to the audience on the occasion of its delivery. The resemblance, moreover, of this aural syntax to a kind of semi-structured verse is not coincidental. Paratactic syntax accumulates meaning much like poetry: in *seriatim* self-contained declamatory units of varying length. This would have allowed listeners to follow the speaker, even when one of them lost track of what was being said because of some obscurity in the diction, grammar, or simply because the listener's attention lapsed, as must have periodically happened during long ceremonies.

Examining the orality of the Ἐπιτάφιος may also help us address the long-bevilling question of whether some of the most interesting Byzantine literature was in fact only intelligible to a very small community of professional *literati*. I leave aside the diversionary matter of what could have been understood by "or-

dinary” people, since the question is often framed in a bid to challenge the utility of interpreting these seemingly esoteric texts. Hardly anyone asks whether “ordinary” Athenians could have made sense of Demosthenes’ most accomplished orations, or whether the “average” American could have understood Abraham Lincoln’s second inaugural address. These questions deserve an answer, but only as long as they are not posed as a litmus test for a text’s effective impact. In the present case, the audience which gathered to hear Eustathios speak at Manuel’s graveside in the mortuary chapel of the Pantokrator monastery was unlikely to count many “ordinary” Byzantines, if by that term we mean those who made up the majority of the illiterate and labouring population. Instead, besides Manuel’s surviving immediate family, the audience was likely made up of the higher ranks of church and state officials. Many of these would have benefited from an education that put them at least within reach of the contents of Eustathios’ polished prose. The audience for Byzantine rhetoric of such verbal craftsmanship as we find in the orations of Eustathios need not have been so large as to include the “ordinary” man or woman, but it was probably significantly larger than is often allowed.⁵⁴



Exemplary specimens of the upper registers of medieval Greek, orations like the Ἐπιτάφιος are deemed formidably daunting to read. How could hearing them, one may reasonably ask, make them anything but more unfathomable? The question betrays its origin in a virtually mute literary culture. With the exception of childrens’ books, few modern texts are written to be read aloud anymore.⁵⁵ We thus tend to reflexively convert any printed text into the silent idiom of modern reading habits. But I would argue that certain formal features of the Ἐπιτάφιος, like the largely paratactic syntax running throughout the oration, were intended, at least in part, as a concession to its listeners. In fact, it gives us reason to question the widespread assumption that so-called *high style* prose would have been too complicated for all but professional rhetors to follow. We are so accustomed to the assumption of *high style* Byzantine texts being exceedingly difficult to read that we have not thought to ask whether some part of the difficulty we

⁵⁴ For a similar revision to the once standing assumption that Second Sophistic declamation had only a limited appeal among the ranks of professional rhetors and their students, see D. A. Russell, *Greek declamation* (Cambridge, 1983) 79ff., as well as G. Kennedy, *The art of rhetoric in the Roman world, 300 B.C.-A.D. 300* (Princeton, 1972) and idem., *Greek rhetoric under Christian emperors* (Princeton, 1983).

⁵⁵ The popularity of audio books, fiction and non-fiction alike, has not yet led to composition intended primarily for audiences of listeners, but it may be a matter of time and commercial viability.

experience is the result of the wrong medium, silent reading. Besides having the benefit of the practiced reader's voice to guide them – slowing down delivery, or enunciating with greater emphasis where necessary – the audience of an oration would have been practiced listeners. The many *topoi* and clichés identified by modern scholars made audiences well versed in the rhetorical idiom of court oratory. Finally, when examining what could have been understood by audiences, we should recall that transparency and intelligibility are not synonymous with meaning, and that the audience of the Ἐπιτάφιος also drew meaning from the broader occasion itself. In other words, context could help the audience make sense of the text, while orality mediated that context.

Any argument about the orality of a long, well formed text must invariably contend with the question of possible revisions to the recited version. How certain can we be that the extant text of the Ἐπιτάφιος is in fact a *verbatim* copy of what the audience actually heard Eustathios recite on the day of its delivery? Revision with an eye (and ear) to polishing the text prior circulation, cannot be ruled out. Even if direct recital from a written text, as we see depicted in various scenes of the Madrid Skylitzes, increases the likelihood of a stable text, at least when contrasted with extemporaneous oratory, it does not exclude the possibility that Eustathios would have wanted to secure his reputation by later circulating the best possible version of his work.⁵⁶ While such questions have been a staple of scholarship on oral texts of other periods and in other languages, like the dikanic or symbouleutic speeches of ancient Athens or the addresses in the Roman senate, as well as of various genres of western medieval literature, the relative inattention to the orality of Byzantine texts means we have yet to confront the question.⁵⁷ Is there some way to gauge how faithful a version we have in the manuscript of what Eustathios actually said that day in the Pantokrator chapel? The simple answer is no. It is not implausible to imagine that Eustathios either composed a version approximating this one, perhaps slightly more forgiving in structure and occasionally less recherché in diction; or, alternately, that he de-

⁵⁶ For a survey and analysis of the images of recital in the so-called Madrid Skylitzes, see the introduction to the edited volume of papers from the conference on orality and aurality in Byzantine literature. *The sound of sense: aurality in Byzantine texts and contexts*, ed. E. C. Bourbouhakis [Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy] (forthcoming).

⁵⁷ As an example of the historical as well as methodological dilemmas occasioned by revision of texts prior to circulation for copying, the pre-modern equivalent of publication, using Cicero's speeches, see C.M. Craig, "A survey of selected recent work on Cicero's rhetorica and speeches," *Brill's companion to Cicero: oratory and rhetoric*, ed. J. May (Leiden, 2002) 515–517; M. C. Alexander, *The case for the prosecution in the Ciceronian era* (Ann Arbor, 2002) 16–25; J. G. F. Powell, J. J. Paterson, "Introduction," *Cicero the advocate* (Oxford, 2005) 52–57.

livered more or less the same version of the extant speech from memory, with allowances for small lapses or variations brought about by the natural course of recital.⁵⁸ This would be a matter of speculation had Eustathios himself not provided the grounds for such conjecture in a uniquely revealing passage of the Ἐπιτάφιος itself.

In a section devoted to Manuel's intellectual gifts, which includes admiration for his prodigious memory, Eustathios describes how the emperor went about composing his imperial addresses. He is described as first dictating the text, then reciting it in its entirety from memory, with only occasional departures from the written text, minor lapses Eustathios is ready to forgive. Eustathios recounts how Manuel would then circulate a copy of the written text to those who happened to be present so that they might have a chance to study the contents of his speech more closely. As it turned out the oration Manuel had delivered to his first audience was almost *verbatim* identical to the text later circulated. In what appears as a pointed reproach to his fellow rhetors, Eustathios notes approvingly that this is how it ought always to be done. He adds, with regret, that it is rarely the case. Eustathios laments that such fidelity between the contents of an oration and its written copy had become a rare virtue in his time.⁵⁹ Although nominally about memory, this part of the oration broaches a subject evidently close to Eustathios' heart as an orator. Manuel is commended by the veteran rhetor for not departing in any significant way from what he had dictated in the transcribed speech. When the 'published' version of his text entrusted to parchment was in turn recited to others, the oral and written version were found to be virtually identical. But the most notable thing here, largely irrelevant to the eulogy of Manuel, is Eustathios' insistence that such ought to be the standard practice of anyone who delivers speeches:

⁵⁸ The nearest any scholar has come to taking up this question is B. Goodall, in his study of some homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the epistles of St. Paul. Dissenting from the *opinio communis* which has maintained that the 'published' or circulated text of Chrysostom's homilies are unlikely to have been identical with the *ex-tempore* version delivered by him before his congregation, Goodall has argued that any such revisions were not substantial enough to allow us to posit a simpler, more demotic, version for the congregation at large and a more polished copy for self-selecting literate audiences. See B. Goodall, *The homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon: prolegomena to an edition* (Berkeley, 1979) 66–75.

⁵⁹ A Roman example of the practice Eustathios disapproves of may be seen in the *gratiarum actio* of the Younger Pliny, delivered in September A.D. 100, then expanded considerably for later *recitationes* and publication. It is worth noting that even the polished, amplified version was intended for performance before audiences. One imagines that it would have been hard for a rhetor to recast a text so patently oral in its original design like Pliny's *actio*, or the Ἐπιτάφιος for that matter, as though primarily for readers. For the afterlife through publication Pliny's panegyric, see R. Rees, "Afterwords of Praise," *Pliny's praise: the panegyricus in the Roman world*, ed. P. Roche (Cambridge, 2011) 175–188.

Καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ [λόγος] ἐκλαληθεὶς οὐδὲν ἑτεροιοῦμενος. Τοῦτο χρῆ μὲν, ὡσάν εἶποι τις, ἐφ' ἅπαντος λόγου γίνεσθαι· γίνεται δ' ἐπὶ πάντων οὐχ οὕτω· σπάνιον δὲ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγίστοις τὸ ἀγαθόν. Νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑκατέροις τῷ τε εἰς ὄχλον ἐκλαλουμένῳ λόγῳ πρὸς ἄνετον χῆμα, καὶ τῷ βίβλοις ἑαυτὸν ἀφιέντι ἐγκατακλείεσθαι.

And the speech he had made turned out to be no different from the written one. And one might say that this is what should happen in the case of every speech (although it does not happen in every case); nevertheless it is a rare quality found in very few instances. For his thoughts remained the same in both cases, whether delivered to the masses in an *ex tempore* manner or when he let them be enclosed in books.

Eustathios here confounds our assumption that all recital in Byzantium was done with the aid of a written text.⁶⁰ If that were indeed how all texts were delivered before audiences, he would have no basis to complain that too many speakers fail to memorize their speeches adequately. Moreover, he does not criticize them for relying on a written version, but for departing substantially from their original, which could be made available for closer scrutiny among those who had heard the original performance (a telling detail), while the 'published' text might in turn be circulated and recited directly from the written copy (τὸν δὲ μνηυθέντα τόκον προήγειν ἐσπαργανωμένον ὡσπερ τῷ τόμῳ...καὶ ἀνελιχθεὶς ἤρχετο εἰς περιέλευσιν ἀκοῶν δι' ἀναγνώσεως). This complicates the reality of the relation between written and spoken 'text', since this kind of oratory has rarely been acknowledged as a possibility, especially given the length and complexity of the surviving orations. H. Hunger questioned whether any of the 'rhetorical' genres, including funeral orations, could have been learned by heart, given their considerable length.⁶¹ It is worth noting, however, that length alone is rarely invoked as a prohibitive factor in the memorizing of oratory for the law courts and assemblies of ancient Athens, or in the senate chamber and courts of republican Rome. Eustathios' observation, that too few orators manage to replicate their composed texts in recital, suggests that the written versions of occasional or-

⁶⁰ See Cavallo, *Lire*, 57–66; esp. 62, where Cavallo expresses doubts that Byzantine rhetors delivered genuinely extemporaneous speeches without aid of a script or some kind of notes.

⁶¹ Hunger, *Schreiben*, 126. Could rhetorically complex texts have been learned by heart, then recited? It is worth bearing in mind that the standard term in Byzantium for the delivery of almost any text, including imperial panegyrics, was ἀνέγνω, see LSJ s.v. II, to 'read aloud'. The question of when, and under what conditions, it became acceptable to recite from a written text has not, to my knowledge, been answered. Reading from a prepared text was frowned upon in the late fifth- and fourth-century Athens, but that only implies that it was not infrequently done. Partial answers may be sought in the following studies: *Der Übergang von der Mündlichkeit zur Literatur bei den Griechen*, ed. W. Kullmann (Tübingen, 1990); J.P. Small, "Visual copies and memory," *Orality, literacy, memory in the ancient Greek and Roman world*, ed. E. A. Mackay (Leiden, 2008) 227–252; R. Thomas, *Oral tradition and written record in classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1989); idem, *Literacy and orality in ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1992).

atory were not necessarily what the audiences in attendance at ceremonies or *theatra* had actually heard.

Ostensibly intended to highlight Manuel's feats of memory, this passage reads like a thinly disguised rebuke of contemporary oratorical practice. It also insists on a standard which can only be put to the test by combining composition, oral performance based on memory, and the all important final stage of 'publication' of the text, whether for closer study or even repeat recitals, presumably by other orators. This last feature of promulgation or 'broadcasting' of a text through recital would have reinforced the emphasis on declamation and orality more broadly in the study of rhetoric. This is perhaps less surprising when considered in practical terms. Most of the posts in the administrations of church or state would involve addressing audiences in a convincing manner, whether as a bishop or chancery secretary composing on behalf of the court. Eustathios' remarks here raise a more immediate question: could he have invoked a model of performance from memory while reciting the Ἐπιτάφιος from a written copy, thereby including himself among those failing to live up to the ideal he had just expressed? Can we even entertain the possibility that he delivered a funeral oration – I purposely do not say, this text as we have it – from memory, with allowances for some permissible improvisation such as he was willing to forgive Manuel? In that case, is the text of the Ἐπιτάφιος what he had originally come posed, or a revised version of his earlier draft? There were many ways to illustrate Manuel's prodigious memory. Eustathios chose this one because it spoke to a matter he seems to have cared about.

It may well be that by assuming all oratory in Byzantium at this time to have been based on recital from a written text we have been neglecting other, equally significant evidence for mixed forms of recital, including recital from memory. The well attested school exercise of putting long passages of Homeric verse to memory would have not only furnished students with an example, it would have also exercised their precise recall of complex texts.⁶² So while the stress on memory in Byzantine education is acknowledged, its practical usefulness is often doubted.⁶³ How hard would it have been for an author like Eustathios to memo-

⁶² For Psellos' well known recollection of having to put long passages of Homeric epic to memory in school, see Michael Psellos, *Mothers and Sons, Fathers and Daughters: The Byzantine Family of Michael Psellos* ed. and trans. A. Kaldellis (Notre Dame, 2006) 6b = U. Criscuolo, *Autobiografia: Encomio per la madre* (Naples, 1989) 358–363. We have also his contemporary's Michael of Ephesos' testimony that as a schoolboy he had to commit 30–50 lines of Homeric poetry to memory. In *Ethica Nicomachea commentaria*, ed. G. Heylbut [Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca 20] (Berlin 1892) 613, 4–7.

⁶³ A. R. Littlewood has made a strong empirical case against the presumption that Byzantine writers did not rely much on memory since they most often cited the same passages. He notes, as well, the near

rize an approximate version of the Ἐπιτάφιος? One way to answer this question is to bear in mind how much of the funeral oration might be characterized as *topos*-driven, built around motifs, often with formulaic expressions. A look at the *apparatus* and commentary reveals the remarkably high incidence of repetition through variation between the present work and Eustathios' previous orations. Some of the themes of the Ἐπιτάφιος, like that of the emperor's physical endurance and austerity while on campaign, were well established commonplaces of the genre and could have served as mnemonic anchors to tether larger passages. Others, like Manuel's euergetism and "guardianship" of Orthodoxy, were commonplaces of Manuel's panegyric "image." What's more, many of these motifs were not exclusive to this oration. Elaborating them would not have taxed a practiced orator and teacher of rhetoric like Eustathios. While the insistence on a repertoire of stock imagery and ready-made phrasing has been seen as a symptom of intellectual timorousness and ideological conservatism among Byzantine authors, formally, at least, it would have also served as a highly adaptable store of easily recombined language for recurring ceremonial occasions. What was probably intended was not *verbatim* memorization, at least not as we have come to think of it.

All this may lead us to ask whether the Ἐπιτάφιος could have been performed by means of rehearsed improvisation. In an attempt to extol the faithfulness of Manuel's memory, Eustathios insists on a degree of resemblance between the spoken and written version few speakers could have achieved, himself included perhaps. Might we infer that Eustathios' peers were routinely inclined to revise the fair copy of their text before "swaddling" it in a book and releasing it for wider distribution? Could this have occurred even in cases where the text had been read aloud instead of being memorized, as many orations must have been? The rhetor had every incentive to keep revising his text before releasing it to be scrutinized by exacting professional peers. While the revision of texts should hardly surprise us, it does raise vexing questions about attempts to assign significance to the specific words used on a certain occasion, questions which should be acknowledged in our interpretations of texts.



total absence of anything like books of quotations they may have consulted. See A.R. Littlewood, "A statistical survey of the incidence of repeated quotations in selected Byzantine letter-writers," *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine studies presented to L.G. Westerink at 75*, eds. J. Duffy, J. Peradotto (Buffalo, 1988) 137–154.

L'incohérence d'un discours dépend de celui qui l'écoute. L'esprit me paraît ainsi fait qu'il ne peut être incohérent pour soi-même.

— Paul Valéry⁶⁴

Perhaps no facet of a work like the Ἐπιτάφιος deserves to be re-evaluated in light of its orality as much as its intelligibility to contemporary audiences. For a long time Byzantine texts exhibiting the rhetorical features we find in this funeral oration have been regarded by many scholars as hermetically sealed to anyone other than a highly circumscribed group of semi-professional rhetors, the core of the empire's intelligentsia.⁶⁵ Judged too recondite in content and labyrinthine in form to be comprehensible to most, works in the *high style* have been characterized at times as constituting a virtual foreign language. We thus meet the paradox of forms of artful discourse which flourished despite being allegedly unintelligible to the majority of the audience whose patronage they required. On the face of it, such a historical model would seem unsustainable. Unless we posit reasons why otherwise incomprehensible texts were produced and performed on ceremonial and ritual occasions. Did the cultural *cachet* of Byzantine literature, imperial panegyrics included, lie in its arcaneness, an obscurity which served to confirm its genuine sophistication? Such deliberate esotericism was not unknown in Byzantium. G. Kustas has surveyed the theoretical pedigree of deliberate ἀσάφεια in medieval Greek thought and literature.⁶⁶ Obscurity had a specific cultural and philosophical warrant, however. Its application was circumscribed and constantly challenged by the equally established rhetorical imperative enjoining σαφήνεια, or clarity. Indeed unbounded obscurity was often censured in Byzantium. Some of the most notorious episodes of acrimony among professional rhetors involved reciprocal charges of a suspect unintelligibility.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ P. Valéry, *Monsieur Teste*, (1st ed., Paris, 1926; ed. *L'Imaginaire*, Gallimard, 2010) 27.

⁶⁵ Citing evidence going back to late antiquity, Cavallo depicts the typical audience for recitals as highly literate, a kind of medieval literary coterie gathering for the express purpose of delighting in displays of rhetorical prowess. See Cavallo, *Lire*, 60–61: “A Byzance les [hommes] de lettres avaient gardé l’habitude – comme déjà à l’ époque gréco-romaine – de soumettre leurs propres oeuvres au jugement d’ «un cercle de savants».”

⁶⁶ As indeed it had not been entirely unknown in the prescriptions of ancient theorists adopted by Byzantine teachers of rhetoric: John Sikeliotēs, *Rhet. gr.* 6.451.22; John Geometres, *ibid.*, 2.226.11. On ἀσάφεια as both an aesthetic and intellectual principle in medieval Greek rhetoric, see Kustas, *Studies*, 63–100, 95.

⁶⁷ Consider Arethas’ defense of his prose against charges of obscurity, where he argues that an educated audience would appreciate his chosen style as appropriately dignified. See *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis Scripta minora*, rec. L. G. Westerink (1968–1972) t. I, 270. The acrimonious rivalry of Theo-

Regardless of the accuracy of the claims, we can draw some conclusions from the fact that obscurity and unintelligibility had to be defended against.

The question of intelligibility spans more aspects of Byzantine rhetorical and literary practices than can be adequately addressed here. However, in as much as it foregrounds the medium in which author, text, and audience intersect, orality has some significant bearing on it. Arguments about the forbidding abstruseness of Byzantine texts like the Ἐπιτάφιος ask that we imagine all but a handful among the audience on that day to have simply endured the perplexity of the long speech they could not follow. But this scenario rests on at least one misrepresentation, and one uncorroborated assumption. The misrepresentation concerns the supposedly uncomprehending audience, sometimes referred to as “the ordinary person in Byzantium.” I have already noted that no such person is invoked to severely delimit the audience of many other formidable texts of other languages or periods, despite their notorious difficulty for modern audiences.

None of the sort of people vaguely implied in the term “ordinary Byzantine” were likely to find themselves in the audience, trying to decipher the meaning of a Eustathian imperial oration. In fact, among those in attendance, more than a few were likely to have been sufficiently well educated to be at least within reach of the oration’s full meaning. No less important, however, and often overlooked, would have been the repeated exposure over decades to the language of imperial panegyric. Indeed, it might not be much of an exaggeration to say that repeat audiences at the Byzantine court had gained a degree of proficiency in the eclectic idiom of epideictic court rhetoric. This was, after all the same élite who sponsored the so-called *theatra* or private literary performances where aspiring authors tried to win the support of patrons in the hope of securing financing through subscriptions to their literary projects or as private secretaries and tutors in wealthy households; or better yet, a sinecure in the imperial or church administration.⁶⁸

dore Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos is another example of mutual charges of an unpardonable ἀσάφεια. See I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique*.

⁶⁸ For the link between patronage and the *theatron*, see the stinging indictment by Michael Choniates, possibly composed at the start of his career when he still held out hope of not compromising his talents to win over audiences. The performances Choniates characterizes as prostitution of an author’s intellectual integrity are all oral, live before an audience, perhaps even *ex tempore*, if the references to the sophist’s “protean” nature are taken to mean a degree of improvisation. See E.C. Bourbouhakis, “The end of ἐπίδειξις: authorial identity and authorial intention in Michael Choniates’ Πρὸς τοὺς αἰτιωμένους τὸ ἀφιλένδεικτον,” *The author in middle Byzantine literature*, ed. A. Pizzone (Berlin, 2014) 201–224.

By no means a mass or ‘popular’ audience by today’s standards, the élite that made up Eustathios’ audience was nevertheless significantly more populous than a small coterie of professional rhetors. The audience apostrophized in the Ἐπιτάφιος could not have been made up only of men with Eustathios’ learning. Quite a few of them, however, were likely to have been former students of teachers like Eustathios.⁶⁹ Not a few of the students pursuing an advanced literary education would have been the sons (and judging by the number of Komnenian noblewomen who patronized the literary arts, perhaps not a few daughters)⁷⁰ of the ruling élite. These were the scions of the capital’s ruling families who made up the privileged caste of “δυνατοί” in twelfth-century Constantinople. Most of them would have received a solid grounding in the Greek language and in literature, including rhetoric by means of composition exercises. At least some would have gone on to more advanced levels of education, always with an eye to eloquence. One such former student of Eustathios, Nikephoros Komnenos, became a friend and protector, as well as something of a fellow man of letters, to judge by the eulogies for him, including one by Eustathios.⁷¹ An outlier in the degree of his devotion to Byzantine *belles-lettres* and rhetoric, Nikephoros illustrates the wider compass of the court *intelligentsia*. He was likely not alone among his class in his devotion to the literary culture Eustathios personified. All this to say that conceiving of the Ἐπιτάφιος as fully fledged oratory demands that we account for its audience and their ability to comprehend its contents. Perhaps the audiences for such oratory were not quite so modest as is usually proposed.⁷² The élite at the Komnenian court had a great deal invested in education and the culture of eloquence it inculcated. This made them appreciative of learned speech, even when they could not grasp every last thing that was said. In this they would have resembled other historical élites eager to maintain their

⁶⁹ The sort of persons to whom the preface to his commentary on the *Iliad* is addressed: alumni wishing to keep up their study of Homer.

⁷⁰ In fact, apart from the emperors themselves, it is the women of the Komnenian dynasty who are best known to us as patrons of what have somewhat loosely been described as ‘literary salons.’ The scholarship on female patronage and the literary arts is now quite substantial. How likely is it that such high profile women of the court would not have seen to the education of their daughters, as well as of their sons? For a thorough survey of the cultural achievements of Byzantine women, including patronage, see M. Mavroudi, “Learned women of Byzantium and the surviving record,” *Byzantine religious culture: studies in honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, eds. E. Fisher, S. Papaioannou, D. Sullivan (Leiden, 2012) 53–84.

⁷¹ See the little known monody dedicated to Nikephoros Komnenos delivered on the occasion of the latter’s seemingly premature death, ed. E. Kurtz, *Vizantijski Vremennik* 17 (1910) 290–302. I am currently preparing a new edition, with translation, of this funeral oration.

⁷² Cf. C. Cupane, “Δεῦτε, προσκαρτερήσατε μικρόν, ὡς νέοι πάντες: Note sulla ricezione primaria e sul pubblico della letteratura greca medievale,” *Diptycha* 6 (1994–1995) 147–68.

highbrow credentials, even when the uppermost limits of their understanding were put to the test. This found its counterpart in Eustathios' desire, at least in theory, to be understood by those whose patronage he needed and whose respect he sought.⁷³

We thus encounter the recurring motif in Byzantine texts of the successful author or orator who is able to address both the common man and the élite in his audience. In one of his final orations at court before assuming the bishopric of Thessalonike, Eustathios praised Manuel's uncanny ability to ensure that his own speeches had something for everyone:

ὦ γλῶσσα πυρίνη πνεύματος μεριζομένη μὲν ποικίλως, ἐκάσταις δὲ ψυχαῖς καθ' ὀλότητα ἐν-
αρμόττουσα, ἔνθα καὶ πλέον ἐκεῖτο τὸ ξενίζον τοῦ πράγματος καὶ πλείω τὰ τοῦ θαύματος διὰ
τὴν ἰδιοτροπίαν τοῦ κράματος· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ λόγους μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐκεῖνος ἦν εὐπρόσιτος,
ἐξέκλειε δὲ τὴν ἰδικωτέραν ἀκρόασιν, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν ἐφείλκετο μὲν τὸν ἀπλούστερον ἄνθρω-
πον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τρόφιμος μὴδὲν ἐκείθεν ἔχων ἀπήρχετο οὐδὲ τὸ μὲν τι τοῦ λόγου τούτοις
εἰς ὄφελος, τὸ δ' ἐκείνοις ἀπεμερίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καλὸν ὁμοτιμῶς παντὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐνέλαμπε
καὶ ἅπας ἀκρώμενος ὄλου ἦν τοῦ καλοῦ.⁷⁴

oh tongue ablaze with the spirit and variously divided, suited in your entirety to each individual soul, wherein lay especially the strangeness of his ability and the largest share of the marvel achieved through the peculiarity of his mixed language: for it was not the case that his speech was accessible to professional rhetors, but excluded the lay audience, nor for that matter did it attract the simpler man while the one who mastered oratory left the occasion empty-handed, or that one part of his speech was to the benefit of this group, while another part was set apart for another group, but the value of his speech shone forth equally throughout and everyone in the audience had access to the whole of it.

Once more Eustathios' praise for Manuel's talents as a rhetor invites us to speculate as to the normative aims of the description. Manuel's ability to speak at once to the simple and the learned is characterized as "strange and marvelous," and so perhaps not often tried, let alone achieved.⁷⁵ It may well be that here, too, Eus-

⁷³ M. Cunningham (*Preacher and audience*, 46), makes the case that literacy should not be regarded as a "necessary prerequisite for the comprehension of literary texts." I would add only the stipulation that such texts had to have had occasions to be read aloud, recited or somehow performed before such audiences in order to be become intelligible.

⁷⁴ Or. 13 (Λόγος Μ) 226.77–89.

⁷⁵ Eustathios had made it a point of his encomia to Manuel to praise the emperor's eloquence. Perhaps a rhetor knew no higher compliment. Still, I should stop short of discounting all references to Manuel as an effective speaker as merely panegyric hyperbole. A little earlier in the same oration Eustathios once more acclaims Manuel's gifts as a public speaker. Or. 13.227.10–11, τὸ περίτρανον τῆς φωνῆς, τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς λαλιᾶς, τὸ στρογγύλον τῆς φράσεως, καὶ ὅσον μὲν ἂν τὸ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ μεγάλου ῥήτορος ἦν λιγύφωνον. If we are reluctant to take the panegyrist's word at face value, certainly Nicetas Choniates cannot be charged with flattery of Manuel. Cf. *Hist.* 210.72–76, Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιγαροῦν οὕτως εὐγλωττίαν εὐτυχηκῶς καὶ λόγου ἔμφυτον χάριν πεπλουτηκῶς οὐ λαμυρῶς ἐπέστελλε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατχητηρίου ὠδίνε λόγους, οὓς φασι σελέντια, καὶ εἰς κοινὴν ἀνέπτυσσεν ἀκοήν.

tathios smuggled into imperial panegyric his abiding preoccupations regarding rhetorical instruction. Still, we should like to know whether he deemed his own oratory as meeting the standard he praised in Manuel. Or did he hide behind the feigned humility of not being as accomplished a rhetor as the emperor? The *desideratum* that a speaker addressing a necessarily mixed audience reach a wide gamut of listeners, that he speak to both the “simple man” (τὸν ἀπλούστερον) as well as to the one well versed in literature (ὁ... τοῦ λόγου τρόφιμος), was not a novelty. The necessary exclusivity which made advanced education a badge of social distinction had to be balanced against the utility of reaching a wider and socially significant audience at risk of alienation from the articulation of institutional authority. That concern must have been felt from each side, author and audience. The passage above nevertheless serves as a reminder that Byzantine sophists were not quite as complacent about the accessibility and appeal of their oratory as they are often thought to have been.

Once more, bearing in mind that many of the texts in question were delivered before live audiences compels us to make allowances for the inevitable fact that there were bound to be some present who struggled to follow the precise meaning of what was being said. Such people, Eustathios observes by way of reassurance, could nevertheless delight in the sound and sheer sensory effect of hearing the speaker intone his speech in a pleasing manner, at once sweet and melodious:

Τοιοῦτον ἡρωϊκὸν ἦχον προβάλλεται σοι τὰ τῆς λαλιᾶς, καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς γλυκύτητα νοημάτων <καὶ> Μουσῶν ἐμμέλειαν προάγουσί σοι τὰ χεῖλη... ὁ δὲ μὴ καὶ εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαθύνειν ἔχων, ἀλλ’ ἐπιπολάζων τῷ τῆς λαλιᾶς ρέυματι, βροντὴν ἂν εἶποι γαληναίαν ἐξ ὑψίστων ποθὲν ἐνωτίζεσθαι.⁷⁶

Your speech projects so ‘heroic’ a sound, your lips utter meanings of such sweetness and with the melody of the Muses... indeed even one who is unable to penetrate into their depth but who borne upon the stream of your speech, might say that he is hearkening to a benevolent thunder coming from somewhere high above.

Eustathios thus made allowances for those in a mixed audience who were bound to be excluded from much in an oration. In doing so, he reminds us that oratory cannot be reduced to a mere cognitive relation between the text and its audience, as one tends to conceive of the relation between readers and the written text. An oration was part of an event, experienced by more than the faculty of pure understanding, and invested with no small amount of extra-textual mean-

⁷⁶ Or. 13 (Λόγος Μ) 227.25–33.

ing. Eustathios is pointing to something familiar to anyone who enjoys hearings songs whose lyrics he does not understand, as so many opera goers do. His stress on the qualities of voice may be about something other than hyperbole. He repeatedly found cause to praise Manuel's at once sweet and stentorian voice. Possession of an authoritative and dulcet voice, resonant and pleasing to the ear, mattered a great deal to a court society which continued to put so much store by the spoken or recited word.

The Basel Codex

The Ἐπιτάφιος for Manuel I Komnenos is transmitted in a single witness, *Basilensis* A.III.20 (also known as the “Basel Codex”), where it is found on ff. 163v-177v. The entry in the catalogue of the Universitätsbibliothek Basel, in Switzerland, describes the Basel Codex as a thirteenth-century manuscript, about which more below, written on so-called *carta bombycina*, or ‘silken paper’, whose approximate dimensions are 265 x 165 mm.¹ The date and attendant history of the manuscript’s production and purpose have some bearing on our understanding of the significance attached to a work like the Ἐπιτάφιος subsequent to its original, performative context. They also bear on questions regarding the ‘publication’ of a Byzantine author’s works, especially Eustathios’ possible supervision of this editorial and scribal enterprise (among the largest and most complete for any Byzantine author we know of), as well as questions of modern editorial partitioning of the contents of such books into individual editions such as the present one.

The Ἐπιτάφιος takes up 15 folia of the manuscript, the remainder of which is given over to 23 other works of a remarkable variety by Eustathios, including the sole witnesses to his first-hand account of the siege and conquest of Thessalonike, considered among the more unique works of Byzantine historiography; the philologically acute *Prooimion* to a (probably planned) commentary on the *Epinikia* of Pindar; a highly disputatious and important treatise on monastic reform; a number of lengthy Lenten orations, hagiographic essays and sermons; a neglected treatise on the nature of political obedience in a Christian state; as well as miscellaneous shorter works, intended perhaps for the classroom, as exhibition pieces for the *theatron*, or simply for circulation among appreciative

¹ H. Omont, “Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse,” *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, t.III (1886) 9–10, 386–387; published separately as *Catalogue Des Manuscrits Grecs: Des Bibliothèques de Suisse*, ed. H. Omont (Bâle, 1886; repr. Montana, 2010) 24. See the appendix to this section for an image of the catalogue listing. For a meticulous chronicle of the manuscript’s known fate in the post-Byzantine period after arriving in Venice in the sixteenth century, as well as details of its purchase by the Universitätsbibliothek Basel in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, see *Pro. ad Pi.* 12*–20*. Once thought to have been made of cotton, *carta bombycina* was proven instead to be composed of flax-based linen. For *papier bombycin* and its implications for the study of Byzantine book production, see J. Irigoien, “Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin,” *Scriptorium*, Vol. 4/ 2 (1950) 194–204.



Figure 1: Basileensis A.III.20, folio 163v showing the heading and beginning of the Ἐπιτάφιος.

readers.² With a few notable exceptions, the Basel Codex is our only witness for the works contained in it, including the Ἐπιτάφιος, which suggests that it was the Ur-exemplar from which other copies might be made. In fact, were it not for this one manuscript, we might never know of Eustathios' true range as an author. Along with the lost manuscript from which numerous Eustathian works must have been copied into the well known codices *Escorialensis graecus* 265 (*olim* Y-II-10) in Madrid and Oxford's *Bodleianus Baroccianus* 131, the Basel Codex appears to have been one installment in a larger effort to create a complete Eustathian *corpus*, minus the Παρεκβολαί, or commentaries, on the Homeric epics, whose scale and many years of revisions produced a manuscript tradition of their own.³ While not entirely unusual for a learned author of Eustathios' caliber, the scale of this editorial project, undertaken so close to Eustathios' own lifetime, must be taken into account along with other palaeographical and codicological evidence for the genesis and projected aim of a complete 'edition' of his works.

By means of *comparanda* with so-called "scholarly" scribal hands of the middle Byzantine period, the manuscript's production has been dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, with a *terminus post quem* late in 1185, the year of the Norman conquest of Thessalonike narrated in one of the texts included in the Basel Codex, though that date is likely too early.⁴ On the other hand, establishing a *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript has proven more difficult. Since it is written on what is sometimes referred to as "oriental paper" (made of flax-based linen) thought not to have been in wide circulation in Byzantium before the thirteenth century, the editor of the catalogue, Henri Omont, placed the codex in that century, but without further comment about the likely context of a project on such a scale amid the violence and dislocation brought about by the Fourth Crusade and Latin occupation of the city.⁵ Some scholars have

² For an analytical breakdown of the contents of Basil. A III 20, including the Ἐπιτάφιος, see *Pro. ad Pi.* 4*–8*. Some of the smaller, though by no means less accomplished, texts seems not to have merited a mention in the Πίναξ added to the manuscript during its sojourn in Italy during the sixteenth century. I am currently preparing new editions, with translation and commentary, of some of these: ff. 13v–27v Περὶ ὑπακοῆς... πολιτεύματι χριστιανικῷ; ff. 32–34v Πρὸς τὸν βαρέως ἀκούοντα... παπᾶς; 37v–39v Ἐφ' οἷς ὕβρισθήσεται τις Ἱεράρχης... ὁ προέθου; 40–42v; 66v–74 Περὶ ὑποκρίσεως; 113v–117v Διάλογος Ἱεροκλέους καὶ Θεοφίλου.

³ This was, in all likelihood, the same exemplar behind such late twelfth-/early thirteenth-century manuscripts as *Parisinus graecus* 1182 and *Basileensis* A.VII.o. containing miscellaneous works by Eustathios.

⁴ For a historical outline of "scholarly hands," see N. G. Wilson, "Scholarly hands of the middle Byzantine period," *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977) 221–39.

⁵ A similar argument about the likely date of "oriental paper" in Byzantium has been used to rule out Eustathian autography of *Marcianus graecus* 448, a copy of the Suda lexicon, also attributed to Eustathios by Maas and rejected by the lexicon's editor, Peppink, *Suidae Lexicon* V (Leipzig, 1938)

argued that such a work would have been exceedingly difficult to carry out in the immediate aftermath of the ransacking of Constantinople's libraries following the conquest of 1204.⁶ A much later date, presumably at the initiative of someone close to the Byzantine court in exile in Nikaia and with intimate knowledge of Eustathios' works, runs up against both palaeographical arguments, as well as more practical obstacles, not least, access to what must have been the original copies of so many Eustathian works. For that reason, palaeographical, codicological, and broader historical arguments have overtaken Omont's dating of the manuscript. Still, no single factor has proven decisive in dating the codex more precisely, with significant consequences for any hypothesis about its origin and purpose.

Assuming Eustathios lived to some time in the mid 1190s, as the evidence suggests, this leaves almost a decade between the *terminus post quem* and his death in which he could have undertaken the compilation of a corpus of his own works. Even if he did not oversee the actual copying, he may well have set the editorial groundwork for such project. By this period, after having served as bishop of Thessalonike for some years, Eustathios would probably have been in a position to employ a secretary to help him create a master copy of his works in a bid to secure his legacy as the preeminent rhetor of his day. There were, in any case, precedents in the twelfth century for publication of this sort in an author's own lifetime. Nikephoros Basilakes gathered a selection of his own works, and even supplied them with an author's preface. And Michael Choniates, a former student of Eustathios eventually appointed bishop to the see of Athens, once occupied by Eustathios' friend Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites, created something akin to a corpus of his own works at the urging of his younger brother, Niketas, who would prove an accomplished author in his own right, in part by making use of Eustathios' writings to compose a history of this period. Eustathios' possible involvement in the actual production of the Basel Codex has even been suspected on the basis of at least one of the scribal hands in the manuscript, discussed below.

The Basel Codex appears to have been intended as an exemplar of Eustathios' work, rather than as a copy for reading in its own right. And although

255, and by N. G. Wilson, "Three Byzantine scribes," *GRBS* 14 (1973) 223–228, 226. For support of the autography of the manuscripts containing Eustathios' works, see V. Laurent, "Eustathe, métropolitte de Thessalonique," *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastique*, dir. R. Aubert, VI (Paris 1967) cols. 35–36; cf. Wirth, "Spuren," 253–257, 257.

⁶ N. G. Wilson, "The libraries of the Byzantine world," *GRBS* 8/1 (1967) 53–80; cf. D. E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade: the conquest of Constantinople, 1201–1204* (Leicester, 1978) 291 n. 19.

Eustathios retained strong ties to the capital, including a household near the Pantokrator monastery where Manuel's tomb would be placed, many of his writings after his appointment as bishop must have been composed in Thessalonike. His continued expansion of the *Παρεκβολαί* to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* during the period of his bishopric suggest he had brought along his writings, as well as a decent selection of books.⁷ We can therefore not rule out Thessalonike as the Basel Codex's birthplace. A further scenario has Eustathios' exemplars(s) of the manuscript being carried off to the safety of Nikaia, where they were eventually copied into the Basel Codex as part of a wider cultural and ideological project of restoration designed to shore up both rhetorical education and ideological formation.⁸ Whatever its origins, the fate of the Basel Codex over the next two and a half centuries remains unknown. The manuscript bears no markings or signs regarding its subsequent Byzantine owners.⁹ It resurfaces in Italy, where the codex's 251 folios were bookended by two sets of pages made of sixteenth-century paper, most likely of Venetian manufacture. This has led some to conclude that the manuscript's first port of call after the Ottoman conquest was probably Venice,¹⁰ the main entrepôt for Byzantine goods, including books, dating back to at least the twelfth century.¹¹ The manuscript itself is not attested in the catalogue of the Universitätsbibliothek Basel until 1622. It is unclear when or how it made its way from Italy to Switzerland, where it has been since.¹²

⁷ E. Cullhed is the latest to argue, following van der Valk, that Eustathios persisted in his philological labours during his bishopric, adding considerably to his commentaries on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. See now E. Cullhed, *Eustathios of Thessalonike: commentary on Homers Odyssey, Vol. 1: On rhapsodies α-β* (Uppsala, 2016), 37*–39*; see also E. Cullhed, "The autograph manuscripts containing Eustathios' commentary on the *Odyssey*," *Mnemosyne* 65 (2012) 445–461. For van der Valk's argument that Eustathios continued to work on the Commentaries after his move to Thessalonike, see *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* xiv–xvi; cf. Kazhdan, *Studies*, 133; and R. Browning, "Eustathios of Thessalonike revisited," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 40 (1995) 83–90, 84–5.

⁸ See the forthcoming study of thirteenth-century literature by P. A. Agapitos.

⁹ It has been suggested that a certain Martin Perez de Ayala, Archbishop of Valencia (1504–1566) came into possession of the manuscript at some point. See E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600* (Wien, 1981) 86, Nr. 135.

¹⁰ A. Maricq's argument that the presence of Venetian paper in the codex was too circumstantial to prove the manuscript had in fact been there, since paper of Venetian manufacture was sold in many book markets, has been deemed by Kambylis (*Pro. ad Pi.* 12*) as conclusively rebutted. Cf. A. Maricq, "Le manuscrit d'Eustathe de Thessalonique: la prise de Thessalonique en 1185," *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 81–87.

¹¹ For a sketch of the commercial and cultural mechanism of exchange which probably brought a manuscript of this kind to Venice, see M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: a Study in diplomatic and cultural relations* (Cambridge, 1988).

¹² For this and subsequent descriptions of the manuscript in the revised catalogues of the Universitätsbibliothek, see *Pro. ad Pi.* 12*–13*. For an explanation of 1819 as the mistaken date of the manuscript's acquisition by the Basel library cited by various scholars, see *Pro. ad Pi.* 15*–16* n.20. For the

Most studies of the Basel Codex over the last sixty years have focused primarily on the admittedly exciting possibility of its being a Eustathian autograph, and only secondarily on what the manuscript may tell us about the mechanics and goals of what we might fairly term ‘publication’ of a Byzantine author’s oeuvre in this period. Speculation about *Basileensis* A.III.20 being an autograph manuscript has stemmed from the broad similarity between one of the two hands which copied out the text and the scribal hand of the four manuscripts (*Laurentianus Plut.* 59.2–3, *Marcianus graecus* 460, *Parisinus graecus* 2702) containing Eustathios’ commentaries on the Homeric epics, widely accepted by scholars to be Eustathian autographs.¹³ As this is not the best venue to reexamine the case for and against the autography of these manuscripts, I have chosen to present the matter in outline in order to raise the question of its significance for the transmission of a work like the Ἐπιτάφιος.

The debate surrounding the autography of the Basel Codex dates back decades to Paul Maas’ proposed identity of this manuscript’s primary hand as that of Eustathios. Such an identification would put him in direct charge of the publication project.¹⁴ When Maas compared the characteristics of the presumed Eustathian autographs with the main hand of *Basileensis* A.III.20, he concluded that the Basel Codex was a close enough match to warrant its tentative acceptance as a Eustathian autograph. As part of his argument, Maas proposed that the Basel Codex formed an effort by Eustathios himself to create an authorized collection of his ‘minor works’. Maas’ hypothesis would have had significant implications not just for the evaluation of the Ἐπιτάφιος, but for the role individual authors could assume in shaping their own legacy.¹⁵ It would also have an effect on any possible doubts we may have about the text, seeing as Eustathios himself would have carried out the copying when not overseeing it.

provenance of the Basel public library’s Greek manuscripts, see Omont, “Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des Bibliothèques de Suisse,” 9–10, 386–387.

¹³ For a representative selection of the arguments and counter-arguments regarding Eustathian autography of the manuscripts containing the Παρεκβολαί, see *Comm. ad Hom. Il. Pars I*, ix–xvi; for a recent assessment of the debate, see Cullhed, “Autograph manuscripts,” 445–461; cf. etiam the comments of Wilson, “Three Byzantine scribes,” 226–227.

¹⁴ P. Maas, “Zu den Basler Autographen des Eustathios,” *Institouto Anatolikōn Spoudōn (Patriarchikē Vivliothēkē Alexandreias). Tome commémoratif du millénaire de la Bibliothèque patriarcale d’Alexandrie (Alexandrie, 1953)* 139–144. Maas identified two hands at work copying Basil. A III 20. One, Eustathios’ (E), which carried out the largest share of the work; the other, probably that of a secretary (S), which relieved him. The notable differences between the two allowed him to delineate the exact sequence of hands: (E) ff.1r–11v; (S) 12r–13r; (E) 13v–27v; (S) 28r–74r; (E) 74v–253.

¹⁵ Maas, “Zu den Basler Autographen des Eustathios,” 141–142.

Maas' palaeographical arguments regarding Eustathian autography found few supporters.¹⁶ Having examined folios 220v-254v of the Basel Codex for his edition of Eustathios' account of the Norman siege of Thessalonike, S. Kyriakides discovered too many scribal errors in a section attributed by Maas to Eustathios to be convinced that it could have been an autograph.¹⁷ Similarly, N. Wilson has concluded that neither of the two scribal hands in *Basileensis* A.III.20 belongs to Eustathios, though unlike subsequent scholars, he continued to place the manuscript's copying in the late twelfth century.¹⁸ This ensured Eustathios' possible oversight of the Basel Codex pre-production, scribal errors notwithstanding.¹⁹ Indirectly addressing the disputed autography, H. Hunger observed that the scholarly hands of the twelfth century – such as we find in the manuscripts containing Eustathios' works – were themselves a partial outgrowth of the imperial chancery hands of the eleventh century, passed on from one generation of secretaries and similarly trained functionaries to the next.²⁰ As might be expected, the young men destined to fill the ranks of the imperial bureaucracy had received the same training as those who would go on to make careers as "scribes and scholars," as the title of N. G. Wilson and L. D. Reynolds' famous book would have it.²¹ Hunger's observation reminds us of the likelihood of similarity among such scribal hands.²²

So while the argument for the Basel Codex being an autograph itself never found much support, its real significance lay not so much in the possession of

¹⁶ B. Laourdas agreed with Maas' that *Basileensis* A III 20 was copied by Eustathios. He also supported the conclusion that the hand which had copied the Eustathian works in *Scorialensis* 265 (Y-II-10) matched the main hand of the Basel Codex, which would have meant that Eustathios penned those quires of the Escorial manuscript containing his own works, an intriguing possibility not dismissed outright by Wilson (see note below for Wilson, "Three Byzantine scribes"). See B. Laourdas, «Εἰς Εὐστάθιον Θεσσαλονίκης,» *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 23 (1953) 544–547.

¹⁷ *De capta Thess.* xviii. Cf. van der Valk and Reinsch's reasoning that scribal errors on their own do not constitute grounds for denying autography, since authors can make mistakes without noticing it. D. R. Reinsch, "Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Autorenhandschriften," *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung* (Darmstadt, 1980) 629–44, 633. Cf. etiam Maricq, "Manuscrit d'Eustathe," 81–87.

¹⁸ Wilson, "Three Byzantine scribes," 227, nn. 7–8. Wilson's verdict was adopted by H. Hunger in his authoritative survey, *Profane Literatur*, 429. However, while he doubted the Basel Codex is a Eustathian autograph, Wilson was nevertheless willing to entertain Laourdas' identification of the relevant folios of Scor. 265 (Y-II-10) as having been copied by Eustathios himself, thus further complicating the overall picture; see Wilson, "Three Byzantine scribes," 226–228; idem., "Scholarly hands," 221–239.

¹⁹ Wilson observes that a late twelfth century date is quite plausible given the imperfect state of our knowledge about the cursive, or scholarly, hands of this period. See Wilson, "Scholarly hands," 229–231.

²⁰ H. Hunger, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur. Band I: Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen* (Zürich, 1961) 98.

²¹ L. D. Reynolds, N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and scholars: a guide to the transmission of Greek and Latin literature*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1991).

²² R. Barbour, *Greek literary hands* A. D. 400–1600 (Oxford, 1981).

a manuscript in the author's own hand, which we already had with the manuscripts of the *Παρεκβολαί*, but the possibility of Eustathios' direct involvement in a project of this scale to ensure the survival of his works.²³ We have no such evidence from equally prolific authors, like Michael Psellos or Theodoros Prodromos, for example, whose concern for their literary legacies cannot have been any less pronounced. The possibility of autography thus stands in for broader questions surrounding authorial ambition in the twelfth century. Where in previous periods authors may have relied on demand for model texts in collections of specific genres, such as we find in manuscripts containing various model "rhetorical" texts, like *Scorialensis 265* (Y II 10) or *Baroccianus 131*, the increasingly personalized style of authorship ascribed by A. Kazhdan to the twelfth century may well have found expression in the simultaneous publication and circulation of a single author's works, albeit for copying of individual texts bearing his name.²⁴

Besides the question of *who* copied the Basel Codex, however, we still answer that of *how* this project was executed, in what kind of setting and with what aims in mind. The manuscript appears to be the work of not one but two separate scribal hands working closely with one another, occasionally and somewhat inexplicably alternating within the space of a few lines. This somewhat puzzling *modus scribendi* has prompted questions about the relationship of the two scribes and led to hypotheses about the possible circumstances in which such a work might have been carried out. Hand A (=E in Maas, followed by much of the older bibliography) is untidy and stubby but practiced and consistent after the manner of 'scholarly' hands of this period. Hand A carried out the bulk of the

²³ P. Maas maintained that some time before his death (which he dates c.1194), Eustathios must have tried to create a complete edition of his "Kleine Schriften," that is, the many works comparatively smaller than his prodigious commentaries on the Homeric epics. See Maas, "Zu den Basler Autographen des Eustathios," 139–144. In the case of the *Παρεκβολαί*, copies were not likely to be commissioned as exemplars of a genre but to be read in their own right. As Eustathios indicates in the introduction to the revised and expanded edition of the *Παρεκβολαί* on the *Iliad*, they were intended as instructional books for both current and former students who wished to have a complete handbook on Homeric poetry at their side when reading 'the poet'. Few would have presumed to emulate the work. On the uses of the *Παρεκβολαί*, see R. Nünlist, "Homer as a blueprint for speechwriters: Eustathios' commentaries and rhetoric," *GRBS* 52 (2012) 493–509.

²⁴ The phenomenon may be related to the emergence in this period of professional *literati*, as first described in Kazhdan, *Change*, 130–133. The well known case of Nikephoros Basilakes assembling an edition of his selected *Progymnasmata* and supplying it with an introduction is perhaps justly seen as a milestone in Byzantine authorial identity. Similarly, Michael Choniates appears to have composed an introduction to his own collected works urged upon him by his younger brother, Nicetas Choniates. We have no such introduction by Eustathios for the Basel Codex, though the fact that he wrote one for the revised edition of the commentaries to the *Iliad* invites speculation about similar, now lost introductions for his remaining works, as well.

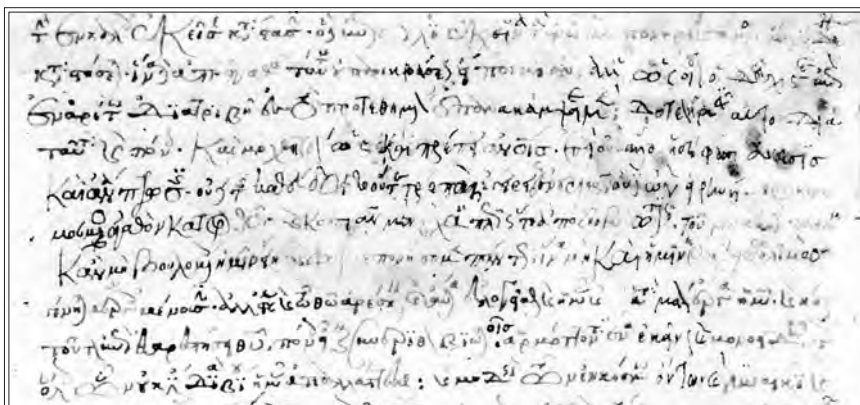


Figure 2: Basel. A III 20, 11r (lines 5–7, Hand B between lines copied by Hand A)

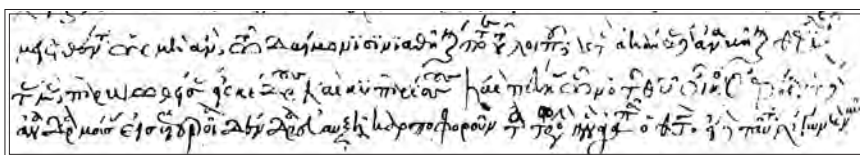


Figure 3: Basel. A III 20, 22r (lines 1–2, Hand A; line 3, Hand B)

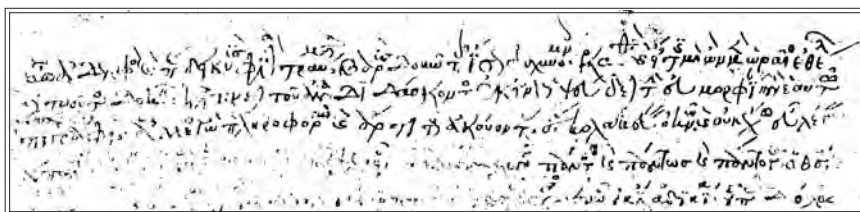


Figure 4: Basel. A III 20, 22v (lines 1–3, Hand B)

work, copying ff. 4–27v and ff. 74–253v, with help from Hand B (=S in Maas), a more fluid but not so dissimilar hand which copied ff. 28r–74r after having stepped in briefly at f. 11r (Fig. 2), ff. 12r–13r, and again at ff. 22r–22v (Figs. 3–4).²⁵ The folios containing the Ἐπιτάφιος, ff. 163v–177r were thus the exclusive work of Hand A, the same one thought by Maas and others to be Eustathios' own, though rejected by most nowadays.

²⁵ S. Schönauer, “Zum Eustathios-Codex Basileensis A.III.20”, *JÖB* 50 (2000) 232: f.12r inc. <->ρέστως ὀρθοῦσαι· και τοῦ ἀκίνητητείν (sic) τὸ εὐκνεῖσθαι· 13r des. και δι' αὐτὸ πεπύκνωμένοι ἐς - with Hand A resuming at 13v ἀπαρα[....]τον [... ..] τὴν παροῦσαν ὄμιλιαν ἐπιπαρακλήσει. Cf. *Opusc.* 13,25 reads ἅπαν ἀπ***** τὴν παροῦσαν.

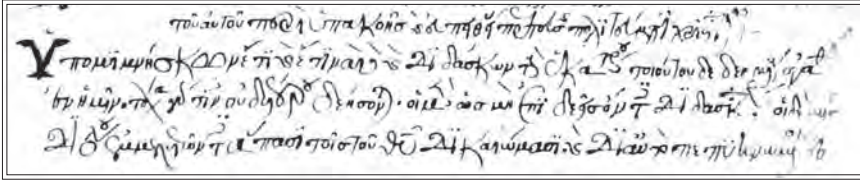


Figure 5: Basel. A III 20, 13r (Hand B)

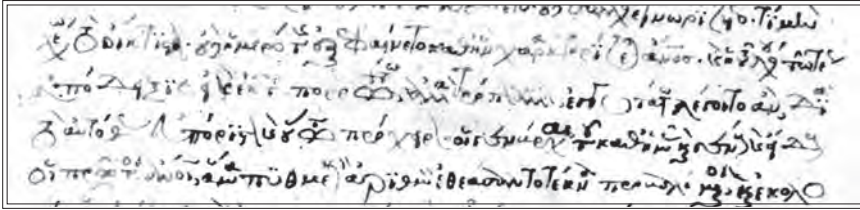


Figure 6: Basel. A III 20, 13v (Hand A)

While scribes A and B collaborated closely, A not only wrote more of the text, but also appears to have had the responsibility for proof-reading the manuscript and making any corrections to the folios written by Hand B. The cooperation between the two scribes has given rise to numerous hypotheses about their respective roles, though no single theory has marshalled a consensus. Regardless of what one thinks about the question of autography, it remains unexplained why Hand B should have had to step in and help by copying with so few lines, even as Hand A had the responsibility for reviewing the manuscript and making any final corrections. Wilson has argued that the targeted interventions of B are more characteristic of those of a head of a scriptorium coming to the aid of a junior colleague who is having difficulty making out the letters of a passage in the exemplar.²⁶ This is a plausible scenario, to be sure, save for the fact that the hand of the junior scribe appears to have been charged with reviewing the manuscript for mistakes, a responsibility usually assumed by his more practiced senior. Although evidently similar in their basic letter patterns, Hand B may be distinguished by its more closely formed, often curvier, and slightly longer right-leaning upright letters, as well as its repertoire of graceful ligatures (Fig. 5). This is in contrast to the relatively squat, often roughly hewn and irregular

²⁶ Wilson, "Three Byzantine scribes," 227; Maas identified Hand A with Eustathios and thought he had checked the copy against his own originals. But he offered no explanation for the intervention of Hand B in the folios listed above. See P. Maas, "Verschiedenes zu Eustathios," *BZ* 45 (1952) 1–3, 3.

lettering of Hand A (Fig. 6). Of course a veteran scribe need not have produced a smoother script, just a more accurate one.



There have been two full scale codicological studies of *Basileensis* A.III.20, one by A. Kambylis and more recently by S. Schönauer.²⁷ While Kambylis more precisely identified the book's make-up and allowed us to date its historical itinerary prior to reaching the Basel collections, Schönauer's analysis has yielded one especially significant finding. After a thorough re-examination of the codex, Schönauer has conjectured that the quires of the Basel Codex were probably originally bound in a different order than the one we see today.²⁸ At f. 137r Schönauer detects an effort on the part of the scribe to stretch out the remaining text by slightly enlarging the letters and limiting the ruling to 22 lines (Fig. 7), in contrast to the usual economy of this hand which had managed an average of 28–31 lines per manuscript page, as may be seen on the previous folio, 136v (Fig. 8). However, midway down f. 137v the scribe is forced once more to tighten up the spacing, having presumably miscalculated the remaining proportions of text to space available (Fig. 9). Folio 138r, on the other hand, exhibits a better proportioned, more orderly script by this same hand A (Fig. 10). Schönauer has plausibly suggested that the tidier lettering here bears the signs of a neatly begun book which gradually grew more hurried and suffered the scribe's miscalculations of space vs. text.²⁹ She therefore deduces a hidden caesura at this point in the Basel Codex, explained perhaps by the possibility that ff. 138r-254v represents the original first half of the manuscript, while ff. 4r-137v made up the second half. For reasons not easily inferred from either the contents of the texts or their estimated original dates of composition, the two halves of the manuscript would have been (re-)assembled in reverse order, with the neatly written start buried in the middle instead of headlining the codex. The text of ff. 138r-139r, a canon dedicated to the protomartyr of Thessalonike, St. Demetrios, would certainly make a fitting

²⁷ For Kambylis, see his *Pro. ad Pi. 2*-12**; Schönauer, "Zum Eustathios-Codex," 231–241.

²⁸ Schönauer, "Zum Eustathios-Codex," 235–236.

²⁹ See M. Formentin, "La grafia di Eustazio di Tessalonica," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferata* 37 (1983) 19–50, 45. Formentin, and before her, Maas, had noted that beginning at f. 138 the scribe's writing became "più severa e regolare, con tratti più calligrafici e abbreviazioni meno frequenti... più ordinata perchè queste non oltrepassano le delimitazione dello spatium scripturae, come spesso avviene nelle altre pagine." However, she adds that this well-ordered and meticulous script lasts only as far as f. 160, after which it reverts to what we find in the other folios. Cf. Maas, "Zu den Basler Autographen des Eustathios," 140.

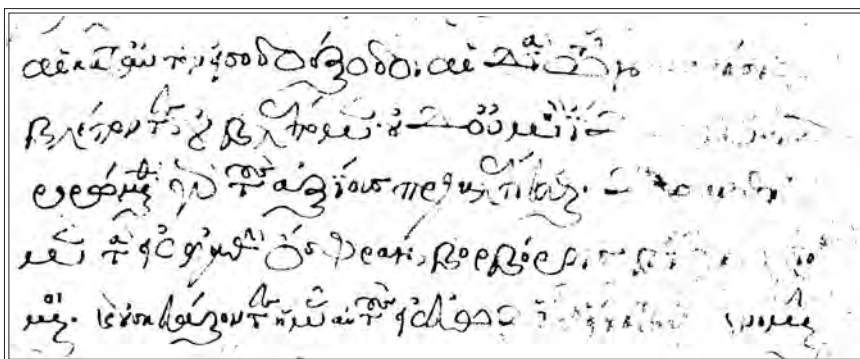


Figure 7: Basel. A III 20 f.137r (Hand A, swollen to fill up the extra space)

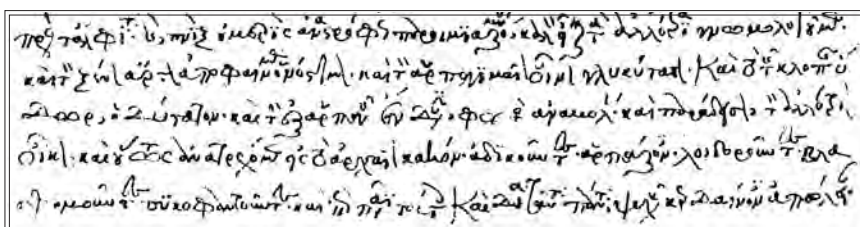


Figure 8: Basel. A III 20, f.136v (Hand A, usual size and spacing)

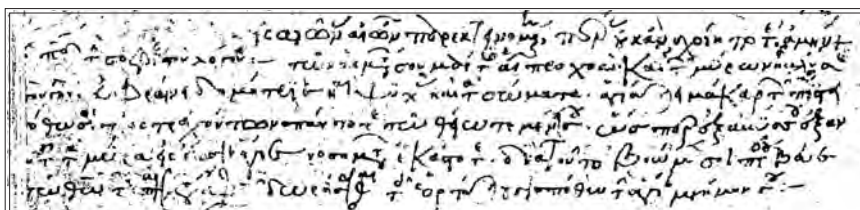


Figure 9: Basel. A III 20, f.137v (Hand A, contracted and compressed)

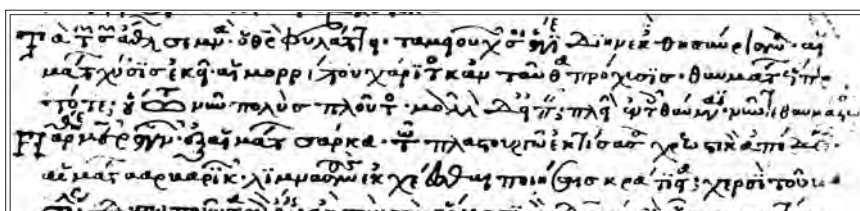


Figure 10: Basel. A III 20, f.138r (Hand A, proportionately delineated)

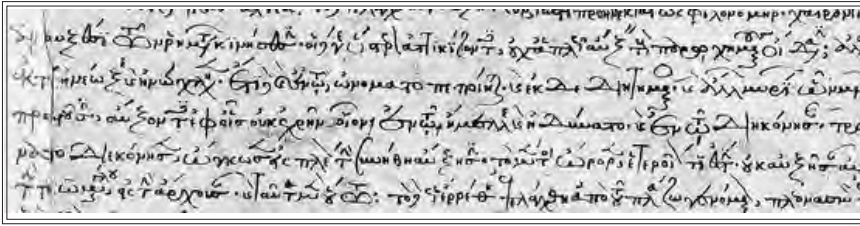


Figure 11: Par. gr. 2702

opening to a codex containing the works of Thessalonike's archbishop. Equally apt, the codex would then have closed with Eustathios' Pauline-like epistle to his restive Thessalonican flock, now found in ff.129r-137v. All this could be taken as further corroboration of the hypotheses mentioned above that Eustathios undertook the assembly of the Basel Codex while in Thessalonike.³⁰

In addition to the original ordering of the quires of the Basel Codex, Schönauer's rather plausible codicological scenario speaks to the difficulty of establishing the logic of scribal hands, or even of differentiating among them sometimes. Figures 6 through 10 are all presumably by the same Hand A, which copied out the largest share of the manuscript. But within the span of two folios we see significant variation in the scribe's manner, though without ever altering the basic template of individual letter forms common to this scribal hand. Script types, like the so-called "scholarly" hand of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, were widely adopted by both scribes and scholars of the period, as may be seen in the widely accepted Eustathian autographs, such as *Parisinus graecus* 2702 (Fig. 11). The likeness of the script in this manuscript with that of the Basel Codex is unmistakable and explains why some have seen Eustathios' hand at work in *Basileensis* A.III.20. But just as likeness cannot prove identity, neither can differences which may be due to pragmatic considerations, such as the need for 'clean' copies of the commentaries to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* destined for potential buyers, one possibility suggested by the *prooimion* attached to the Laurentian codex (*Laur. plut.* 59.2) containing the *Παρεκβολαι* to the *Iliad*.³¹ Such

³⁰ As I note above, Cullhed, following on van der Valk's earlier conjecture, has all but proven now that Eustathios' philological labours continued unabated during his bishopric. See Cullhed, "Autograph manuscripts," 459–461. Given the period in question, it probably helps account for the high incidence of parallel citations from the *Παρεκβολαι* in the *Επιτάφιος*. These may well have been due to an intensified period of engagement with Eustathios' own analysis of the Homeric *scholia*, thereby increasing the likelihood of repurposing, as it were, such material in his orations.

³¹ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1,1.1–1,9.6. J. Irigoin, noted that of the four manuscripts associated with the *Παρεκβολαι*, only one, about the *Odyssey*, was copied onto so-called oriental paper, leading Irigoin to conclude its less expensive material betrays its more humble target audience, some of whom at least

commercial incentives may well have elicited greater discipline from the author/copyist than he would have shown when transcribing a text whose function was to serve as an exemplar for further copying, rather than to be read.³² Moreover, we should bear in mind differences in layout and anticipated use between the Παρεκβολαί and the individual texts of the Basel Codex. The detailed analytical structure of Eustathios' Homeric commentaries required a more precise format, which in turn acted as a regulating influence on the scribe.

Schönauer's codicological analysis has led her to speculate about possible lost Eustathian works between the two halves of the manuscript which were either removed when it was taken apart and re-bound, or were simply never bound with the rest of the manuscript in the first place.³³ Kambylis has suggested that additional quires of the Basel Codex remained unbound for a time in "booklets," only to have been eventually distributed among different codices in the end.³⁴ Such a scenario carries the potential for works going astray. But all these hypotheses remind us of the evolving nature of a project like that of creating a 'collected works' for a Byzantine author as prolific as Eustathios, even under his close supervision. Such an editorial *cum* scribal project was likely to have taken a while, and was thus subject to error, like the binding of the quires out of their original order, as well as changes prompted by lost works or delays in copying. Assuming Schönauer's hypothesis to be correct, the original order of the works contained in the manuscript would have been as follows:

ff.138r–139r	<i>Canon ad S. Demetrium</i>
ff.139v–151r	<i>Laudatio S. Demetrii</i>
ff.151v–163v	<i>Ad Stylytam Quemdam Thessalonicensem</i>
ff.163v–177v	<i>Manuelis Comneni Laudatio Funebris</i>
ff.177v–220v	<i>De Emendanda Vita Monachica</i>
ff.220v–254v	<i>De Thessalonica Urbe a Latinis Capta</i>
... ..	(fort. desunt opera)
ff.2v–8v	<i>In Sanctam Quadragesimam Oratio</i>

would have probably been aspiring rhetors. See J. Irigoin, "Philologie grecque," *Annuaire de l'école pratique des hautes études* (Paris, 1972–3) 197–207, 200–201.

³² In the most comprehensive study of Eustathian autography to date, M. Formentin has compiled up a detailed profile of the hand(s) in the manuscripts judged Eustathian autographs, with sketches of each letter type, ligatures, and abbreviations. For a complete inventory of letter forms and ligatures in the manuscripts, see Formentin, "La grafia di Eustazio," 33–41.

³³ Kambylis had already noted the possibility of additional works coming before the first numbered folio (f. 4) of *Basil*. A III 20, in addition to the Πίναξ and the opening of the Lenten homily. See *Pro. ad Pi.* 9*–10*.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 10*.

ff.8v–13	<i>Oratio In Ps 48</i>
ff.13r–27v	<i>De obedientia magistratui christiano debita</i>
ff.28r–31r	<i>Oratio de S. Alphio et sociorum eius</i>
ff.31r–32r	<i>De s. Alpheo et sociis acolouthia</i>
ff.32r–34v	<i>Oratio in eum qui papa dici recusabat</i>
ff.34v–37v	<i>Allocutio ad Isaacium Angelum</i>
ff.37v–39v	<i>Epistulae</i>
ff.40r–42v	<i>De SS. martyribus Anania, Azaria et Misaele in fornaci coniectis</i>
ff.42v–47v	<i>Prologus in Pindarica</i>
ff.47v–66v	<i>In Sanctam Quadragesimam Oratio</i>
ff.66v–74	<i>De simulatione</i>
ff.74r–99v	<i>Contra iniuriarum memoriam</i>
ff.99v–113v	<i>In Sanctam Quadragesimam Oratio</i>
ff.113v–117v	<i>Dialogus Theophilus et Hierocles</i>
ff.117v–123v	<i>Laudatio S. Philothei Opsiciani</i>
ff.123v–129r	<i>Oratio Anno Auspicando Habita</i>
ff.129r–137v	<i>Epistula ad Thessalonicenses</i>

Such a re-ordering of the works in the Basel Codex raises the question of an original organizing principle in the distribution of the texts. Schönauer concedes that even if we assume an inversion of the two parts of the manuscript, no discernible thematic unity emerges.³⁵ But an intentional order of works is not the same as a unified one. Thus if we assume the order implied by Schönauer's hypothesis, the Ἐπιτάφιος appears fourth in the codex instead of twenty-second, right after the three Thessalonican texts with which the Basel Codex opens: the dedicatory canon to St. Demetrios, patron-saint of Thessalonike; an encomium to St. Demetrios; and an essay admonishing an overzealous Thessalonican stylite. This would have made the Ἐπιτάφιος the leading non-dedicatory secular text of the collection. More importantly, it would have been the first of the manuscript's 'core' texts containing the exemplary prose most readers anticipated, since Eustathios had made a name for himself not as a hagiographer (a somewhat defunct or perfunctory genre in this period), but as a court orator and imperial panegyrist (as well as a scholar and teacher). Such an order of the texts need not have been systematic to be significant. The book-ending of the codex with works associated with Eustathios' tenure as archbishop of Thessalonike suggests that the selection and arrangement of the texts sought to capitalize on Eustathios' association with the city, probably while he still held the post. Moreover, the works foregrounded by the probably actual order, represented Eustathios' most recent and authorially significant achievements, not least the delivery of the Ἐπιτάφιος

³⁵ Schönauer, "Zum Eustathios-Codex," 237.

at so prestigious an occasion as the burial and commemoration of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos.

It is worth stressing here that both the palaeographic and codicological arguments are worth pursuing for what they can reveal about both the specific codex and about book production and publication among authors of Eustathios' standing at the close of one of the most creative eras in Byzantine literary history. Reinsch has noted that in contrast with ancient literature, whose manuscripts went through many stages of transmission, most surviving medieval Greek works from the late ninth century onwards are either as yet unrecognized autographs, or were probably copied directly from such autographs and are in our possession.³⁶ The likelihood of this increases as texts move up the linguistic register, with fewer and fewer copies in circulation. This means that even when it proves impossible to establish autography beyond a reasonable doubt, we can place the extant manuscript and the constitution of the text on the page as we find it close enough to the author's original practice, including such elements as orthography, accentuation, and punctuation, as well other editorial features of the text, like the arrangement of works. This raises the question: how different might our conception of Byzantine literary history look if we published entire manuscripts, instead of parcelling out selected individual works, authors, or genres? The Basel Codex is rightly judged as especially revealing of late Komnenian rhetorical culture, pedagogy, ideology and aesthetics, all bound up in a series of editorial choices. To understand the significance of a work like the *Ἐπιτάφιος* we must appreciate its original manuscript setting as revealing of its earliest publication.

³⁶ Reinsch, "Bemerkungen," 632.

46 (A. III. 20). Eustathii Thessalonicensis opuscula.

Fol. 1. Eustathii oratio I in Quadragesimam. — Fol. 8^{vo}. Ejusdem oratio in Psalmum XLVIII. — Fol. 13. Ejusdem oratio de obedientia magistratui Christiano debita. — Fol. 28. Ejusdem oratio de S. Alpheo et sociis martyribus. — Fol. 31. S. Alpei, etc. invocationes. — Fol. 32. Ejusdem oratio in eum, qui papa dici recusabat. — Fol. 34^{vo}. Ejusdem ad Isaacium Angelum imp. post Scythas fugatos allocutio Philippopoli. — Fol. 37^{vo}. Ejusdem epistola super dicto: Si ausus fueris. — Fol. 40. Ejusdem oratio in Ananiam, Azariam et Misaëlem martyres. — Fol. 42^{vo}. Ejusdem prologus in Pindarica. — Fol. 47^{vo}. Ejusdem oratio II in Quadragesimam. — Fol. 57. Ejusdem oratio III. de eodem. — Fol. 66^{vo}. Ejusdem de simulatione. — Fol. 74. Ejusdem contra injuriarum memoriam. — Fol. 99^{vo}. Ejusdem homilia IV. in Quadragesimam. — Fol. 113^{vo}. Ejusdem dialogus Theophilus et Hierocles. — Fol. 117^{vo}. Ejusdem laudatio S. Philothei Opsiciani. — Fol. 123^{vo}. Ejusdem oratio anno auspiciando habita. — Fol. 129. Ejusdem epistola ad Thessalonicenses. — Fol. 138. Ejusdem S. Demetrii martyris invocationes. — Fol. 139^{vo}. Ejusdem laudatio S. Demetrii. — Fol. 151^{vo}. Ejusdem ad Stylitam quemdam Thessalonicensem. — Fol. 163^{vo}. Ejusdem Manuelis Comneni imp. laudatio funebris. — Fol. 177^{vo}. Ejusdem de emendanda vita monachica. — Fol. 221^{vo}. Ejusdem narratio de Thessalonica urbe a Latinis capta.

Voy. l'édition Tafel, Francfort, 1832, in-4^o.

XIII^e siècle. Bombycin. 255 feuillets. 252 sur 164 millim.
D. rel. peau de truie gaufrée.

Figure 12: *Catalogue Des Manuscrits Grecs: Des Bibliothèques de Suisse*, ed. H. Omont (Bâle, 1886; repr. Montana, 2010) 24.

The apparatus fontium: Quellenforschung or Intertextuality?

Few aspects of modern editorial method in medieval Greek philology are proving quite so promising, or so unresolved, as the desired parameters and potential significance of the *apparatus fontium et locorum parallelorum* (henceforward *apparatus*).¹ Historically, the aim of an *apparatus* has been to reveal the “source” texts from which citations or identifiable allusions were drawn. More recently, however, the *apparatus* has served to lay bare the various and sometimes unexpected relations of a text to other texts, both earlier and contemporary. In the case of an author as proficient in the long literary heritage of Byzantium as Eustathios was, able to draw on a remarkably wide array of texts, both ancient and medieval, the *apparatus* holds out great potential for unraveling the poetics of his works.² Less certain, however, is how precisely to constitute an *apparatus* that can both accurately and instructively profile not just the direct impact of Eustathios’ wide reading on the Ἐπιτάφιος, but the more mediated effect of the broader textual culture which made its way into the oration by more circuitous paths. The combination of these two strands amounts to a layered, composite *intertextuality*.

The constitution of an expanding and more complex *apparatus* would probably not be a matter of editorial interest, much less debate, were it not for the steadily rising number of Byzantine texts being added to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (hence *TLG*) and the capacity of the latter to locate telling parallels among texts formerly thought to have borne no obvious resemblance to each other. But an expanding *TLG* has enabled a range of citations and parallels pre-

¹ Different editors opt for variations on *parallela*, such as *similia*, usually without much explanation as to their potential difference. This terminological inconsistency follows from a general under-theorization of the modern *apparatus*. Calls for binding editorial guidelines, such as those proposed by D. R. Reinsch below, are not likely to address this problem unless preceded by sustained discussion of the desired aims of the *apparatus* and the practicable means of achieving them. A model for such discussion, accompanied by stimulating debates, is offered by the *Ars edendi* lecture series sponsored by Stockholm University. See *Ars edendi: lecture series. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis* 56–59, eds. A. Bucossi et al. (Stockholm, 2011–2014).

² Hunger notes Eustathios’ talent for fusing material from pagan and Christian sources, see H. Hunger, *Reich der neuen Mitte: der christliche Geist der byzantinischen Kultur* (Graz, 1965) 343.

viously unforeseen by conventional citation, leading some editors to reconsider expanded uses for the *apparatus*. One may see this in numerous recent editions of Byzantine texts. Having started out by documenting only close citations or direct allusions to biblical or canonical ancient Greek texts, the *apparatus* has expanded over time to include a broader spectrum of “sources.” Increasingly, this has included potentially telling parallels drawn from both late antique and contemporary medieval Greek texts. These may disclose the more immediate literary and linguistic context of a work formerly compared only to similar, or often much older, texts.

We can chart this evolution in the scope and significance of the *apparatus* for Byzantine literature in a sequence of modern editions of Eustathian works. We thus compare Kyriakidis’ minimalist *apparatus* for the 1961 edition of the *Conquest of Thessalonike* with that supplied by Kambylis for his 1991 edition of the *Prooimion to the Commentary on Pindar*. From there we may note a steady expansion as we arrive at the editions published since then, beginning with Eustathios’ letters by Kolovou, the treatise on monastic reform edited by K. Metzler, and that of the Lenten orations by Schönauer.³ With each new edition, we see the *apparatus* being reconceived and expanded in line with the growing potential not just of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, but also of a concomitantly more apposite understanding of Byzantine literary culture.⁴

In all these editions we meet various, and not always explicitly stated, rationales for the *apparatus*. Thus Kolovou, in her highly instructive edition of the surviving letters of Eustathios, describes the aim of the *apparatus fontium et testimoniorum* in deceptively conventional terms, despite having broken the mold by widening the parameters of relevant citation to a point not seen before in editions of Eustathios or almost any similar prose author. The goal, according to Kolovou, should be to identify the “sources” (*Quellen*), to which she adds parallel passages intended to render the text more intelligible, itself a significantly expanded rôle for the *apparatus*. Kolovou provides a lengthy analysis of Eustathios’ *Zitierweise* with which she buttresses her *apparatus*. Her approach to

³ *De capta Thess.* (Kyriakidis); *Pro. ad Pi.* (Kambylis); *Ep.* (Kolovou); *De emend.* (Metzler); *Or. quadr.* (Schönauer). All three, Kolovou, Metzler, and Schönauer provide extended quotation of *fontes* or *parallela/similia/testimonia* in the *apparatus fontium* in order to afford the reader an opportunity to make an immediate comparison. See Schönauer’s comments in *Prolegomena* to *Or. quadr.* 82*–83*.

⁴ One need only compare the *apparatus fontium* of the latest editions of Eustathios’ works with those of earlier editions to see the expanding definition of “source” or “parallel”; cf. *Ep.* 25*–75*, for Kolovou’s extensive discussion of the *Zitierweise des Eustathios*, detailing the links between individual citations in the letters and their sources.

citation effectively transcends the conventional understanding of “sources.” Her *apparatus* lays bare an entire way of conceiving of literary endeavour, in this case, applied to epistolary writing.

Likewise K. Metzler’s edition of *De emendanda vita monachica*, Eustathios’ long diatribe against the moral corruption of monasticism in his time, makes the most of the *apparatus* in a bid to spell out the evolution of the text from Eustathios’ earlier writings. She frequently includes passages characterized as *similia* which shed light on the text at hand while simultaneously locating it in wider homiletic and broadly moral discourses of the time. Until recently, most of these would not have been deemed “sources” in the conventional sense. Similarly, Schönauer’s edition of Eustathios’ seven surviving Lenten sermons incorporates a generously conceived *apparatus* which lists obvious allusions to, or borrowings from, scripture, as well as less direct echoes of ancient literature so fully absorbed into medieval Greek that attributing them to a “source” mistakenly suggests conscious quotation.⁵ Other citations are so partial and oblique as to constitute remote, *though no less formative*, derivations.⁶ Rather illustrative of this trend is Schönauer’s inclusion of a seamless range of citations which point less to direct borrowing or *mimesis* in the sense often ascribed to Byzantine authors. In its place she reveals a vast textual foundation which undergirds Eustathios’ sermons, not all of it ‘literary’ in either aim or reception. Often there are no obvious or direct lines to be drawn between such passages corresponding sufficiently in either form or content to warrant inclusion in the *apparatus*.⁷ Instead, the consonance between passages of the Lenten orations and a rather heterogeneous set of *fontes* invites the reader to reflect on the possible channels between various, often unrelated, discourses which found their way into Eustathios’ text and perhaps into the wider genre.

But the trend to an ever more expansive and therefore transformative approach to the *apparatus* can be seen in P. Cesaretti and S. Ronchey’s recent magisterial edition of Eustathios’ neglected *Exegesis in Canonem iambicum pen-*

⁵ *Or. quadr.* 3.77.236: δυνατῶ καὶ ὠφελίμῳ; cf. *Pl. Rep.* 457c: ἀλλὰ πῆ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν αὐτῶ ὁμολογεῖσθαι ὡς δυνατὰ τε καὶ ὠφέλιμα λέγει; cf. etiam *Or. quadr.* 5.117.400: Σοφός τε καὶ ἀγαθός, *et passim apud Platonem*.

⁶ *Or. quadr.* 5 136.874–875, where the Eustathian sentence καὶ εἰς πρὸς ἓνα μετρεῖται καὶ μόνος μόνου γίνεται is matched to the Sophoclean passage in *Aj.* 1283sq.: χῶτ’ αὐθις αὐτὸς Ἐκτορος μόνος μόνου, λαχῶν τε κάκελευστος, ἦλθεν ἀντίος.

⁷ *Or. quadr.* 4.85.91–93; cf. 6.157.340, 157.347, 7.213.664–6. No less likely to beg the question of their function are parallels drawn with near-contemporary authors, such as Anna Komnene and Theodore Prodromos, who provide evidence for the currency of certain expression or motifs across genres, *Or. quadr.* 6.164.524–5.

tacostalem.⁸ The editors opt for an *apparatus* almost bursting at the seams with detailed references and precedents which underwrite the composition of the work. Cesaretti and Ronchey have made something of a quantum leap in editorial practice. They offer the reader of this previously understudied Eustathian work a thoroughly detailed breakdown of the text's diverse "sources" while supplying parallel cross references within and beyond the Eustathian corpus. They thereby reveal the raw materials out of which the *Exegesis in Canonem* was fashioned. In doing so, they have opened avenues of interpretation of the work's aims and intended reception that would otherwise remain hidden from the modern reader at the immediate point of contact with the text. Ironically, Cesaretti and Ronchey provide a somewhat understated estimate of what the *apparatus* can reveal, one not quite commensurate with their own pioneering use of the *apparatus*.⁹

The variations in the *apparatus* in each of these works reflect the editors' estimate of what *fontes, loci paralleli, or testimonia* and *similia* may disclose about the composition and objectives of the text.¹⁰ As Giannouli observes, the varied citations of the *apparatus* "constitute essential material for the *constitutio textus* as well as for the better appreciation of the text, in particular its composition technique and literary impact."¹¹ While these vary in accordance with genre and the intent of individual authors, so does the role played by the direct or indirect citation of literature. All this variation has led some to call for an *apparatus* at once more tailored to medieval Greek texts and exhibiting greater uniformity.¹²

⁸ *Exeg. in can. iamb.*

⁹ They cite the potential of the *apparatus* for revealing Eustathios' "patrimonio di conoscenza, attinto, nel comporla, per consulta diretta o per ricorso mnemonico." But that is arguably a modest distillation of what we may glean from close study of the *apparatus* alongside Eustathios' text. See *Exeg. in can. iamb.* 304*.

¹⁰ For a concise outline of the methodological questions, see now A. Giannouli, "Critical editions and the complementary apparatuses to a critical apparatus," *Comparative oriental manuscript studies bulletin* 1/1 (Spring 2015) 21–28.

¹¹ Giannouli, "Critical editions," 21.

¹² The need for greater consistency among critical editions of Byzantine texts has been authoritatively articulated recently by D. R. Reinsch, who has urged the field to arrive at some consensus regarding editorial standards. To this end, he has proposed a commission to set firmer editorial guidelines regarding the presentation of the text, including the application of accents and punctuation, as well as the make-up of the *apparatus fontium*. This would appear to make sense, but it risks precluding, or worse yet, inhibiting, discussion about the purposes which any individual edition may serve and the necessary experiments with such models. Indeed, Reinsch's own landmark editions of Anna Komnene and to an even greater extent the more recent edition of Michael Psellos' *Chronographia* are valuable because they depart from the received standards, at times even courting controversy with some of their editorial practice. See D. R. Reinsch, "Zum Edieren von Texten: über Zitate," *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine studies, London 21–26 August 2006*, ed. E. Jeffreys, I: Plenary papers (Aldershot, 2006) 299–309, 299.

But a one size fits all approach to the *apparatus* is unlikely to address the potential of every text to tell its unique story or to reveal otherwise elusive facets of Byzantine authorial practice and poetics more broadly. A degree of uniformity across editions must be balanced against the useful information the *apparatus* may yield in each case. To this end, editors should be free to fashion the *apparatus* best suited to revealing a specific text's participation in a literary system or discourse.

An expanded understanding of the *apparatus*, especially with regard to *parallela* (or *similia*), *imitationes*, and *testimonia*, should aim at establishing the field(s) of discourse in which the text seeks to create a space for itself. This is likely to transcend the traditional conception of the *apparatus* as testifying exclusively to which texts an author may have consciously had in mind while composing a work and which he may have intended the audience to recognize. A. Failler, editor of George Pachymeres' fourteenth-century historical narrative, argues as much when he refers to the function of his own *apparatus fontium et similiarum* as demonstrating that the author's language – the metaphors, imagery, turns of phrase – are never entirely his own but the product of a common literary reservoir.¹³ Failler cautions against creating the false impression of a vast repertoire of “sources” methodically collected and consciously arranged by the author. Of course, it is just such a conception of the *apparatus* that has contributed to the perception of many a Byzantine author as an imitative, but not especially creative, figure.

In the case of a work like the Ἐπιτάφιος, usually regarded as having been composed according to the well-trodden conventions of its genre, the *apparatus* would tend to be conceived as merely confirming Eustathios' wide reading, not least in ancient literature.¹⁴ But is that the most instructive conception of the *apparatus* for this particular oration? Might an expanded *apparatus* go some ways

¹³ See the section titled “Les citations,” in *Hist. brev.* III. 223–302. See further, A. Failler, “Citations et réminiscences dans l'Histoire de Georges Pachymères,” *Revue des études byzantines* 62/1 (2004) 159–180, 161: “Il ne s' agit pas alors de prétendre que l'historien entend mentionner ces auteurs ou ces oeuvres, mais de montrer simplement que telle maxime ou telle métaphore ou telle expression ne sont pas une invention de l'historien, mais faisaient déjà partie de la langue courante des écrivains et des rhéteurs et constituaient un fonds littéraire commun.”

¹⁴ See, for example, the analysis by Stone “Funeral oration,” 239–273. Surveying a cross section of Eustathios' religious and secular works, H. Hunger arrived at an approximate ratio of biblical to pagan more or less direct citations of 3:2, with the Septuagint far outpacing the New Testament (though the disproportion of Psalms accounted for much of that imbalance); while Homer leads among the ancients, followed at some distance by Sophocles, Plutarch, Plato, Aristotle, Pindar, Euripides, Aeschylus, and sundry other authors. Hunger, *Reich*, 344. Hunger's figures might need revising in light of the spate of modern editions. Even if the gross ratios do not move much, the internal distribution might. Patristic writings, for one, figure more prominently in the apparatus of Eustathios' orations, including

in demystifying the composition and function of such a text? Concise and more restrained in its epideictic flourishes, the Ἐπιτάφιος does not flaunt its literary pedigree in quite the same way as many contemporary texts. So unostentatious and often understated is the function of citation that without the *apparatus* one might be excused for thinking that Eustathios made only minimal use of his wide literary and philological background in composing the oration. But a second, though less frequently discussed, question raised by the *apparatus* is what it may tell us about the vexing issue of the text's intelligibility to its likely audience(s). To the extent that it can help establish a wider textual context, an *apparatus* which reveals the continuity with other discourses may check the propensity to regard most 'high style' Byzantine texts as inherently unintelligible by virtue of their uncommon diction and learned references.

While few of the questions concerning the *apparatus* of the Ἐπιτάφιος are without precedent, too few occasional addresses of its kind have been subjected to such close scrutiny with respect to their sources and parallels.¹⁵ In keeping with recent practice, I have tried to signal continuities between this oration and the wider Eustathian corpus, both in the *apparatus* and in the accompanying commentary. As observed already, however, citation will misrepresent an author's *modus scribendi* if it encourages the inference that an author consulted or consciously recalled all the works cited in the *apparatus*.¹⁶ Properly understood, the use of *parallela* can mitigate this misleading impression of first-hand recollection and citation.¹⁷ Like authors of any period, Byzantine authors too had second or third-hand experience of literature through intermediate works, many of them by earlier or contemporary Byzantine authors.¹⁸ The problem thus addressed is not just the risk of misrepresenting "the Byzantine author's education

the Ἐπιτάφιος, than is usually acknowledged by scholarship on Eustathios, which has tended to highlight his admittedly prodigious knowledge of ancient literature.

¹⁵ Wirth furnished his edition of the *Opera minora*, containing most of Eustathios' court orations, with a traditional, rudimentary *apparatus fontium*, citing mostly ancient and biblical literature.

¹⁶ A point made, among others, by Giannouli ("Critical editions," 25), citing U. Knoche, "Review of Bidez and Drachmann 1938," *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 202 (1940) 515–531, 526, n. 1. Cf. the comments by Littlewood, "Statistical survey," 139.

¹⁷ Sheakespeare is perhaps the most prominent example of an author more widely cited than read directly. Reinsch and Kambylis, whose apparatus to the *Alexias* is a model of thoroughness, (including a reference in Bk I, 9.9–10 to Kavafis' poem dedicated to Anna Komnene!) do not offer much by way of an explanation in their Prolegomena of the function and significance of *parallela*; see *Alex.* *56. However, Reinsch's articles and conference papers on editorial criticism have prompted renewed consideration of their role and of the apparatus more generally. See, for example, Reinsch, "What should an editor do," 131–154.

¹⁸ Reinsch gives the example of Anna Komnene employing a phrase (*Alex.* III.3,2 γοργωπὸν σέλας ἀφήσει τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν) which appears in Aesch., *Prom.* 356, though Anna most likely gleaned the expression either from the common store of learned language or, quite possibly, from Michael Psellos,

and the range of his actual readings,” as A. Giannouli correctly observes in her concise summary of current editorial practices.¹⁹ We may also misapprehend the way even the best educated authors actually composed.²⁰

For instance, when the most recent editors of the *Alexias* cite Plutarch’s *Life of Pericles* and Aristophanes’ *Clouds* in the *apparatus* in connection with an allusion to Pericles in the speech ascribed to Alexios I in Book VI (*Alex.* 172,49), is the reader to infer that Anna Komnene drew directly on either text for her father’s argument regarding the financing of the empire’s defence? Likewise, the editors direct the reader’s attention to Sophocles (*OT* 334–335) in connection with Anna’s aphoristic reference to Alexios’ ability to “soften the soul” in Bk VI (*Alex.* 191,33–34). A little further down in the same passage, they cite Thucydides and Demosthenes as a parallel and a source, respectively, for Anna’s reference to the reconstruction of Athens after its destruction by the invading Persians (*Alex.* 192,72–78; 78–79). Anna’s boast regarding her zeal for study of the classics notwithstanding, was her recollection of every passage cited in the *apparatus* really unmediated by later texts? In other words, how do we establish whether we are dealing with a specific textual frame of reference or a more diffuse, mediated one? Is it not just as likely that phrases or recognizable events came unmoored from their original textual contexts and circulated as parts of other texts? The admittedly imperfect solution (a hedge, one might argue), has been the widespread use of “cf.” to designate an unspecified and almost deliberately ambiguous connection between the text cited in the *apparatus* and the work in question.²¹ The reader is thus asked to note the similarity, without any more specific claim by the editor about the relation of the texts.

Similarly, A. Alexakis has argued that many biblical passages reverberating through Byzantine literature do so by way of liturgical texts and hymnography, rather than as direct quotations from the bible.²² The difference is important because it establishes the more immediate context of common reference between the text and its audience. A more difficult question arises when the text matches

who uses it in his encomium to Konstantinos IX Monomachos. See Reinsch, “Zum Edieren,” 302. For Anna Komnene’s possible Psellan source, see *Or. pan.* 230–231.

¹⁹ Giannouli, “Critical editions,” 32. For the differentiation of sources from parallels, see Knoche, “Review of Bidez,” 515–531.

²⁰ For an example of false assumptions regarding the manner of composition by learned Byzantine authors, see Littlewood, “Statistical survey,” 139.

²¹ For the use of “cf.” to designate passages of works bearing an uncertain relation to the edited text, see Reinsch, “Zum Edieren,” 304. For a partial resolution of this often imprecise relationship, see the discussion below on intertextuality.

²² A. Alexakis, *The Greek life of St. Leo bishop of Catania* (BHG 981b) [Subsidia hagiographica 91] (Bruxelles, 2011) 138.

a passage from a plausibly direct “source,” like the *New Testament*. A case in point may be the repeated invocation of the parable of the talents in the Ἐπιτάφιος (§ 18, 65, 79). While it unquestionably derives from the two (distinct) Gospel versions (*Matt.* 25:14–30 and *Luc.* 19:12–27), the sense of the parable intended by Eustathios appears to have been due as much to its widespread use as a kind of shorthand for the morally uncomplicated sense of multiplying one’s estate than as an allusion to the elusive moral of the biblical contexts.²³ The problem, moreover, in distinguishing systematically between *fontes*, and the variously classified *parallela*, *similia*, or *testimonia*, for a Byzantine text like the Ἐπιτάφιος lies with the often ill-defined and debatable notion of “source.”²⁴ This is especially so for the literary and rhetorical culture of Byzantium, which valued proficiency not just in specific canonical texts, but in the accumulated resources of the language.²⁵ How should we differentiate between *fontes* and *parallela* which may testify to a more relevant but non-“original” source? To list even a sample range of such ambiguous cases would require a study in its own right. The Διήγησις Ἱστορική of Nicetas Choniates furnishes us with an example of the often indeterminate nature of citations in the *apparatus*, fittingly involving Eustathios as possible *fons* or *parallelum*.

On two separate occasions, Choniates makes use of the expression πῆδημα Θετταλόν to characterize the notorious exploits of Manuel’s treacherous cousin Andronikos I.²⁶ In the *apparatus* the editor, J. L. van Dieten, cites an etymological excursus from Eustathios’ extended commentary to the Περιήγησις τῆς

²³ Reinsch cites a telling example in Anna Komnene, where the adoption of a phrase which appears in Philippians 3.13 need not be judged to have had its source in the New Testament but appears to have become common enough for a great many authors to use in a variety of texts, without necessarily seeming to invoke scripture. See Reinsch, “Zum Edieren,” 302. For further examples, see D. R. Reinsch, „Die Zitate in der Alexias Anna Komnenes,” *Σύμμεικτα* 12 (1998) 63–74. Cf. M.-T. Papagianni, “Über Zitate und Anspielungen in der Alexias Anna Komnenes sowie Anklänge derselben in den späteren Geschichtsschreibern,” *BZ* 97/1 (2004) 167–186.

²⁴ According to the editorial guidelines drafted by Bidez and Drachmann and later revised by Delatte – Severyns, *fontes*, *parallela* (or *similia*), *imitationes*, and *testimonia* were each supposed to represent a distinct stage in the production, reception, and reconstitution of a text. In practice, however, it has proven more difficult to observe these distinctions with the same rigour as their initial conception allowed since it is not always possible to retrace the relations between texts. See J. Bidez, A. B. Drachmann, *Emploi des signes critiques, disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins*, ed. nouv. par A. Delatte et A. Severyns (Bruxelles, 1938) §30.32–33

²⁵ The habits inculcated by μίμησης did not necessarily distinguish between canonical and non-canonical texts, *pace* H. Hunger’s widely quoted article. Cf. H. Hunger, “On the imitation (MIMESIS) of antiquity in Byzantine literature,” *DOP* 23/24 (1969–1970) 17–38; repr. in *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung* (London, 1973) XV. See now *Imitatio, aemulatio, variatio: Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur* (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008), eds. A. Rhozy, E. Schiffer (Wien, 2010). See also Reinsch, “Zum Edieren,” 299.

²⁶ *Hist.* 105.68, 311.84–85.

Οικουμένης of the late Roman geographer Dionysius.²⁷ Van Dieten makes no specific claim about the relation of the Eustathian passage to Nicetas' text, other than what the reader may infer from the use of "cf." to explain the allusion.²⁸ Does Eustathios' account of πήδημα Θετταλόν testify to its current usage, as *parallela* are often perceived to do, or to an independent example of the same use drawn from a common "source"? Given his wide-ranging study of the ancient scholia (where Ioannes Tzetzes also probably came across πήδημα Θετταλόν), might Eustathios have been Nicetas' "source" for the rarefied expression? How are such *fontes laterales*, so to speak, to be distinguished from the more commonly cited *parallela*? Eustathios made repeated use of πήδημα Θετταλόν, once in the Παρεκβολαί (*Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1,517,31), the other, appropriately enough, in an oration addressed to Manuel I (*Or.* 16 [Λόγος Ο] 267.1–2), from which he drew extensively when the time came to compose his funeral oration for the emperor. To what then does the Eustathian reference testify? So-called "contamination" between contemporary texts must have been common, despite being difficult to demonstrate.²⁹ But an author like Eustathios, who had occasion to peruse the ancient scholia and collect rare words, phrases, or historical information, was not just any contemporary author. His erudition, shared with peers through learned commentaries and "bookish" writings, as well as through more direct instruction, made him a likely candidate to serve as a "source" for the kind of *recherché* expressions and historical allusions prized by Byzantine audiences.



²⁷ For the full ethnographic excursus, see *Comm. in Dion. Perieg.* 427. Cf. *Schol. in Lyc.* 245. The coincidence of references suggests the expression had only recently been revived, perhaps as a result of more intense study of the ancient scholia.

²⁸ Van Dieten's apparatus to the orations and letters of Nicetas Choniates makes few distinctions between the various references he groups under the general heading *testimonia*. See *Or. et ep.* Van Dieten followed the same practice in his edition of Choniates' Διήγησις Ἱστορική, only this time expanding the *apparatus testimoniorum* to include not only contemporaries like Eustathios, but Nicetas' own works as well, which he designates as *fontes*. See *Hist.* Van Dieten makes only the briefest mention of the "sogenannten Testimonienapparat" in his introduction (cii-cv), noting only which editions he will cite and nothing about the selection and imputed relationship of the *testimonia* to Choniates' work. Cf. F. Grabler, "Das Zitat als Stilmittel bei Niketas Choniates," in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München 1958* (Munich, 1960) 190–193.

²⁹ See the discussion of 'Kontamination' inside the Eustathian corpus by Kolovou in *Ep.* 39*–43*. Were the literary record more complete, we might conduct more statistical surveys of the *fontes* across individual works and genres in order to discern patterns of influence between near contemporary authors. Psellos, for example, is often held to have served as a rare Byzantine paragon for subsequent generations of authors. Can his influence in literary citation be seen, and can it serve as an index of who read his works? Such an approach could help compensate for the desultory impression created by the low manuscript count of certain works.

These and similar editorial dilemmas of constituting a definitive *apparatus* for the Ἐπιτάφιος illustrate the interpretive issues at stake. In each case, the citations prompt questions about the manner in which Eustathios composed this as well as his other works. The broader spectrum of citations in the *apparatus* may also cause us to think further about how the audience(s) of the Ἐπιτάφιος might have been expected to make sense of the text's often undeclared range of reference. Finally, the *apparatus* may prompt us to consider how an author's intended meaning is fashioned not only "out of" or in accordance with existing texts, as *fontes* implies, but also as part of a bid to *resist* the surrounding discourse(s) by fashioning new contexts for ideas, images, and formulations already in currency. Below are some examples, selected almost at random, of the potential, as well as the limits, of the *apparatus* to reveal a text's dependence ("immersion" may be more apt) on other texts for the creation of meaning.

(1) In a passage alluding to Manuel's intervention to ensure the unity of the church in the face of a doctrinal dispute over the nature of Christ, Eustathios articulates a subtle but vital theological premise using language derived from past Christological polemics, including phraseology formally associated with both the Fathers of the church and more particularly John of Damascus. Should either be cited as the "source" or does a non-committal "cf." suffice? The language in question may well have constituted a doctrinal *locutio communis* by the twelfth century, with no immediate reference or allusion to a specific earlier text or author in the mind of either the orator or his audience. A further passage, from an earlier imperial panegyric by Eustathios shows how embedded such expressions could become in rhetoric with little theological import and therefore unlikely to hearken back to a *fons* so much as to a widely disseminated discourse surrounding truths of the faith. The *apparatus* cannot fully resolve this association, but it can bring it to light:

[Ἐπ. 39] Ὅτε καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ σωτήρι θεανθρώπων φύσεων εὐκρινὲς συνέχεον, ὡς ἂν καὶ λαθοῖ τις οὕτως ἐξαμαρτάνων, οἱ δὲ τῆ ἀσυγχύτῳ ἐνώσει ἐπεβούλευον τῷ αὐθάδει τοῦ δυναμοῦ.

θεανθρώπων..ἐνώσει: cf. Greg. Naz. Liturg. sanct. Greg. 36.721 ἐνώσας ἐαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν, ἀφράστως καὶ ἀπερινοήτως, ἀτρέπτως δὲ καὶ ἀσυγχύτως, ψυχὴν ἔχουσαν λογικὴν τε καὶ νοερὰν; cf. etiam Syn. Const. (ann. 536) εἰ τις θεανθρωπίαν λέγει καὶ οὐχὶ θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον μᾶλλον λέγει, ἀναθεματίζεσθω; cf. etiam Io. Damasc. De duab. in Christ. volunt. 8, col 1 Εἰ μία φύσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, πῶς ὀνομάζεται; Χριστότης δηλαδὴ ἢ θεανθρωπότης; cf. etiam Eust. Or. 13 (Λόγος Μ) 228.60–63 νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο προστίθημι, ὡς ἄρα ἐκ δύο

ποταμῶν ὁ Ἰορδάνης καὶ πρὸς ὄνομα καὶ πρὸς πρᾶγμα κιννάμενος ἔπρεπε τῷ θεανθρώπῳ Ἐμμανουήλ οὐ διὰ συγχυτικὴν ἀνάκρασιν (ἄπαγε), ἀλλὰ φύσεων ἕνωσιν.

(2) In the next example, the distinction between a source and a parallel passage cannot be easily drawn. Eustathios employs an expression, καρδίας... ἐμβατεύειν, reminiscent of the language of the Old Testament (cf. LXX Regn. I, 16.7, ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται εἰς καρδίαν) to describe Manuel's uncanny diagnostic ability when faced with a man who appears to be in good health but harbours a fatal illness. Despite the scriptural imagery, the expression καρδίας... ἐμβατεύειν has no exact biblical precedent, though it is used repeatedly in the homilies of John Chrysostom, whence it probably entered Byzantine homiletic literature and most likely reached Eustathios. Its application in a secular, medical context in the Ἐπιτάφιος trades on the divine image of God looking into the heart of a man to learn his authentic self. As the *parallela* indicate, Eustathios' only other use of a conspicuously similar expression in his treatise on monastic reform also exploits the image of divine omniscience. The *apparatus* puts all this before the reader with the aim of widening the relevant frame of potential reference without presuming to designate a "source":

[Ἐπ. 41] Καὶ εἶπεν ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν ἅπας ὅστις οὖν, καρδίας αὐτὸν ἐμβατεύειν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς τὴν φύσιν ἔνδοθεν ποθεν αὐτῷ ἐκλαλεῖν τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀπόρρητα.

καρδίας ... ἐμβατεύειν: cf. LXX Reg. I, 16.7, ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται εἰς καρδίαν cf. Io. Chrys. In Gen. 53.198.17 καὶ ὅτι ταῖς καρδίαις ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐμβατεύων οὐδένα περιορᾷ; cf. etiam Proc. Rhet., Comm. in Isaiam. 1849 Ἀπέναντι δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου, φησὶν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δυνατὸν ἐπιπλάστως καὶ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν δοκεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀγαθοῦς. Θεὸς τὰς καρδίας ἐμβατεύων, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς διανοίας ὀρᾷ' cf. Eust. De emend. 71,8–12 οὐδὲ μὴν ἀνθρωπος μένων ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν. ἐπαγωγὸς οἷς προφαίνῃ, φευκτέος οἷς ἐνδομυχεῖς. γλυκὺς τὰ ἐξεπιπολῆς, ἀγλευκὴς τὰ ἐς βάθος. κάλλιστος εἰς πρόσωπον, οὐ καθικνεῖται ὄψις ἀνθρώπου, αἰσχιστος τὴν καρδίαν, εἰς ἣν ἐμβαθύνων βλέπει ὁ θεός.

(3) Likewise, the *apparatus* may reveal the eclectic manner of composition by which Eustathios combines language drawn from different literary settings in such a way as to harness the context of their provenance, all the while fully integrating them in the new text. He is thus able to join the phrase κατὰ σκότον ἤλασκει from the much quoted Empedoclean verse Ἄτης ἐν λειμῶνι κατὰ σκότον ἤλασκουσιν, found in such late Roman authors as Synesius of Cyrene (*Epist.* 147; *De provid.* 1.1), with Circe's description in Od. 10.494–494 of the gliding ghosts Odysseus will encounter in Hades. Unsurprisingly, the possibilities contained

in this language had been rehearsed by Eustathios in his analysis of the relevant passage of the *Odyssey* in his commentaries on Homeric epic, the Παρεκβολαί:

[Ἐπ. 12] παρεωραμένης δέ, ἄλλο τι ἐκεῖνα, καὶ ὡς οἶα κατὰ σκότον ἠλάσκει ὁ ἐργαζόμενος, καὶ ὡς παρεγκλίνας τὸ φῶς σκιά τις ἄσσει ἀπολωλεκυῖα τὸ στερέμιον.

κατὰ σκότον ἠλάσκει : apud multos autores, ex Emped. Fragm. 121, ἀυχμηραί τε Νόσοι καὶ Σήψιες ἔργα τε ρευστά Ἄτης ἂν λειμῶνα κατὰ σκότος ἠλάσκουσιν; cf. Mich. Chon. Ep. 61,2–4 Δεῖλαιοι μὲν καὶ δεῖλαιον ἔλκοντες βίον ὅσοι τῆς ἠλιακῆς ἀπωκισμένοι φλογὸς περὶ τὰ ἀρκτηκώτερα καὶ δυσχεῖμερα φθείρονται, δύστηνοι δὲ καὶ Κιμμέριοι οἱ κατὰ σκότον ἠλάσκοντες σκιά... ἄσσει... στερέμιον: Hom. Od. 10.494–494 τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια / οἶψ πεπνῦσθαι. τοὶ δὲ σκιάι ἄσσουσιν; cf. Procl. In Plat. comm. 1.119.21 περὶ τοὺς τάφους καλινδουμένης σκιοειδῆ παρέχεσθαι φαντάσματα, καὶ ὁ ποιητῆς σκιάις αὐτὰς παραπλησίως ἄσσειν ιστόρησεν; cf. etiam Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Od. 1.393.40–41 Ἄμενηνὰ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ σκιάι ἄσσειν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐρρήθησαν. προῖων δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητῆς ἐρμηνεύσει πῶς ἀμενηνοὶ οἱ νεκροὶ, ἐν οἷς ἐρεῖ ὡς οὐκέτι σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα ἴνες ἔχουσιν; cf. Them. Or. 347a οὐδὲν γε ἂν ἦν εὐπέτεστορον ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας. ἀλλ' ὅταν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπάρχη... χρῆ οὖν ἐκεῖνο ἀποσκευάσασθαι, καὶ ἡ σκιά συναπελήλαται τῷ στερεμίνῳ; cf. etiam Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Od. 1.390.28–31 ὁ δὲ ποιητῆς οὐ μόνον μαντικώτατον ἐνταῦθα τὸν Τειρεσίαν ἐμφαίνει ὡς τοιοῦτον ὄντα ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄλλας ψυχὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ στερέμιόν τι ἔχοντα, εἴπερ αὐτῷ μὲν φρένες ἔμπεδοι νοοῦντι καὶ πεπνυμένῳ θειώτερον. οἱ δὲ σκιάι ἄσσουσι. τουτέστιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄιδην.

It may be argued that much of what may be accomplished in a more comprehensive apparatus, such situating individual passages of the text in a broader verbal and literary context, properly belongs in a commentary.³⁰ But that, in my view, is to misapprehend the distinction between an *apparatus* and a commentary. While a commentary allows for more context and qualification, it does not present its contents to the reader as germane at the point of contact with the text, as the *apparatus* can. That said, in cases where the *apparatus* would in fact have swelled to an unreasonable size by the sheer volume of *parallela* or *similia*, I cite only a representative sample and consign the rest to the commentary for the more specialized reader. There are, however, important reasons for wishing to include significant *parallela* (or *similia* and *testimonia*) alongside the presumed *fontes* of a text. Chief among these is the need to constantly orient the reader by supplying the broader literary context(s) of a work like the Ἐπιτάφιος, especially for the indispensable connotations and unstated associations generated by similarity to seemingly unrelated texts. In this way the reader may constantly

³⁰ By way of a rationale for such a decision Alexakis cites the explanation given by L. Rydén for merging the *apparatus fontium* with the notes accompanying the translation to the *Life of Andrew the Fool*. The distinction between quotations, allusions and more or less unconscious reminiscences is vague. For Rydén's comments, see *The life of St. Andrew the Fool*, vol.1 [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4.1–2] (Uppsala, 1995) 146. For Alexakis' discussion of the *fontes*, see Alexakis, *Greek life of St. Leo*, 137–138.

adjust the interpretation in light of ancillary witnesses to previous and current *topoi*, imagery, technical vocabulary, or even common expressions which undergo gradual evolution or subtle shifts from text to text. Reading with an eye to the *apparatus* reminds the reader of the need to acknowledge the shared nature of all language and the distributive origins of meaning.

(4) A number of the citations in the *apparatus* of the Ἐπιτάφιος have the character of gnomic statements, closely resembling passages from ancient literature, which citation usually implies they must have been modelled on. In one such example in the funeral oration, Eustathios recalls an episode in which the emperor John II reprimands his young son Manuel for the reckless way he has thrown himself headlong into battle without regard for his own safety, and by extension his responsibility to his future subjects.³¹ John issues a stern reproach, citing a piece of received wisdom:

[Ἐπ. 7] ὁ δὲ πατὴρ βασιλεύς, ἐμβριμησάμενος, αὐτὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐπιπλήξας, εἰς φρίκην συνήγαγε μαθόντα, μὴ χρῆναι θάλος οὕτω νέον ἀνέμοις ἑαυτὸ παραβάλλειν... ἀκούσαντά τε καί, μηδένα φαῦλον ἄνδρα πόλεμον αἰρέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αἰεὶ

μηδένα... αἰεὶ: fort. alludit ad Soph. Philoct. 436–437 πόλεμος οὐδέν' ἄνδρ' ἑκὼν αἰρεῖ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χρηστοὺς αἰεὶ; cf. etiam Suda αἰ 296 Αἰρεῖ: ἀναιρεῖ, φονεύει. Σοφοκλῆς. πόλεμος γὰρ οὐδέν' ἄνδρ' ἑκὼν αἰρεῖ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χρηστοὺς αἰεὶ; cf. etiam Pseudo-Zonaras Lexic. α 93 Αἰρεῖ. φονεύει, ἀναιρεῖ. [Σοφοκλῆς — πόλεμος γὰρ οὐδέν' ἄνδρ' ἑκὼν αἰρεῖ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χρηστοὺς αἰεὶ.]

John II's cautionary reproach to his son has as all the attributes of an aphoristic *locus communis* about the fate of the brave during wartime. The idea itself had significant literary pedigree in no less an authority than Sophocles, who is cited in Byzantine lexis less as a source than as an illustration of the idea. As we see towards the end of the oration, the claim that war willingly ravages the virtuous needed no ancient authority. Of course a career philologist like Eustathios was likely to have come across across the gnomic paradox in Sophocles' play, or in scholia which cited the verses of *Philoctetes*.³² But its inclusion in the *Suda* and the lexicon of pseudo-Zonaras nevertheless testifies to the wider currency of the axiom. Listing the additional citations in the *apparatus* allows the reader to see

³¹ For more on this episode, see the commentary at Ἐπ. *ad loc.*

³² For examples of Eustathios' familiarity with the Sophoclean corpus, see *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.188.25, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τραγικὸν Σοφοκλέα, τὸν τύραννον εὐσεβεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον; cf. etiam *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.276.20–21, καθὰ καὶ τὸ στένειν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ λεγόμενον; cf. etiam 1.652.24–26, καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ «τὰ περισσὰ κἀνόνητα σώματα» πάσχει τότε τι «ὅστις ἀνθρώπου φύσιν γεγώς, ἔπειτα μὴ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φρονεῖ». For analogous uses of ancient poetry by Eustathios in disparate contexts, see S. Ronchey, "Riferimenti pindarici nell'Exegesis in canonem iambicum di Eustazio di Tessalonica," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 25 (1987) 53–56.

the layered structure of the sources. What's more, the intermediary texts, though commonly regarded as being at a remove from the hallowed original, often have a more compelling claim to the status of *fontes* than the more ancient or prestigious text. The apparatus only misleads if it encourages us to identify Sophocles as the sole or effective "source," and the rest as mere *parallela*.³³

(5) Among the most frequently recurring texts cited in the *apparatus* of the Ἐπιτάφιος are those by Eustathios himself. The majority of these citations come from his orations at the courts of the emperor or the patriarch. A few more stem from miscellaneous speeches delivered on other occasions, like the ἐπιβατήριος λόγος for the arrival in Constantinople of Agnes, daughter of king Louis VII of France, betrothed to Manuel's only son and ill-fated successor, Alexios II. Such repetition, or recycling, was not without its own rhetorical rationale. Eustathios provides a justification for orators to reuse previous works by citing the example of Homer, the perennial authority in matters of composition:

ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἕως μὲν τῆς τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀπειλῆς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ξηροὺς ἔθετο τοὺς στίχους ὁ ποιητὴς παλιλλογῶν, οὓς ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν ἔγραψε, διδάσκων, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μυρίοις, ὅτι ἐν πολλοῖς ἔξεσσι τῷ ῥητορεύοντι ἀνεπιλήπτως ταῦτολογεῖν καὶ μὴ τὰ καλῶς ῥηθέντα παρακινεῖν μηδὲ κόπους ἑαυτῷ παρέχειν ἐν κενοῖς μηδενὸς κατεπείγοντος μηδὲ μελετᾶν ἀγωνιᾶν εἰσαεῖ³⁴

You should know that up to the point of Agamemnon's threat (*Il.* 1.370–379) the poet, repeating himself, set down exactly the same verses that he had written before (sc. *Il.* 1.113–16, 22–25), thereby teaching, as he does in countless other places as well, that in many cases the orator can safely repeat the same words and need not alter what is well said, nor exert himself in vain when there is no pressing need, forever anxiously labouring [over his text].

Once formulated, a well enough expressed idea need not undergo alteration. Some of this reflects the professional rhetor's need for economy of labour. Commissioned to compose panegyrics on a fixed set of subjects, the author could not be expected to keep producing new, equally apt formulations in well honed language. Such a rationale traded on certain deeply ingrained cultural assumptions about the relation of language to a permanent and recurring reality. Having already hit the mark, as it were, in previous *encomia* to Manuel, Eustathios saw no need to devise new formulations to characterize the emperor's enduring virtues and achievements. But does this make Eustathios' own earlier orations "sources" or parallels?

³³ Similarly, Reinsch has underlined the need to differentiate between actual citations, i.e., direct references to a specific text, and passages which testify to the limited or widespread use of certain expressions, words, etc. Otherwise, he points out, we risk creating a false impression of an author's literary intentions and the means at his disposal to achieve them. See Reinsch, "Zum Edieren," 301.

³⁴ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 120.20–24.

A similar dilemma is occasioned by the recurrence of language or motifs which match Eustathios' own Παρεκβολαί to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, by far the most fertile "source" for *parallela* to the Ἐπιτάφιος. The Παρεκβολαί furnished their author with a seemingly inexhaustible supply of Homeric as well as other ancient material he could adapt to almost any context.³⁵ The range of sources cited in the commentaries had a substantial multiplier effect on the literary endowment drawn on by Eustathios.³⁶ As Kolovou points out in her discussion of Eustathios' *Zitierweise* in his surviving letters, the Παρεκβολαί do not simply map the breadth of his philological expertise; they allow us to detect references or allusions so well integrated into his works that they remain practically hidden from view.³⁷ Being themselves elaborate *scholia* on the Homeric epics, with innumerable incidental references to ancient literature, the Παρεκβολαί are not generally regarded as *fontes* in the usual sense of the word. A number of Eustathios' direct quotations, allusions or paraphrases of ancient texts, not least those from the Homeric epics, issued from his philological workshop. Cesaretti and Ronchey have aptly conjured the image of the "scrivania eustaziana," on which the Παρεκβολαί appear constantly open and ready to supply apt *parallela*.³⁸ In fact, the Παρεκβολαί complicate any easy understanding of Eustathios' *modus scribendi*, since he often seems to be recalling the original texts within the philological context of his commentary, making it hard to assign priority to one over the other. Reading many of Eustathios' later works alongside the Παρεκβολαί, one has the impression that the prolonged philological labour served as an extended *progymnasma* or rhetorical rehearsal for future works like the Ἐπιτάφιος.³⁹

³⁵ On the probable dates of composition of the Παρεκβολαί (c.1165–1175) see van der Valk, *Comm. ad Hom. Il. I* §125, cxxxvii–cxxxix; Hunger sets Eustathios' appointment as bishop of Thessalonike as the likely terminus *ante quem*; see *Profane Literatur*, II, 66. For a convincing argument that Eustathios continued work on the Παρεκβολαί well after his appointment as bishop, thereby making their continued exploitation in composition more plausible, see the recent edition by Cullhed, *Eustathios*.

³⁶ The editor of the Παρεκβολαί to the *Iliad*, M. van der Valk, credited Eustathios with a "*memoria tenacissima*" which allowed him to make the most of his tireless philological experience. See van der Valk, *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* lvi, with n.6. For the inevitable errors or discrepancies in quotation and allusion which such proficiency may introduce, see van der Valk, *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* lvi–lvii, and cxliv–cxlv. For an inventory of the full range of *fontes*, *testimonia*, and *loci paralleli* in the Παρεκβολαί, see van der Valk's list of *compendia editionum*, *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* cliii–clx. The difficulty lies in assessing how much of this literature Eustathios knew first-hand and how much he had encountered in the ancient commentaries he had consulted in order to compose the Παρεκβολαί.

³⁷ *Ep.* 25*–75*; for the consonances and discrepancies implied in the specific terms employed in each language, see *idem* 28*, with n.16.

³⁸ *Exeg. in can. iamb.* 304*–305*; cf. S. Ronchey, "L'Exegesis in canonem iambicum di Eustazio di Thessalonica. Saggio di edizione critica (acrostico - irmo dell'ode prima)," *Aevum* 59 (1985) 241–266.

³⁹ Nünlist, "Homer as a blueprint," 493–509.



One answer to the interpretive dilemmas occasioned by the definition of sources and parallels in the Ἐπιτάφιος might be to see the *apparatus* less as the product of *Quellenforschung* and more like an index of a work's enabling intertextuality. Where the conventional understanding of an *apparatus* calls to mind an author selecting carefully among plausible *fontes*, intertextuality emphasizes meaning as deriving from the reciprocal relation *between* texts.⁴⁰ Chief among the insights furnished by the concept of intertextuality is that texts do not possess, nor can they generate, wholly independent meaning. Instead, meaning is more correctly located in the reciprocal current *between* texts, the point of the inelegant but apt prefix *inter-*. Literature is sustained by a network of textual interdependence – what Reinsch has referred to as the *spezielle intertextuelle Beziehungsnetz* – in which the potential for words to combine into new meanings is an extension of their earlier configurations.⁴¹ In short, textual meaning is never entirely self-contained, it is *systemic*.⁴² “Sources” and “parallels,” though not without value, may be inadequate to such an understanding of sense.

It may be objected here that as a theoretical concept, intertextuality has proven too plastic to serve as a rationale for editorial practice.⁴³ But its conceptual untidiness notwithstanding, intertextuality furnishes a broad paradigm for thinking about the relations between texts which may prove especially suitable to the opening up of Byzantine literature. This is especially so since we are often talking about a literature built on a sophisticated amalgam of citation, allusion, and varied forms of textual appropriation underwritten by *mimesis*.⁴⁴ An essentially structuralist concept proceeding from Ferdinand de Saussure's seminal insight into the relational nature of all linguistic meaning, intertextuality allows us to look beyond “sources” to the broad literary field in which a text operates.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ See, for example, J. Clayton, E. Rothstein, “Figures in the corpus: theories of influence and intertextuality,” *Influence and intertextuality in literary history*, eds. J. Clayton, E. Rothstein (Madison, 1991) 3–36.

⁴¹ Reinsch, “Zum Edieren,” 309.

⁴² M. Riffaterre, “The self-sufficient text,” *Diacritics* 3 (1973) 39–45.

⁴³ For an acknowledgement of, as well as redress for, the sometimes debilitating lack of focus in the indiscriminate application of “intertextuality,” see the comments in the introduction to G. Allen, *Intertextuality*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon, 2011) 1–7.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the continuum between mimesis and intertextuality, see M. Riffaterre, “Intertextual representation: on mimesis as interpretive discourse,” *Critical Inquiry* 11 (1984) 141–62.

⁴⁵ F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. critique par T. de Mauro, avec C. Bally, A. Sechehaye et A. Riedlinger (Paris, 1974); for a discussion of the work's influence, see the introduction by J. Culler, to F. de Saussure, *Course in general linguistics*, trans. Wade Baskin (London, 1974).

The merits of such an approach are not to be seen just in the more conspicuous literary citations, like the Homeric borrowing in the Ἐπιτάφιος, or in recognizable allusions to scripture. Intertextuality is often at its most revealing when it can foreground less marked parts of a text and show the depth and breadth of discourse which lies behind it. A more broadly conceived *apparatus* can correlate a work with texts the author was not likely citing in any conventional sense of the word, but which nevertheless paved the way for the meaning invoked by the author. Seen from such a vantage, the *apparatus* has the capacity to testify to more than just which books Eustathios and his peers had at their immediate disposal, though such inferences remain important. In many cases it matters less whether an author had direct access to specific works or whether he could recall them *verbatim*. It is rather a matter of gradual and near-unconscious assimilation of discourses.⁴⁶ Such a conception of intertextuality allows us to move from a reductionist understanding of the *apparatus* as one author's repertoire of "sources" to a more structural notion of texts perpetually joined to other texts.⁴⁷ Of course no *apparatus* can provide an exhaustive inventory of possible "sources" in this expanded sense. Still, it can help situate the text in its wider cultural and discursive field, revealing its meaning as resting on complex ties to other texts, often in unexpected and elusive ways.

THE APPARATUS FONTIUM ET
LOCORUM PARALLELORUM OF THE ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ

In light of the analysis above, it would be inconsistent to claim anything but a modicum of systematization for the *apparatus fontium et parallelorum* of this edition. I have adopted as uncluttered and transparent a template as might help orient the reader in the (*inter*)textual thicket beneath the main text. For the most part, the method of citation follows widely adopted conventions. I have not opted for special symbols to differentiate among the texts cited, though I ac-

⁴⁶ Or as Reinsch would have it, "[Similien] ...leisten nicht, einen speziellen Bezug des behandelten Autors...herzustellen." See Reinsch, "Zum Edieren," 303. For the question of citation from memory, see Kolovou's dissent from the once dominant view that Byzantine authors misquoted their sources by virtue of their imprecise recollection of the text. In most cases, she notes, Byzantine authors adapted the original to suit the context of their own text, as rhetors were taught to do. *Ep.* 29*; cf. Wirth, *Untersuchungen*, 34.

⁴⁷ For the varied potential of the apparatus to bring to light otherwise hidden dimensions of a text's complex history and intertextual correspondances, see the ample *apparatus fontium* accompanying the new edition of Andronikos Kamateros' anti-Latin tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit (*Sac. arm.*). For the merits of a more ambitious approach to the *apparatus fontium*, see the review of Bucossi by T. Kolbaba in *The medieval review* 15.08.10.

knowledge that such a method, devised for some recent editions, is not without significant advantages.⁴⁸ We may see its use spread for certain texts if we are to take advantage of the growing potential of the *TLG* and the growing flexibility of digitally typeset editions which allow for more parameters in the formatting of the *apparatus*. For the purposes of this edition, when I deem that a passage in the Ἐπιτάφιος either manifestly cites or directly alludes to a particular text, traditionally labelled a “source,” then it appears in the *apparatus* without further comment. In cases where the relation between the main text and the citation is less obvious yet still worth noting, then the citation is preceded by the abbreviation “cf.” This second category, which makes up the majority of citations, includes the broad class of *parallela* from both older and near-contemporary texts, including Eustathios’ own corpus of surviving works.

One reason for not trying to differentiate further among the various citations is a desire to avoid alienating or disorienting even specialized readers by asking them to memorize a complex set of *sigla* drafted specifically for this one edition. Another is the difficulty of parsing the possible relationships between the Ἐπιτάφιος and the citations in question. In those cases where the possible sources or parallel passages would expand the *apparatus* well beyond what is reasonable, I instruct the reader to consult the commentary with *vid. not. ad loc.* Nevertheless, readers are asked to bear in mind that the *apparatus* is not merely an inventory of “sources.” Finally, all the texts in the *apparatus*, save one, are cited according to the print edition listed in the abbreviations of the bibliography. The single exception are the Παρεκβολαί or *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem (sive) Odysseam*. These two works are not only rare in print, they are also impractical to cite in their published format. Following the successful citation method of the Παρεκβολαί adopted by Kolovou in her edition of Eustathios’ letters, I have therefore decided to supply the *TLG* reference instead, which is easy enough to match to van der Valk’s print edition, for anyone wishing to do so. In the case of texts for which no more current edition exists besides the *Patrologia graeca*, I note the volume and column numbers in parentheses next to the citation. Biblical passages are cited from the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland’s New Testament, abbreviated as *Nov(um) Test(amentum)*, while citations from the Old Testament refer to the 9th edition of Rahlf’s text and are abbreviated *Septuag(inta)*. All other citations may be found in the bibliography.

⁴⁸ For the rationale, as well as an example of such an approach in the *apparatus fontium*, see *De emend.* 53*–54*.

Στίξις, or Punctuation as Performative Notation

History has left its residue in punctuation marks, and it is history, far more than meaning or grammatical function, that looks out at us, rigidified and trembling slightly, from every mark of punctuation.

— Theodor Adorno, “Punctuation Marks”¹

Perhaps the first thing anyone reading the Greek text of the Ἐπιτάφιος in this edition will likely trip over is the punctuation. Rather than punctuate the Greek text according to modern – or at least modern English – convention, I have chosen to preserve a significant measure of the Byzantine punctuation.² I have done so in spite of the usual objections, all of which I acknowledge, and some of which I even share. However, the historical value in retaining the punctuation of the manuscript more than sufficiently compensates for the inevitable and, as I argue, salutary challenges to the student of medieval Greek oratory.

Until recently, most editors did not feel much need to account for the punctuation of the medieval manuscript(s), much less to justify not adopting said punctuation. Indeed, few editors would have thought of this as a decision or choice. It was an editorial reflex. Byzantine punctuation, after all, has generally seemed nonsensical, often verging on the absurd. So little account was taken of it, that the punctuation in Byzantine manuscripts had become practically invisible to most editors. This in turn created few incentives to study medieval punctuation, let alone to seriously consider its restitution to the Greek text. Thus a significant discrepancy between the manuscript testimony and the modern edi-

¹ T. W. Adorno, *Notes to literature*, ed. R. Tiedemann [*Noten zur Literatur*, Berlin, 1958], tr. S. Weber Nicholsen (New York, 1991) 92.

² I do not reproduce all the punctuation marks as they occur in the Basel Codex. Deeming it a sufficient challenge to the reader to confront the higher incidence of punctuation, I have chosen to reduce the variety of Byzantine marks, especially the variable lower, middle, and upper dots alongside the comma to the standard comma, middle dot, and period. There are good arguments (see Liverani below) for distinguishing the length and emphasis of pause among the various dots, for example, as contrasted with commas. But my argument here depends first on acknowledging the elocutionary function of the punctuation; finer distinctions among them are not precluded by this approach.

tion of medieval Greek texts became routinely elided. The presumption of its irrelevance all but assured its irrelevance.

Though not articulated anywhere systematically, the impression of Byzantine punctuation as erratic, often “illogical” and counter-intuitive, was widely shared among scholars. In a short but seminal article published in 1995, Jacques Noret took an important step forward in rehabilitating Byzantine punctuation.³ Drawing primarily on manuscripts of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, Noret demonstrated that the Byzantine author/scribe’s application of punctuation was designed to achieve disambiguation in the text and thus prevent the reader/reciter from bundling the wrong words together as he read the continuous line of the text without word separation.⁴ The aim of punctuation was to preclude or resolve cases of *διάνοια ἀπρητισμένη*, where words were mistakenly perceived as forming a complete unit of thought (sometimes also characterized as *διάνοια κρεμαμένη* or *μεσοῦσα*, i.e., ambiguous or otherwise equivocal propositions).

Noret showed that some Byzantine punctuation formerly deemed ungrammatical was in fact quite useful, and even consonant with our own conventions of preempting ambiguity. Noret thus helped restore a greater measure of historical credibility to Byzantine punctuation. But his defense of some medieval Greek *στιξίς* also tacitly endorsed the modern, exclusively grammatical, function of punctuation.⁵ Thus any punctuation which did not help to resolve textual ambiguity by partitioning self-standing grammatical or syntactical units could be dismissed as otiose, at best. Still, Noret’s reassessment of some Byzantine punctuation demonstrated the potential which reconsideration of the whole might

³ J. Noret, “Notes de ponctuation et d’accentuation byzantines,” *Byzantion* 65.1 (1995): 69–88.

As so often, there had been forerunners, but either the timing of their publications or the manner in which they put forward their argument, or perhaps both, did not allow it to register with much impact on fellow scholars. See C. M. Mazzucchi, “Sul sistema di accentazione dei testi greci in età romana e bizantina,” *Aegyptus* LIX (1979) 145–167; *Id.*, “Per una punteggiatura non anacronistica, e più efficace, dei testi greci,” *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. LI (1997) 129–143; E. V. Maltese, “Ortografia d’autore e regole dell’editore: gli autografi bizantini,” *Rivista di studi bizantini e neolencici* 32 (1995) 91–121; cf. J. A. Munitiz, *Nicephori Blemmydae autobiographia, sive curriculum vitae nec non epistula universalior* [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 13] (Leuven, 1984).

⁴ Noret, “Notes de ponctuation,” 71–79; an example would be the following, where the absence of any pause would encourage the reader/listener to string together words belonging to different clauses of the sentence as found in *Monac. gr.* 223, f.220r, ll.15–17: Ἀὕτη τοῖνον ἢ σχέσις ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμοίωσις πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ἡ θέωσις ἔστι κατὰ τὸν Ἀρεοπαγίτην.

⁵ Noret was not entirely insensitive to the potential of punctuation to generate greater appreciation of the language of Byzantine literature *per se*. See “Notes de ponctuation,” 69: “D’aucuns s’étonneront du sujet ici proposé: ponctuation... voilà bien un objet d’étude fort secondaire. Et en effet. Toutefois, le domaine est loin d’être connu autant qu’on le pense et il recèle des surprises qui permettent, je crois, de mieux saisir le génie propre de la langue grecque.”

bear out.⁶ Surveying the state of the scholarship on punctuation in medieval Greek manuscripts by the late 1980's, Patrizia Rafti observed that medieval punctuation had been unjustifiably absent from editorial considerations.⁷ Moreover she noted that even when punctuation was mentioned, it was more often than not simply a specious pretext for pointing to its inconsistency or incoherence, thus vindicating its continued neglect.⁸ Rafti's was one in a sporadic series of voices calling for more attention to Byzantine punctuation.

More recently, Diether R. Reinsch has become the standard-bearer for a radically more sympathetic appraisal of Byzantine punctuation. As Reinsch sees it, our aim should be "to give back to the text its rhetorical structure, freeing it of the Procrustean bed of modern ... grammars."⁹ Citing earlier palaeographical scholarship, Reinsch argues that the punctuation marks of our manuscripts had recognizably distinct values. More importantly, he reminds us, Byzantine punctuation must have been both intelligible and appreciated by contemporary audiences, otherwise there would have been no incentive to keep using it. Like Noret, Reinsch insists that the punctuation of the manuscripts can still serve as an indispensable aid to a more precise understanding of the text's structure. He cites examples from Michael Psellos' *Chronographia* to illustrate that neglect of the manuscript punctuation by editors has led to significant misreadings of the syntax.¹⁰

⁶ Noret's influence may be seen in a recent volume on editorial practice and palaeographical questions edited by E. Schiffer and A. Giannouli, where five of the nine contributions involve fastidious scrutiny of the punctuation of diverse manuscripts, with each case exhibiting interesting particularities. *From manuscripts to books: proceedings of the International workshop on textual criticism and editorial practice for Byzantine texts (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009)* = *Vom Codex zur Edition: Akten des internationalen Arbeitstreffens zu Fragen der Textkritik und Editionspraxis byzantinischer Texte (Wien, 10.-11. Dezember 2009)*, eds. A. Giannouli, E. Schiffer (Wien, 2011).

⁷ P. Rafti, "L'interpunzione nel libro manoscritto: mezzo secolo di studi," *Scrittura e civiltà* 12 (1988) 239–298, esp. 284–298. Rafti was not alone in pointing out the deficit of scholarship on medieval Greek punctuation. A number of scholars who undertook studies of specific manuscripts also noted how much work remained to be done in order to provide a more comprehensive profile of Byzantine punctuation and its uses. See L. Perria, "L'interpunzione nei manoscritti della 'collezione filosofica,'" *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale di paleografia e codicologia greca* (Berlin - Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983), a c. di D. Harlfinger, G. Prato, I (Alessandria, 1991) 199–209.

⁸ Rafti, "L'interpunzione nel libro manoscritto," 284: "A differenza di quanto già visto per l'ambito latino, in campo greco l'attenzione rivolta all'aspetto interpunzione è a tutt'oggi assai carente."

⁹ D. R. Reinsch, "What should an editor do with a text like the 'Chronographia' of Michael Psellos?" *Ars Edendi*, v. 2, eds. A. Bucossi, E. Kihlman (Stockholm, 2012) 131–154, 140. See Mazzucchi, "Per una punteggiatura non anacronistica," 129–143, 37; cf. E. V. Maltese, "Per l'edizione di autografi bizantini," *Problemi di ecdotica e esegesi di testi bizantini e grecomedievali. Atti della seconda Giornata di studi bizantini sotto il patrocinio della Associazione italiana di studi bizantini (Salerno, 6–7 maggio 1992)*, a c. di R. Romano (Naples, 1993) 81–94; idem, "Ortografia d'autore," 91–121.

¹⁰ Reinsch, "What should an editor do," esp. 146–148, where Reinsch illustrates his argument by showing how the presumptive disregard of the *Chronographia's* manuscript punctuation by one recent

However, Reinsch goes a step further and considers the vocal or acoustic dimension of Byzantine punctuation as a system of rhetorical or dramatic cues.

In addition to marking the logical units of speech, argues Reinsch, medieval Greek punctuation was designed to aid the rhetorically effective delivery of texts for recital. This dimension of punctuation, as a kind of performative notation, is lost on an age of mute literacy. And yet already at the dawn of modern Byzantine philology, Karl Krumbacher had likened the function of punctuation in medieval Greek prose manuscripts to that of the *στίξις* of liturgical manuscripts, which guided the orthodox equivalent of the cantor, setting the pace, pausing for effect, helping orchestrate the text, as it were. The intention behind the application of punctuation, Krumbacher suggested, was to help the reader achieve effective recital by signalling not only sense-breaks but rhythmical cadence, as well.¹¹ An early intimation of punctuation's potential as performative notation, Krumbacher's observation would languish for decades before being taken up by scholars who were unwilling to defer to previous estimates of Byzantine punctuation's value.

The Byzantines turned for general instruction on punctuation to the authoritative Hellenistic-age grammars, especially that of Dionysius Thrax, who spells out the aims of *ἀνάγνωσις*, or reading, and supplements this with a succinct account of the signs of punctuation.¹² Although assumed to have begun largely based on the received principles laid out by the standard grammatical handbooks, Byzantine punctuation has been perceived as having gradually come unmoored from the syntactical or grammatical logic of the text. Medieval Greek manuscripts thus appear to us illogically punctuated, often inconsistent or opaque. Even when the Byzantine author or scribe punctuates his text in the same place we might, to mark grammatically self-contained clauses, for example, a few words further down he will proceed to add a comma or dot mid-clause, separating subject and verb, for example, in defiance of all grammatical or syntactical sense, leading us to suspect that the application of punctuation was a

editor led to the introduction of a paragraph break midway through a sentence, thus shoe-horning its divided syntax into agreement with the preceding and subsequent text. Cf. S. Impellizzeri, *Michele Psello, Imperatori di Bisanzio* (Milano, 1984) I, 19.11–20.11.

¹¹ K. Krumbacher, *Ein Dithyrambus auf den Chronisten Theophanes* [Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München 4, 1896] (München, 1897) 583–625; 600f. For the implications drawn from Krumbacher's observation, see W. Hörandner's remarks in the conclusion below.

¹² G. Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 1.1 (Leipzig, 1883; repr. Hildesheim, 1965) 1.1.6–8. Cf. C. Schmid, *De origine interpunctionum apud Graecos* (Greifswald, 1856); R. Kaiser, *De inscriptionum Graecarum interpunctione*, diss. (Berlin, 1887).

hit and miss affair, not governed by a set of widely observed principles and thus perhaps best ignored altogether. Modern editors thus feel justified in paying it little heed. Its absence, in turn, from new editions has hidden it from view, except from specialists who study manuscripts, though they are less likely to be interested in the content of specific texts. All this has reinforced the tacit assumption that medieval punctuation has little to teach us about the text, or about Byzantine literary culture more broadly.¹³

To illustrate the markedly different experience of texts intended for recital when punctuated in accordance with Byzantine practice, we may use an excerpt from another Eustathian oration, very similar in form to the Ἐπιτάφιος, delivered before Manuel I Komnenos, c.1176, in all likelihood when Eustathios was still court-appointed “master of the rhetors.”¹⁴ In the first example we have the punctuation of the most recent edition in the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*; in the second, we may compare the punctuation as restored by Reinsch in his collation of the manuscript witnesses, *Baroccianus 131* of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and *Scorialensis Y.II.10* (Andrés 265) of the Real Biblioteca, San Lorenzo de El Escorial. Aptly enough, the passage in question extols the strength and eloquence of the emperor’s voice, a recurring theme both in Eustathian panegyric of Manuel as ideal ruler. The modern edition is punctuated thus:

ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ τὸ τρανὲς ἐν εὐγενεῖ φωνήματι τίθεμαι καὶ διαφορὰν λιγέος φημί καὶ τοροῦ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν ὑφέσει κρίνω, τὸ δ’ ὑπερτίθημι καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὐκ ἀνδρώδους οὔτε ἡλικίας ἡγοῦμαι οὔτε φύσεως, τοῦτο δὲ τελειότατόν τε καὶ ἀνδρικόν. ὁ δὴ καὶ τῆ σῆ ἐπιπρέπει φωνῆ, οἷον δὴ βροντῆ πραεῖα οὐρανόθεν σεμνῶς ῥήγνυται οὐ πρὸς ἐμβριθειαν οὐδὲ ἄγαν τραχύτητα, ὅσον δὲ ῥοιζῆσαι ἡρέμα καὶ ἰλαρῶς ἐπιστρέψαι τῷ περιτράνω τὸν ἀκροώμενον. Τοιοῦτον ἠρωϊκὸν ἤχον προβάλλεται σοι τὰ τῆς λαλιᾶς, καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς γλυκύτητα νοημάτων <καὶ> Μουσῶν ἐμμέλειαν προάγουσί σοι τὰ χεῖλη, ὁ δὲ πληγεῖς ἀῆρ εἰς βροντὴν τορὸν μὲν, οὐ φρικτὸν δὲ λαλοῦσαν τὸν ἤχον ἐπεσχεδίασε,

Whereas the collated manuscripts present the following pattern of punctuation:

¹³ Of course this disregard of historical punctuation was not unique to Byzantine texts. Surveying the ancient evidence for Latin prose colometry, T. Habinek has noted that despite their prevalence in nearly every medium of writing, the punctuation marks employed by authors and scribes in Roman antiquity have also been largely “ignored, or given unduly little importance, time and again by palaeographers and, to an even greater extent, by scholars interested in the pronunciation and style of ancient literature.” Habinek takes it for granted that modern editors will not adopt ancient punctuation. This produces a self-reinforcing cycle, since the punctuation of the originals, whether inscriptions or manuscripts, go unrecorded in scholarly transcriptions or modern editions, thereby effectively concealing them from the view of future readers who might discern significance in them. See T. N. Habinek, *The colometry of Latin prose* (Berkeley, 1985) 42–88; 42.

¹⁴ Or. 13 (Λόγος Μ) 227.19–29.

(*Baroc*. 131/*Scor*. Y.II.10)

ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὸ τρανὲς ἐν εὐγενεῖ φώνημα¹⁵ τίθεμαι καὶ διαφορὰν λιγέος φημί καὶ τοροῦ· καὶ τὸ μὲν, ἐν ὑφέσει κρίνω· τὸ δ' ὑπερτίθημι· καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν, οὐκ ἀνδρώδους οὔτε ἡλικίας ἡγοῦμαι οὔτε φύσεως· τοῦτο δὲ τελειότατόν τε καὶ ἀνδρικόν· ὃ δὴ καὶ τῆ σῆ ἐπιπρέπει φωνῆ· οἷον δὴ βροντῆ πραεῖα οὐρανόθεν σεμνῶς ῥήγνυται οὐ πρὸς ἐμβρίθειαν οὐδὲ ἄγαν τραχύτητα· ὅσον δὲ ροιζῆσαι ἡρέμα· καὶ ἰλαρῶς ἐπιστρέψαι τῷ περιτράνω τὸν ἀκροώμενον.¹⁶ τοιοῦτον ἡρωϊκὸν ἦχον προβάλλεται σοι τὰ τῆς λαλιάς· καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς γλυκύτητα νοημάτων,¹⁷ Μουσῶν ἐμμέλειαν προάγουσί σοι τὰ χεῖλη· ὃ δὲ πληγεῖς ἀῆρ, εἰς βροντὴν τορὸν μὲν οὐ φρικτὸν δὲ λαλοῦσαν, τὸν ἦχον ἐπεσχεδίασε·

Before moving to the significance of the divergences in punctuation between the two versions of the passage, it is worth noting, as Reinsch does, how often the two separate manuscripts witnesses agree in their punctuation of the Greek text; a fact to which I will return. The first passage reflects its modern editor's syntactical division of the clauses into sense units, loosely based on German conventions, with sparing use of the Byzantine upper dot (μέση στιγμή) to bridge independent clauses not joined by a coordinating conjunction, much as we might use a semi-colon in English grammar. The text as punctuated in the modern edition makes sense to us, of course. But whereas the modern edition requires the contents to be grasped as six long grammatical clauses, the Byzantine text is sub-divided into eleven distinct *declamatory* units, sometimes spanning across strictly grammatical clauses. The difference, even when read silently but attentive to the intervals prompted by punctuation, can be felt immediately in the more calculated delivery of the words.

The first thing one notices in the second version is the greater density of punctuation.¹⁸ While the modern edition employs ten signs of punctuation, the Byzantine manuscripts report sixteen. Even more significant is the distinctive placement of the punctuation. While nearly every instance of the modern punctuation is matched by its medieval counterpart, the Byzantine manuscript(s) introduce pauses in unexpected places, such as after μὲν, or before a conjunctive καὶ, thus halting the grammatical continuity of the syntax, like speed bumps on a straight lane. The text of the manuscript thus seems partially punctuated in accordance with the grammatical, or logical, sense; as well as in defiance of that

¹⁵ For the emendation from φωνήματι to φώνημα, see Reinsch, "What should an editor do," 144, n. 45.

¹⁶ Reinsch notes that the manuscripts punctuate here with a semi-colon, marking a strong break. In order to avoid confusion with the interrogative, he places a period.

¹⁷ In addition to restoring the rhetorical structure of the period, the original punctuation also reveals the internal logic of the text. In this case the comma after the νοημάτων obviates the need to insert καὶ before Μουσῶν. Reinsch thus reads καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς γλυκύτητα νοημάτων as an *accusativus Graecus*.

¹⁸ The version retaining the punctuation of the Byzantine manuscripts, modified with an upper dot in place of the middle and low dots (μέση στιγμή and ὑποστιγμή), and a period in place of the upper dot to mark a sentence end.

sense. This seeming inconsistency has made Byzantine punctuation suspect to scholars accustomed to punctuation strictly *ad sensum*.

In contrast, the Byzantines punctuated *ad vocem*, as well.¹⁹ The latter may not have been as integral to the grammatical or propositional sense we struggle to distill from our silent reading of medieval Greek texts, but it was deemed integral to the performative, or as one Byzantine scholiast to the grammar of Dionysius Thrax put it, the “persuasive” aspects of recital.²⁰ Of course the two need not be mutually exclusive, so long as we bear in mind the performative or occasional setting of a text like the Ἐπιτάφιος, composed to be delivered orally before an audience of listeners. The combination of grammatically and rhetorically-based punctuation helped the reader/orator parse the sense while also scoring a well-timed delivery.²¹ The result would have been heightened by the grammatical ‘irregularity’ of pausing between words intended to be logically construed together, playing on the listeners’ anticipation, an effect of dramatic delivery well known to stage actors and seasoned public speakers. But such effects need the

¹⁹ The combined use of punctuation aimed at sense and sound, as it were, was spelled out early on and may be seen in such works as the scholia to the grammar of Dionysios Thrax, *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis artem grammaticam*, rec. A. Hilgard (Lipsiae, 1901) 479.24–26: ἡ τοίνυν στιγμή αὕτη ἐστὶ τῆ διαστολῆ συνόμιος... ἡ δὲ διαστολὴ ἄμα τῆ φωνῆ καὶ τὰς διανόιας. A similar conclusion was reached by Lameere when writing of the Byzantine mss. containing the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He concluded that the punctuation “est-il déterminé par les nécessités de la lecture ou de la récitation à voix haute. Il n’est pas fondé, originairement du moins, sur l’analyse des éléments de la phrase ou des rapports des phrases entres elles au point de vue de la syntaxe.” W. Lameere, *Aperçus de paléographie Homérique: à propos des papyrus de l’Iliade et de l’Odyssee des collections de Gand, de Bruxelles et de Louvain* (Paris, 1960) 85.

²⁰ See the *Commentaria In Dionysii Thracis Artem grammaticam: scholia Vaticana partim excerpta ex Georgio Choerobosco, Georgio quodam, Porphyrio, Melampode, Stephano, Diomede*, ed. A. Hilgard [*Grammatici Graeci* 1.3] (Leipzig, 1901; repr. Olms, 1965) 171–172: ἀνάγνωσις οὖν ἡ ἀνάπεισις, ἀναπέθουσι γὰρ οἱ καλῶς ἀναγινώσκοντες... Ἀναγνωστέον δὲ καθ’ ὑπόκρισιν, κατὰ προσῳδίαν, κατὰ διαστολήν. Ὑπόκρισις ἐστὶ μίμησις ἀρμόζουσα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις προσώποις ἐν τε λόγῳ καὶ σχήματι. οὐ μόνον γὰρ δεῖ μμῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πρόσωπα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων κινήσεις κατὰ τὸ ἀπαιτοῦν. The twin purpose of punctuation, aimed at both recital and comprehension, persisted throughout late antiquity, on the Greek as well as the Latin side. We thus have grammatical treatises underlining the need for *positurae* adapted to *lectio* or recital, while no less a pedagogue than Cassiodorus insists in his *Orthographia* on the indispensability of *distinctiones* for an orthodox reading of scripture by explaining that *positurae seu puncta quasi quaedam viae sunt sensuum et lumina dictionum, quae sic lectores dociles faciunt tamquam si clarissimis expositoribus imbuantur*. Cassiodorus nevertheless acknowledges that punctuation was intended to assist with recital by providing regular respites or ‘breathing’ pauses to the reader.

²¹ A mixed model of punctuation, involving both sense and performance, appears to date back to at least the period of the Roman grammarians. Writing of Latin prose colometry, Habinek observes that arguments about poorly understood individual marks of punctuation are bound to err if they “assume a strict distinction between logical and literary approaches to grammar.” By “literary” I take Habinek to mean rhetorical, or broadly elocutionary, uses of punctuation. The principal texts on Latin grammar which also prescribe the practice of punctuation are gathered in H. Keil, *Grammatici latini* (Lipsiae, 1855–80); on the grammarians as a wider sociocultural institution, see R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of language: the grammarian and society in late antiquity* (Berkeley, 1988).

voice in order to be perceived by the ear. They are mute to the eyes of readers no longer accustomed to listening to texts.

In his seminal work on the development of punctuation in western traditions hailing from medieval Latin, E.B. Parkes observes that:

...punctuation can delineate rhetorical structure, so that a reader can be explicitly alerted to certain formal contrivances relevant to the communicative significances embodied in a text. Punctuation can also encourage readers to import to the process of interpretation elements of their own wider behavioural experience.²²

One may perhaps paraphrase Parkes and say that the history of punctuation practice reflects the pragmatics of the text. That is why even our resolutely ‘logical’ modern conventions of punctuation continue to allow for some rhetorical or dramatic latitude in the placement of pauses for effect. In the words of the noted English linguist Eric Partridge, punctuation contributes to the “orchestration” of the text, i.e., it helps arrange the parts for voice, even as it clarifies the thoughts expressed.²³ Partridge, it is worth noting, is not referring here to pre-modern norms of punctuation; he is elucidating the workings of mid-20th c. English punctuation. I cite his example in order to make the point that, for all its apparent exclusive dependence on grammar and *logical* division, modern punctuation still allows for a residual degree of dramatically inflected *elocutionary* expression.²⁴

We are thus reminded of Krumbacher’s likening of Byzantine punctuation to the stops of musical notation.²⁵ Deliberately drawing once more on historiography, the Byzantine ‘literate’ genre *par excellence*, Reinsch cites the example of Eustathios’ *Conquest of Thessalonike*. Eustathios, he argues based on a combination of diction and punctuation, intended the work for “aural comprehension” (“Hörverständnis”).²⁶ Indeed, when we compare the punctuation of

²² M. Parkes, *Pause and effect: an introduction to the history of punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992) 1.

²³ E. Partridge, *You have a point there: a guide to punctuation and its allies* (London, 1953) ix.

²⁴ Indeed much of the confusion about correct punctuation felt by English speakers and writers, native and especially non-native, may stem from the softer emphasis on grammar and latitude for rhetorical inflection.

²⁵ The analogy with musical notation has become a *locus classicus* of popular writing on punctuation, revealing that even today’s more grammatically prescribed system of punctuation occasionally evokes a performative dimension. E.g., “punctuation...directs you how to read in the way musical notation directs a musician how to play,” in L. Truss, *Eats, shoots & leaves: the zero tolerance approach to punctuation* (New York, 2004) 13.

²⁶ Reinsch finds corroborative evidence for punctuation as coordinating recital in the repeated references to hearing of the text: ex. gr., *De capta Thess.* 3.29: Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ συγγραφικὰ εἶδη σωφρόνως μεταχειρίζεται κατὰ μέθοδον ἰδίαν, οὔτε παράδοξα ἐκτιθεὶς ἀκούσματα κατὰ τὸν ἀπαθῆ ἱστορικὸν οὔτ’ ἄλλα; 18.6: Ἄλλὰ τί δὴ παρενεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῶν ἄρτι καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς γινόμενος ἀποπλανῶ τὸν χρόν

the modern edition of the *Conquest of Thessalonike* with that of its manuscript, *Basileensis* A.III.20, the same manuscript containing the Ἐπιτάφιος, we notice a pronounced and calculated rhythmical pacing signposted by the punctuation. A keen eye and a sensitive ear prompted by some practice reading the text out loud can bring such aural cues to the fore.²⁷ But if we accept that this may be true of the punctuation of a historiographic text like the *Conquest of Thessalonike* – in a genre we do not normally associate with oral performance – then the potential of punctuation to reveal rhetorical patterns destined for acoustic appreciation is arguably greater in texts composed for ceremonial occasions, be they homilies or *basilikoi logoi*, including funeral orations.

In light of such arguments, some editors have gone a step further than merely discussing historical punctuation, advocating in their critical editions for (an admittedly partial or modified) restoration of the punctuation found in the manuscripts. After all, Reinsch points out, no editor would be so presumptuous as to substitute Goethe's punctuation for his own, much less do so without informing the reader, as editors of medieval Greek texts routinely do. To the extent that we can, Reinsch enjoins editors, we should defer to Byzantine practice. He makes the case for adoption, through some carefully controlled adaptation, of Byzantine punctuation, on the philologically unassailable grounds of getting closer to the intended experience of the text. That experience, Reinsch points out, was primarily aural:

[W]e should adopt [Byzantine punctuation] if we want to understand these works in their aesthetic dimension, if we want to comprehend the intention of the author and how these texts were meant to be presented to the audience, indicating the pauses to be made by the performer or by the reader when reading them aloud which, of course, was nearly always the case in Byzantium (and not only there).²⁸

In Reinsch's view, even a partial restoration of the punctuation of the manuscript(s) will bring to light a latent, more richly layered, structure than modern conventions of grammar and syntax joined to silent reading can reveal.²⁹ A. Angelou, the first modern editor, to my knowledge, to reproduce the original punctuation (and accentuation) of a Byzantine manuscript in a critical edition,

νῶ ποθ' ὕστερον ἀκουσόμενον τοῦ συγγραφικῶς εἰδέναι τὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι καὶ πέρατος; 14ο.13: Εἰ δέ τις ἐνταῦθα ποθῶν φαίνεται προσισηθηθῆναι καὶ οἷα σήματα τῶν μελλόντων προυφάνη, ἀκουέτω βραχυλογικῶς καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῶν εἰς ἱστορίαν ἐκτιθεμένων.

²⁷ D. R. Reinsch, "Stixis und Hören," *Actes du VIe Colloque international de paléographie grecque (Drama, 21–27 septembre 2003)*, eds. B. Atsalos, N. Tsironi (Athens, 2008) I, 259–269.

²⁸ Reinsch, "What should an editor do," 142–143.

²⁹ D.R. Reinsch, *Michaeli Pselli Chronographia* (Berlin, 2014) XXXIV: "Das vorrangige Ziel beim Einsatz der Interpunktion... der Sprache der Editoren richtet."

points out that “the Byzantine listener and reader must [have been] prepared to absorb... a sometimes massive series of minor units following each other in rapid succession but all within the flow of a single train of thought, before he eventually stop[ped] at a major pause, only to pass into yet another major unit, aided in the transition by one or more of the particles...; the whole text is a mosaic of such consecutive, alternating and interpenetrating minor and major declamatory units making up an intelligible pattern.”³⁰

Byzantine punctuation begins to make more sense when conceived of as a rhetorical device, rather than simply as a handmaiden to grammar and propositional sense-making. Moreover, while we are wont to think of punctuation as furnished by the author for the benefit of the reader, medieval punctuation had an intermediate end in mind, the person reciting the text aloud for an audience, whether the ἀναγνώστης reading the scriptures, a cleric delivering a homily before a congregation, or a ῥήτωρ performing an oration at court. Byzantine punctuation helped negotiate the boundary between the demands of orality and the visual organization of literacy on the page. In the words of J. DeVere Brody, author of a modern meditation on punctuation’s cultural (in)visibility, “[p]unctuation stages an intervention between utterance and inscription, speech and writing... it is seen and unspoken, sounded and unseen.”³¹

For some time, the most comprehensive study of the punctuation in certain Eustathian manuscripts was that of van der Valk, the editor of the monumental *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα*. In keeping with the general impression of the time Van der Valk did not feel the need to explain Eustathios’ punctuation other than to remark “[p]auca dicenda sunt de interpunctione, quia in his quoque rebus usus Eustathii a communi consuetudine discrepat.”³² Indeed Van der Valk felt it his duty to caution the prospective reader of the Iliadic commentary: “[p]raeterea moneo Laurentianos codices saepius comma omittere in eis locis, ubi a nobis vulgo scribitur.”³³ More recently, the broad consensus about the manuscripts containing the *Παρεκβολαὶ* being autographs has unlocked their potential to serve as an authoritative point of reference for authorially-controlled punctuation.³⁴ It was with this in mind that I. Liverani undertook a study of Eustathian

³⁰ A. Angelou, *Manuel Palaiologos: dialogue with the Empress-Mother on marriage* [Byzantina Vindobonensia 19] (Wien, 1991) 24.

³¹ J. D. Brody, *Punctuation: art, politics, and play* (Durham, 2008) 9.

³² *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* § 36–37, XXX–XXXI.

³³ *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* XXXI.

³⁴ In the years since Van der Valk’s edition of the *Παρεκβολαὶ* a number of editions based on autograph manuscripts have paid greater attention to the original punctuation, without necessarily adopting it wholesale. See *Nicephori Blemmydae autobiographia sive curriculum vitae necnon epistula univer-*

punctuation in the Παρεκβολαί in a bid to arrive at Eustathios' own punctuation practice.³⁵ To that end, she studied closely the punctuation of *Marc. gr.* 460 and *Par. gr.* 2702, the principal witnesses for Eustathios' Παρεκβολαί on the *Odyssey*. When she wrote her article, it was still possible to lament the dearth of systematic profiles of Byzantine punctuation. But the neglect Liverani justly criticized has since given way today to more rigorous analysis of Byzantine punctuation.³⁶

Basileensis A.III.20 bears out much of this *aural*, performative arrangement of the punctuation. Instead of simply parsing the clausal structure of the written text, the punctuation also marks frequent intervals consistent with small, *vocally* nimble units of speech balancing the syntactical, prosaic flow of oratory with the exigencies of aural intelligibility and not least, rhetorical emphasis. Below is a transcription of the first paragraph of the funeral oration with its original στίξις as it appears in the Basel Codex:

Οὐκ ἦν μοι караδοκοῦντι, τετολημκέναι τινά μεγαλειῶ τοσοῦτω λόγου ἑαυτὸν παραβαλεῖν, ὡς οὕτω ταχὺ τὸν τηλικούτον ἐθελήσαι βασιλέα κείμενον · λόγῳ ἑξῆραι · καὶ στεγανῶσαι μὲν καρτερικῶς τὸ δάκρυον, ἐφείναι δὲ τῇ γλώσση λαλεῖν · μικροῖς μὲν γὰρ χαρακτηρῆσι τὸν μέγιστον ἐκτυπῶσασθαι, οὐ πάνυ τῆς ἀρίστης τίθεμαι γραφικῆς· ὑψῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸ πάλιν πρὸς ἄξιαν λόγους τὸν οὐλύμπιον, οὐ μετρίου καιροῦ ἔνθα καὶ μακρὰ σκεψάμενον· οὐκ εὐθυβολῆσαι πρὸς τὰ τοῦ σκοποῦ κίνδυνος· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶπερ ἡ ἐν δέοντι θερμότης εὐ ποιούσα, ἐκνεκίηκε· καὶ τὸ ἐν λόγοις ἀνδρῶδες πεπαρησιασται· Οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ψυχὴ φιλόκαλος, κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τραγωδίᾳ ἐγκεκαλυμμένους ἐπὶ μήκιστον διατεθεῖη μήτε προσώπῳ ἐκφαινομένη μήτε λόγοις διαδεικνύσα παρεῖναι τῷ ζῶντι· καὶ οἱ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἄνδρες, οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐλλάμπει, ἀνάπτουσιν ἄρτι ὡσπερ τὰς πρὸς αἴσθησιν οὕτω καὶ λόγου λαμπάδας τῷ κειμένῳ, κατὰ τινὰ καὶ αὐτοδεξιῶσιν ὀφειλετικὴν καὶ ὀσίωσιν πρέπουσαν;

On a first read the punctuation appears at once perplexing, familiar, and inconsistent. So the very first comma, introducing a pause between *καραδοκοῦντι* and its complement *τετολημκέναι* confounds our grammatically based expectations. A little further down, the two upper dots bracketing *λόγῳ ἑξῆραι* similarly break the grammatical chain by detaching the complementary infinitive from its verb, *ἐθελήσαι*.

saliorum, ed. J.A. Munitiz, [Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca 13] (Leuven 1984); *Georgii Gemisti Plethonis Contra Scholarii pro Aristotele obiectiones*, ed. E.V. Maltese, (Leipzig 1988); *Georgii Gemisti Plethonis Opuscula de historia graeca*, ed. E.V. Maltese, (Leipzig 1989); Angelou, *Manuel Palaiologos*.

³⁵ In as much as it provides a systematic first point of comparison for the remaining manuscripts bearing Eustathios' works, Liverani's profile of the punctuation of the Παρεκβολαί is quite useful. It is not, however, definitive. The autograph manuscripts from which Liverani drew her conclusions about Eustathios' punctuation contain only the Παρεκβολαί. But the Παρεκβολαί are not occasional texts intended for recitation or performance of any type, they cannot serve as an absolute touchstone for Eustathios' norms of punctuation.

³⁶ See for example the essays on punctuation in Giannouli-Schiffer, *From manuscripts to books*.

Again and again, the punctuation signals strong or weak pauses in a manner which seems to disrupt the syntax, for example, by placing an upper dot before a καὶ joining two infinitives; commas after ἄν; or separating a subject clause from its verb by a comma.

Can every one of these examples be explained by the concept of performative notation? I do not think so. But the error may lie in the search for a single logic to Byzantine punctuation. Much of the punctuation from the Basel Codex conforms, if not to the letter, than certainly the spirit, of punctuation as we conceive it. The discrepancies in these cases are not much greater than those between modern conventions governing punctuation in different European languages. We thus find a comma frequently before a disjunctive conjunction ἢ, as in Ἐπ. 20:

Δέει μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μὴ τι παθεῖν, πρεσβεύεσθαι τινας, ἢ μελέτη τοῦ φθάσαι ζήτησιν ἐπικουρίας, εἴ που καὶ παραπέσοι τις ἀνάγκη, ἢ καὶ χρημάτων ἐνδεία, ὅφ' ὧν ἔσται καταπραχθῆναι τὸ διὰ σπουδῆς, ἢ ὄλως προμηθεῖα τι τοῦ μέλλοντος,

While most editors would not place a comma before an ἢ in these cases, the use of such commas while usually discouraged as bad style is not disqualifying in Romance languages, especially where there may be a succession of clauses.³⁷ Similarly, though commas are routinely placed by editors before both relative clauses and the protasis of conditions – in keeping with both medieval and modern practice – they are occasionally omitted in the Byzantine manuscript, most likely deliberately elided, as in Ἐπ. 27:

καθὰ μὴδε θεόν οὐ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ θυμὸς βαρὺς τοῖς περὶ γῆν εἰ καὶ ἄκρα φιλανθρωπία συγκέκραται

οἱ Ἐπ. 35:

Σκέψαιτο γὰρ ἄν τις εὐθυβόλως, μῆτε γῆς ὄφελος εἶναι ἢς καρπὸς οὐδεὶς οὔτε σώματος ἀνθρωπίνου ὧ μὴ ψυχῆ κάρπιμος ἀγαθοῦ τινος.

In some cases, such omissions produce a seemingly too long string of words, as in Ἐπ. 32, where the absence of commas suggests the orator intended to pronounce the whole thought as one:

Ἐπέβαλεν ἡ ὄψις τοπογραφία φέρε εἰπεῖν ἢ θέα προσώπων ἢ καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις ὧν ἔδει μνημοσύνην ἐντεθῆναι εἰς ψυχῆν.

³⁷ For example, the placement of a comma before a restrictive relative or dependent clause is not observed in many European languages. An Italian, a German, and an English-speaking editor would each punctuate the edited Greek text differently.

In a use of punctuation more familiar to modern editors, commas were employed by the author/scribe of the Basel Codex to resolve ambiguities particular to Greek, such as commas used to disambiguate words which might mistakenly be read together, as in Έπ. 4: Ἐπιλεκτέον οὖν τό, τε ἔννομον / Έπ. 52: τοῖς μισθοῖς, τό τε ἀρχιτεκτονοῦν. In other cases familiar to us, the use of commas may be said to mark intervals between clusters of words in a bid to heighten the rhetorical effect, though without violating the canons of grammar or syntax, such as the example from Έπ. 62, where a string of commas following a series of adjectives mark pauses which help generate a sense of hearing a catalogue of virtues enumerated:

Ἰππότην μέντοι ἀριστον θεθεᾶσθαι, καὶ πεζομάχον, καὶ μονομάχον ῥώμην πνέοντα, καὶ πρόμαχον, καὶ πολιορκητὴν δεινότατον, καὶ λόχους καθίζειν δεξιόν, καὶ λοιπαῖς ἀπάσαις παρεῖναι μάχαις θερμώτατον,

While most of these examples represent some divergence from modern editorial conventions for punctuating the Greek text, they do not constitute the most important basis for objecting to the adoption of medieval punctuation, even in the cases of manifest omission. It is, instead, the apparent sins of *commission* which elicit most of the skepticism regarding the possible sense of Byzantine punctuation. Beginning with a slightly less controversial example, in Έπ. 14 a comma separates the predicate from the subject: Ἐντεῦθεν αἱ πανταχοῦ γῆς βασιλικαὶ πρόνοιαι, πολυειδεῖς. Perhaps no use of punctuation quite offends our sense of how the Greek text ought to be grammatically perceived than the routine placement of commas immediately after μέν and δέ, as in Έπ. 35:

Καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκείνων, οἱ μὲν, ἐπανήρχοντο κατισχύοντες τῆς παλαιᾶς φαυλότητος τῶν μαθητευσαμένων ἔθνῶν· οἱ δέ, τῷ μακρῷ τοῦ χρόνου καμώντες

or Έπ. 38:

Ὅτε καὶ οἱ μὲν, τὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ σωτηρῷ θεανθρώπῳ φύσεων εὐκρινές, συνέχεον ὡς ἂν καὶ λαθοὶ τις οὕτως ἑξαμαρτάνων, οἱ δέ, τῇ ἀσυγχύτῳ ἐνώσει ἐπεβούλευον τῷ αὐθάδει τοῦ δυασμοῦ.

The confusion surrounding this seemingly inchoate and grammatically baseless punctuation is further compounded by inconsistency, since μέν / δέ clauses are not always interrupted by commas. This is consonant with other seemingly opaque uses of punctuation, such as at Έπ. 66, where the sense of the commas cannot be comprehended at first sight, but could well have been sounded:

Βιβλιογραφεῖν δὲ νῦν, τίς ἂν, αἰτήσειεν ἢ ἀπαιτήσειεν;

Likewise, numerous passages in the manuscript transcription of the Ἐπιτάφιος show a sometimes baffling punctuation, as this excerpt from Ἐπ. 46:

Καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ βασιλικὸν τοῦτο προμηθὲς, ἰκανόν, καὶ συνδιήκε τοῖς ὄλοις, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἕως καὶ κάτω ἰκανούμενον, ἀνεχέετο εἰς τὰ κύκλω καὶ ψυχῆς δίκην, τοῖς τοῦ παντός ἐγκατέσπαρτο μέρεσι καὶ μικρολόγον εἶχεν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα θεῖα, καὶ ὅποια βλέπων τις, ἀνευδρῆ βασιλέα τοῦτο εἶπεν καὶ μόνον, καὶ ἑαυτῶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀρκοῦντα, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπάντων ἐπιδεόμενον, εἰ μὴ ὅτι γε, εἰς τοσοῦτον, εἰς ὅσον αὐτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ φύσει δουλευτικὸν ἐνδείκνυσθαι, δι' οὗ τὸ τοῦ βίου μὲν ἄνομον καὶ θηριῶδες μακρὰν ἀφορίζεται, τὸ δὲ πολιτικόν, καὶ νόμιμον εἰσοικίζεται.

Thus while the commas before ἰκανόν and after δίκην, οὐδέν, and ὅτι γε, do little to promote the logical ties between the words around them, they temporarily suspend such ties. But in doing so in the course of recitation, such a suspension can create a kind of rhetorical or dramatic inflection, lending greater emphasis on the words and their relation to one another. While such seemingly erratic omissions and commissions in the manuscript's punctuation strike us as evidence for the lack of systematization, it could well be that we have the wrong system in mind and that Byzantine authors enjoyed far greater discretion in applying punctuation in accordance with the manner in which they envisioned the text's delivery. Such habits were likely to carry over texts which might not have been intended for oral performance but were nevertheless composed in conformity to similar rhetorical patterns. As T. Habinek observes of pre-modern Latin punctuation, its apparent inconsistency notwithstanding, "a system that fluctuates over centuries, and never resembles modern punctuation very closely, can nevertheless be systematic and revealing," in as much as it helped reconstruct "the locations [in the text] that the Roman reader would have regarded as suitable for phonic marking."³⁸ For the Romans, whose system of punctuation had common origins with that of Greek adapted by Byzantines, "punctuation was aimed, among other things, at guiding clear and effective delivery."³⁹

There can be no doubt that adopting historical punctuation poses challenges to the modern reader, even, or especially, one practiced in Greek. The accu-

³⁸ Habinek, *The colometry of Latin prose*, 43.

³⁹ Idem 44. Liverani confirms that the punctuation of the Eustathian autographs is consistent, for the most part, with the authoritative grammatical treatises of antiquity, as well as with the punctuation we observe in the Roman-age *scholia*. See I. A. Liverani, "Sul sistema di interpunzione di Eustazio di Tessalonica," *Medioevo greco* 1 (2001) 187–197; cf. A. L. Gaffuri, "La teoria grammaticale antica dell'interpunzione dei testi greci e la prassi di alcuni codici medievali," *Aevum* 68.1 (1994) 95–115; esp. 96–99.

mulation of breaks, pauses, lulls, and briefly held suspensions of voice prompted by the punctuation coalesce into a reading style, a subtle but consistently controlled cadence, like precisely prescribed (and for that reason also more easily intelligible) measures of speech. But the punctuation does not simply parcel out the prose into more easily digestible fragments; it often cues up successive phrases in a manner reminiscent of an actor or narrator who knows when to hold back just long enough to allow the words to achieve greater impact. At times this can border on a kind of prosaic theatricality, one no doubt very suitable to the attention-seeking of epideictic rhetoric. None of this can be said conclusively of all medieval Greek manuscripts, of course. We have only just begun to study Byzantine punctuation. We must still produce systematic surveys of individual manuscripts, authors, genres, known scribes, and then compare these in order to arrive at a profile of Byzantine punctuation. If such efforts were once deemed unwarranted by the minor proportions of medieval punctuation, our growing interest in the pragmatics of medieval Greek literature, its uses and reception in context, has restored to punctuation its value as another piece in the puzzle of Byzantine poetics.

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 — *Op. et di.* = *Opera et dies*
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Hdt. = *Herodoti historiae*
 Hom. *Il.* = Homerus, *Ilias*
 — *Od.* = *Odysea*
 Io. Clim. *Scala parad.* = Ioannes Climacus, *Scala paradisi*, *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca)*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 88 (Paris, 1857–1866).
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- Isocr. *Panegy.* = *Isocrate. Discours*, vol. 2, eds. É. Brémond and G. Mathieu (Paris, 1938; repr. 1967, 1st edn. rev. et corr.).
- *Panath.* = *Isocrate. Discours*, vol. 4, eds. É. Brémond and G. Mathieu, (Paris, 1962)
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- Liban. *Or.* = Libanius, *Orationes*
- Luc. *Anachars.* = Lucianus, *Anacharsis*
- *Imag.* = *Imagines*
- *Rhet. praeept.* = *Rhetorum praeeptor*
- *Tim.* = *Timon*
- *Jupp. Trag.* = *Juppiter tragoedus*
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- *Or. min.* = vid. conspectus bibl. ad intr.
- *Or. pan.* = vid. conspectus bibl. ad intr.

- *Theol.* = vid. conspectus bibl. ad intr.
- *Hist. Brev.* = *Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos*, ed. W.J. Aerts [*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis* 30] (Berlin - New York, 1990).
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- Pi. *Isth.* = Pindarus, *Isthmian Odes*
- Pl. *Leg.* = Plato, *Leges*
- *Phaed.* = *Phaedon*
- Plut. *Amat.* = Plutarchus, *Amatorius, Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 4, ed. C. Hubert (Leipzig, 1938; repr. 1971).
- *Caes.* = *Caesar*
- *Quaest. conviv.* = *Quaestiones convivales, Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 4, ed. C. Hubert (Leipzig, 1938; repr. 1971).
- *Vit. par. (Agesil. et Pomp.)* = Pompeius, *Plutarch's lives*, vol. 5, ed. B. Perrin (Cambridge, Mass., 1917; repr. 1968).
- *Reg. et imp. apophth.* = *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*

- *De cohib. ira* = *De cohibenda ira*
 Polyb. *Hist.* = *Polybii historiae*, vols. 1–4, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst (Leipzig, 1904; repr. 1967).
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 Soph. *Aj.* = *Sophocles, Ajax*
 ——— *OT* = *Oedipus Tyrannus*
 ——— *Philoct.* = *Philoctetes*
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 Strab. *Geogr.* = *Strabonis geographica*, 3 vols., ed. A. Meineke (Leipzig, 1877).
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 Themist. *Εἰς Θεοδόσιον* = *Themistii orationes quae supersunt*, vol. 1, ed. G. Downey and H. Schenkl (Leipzig, 1965).
 ——— *Πενταετ.* = *Themistii orationes quae supersunt*, vol. 1, ed. G. Downey and H. Schenkl (Leipzig, 1965).
 ——— *Or.* = *Themistii orationes quae supersunt*, vol. 1, ed. G. Downey and H. Schenkl (Leipzig, 1965).
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 Xen. *Anab.* = Xenophon, *Anabasis*
 ——— *Cyr.* = *Cyropaedia*
 Zeno *Test. in Parm.* = *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, vol. 1*, 6th edn., eds. H. Diels and W. Kranz (Berlin, 1951).

COMPENDIA ET SIGLA

- < > addenda
 { } delenda
 [] supplenda

- B Codex Basileensis A.III.20 (XII s.)
 Tafel *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1832) 196.40–214.52.
 Tafel² G. L. F. Tafel, "Grabrede auf den kaiser Manuel, den Komnenen; aus dem griechischen des Eustathius," *Komnenen und Normannen. Beiträge zur Erforschung ihrer Geschichte in verdeutschten und erläuterten Urkunden des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Ulm, 1852).

add.	additit	fort.	fortasse
ad loc.	ad locum	leg.	legit
allud.	alludit	legend.	legendum
ante corr.	ante correctionem	loc. comm.	locutio communis
cf.	confer	per. err.	per errorem
cod.	codex	post corr.	post correctionem
coni.	coniecit	supr. lin.	supra lineam
corr.	correxit	suppl.	supplevit
e.g.	exempli gratia	vid. not.	vide notam

GREEK TEXT AND
TRANSLATION

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ γραφὲν εἰς τὸν ἀοίδιμον ἐν ἀγίοις βασιλεῦσι
κῦριν Μανουὴλ τὸν Κομνηνόν. Ὅπερ ὅτι οὐ τυχόντως
μεθώδευται, ὁ πεπαιδευμένος διακρινεῖ. Πολλῶν γὰρ
ἄλλως γραψάντων, ἐστρυφνώθη πρὸς διαφορὰν
ὁ παρῶν ἐπιτάφιος.

5

- 1 Οὐκ ἦν μοι караδοκοῦντι, τετολμηκέναι τινὰ μεγαλείῳ τοσοῦτῳ λόγου ἑαυτὸν πα-
ραβαλεῖν, ὡς οὕτω ταχὺ τὸν τηλικούτον ἐβελήσαι βασιλέα κείμενον, λόγῳ ἐξᾶραι,
καὶ στεγανῶσαι μὲν καρτερικῶς τὸ δάκρυον ἐφεῖναι δὲ τῇ γλώσση λαλεῖν. Μικροῖς
μὲν γὰρ χαρακτηῖρησι τὸν μέγιστον ἐκτυπώσασθαι, οὐ πάνυ τῆς ἀρίστης τίθεμαι γρα-
φικῆς,· ὑψῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸ πάλιν πρὸς ἀξίαν λόγους τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, οὐ μετρίου καιροῦ 10
ἔνθα καὶ μακρὰ σκεψάμενον, οὐκ εὐθυβολήσαι πρὸς τὰ τοῦ σκοποῦ κίνδυνος. Ἄλλ'
ἐπέιπερ ἢ ἐν δέοντι θερμότης εὐ ποιοῦσα ἐκνενίκηκε, καὶ τὸ ἐν λόγους ἀνδρῶδες
πεπαρησίασαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ψυχή | φιλόκαλος κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τραγωδία ἐγκεκαλυμ- 164r
μένους ἐπὶ μήκιστον διατεθεῖη μήτε προσώπῳ ἐκφαινομένη μήτε λόγους διαδεικνύ-
σα παρῆναι τῷ ζῶντι. Καὶ οἱ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἄνδρες οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐλλάμπει, 15
ἀνάπτουσιν ἄρτι ὡσπερ τὰς πρὸς αἴσθησιν οὕτω καὶ λόγου λαμπάδας τῷ κειμένῳ
κατὰ τινα καὶ αὐτοδεξίωσιν ὀφειλετικὴν καὶ ὀσίωσιν πρέπουσαν.
- 2 Εἴη ἄν ἀγεννῆς καὶ ἐν μὴ δέοντι ἐνεός, καὶ οὐκ εἰδῶς ἑαυτὸν μετρεῖν ἔνθα μὲν
σιγητέον ἔνθα δὲ λαλητέον, ὁ μὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς ὁμοιότητα συνδιεξαγόμενος.
Μίμησιν γὰρ ἔχων ἅπας ἄνθρωπος διδάσκαλον, καὶ αὐτὴν, ὅπη βούλοιο, εἴτε κα- 20
λοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος εἴτε καὶ τῶν ὡς ἐτέρως ἐχόντων, σιωπώντων μὲν τῶν ἐλλο-
γιμωτέρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν. λαλοῦσι δέ, τὸ σύμφωνον ἐναρμόσεται, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴπερ
καὶ ὁ φθάσας βίος, τοιοῦτον τινὰ ἔτρεφε, μὴ θέλοντα τινῶν ὑστερεῖν λαλιάς τῆς ἐπ'
ἀγαθῷ, οἷους φημί τινας καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ μακαριστοῦ βασιλέως ἀποβῆναι θαν-

1 ἀοίδιμον... βασιλεῦσι: cf. Greg. Naz. Or. Fun. in Bas. Caes. 73.2.5 Δαβὶδ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἀοίδιμος; cf. Vita Pach. 4 Τότε δὲ μετὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντίνος ἀπαρχὴ γενομένος τῶν χριστιανῶν βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων 4–5 ἐστρυφνώθη... ἐπιτάφιος: vid. not. ad loc.; Eust. Pro. ad Pi. 3.9.816 ἐκπλήττει δ' αὐθις οἷς καὶ τὴν φράσιν κατὰ πολυτροπίαν στρυφνοὶ ἐτέρωθι, καὶ λέξεις δὲ τὰς ἐκ τριό-
δων ἀπορρίπτων παρεμπλέκει που καὶ ἄς ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκούσας πάνυ ἐπαπορεῖ; cf. Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il. 4.239.1618 Σημείωσα οὖν ὅπως ὁ ποιητὴς ἐνταῦθα στρυφνῶς γράψας καὶ δεινῶσας τὴν φράσιν ταῖς συ-
χναῖς ἀντωνυμίαις, τῷ 'οἰμέν' καὶ 'οἱ δέ' καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις, εἰς ἀσάφειαν τὸν λόγον περιήγαγεν, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὸ
χωρίον τοῦτο μερισθῆναι εἰς τριπλῆν ἔννοιαν 9 ἐκτυπώσασθαι: allud. fort. ad loc. comm. ex Isocr. Panegy. 8 τὰ τε μεγάλα ταπεινὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς μέγεθος περιθεῖναι; cf. etiam Isocr. Panath. 36 τὰ
μικρὰ... τοῖς λόγοις ἀξήσαι 13–14 κατὰ ... ἐγκεκαλυμμένους: alludit fort. ad Soph. Aj. 245 κᾶρα κα-
λύμμασι κρυψάμενον; cf. Schol. in Ran. Aristoph. 911b τῶν ὑποκρινόμενων Ἀχιλλεῖα ἢ Νιόβην εἰς πρόσχημα

Text by the same [author] dedicated to the lord Manuel Komnenos, celebrated among saintly emperors; which the learned will discern has not been composed in a chance manner. For while many have written [similar orations] in a different manner, the present funerary oration was rendered in an intricate style in order to distinguish it from the rest.

I could not have anticipated that anyone would have dared to venture so grand 1
an oration, that he might so quickly wish to exalt in a speech so great an emperor lying in his grave, and while patiently damming up his own tears, to let his tongue speak forth. To form an image of the greatest man by means of small figures, I consider to be altogether beneath the most accomplished writing. On the other hand, to raise this Olympian in a speech as he deserves can be inopportune, especially in a case where there is even a danger that one who has deliberated long may not hit the mark. But seeing that the ardor required in such circumstances won out in the end, my courage as an orator was also emboldened to express itself. For a soul fond of goodness would not be disposed for long neither to show its face nor demonstrate in speech that it is still among the living, like some shrouded figure of tragedy. And the men who have dedicated themselves to virtue, in whom the Word shines bright, have just lit the candles of speech for the man who lies here, just as they did the actual ones, like some willingly offered debt and fitting dedication.

And anyone who does not join them in imitation of their efforts would prove 2
ignoble and senseless precisely when it is not warranted, incapable of judging when he should be silent or when he should speak up. Since as every person has imitation as his teacher, and may employ her in whichever direction he wishes, of either some good and worthy thing, or in imitation of its opposite, if the most eloquent orators stay silent, so might he. But now that they have begun to speak up he will add his own concordant voice in a harmonious fashion, all the more so, in cases when his previous life nurtured in him an unwillingness to lag behind others in the composition of speeches praising excellence. And we, too, set out describe the blessed emperor's wondrous achievements. For whenever the occasion presented itself, we never shrank from the greatest possible praises.

καὶ μίμημα καὶ τύπον τραγωδίας· ἐκάθισε δὲ κεκαλυμμένους καὶ κεκρυμμένους τὰ πρόσωπα

μασίους. Ὅποι γάρ ποτε παρήκοι, οὐδ' ἡμᾶς ὁ χρόνος εὖρεν ὀκνοῦντας τὰ δυνατὰ ἐγκώμια.

- 3 Εἴη δὲ ἄν, πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, περιόντος μὲν τῷ βίῳ, μὴ διεκπίπτειν εἰσάγαν τοῦ ἐν λόγοις προθυμείσθαι· ἀπελθόντος δὲ ὅπου τὰ κρείττονα, κατόπιν τῆς παλαιᾶς προθυμίας ἔλθειν, ἔνθα καὶ μάλιστα χρεῶν ταύτης. Ζώντων μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστροφούς 5 εἶναι, ὕποπτος ἢ χάρις διὰ τὴν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αἰδῶ· ἀπεληλυθῶτων δέ, ἀλλὰ τότε τὸ εὐγνωμον εἰς ἀκριβὲς διεκφαίνεται.
- 4 Οὕτως οὖν καθεσταμένου τοῦ μηδὲν οὖν σιγᾶν χρῆναι ἀλλὰ τι λαλήσαι ὧν ἐθάδες ἤμεν, νόμοις μὲν λογογραφίας ἔπεσθαι εἰς λεπτόν, οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη ἐπικείσε- 10 ται, εἴ γε καὶ οἱ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ πατέρες νόμου, πολλὰ παραποιοῦσι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεσμῶν ὅτε καίριον· ἔκτοπα δὲ αὐθις πλάζεσθαι γράφοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο παρανομεῖν ἐν τέχνῃ λόγων ἐστίν. Ἐπιλεκτέον οὖν τό, τε ἔννομον ἐν ἐγκωμίοις καὶ τὸ ἐν περιστάσεσιν εὐμέθοδον, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονοῦσαν κἂν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δεινότητα, καθ' ἣν γένος μὲν ἐνταῦθα κεφαλαίωσασθαι, οὐδεὶς ἂν, ὅστις ἐπιβαλεῖται μὴ τοῦτο 15 καὶ μόνον ἐλόμενος ἔργον θεσθαι· ὅς γε οὐδ' οὕτω κατευθυνεῖ τὴν τοῦ λόγου βολὴν ἐπίσκοπα. Οὐ γὰρ τριγόνους, ὃ φασι γονὰς μετρήσασθαι κἀνταῦθα ἐστὶν ἐν αἷς ἀπασχολήσας τις ἑαυτόν, οὐ πάνυ μακρὰν ἀνύσας καταλύσει τὸν λόγον εἰς ἀνά- 20 παυλαν· ἐπαδικὴ δὲ τελειότης τὸ βασιλικὸν τοῦτο γένος κοσμεῖ. Κἂν δεήση τοῖς κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπεξελεθῆν σεμνώμασιν, αὐτὴ μὲν πέρατι περικλείεται· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τέχνην ἐπαινετήριοι, ῥύησονται ὡς εἰς ἀπέραντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμετρηθήσεται τι χρόνου τῷ 25 κατὰ σκοπόν, ἀναλωθείσης τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ ἀδειας, εἰς τὰ μὴ πρὸ ἔργου τῷ γράφοντι.
- 5 Ἐκεῖνο τοίνυν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα μετρούμενοις τὸ καίριον, ὡς οὐκ ἀθεμελί- 30 ωτα τῷ ὕμνουμένῳ τὰ τοῦ βασιλευεῖν, οὐδὲ ὡς οἶον εἰπεῖν ἄρριζα· στερρόις δὲ θεμελίους ἐπωκοδόμηται, τῇ προὔποβεβλημένη τῶν προγόνων εὐκλεία, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ ρίζαις τοιαύταις, φυτὸν εὐθαλέστατον αὐτὸ ἀνέβλασεν, οὐ καὶ ἡ σκιά κόπους ἀνέψυχε

4–5 κατόπιν... προθυμίας: locut. comm., ad sermonem Graecum hodiernum admonet κατόπιν προθυμίας 6 ὕποπτος... χάρις: locut. comm., cf. e.g. Himer. Or. 4.62 Τὸ κοινωνεῖν καλόν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἢ χάρις ἀνύποπτος; cf. etiam Phot. Bibl. Cod.+243 Τὸ κοινωνεῖν καλόν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἢ χάρις ἀνύποπτος 6 ὀφθαλμοῖς αἰδῶ: cf. CPG I p.381 (App I 10) ὅτι τοὺς παρόντας αἰδοῦνται μᾶλλον οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἢ τοὺς ἀπόντας; cf. Theogn. Eleg. 1.85 οἶσιν ἐπὶ γλώσσει τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπεστιν / αἰδῶς, οὐδ' αἰσχροὺς χρῆμι' ἐπὶ κέρδος ἄγει; cf. etiam Aristoph. Vesp. 447 ὥστε μὴ ριγῶν ἐκάστοτ'· ἀλλὰ τούτοις γ' οὐκ ἐνι / οὐδ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν αἰδῶς τῶν παλαιῶν ἐμβάδων; cf. etiam Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il. 3.447.2124 Ἀριστοτέλους γὰρ φιλοσοφώτατα παραδομένου οικητήριον αἰδοῦς εἶναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν παρήγαγον τὸ νόημα εἰς παροιμίαν ἀστεῖαν τὴν 'αἰδῶς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς'; ἤγουν αἰδοῦμεθα οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ αἰεὶ, ἀλλ' ἔως ἂν τινὰς βλέπωμεν 16 τριγόνους... γονὰς: cf. Liban. Or. 59.13 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ καθ' ἕκαστον πατρῶας καὶ παπῶας κληρονομοῦσιν οὐσίας νόμῳ πρὸς τοῦτο καλούμενοι, οὕτω καὶ τούτοις ἀνωθεν ἐκ τριγονίας ἢ βασιλεία προσηκούσα; cf. etiam Themist. Πενταετ. 115c11 καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τὰ σκήπτρα ἐκ τριγονίας διαδεξάμενοι; cf. etiam Mich. Chon. Or. 10.170.10 μὴ μόνον ἐκ γένους εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἀρετῆς δε-

16 μετρίσασθαι B

And it would be the most paradoxical thing of all, to be exceedingly willing to draw up speeches while the emperor was alive, but now that he has departed to a higher sovereign plane to fall short of that old readiness, at that very moment when it is most needed. For favour is suspect when men are in the company of the living on account of the regard men show in the presence of one another. Their favourable opinion reveals itself as genuine only once they have departed.

And so having established that now is not the time to remain silent, but to speak out, as we were accustomed to doing, it is not incumbent on us to follow the rules governing the composition of speeches down to the last detail, seeing that the fathers of the laws of rhetoric often alter their own rules when the occasion calls for it. Then again, to fashion things in the course of writing which have no place in a speech, this is indeed to commit a violation in the art of composition. And so one must select both what is lawful in encomia and what is most effective under the circumstances, in keeping with the artfulness which guides [speeches] even in cases such as this. Consequently, it is not incumbent upon anyone to summarize here the man's lineage, unless one had chosen to make this, and only this, his task; although even in this way the aim of his speech would fail to reach its target. For this is not one of those cases comprised of a threefold ancestry, as they say, in which one may busy himself, and after a brief while, having achieved his aim, come to an end. This imperial line is adorned by a sevenfold perfection. And [even] if it were required to go through their illustrious achievements going back seven generations, our speech is nonetheless confined to a limit. On the other hand, skillfully crafted speeches of praise will flow interminably, and the time available will not suffice to achieve the aim, since both one's stamina for speaking and the license granted to a writer for things outside the scope of the task will have been spent.

To anyone making a precise evaluation of what is appropriate here, I would say this: imperial rule was not without foundations in the man being praised, nor, as we say, was it without roots. It had been built on stable foundations by the preceding illustriousness of his ancestors, and, on roots such as these did this plant sprout in full bloom, whose shade revived the efforts of those seeking its shelter out of the sweltering labour of life, and whose fruit fed those whom life's

δικαίωται· διὰ τριγωνίας γὰρ ἐξήπτα τῆς ἀρχηγέτιδος καὶ βασιλικῆς ῥίζης τῶν Κομνηνῶν 19 πέρατι περικλείεται: cf. Eust. Or. (Λόγος Β) 2.40.2224 διὰ τοίνυν ταῦτα τὴν μὲν σοφίαν ἑατέον ἐν ἀμέμπτῳ κείσθαι περικλεισαμένην πέρατι 26 σκιά... ἀνέψυχε: Eus. Dem. evang. Fr. 2 ἡ φλόξ τοῦ πυρός διακοπέσασα τῷ προστάγματι τοῦ θεοῦ... ἡδίστην ἀναπνοὴν καὶ ἀναψυχὴν, ὥσπερ ἐν σκιά τινι φυτῶν, ἐν εἰρηνικῇ καταστάσει παρεχομένη

- τοῖς ἐκ καμάτων βίου καυστήρων ὑποτρέχουσι, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς, ἔτρεφεν ὄσους βίου ἐλάπαξεν ἔνδεια. Σεμνὸν μὲν οὖν, καὶ αὐτὸν τινα ἠξιῶσθαι, ἀρχὴν βασιλείας ἑαυτῷ προκαταβαλέσθαι, καὶ κατάρξαι τῷ εἰσέπειτα, γένει τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ χρυσέα σειρᾶ ἔνδοῦναι ἀρχήν· τῷ παντὶ δὲ κρείττον, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐπικεκρίσθαι, περιθέσθαι διάδημα. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, εἰς διπλοῦν ἤκει ἐπαίνου, τό τε κατ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὅσον εἰς βασιλεῖς προγόνους ἀναπέμπει τὸν γράφοντα· ἐκεῖνο δὲ, | εἰς ἓνα περιέγραψε τὸ καλόν, τὸν κατάρξαντα. Καὶ ἔτι ὁ μὲν ἀρχὴν βασιλικὴν ὑποστησάμενος, οὐ πάνυ διδωσι θαρρῆν τὰ εἰσέπειτα· ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἄρξασιν ἐπιγενόμενος καὶ ταῦτα τηλικούτοις, ἐγγυωμένην αὐχεὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς φθάσασι προσεπιθεῖναι τὰ οἴκοθεν. Ἔχει γὰρ ὅποι παραδείγματος ἰθαγενούς, τὸν νοῦν ἀπρεΐσεται· καὶ ζήλω διαθερμανθεὶς πρὸς μίμησιν, οὐ φέρει τοῖς προγόνους ἀφιέναι πρωτεύειν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς.
- 6 Τί δέ ; Γένος μὲν οὐ πολυπραγμονητέον ἐνταῦθα, οὐπερ ὁ κατάλογος ὑπὲρ τὰ ἠρωϊκά, ὧν τὰ σεμνὰ ἔστι κατανοεῖν τῷ μαθήσεως εὐ ἤκοντι, ἐς ὅσον βραχύτητος περιγέγραπται· τροφῆς δὲ κανόνα διαχειριστέον ὅς δὴ τῷ γένει συναναφαίνεται. Καὶ τις ἂν, ἐπιμετρήσῃ χρόνον ἀρκοῦντα, ἔνθα τὸ ἀκροατήριον ὀλίγα μὲν ἔχει πρὸς τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν λαλουμένοις τὰ πλείω δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸ στρέφεται, καὶ τῷ θαύματι πεπηγότες, ἢ συστέλλουσι τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐνεργήματα ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ ἀκροᾶσθαι; ἢ ἄλλὰ τὰς ψυχικὰς παρανοιγνύντες δέλτους; αὐτοὶ λογογραφουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κατ' ἄλλος ἄλλον τρόπον τοῖς τοῦ κειμένου ἐπεξιόντες θαύμασιν· ἐν οἷς, καὶ ὡς ἐκ σπαργάνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ παιδὸς καὶ εἰς ἀκμαῖον δι' ἀρετῶν ἤκων προέκοπτε, τὰ μὲν, ἑτέροις προγονικοῖς ἐμβαίων ἴχνεισι τὰ δὲ, καὶ πατρικῶς ρυθμιζόμενος, πλείω δὲ καὶ προσευπορῶν, καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἀγαθαῖς, προσεξευρίσκων αὐτός ὅσα καὶ αὐτὰ, εἰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀγαθοπραξιῶν ἀρχέτυπα τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἐγγράφεται.
- 7 Ἦν γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἰδεῖν τὸν μὲν πατέρα βασιλέα διδασκαλιῶν τὰς ἀρίστας προβαλλόμενον, τοῦτον δὲ, ῥᾶον ἀντιλαμβανόμενον, καὶ εἰς προβολὴν εὐθύς ἐνεργείας τελείας ἐρεθιζόμενον· κάκεινον ἔστιν οὐ καὶ ἐπέχοντα τῆς εἰσάγαν ῥύμης, ὑφορώμενον μὴ καὶ σφαιλεῖν ὁ παῖς βασιλεὺς τῷ ὑπερλίαν εὐεκτικῷ τοῦ μεγαλοφυοῦς. Καὶ

3–4 βασιλικῆ...σειρᾶ: cf. Hom. *Il.* 8.1920 σειρήν χρυσεῖην ἐξ οὐρανόθεν κρεμάσαντες / πάντες τ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαι τε θείαναι; cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.519.14 sqq Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ἐξ οὐρανόθεν χρυσέα σειρὰ καὶ εἰς βασιλικὸν γένος μεταλαμβάνεται τοῖς ῥητορικῶς ἐπιβάλλουσιν, οἱ καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς οὐκ ὀλίγα συμβιβάζουσι κατὰ καιρὸν δεξιῶς εἰς ἐγκώμιον; cf. Euth. *Torn. Or.* 3.20.4. ἐκ τῆς πρώτης καὶ βασιλικῆς τῶν Κοιμητῶν χρυσέας σειρᾶς 16 θαύματι πεπηγότες: Luc. *Imag.* 1.15 τὴν Γοργῶ...παγκάλῃν τινὰ γυναῖκα ἰδῶν· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ μύθου ἐκεῖνο, μικροῦ δέω λίθος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου σοὶ γεγονέναι πεπηγὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ θαύματος παιδὸς... ἀκμαῖον: Eust. *Or.* 1 (Λόγος A) 10.15 τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἀνατροφῆς...τὸν ἐκ παιδὸς ἀκμαῖον διέγραφεν 23 ἀρχέτυπα... ἐγγράφεται: cf. Theod. *Prodr. Carm. hist.* 25.80 τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλέως ἄθλοις ὡς ἀρχετύποις ἐγγράφοις τῇ καρδίᾳ; cf. etiam Nic. Greg. *Hist. Rom.* 2.881.15 διδασκαλίαν ἀνοίγειν τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐπιούσιν ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχετύπων τῶν φθασάντων; cf. Max. Plan. *Encom. s. Diom.* 26.7 μέγιστον εἰς ἐγγενείας παράστασιν εἶναι, ἑμαυτὸν ἀρχέτυπον προθεῖναι τοῖς ἐπιούσιν

want had deprived of everything. So while it is a noble thing that some man be deemed worthy to lay the foundation of imperial government for himself, and that he should initiate this noble thing for his descendants, providing a starting point for a golden imperial dynasty, it is nevertheless altogether better to be selected through succession to wear the crown. The latter produces a twofold praise, of the man himself and in as much as it directs the writer to his imperial ancestors. Whereas the former restricts this achievement to the one who initiated it. And what is more, the one who founds an imperial line cannot provide reassurances about its future, while the one who follows, especially in the wake of such ancestors, can claim that his succession is sure to add his own achievements to those of his predecessors. For he has a homegrown example on which to fix his mind, and driven by zeal to imitation he cannot bear to allow his ancestors to surpass him in noble deeds.

What shall I mention next then? I should not enter into great detail here 6 about his ancestry, whose record far exceeds the deeds of heroes whose accomplishments a person well disposed to learning is able to grasp owing to the succinctness of their outline. The regime of his upbringing, on the other hand, should be treated, in as much as it goes together with his ancestry. And who could grant us sufficient time in a case where the audience gets little from of our speech. For the most part, the audience is turned in on itself, either riveted in wonder or contracting the activity of their senses, including their hearing; or they open the books of their souls themselves compose orations for themselves, each man going through in detail the wondrous achievements of the man lying here in different ways? Included among these was the fact that from the time he was in swaddling clothes, and then from childhood until adulthood he proved precocious in the demonstration of virtues, in some cases following in the footsteps of his ancestors, in others as a result of being guided by his father, though for the most part relying on his own resources, and making additional discoveries in the principles of virtue on his own, discoveries that would be reckoned as models of governance and of noble achievements among his successors.

For you could truly see his father the emperor setting forth the best teachings, 7 while Manuel apprehended them quite easily, and he was immediately roused to demonstrate their fullest application. There were times when his father even had to rein in his son's exceeding vehemence, since he supposed that the young emperor could err by virtue of his immoderately noble nature. One time, when he was still too young and his hands still soft (for what else could they have been, belonging a child), he had the courage to get into a fight (which few would have

- ποτε πρὸ ὥρας ὑγραῖς ἔτι χερσὶ (καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ παιδικαῖς) ὁ μὲν, κατεθάρρῃσε, μάχης (ἦν δὲ οὐ πολλοί, οὐδὲ τῶν γενναιοτέρων), καὶ περιέκειτο νίκην· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐντὸς μὲν, ἔχαιρεν, ἐπαλείφων εἰς ἀρετὰς τὸν κατ' αὐτὰς δεξιώτατον, τοῖς δὲ ἐκτὸς, ἐμβριθῶς ἐσχημάτιστο, καὶ ἦνυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ μαθητῇ βασιλεῖ ὁ μὴ τὸ πολέμιον κατεπράξατο. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ὑπεστάλη ὁ νεανίας· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ βασιλεύς, ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτὸ δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπιπλήξας, εἰς φρίκην συνήγαγε μαθόντα μὴ χρῆναι θάλος οὕτω νέον, ἀνέμοις ἑαυτὸ παραβάλλειν οἱ ἐκστρέψαι τῆς εἰς ὀρθὸν στάσεως καὶ ἐπὶ γαίης ἐκτανύσαι ἰσχύουσιν· ἀκούσαντά τε, καὶ μηδένα φαῦλον ἄνδρα πολέμῳ αἰρεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αἰεὶ, οὓς κρατυνθέντας μὲν ἀνύ στερεῶς καὶ ἄθλοις ἐντριβέντας μυριοῖς, τάχ' ἂν ποτε δυσωπηθεῖη ἢ δυσπρόσωπος μάχῃ, παναπάλοις δὲ οὖσι, ταχὺ ἐγχανεῖται, καὶ ἀπαγάγοι πρὸ ὥρας, μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ὠφελικότας τὸ βοηθούμενον· καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι παιδευθέντα, ἡρέμα τὸ ἔμπρακτον προῖσχεσθαι, καὶ βαθμιδοῦν οἷον τὴν ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἀνάβασιν κατὰ εὐτακτουμένην προσάξεισιν, ἵνα τῷ τελείῳ προσβάς, εἴη τῷ κόσμῳ χρήσιμος· ὁ καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἐκβέβηκεν ὕστερον.
- 8 Ἀλλὰ τί μοι κατ' ἀνάγκην λόγου καὶ τοιούτοις ἐπεξιώντι, οὔτε εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐξικέσθαι, καὶ διεκπεσεῖν τοῦ τε καιροῦ τοῦ τε σκοποῦ, ὧν τέλος, ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς δυνατὴ συμμετρία εἰς ὅσον μικρὰν γοῦν τινα τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς ἀνακινήσαι μνήμην καὶ θαῦμα, τοὺς τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης καρπούς; Μεθοδευτέον οὖν ἡμῖν οὕτω τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ κλεψύδρα, τῷ τοῦ καιροῦ μέτρῳ, τὸ τοῦ λόγου μετρητέον ὕδωρ, μὴ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν φθάσας λελύσεται.
- 9 Μὴ μοι δὲ μηδὲ συμβόλων ἐκείνων μνηστέον, ἃ τὴν βασιλικὴν προεδίῳ καὶ ἀνάρρησιν καὶ λοιπὴν ὕψωσιν, μὴ καὶ πληθύνας ὀράσεις τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀποκαλύψεσιν ἐμβαθύνας, ἐκστήσω τὸ ἀκροατήριον· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἄλλως οὐ μακρὰ χρεῖα τοιούτων,

8-9 μηδένα... αἰεὶ: alludit ad Soph. *Philoct.* 436437 πόλεμος οὐδέν' ἄνδρ' ἐκὼν αἰρεῖ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χρηστοὺς αἰεὶ; cf. etiam Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.165.6 ὁ μὲν πόλεμος εἴωθε καὶ τοὺς φαυλοτέρους ἐγείρειν καὶ κρατεῖν; cf. etiam Suda, A1, 296 Αἰρεῖ: ἀναρεῖ, φονεῖ. Σοφοκλῆς· πόλεμος γὰρ οὐδέν' ἄνδρ' ἐκὼν αἰρεῖ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χρηστοὺς αἰεὶ 12-14 βαθμιδοῦν... ἀνάβασιν: cf. Athan. *Mon. Vita s. Athan. Athon.* 18 οὐκ ἂν δὲ σοφὸς ἦν, εἰ μὴ ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ἀναβάσει τῶν ἄκρων ἤδη τῆς ἀρετῆς βαθμιδῶν ἐπέβαινε 17 συμμετρία: cf. Isocr. *Panath.* 86 Ὡμῖν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς χαριεστάτοις τῶν ἀκροατῶν εὐδοκίμῃσιν, ἦν φαίνωμαι περὶ ἀρετῆς μὲν τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος, ὅπως δὲ ταύτης ἀξίως ἐρῶ μᾶλλον σπουδάζων ἢ περὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου συμμετρίαν; cf. etiam Greg. Naz. *In laud. Soror. Gorg.* PG 35.812 Τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ βίου τοιαῦτα· καὶ τὰ πλείω παραλειπίπαμεν διὰ τὴν συμμετρίαν τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀπλήστως ἔχειν περὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν 18 τοὺς... καρπούς: cf. Io. Chrys. *In epist. ii ad Cor.* PG 61.528 εἰπῶν, σοφός· οὕτως ἡμεῖς καταδεξάμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ συνέσεως καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνης καρπωσόμεθα ἔπαινον; cf. etiam Constit. *Apostol.* 5.16 Ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ δοθήσεται ἔθνη ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρπούς αὐτῆς, δηλαδὴ ὅτι ἡμῖν τοῖς ποτε οὖσιν ἀπεξενωμένοις αὐτοῦ μακρὰν δοῦς τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐκδέχεται τοὺς τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης καρπούς; cf. etiam Nic. Basil. *Progymn.* 25 εἰ στείραν οὕτως ἔχει τις τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς τὸ τῆς χάριτος σπέρμα λαβοῦσαν μὴ τὸν τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης ἀντιδοῦναι καρπὸν; cf. etiam Eust. *De emend.* 66.42 αὐ-

8 αἰρεῖσθαι scripsi : αἰρεσθαι B et Tafel 9 στερεῶς: B στερρῶς fort. per err. Tafel
13 προσβάς B προβάς Tafel 19 μέτρῳ: corr. Tafel μετρίῳ B

gotten into, not even the bravest) and he was crowned with victory. His father privately rejoiced, having trained the boy so well for such feats, though he pretended outwardly to be severe, and he managed to have an effect on the student emperor which the enemy had not. Although the young man did not shrink from these men, his father the emperor rebuked him, and it must be said, punished him, teaching him through fear that so young a shoot should not expose itself to the winds, which may bend it from its upright position and lay it flat on the ground. He heard as well that war never selects the wicked, but always the brave, and whereas grim-faced battle may look askance at men quite severely hardened and worn by many contests, if they are still tender, she regards them straightaway with eagerness, and may take them before their time, so that they will have proven of little or no benefit to those whom they set out to help. And in all things he was instructed to progress gradually in their application, and to make his way up the slope of virtuous deeds, step by step, as it were, in an orderly progression, so that reaching perfection he might prove useful to the world, a thing he later put into practice.

But what is the point of going over details such as these in order to conform to the requirements of an oration, when I am unable to get through all of them, and then fall short of both the allotted time and the aim, whose goal is to arrive at as much proportion as possible in the rest of the oration in hopes of stirring at any rate, some small measure of memory and admiration in the audience, the fruits of their goodwill and gratitude? Better then for us to proceed with the oration as though the water clock were running, the means to measure time, the water by which speech must be measured, lest the contest come to a premature end.

There is no need for me to remind you of the signs which foretold the public acclamation and future elevation of the emperor, lest by filling the speech with visions and by interpreting revelations, I risk distracting the audience. There is, in any case, no extensive need of such things in a case where the things which will follow later in the speech bear out the matter all the more. For one has no need to examine closely divine signs in a case where even if the great things des-

τίκα και βασιλική ἀντισήκωσις δι' ἐπικτήσεως, καρπὸς αὐτῆ εὐγνωμοσύνης 19 κλεψύδρα... ὕδωρ: *Anon. in Hermog. Περὶ εὐρέσεως* (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, vol. 7.1) 715.18 τοῦ δικανικοῦ πρὸς ὕδωρ τοῦ λόγου γινομένου ἱκανὸν καὶ τὰ καιριώτερα εἰπόντα μετρήσαι τῷ τοῦ κρουνοῦ ρεύματι; cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Π.* 4.233.16 ὁ ἐρμηνεύων Ἀθήναιος... φάμενος καὶ ὅτι τὸ ὕδραυλικὸν ὄργανον κατὰ κλεψύδραν ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω; cf. etiam Eust. *Or. quad.* 5.976 Ἦθελον εἰσέτι πλείω διδάσκειν... ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ πάντη τὴν ἐμὴν κλεψύδραν τὸ τοῦ λέγειν ὕδωρ ἐπιλέλοιπεν 21–22 βασιλικὴν... ἀνάρρησιν: cf. Mich. *Ital. Or.* 4.4.284.18 σοῦ γεγονότες ταῖς εὐφημίαις καὶ μόνον ἀπολαβόντες τὸν σεβαστοκράτορα Μανουήλ, ὥσπερ ἰδιάζουσάν σοι καὶ μονότροπον ἐπιούμεθα τὴν ἀνάρρησιν

ἐνθα τὰ ὑστερήσαντα λόγου πέφηνε κρείττονα. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ἔχοι τις ἀνάγκην ἐνταῦθα τῶν θεοπροπιῶν πάνυ τι γίνεσθαι, ὅπου, κἂν εἰ μὴ ἐν συμβόλοις προδηλοῖτο τὰ μεγάλα μέλλοντα, οἷς ἐπινεύει θεός· ὅμως αὐτὰ πρὸς τέλος οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐκβέβηκεν, ὅτι μὴδὲ διὰ τὸ σύμβολον, οὐπερ τὸ σύμβολον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ σεμνύεται.

5

10 Εἰ δὲ καὶ καλὸν ἅπαν προοίμιον, ἀλλ' ἐνθα κατεπείγει τὸ ἐναγώνιον, περιορατέον τὸ τοῦ προοιμίου πολὺ· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ συμβολικῶς φροισμαζόμενον, μὴ δαπανάτω τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἡμῖν εἰ καὶ πολὺ τὸ εὐκλεῆς τρόπον ἄλλον ἐπισύρεται, οἷς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κατὰ τοὺς ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις ὡσιωμένους τῷ θεῷ διατίθεται. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ πάνυ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις παλαιὰ καὶ μὴδε τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερᾶς αὐλῆς τε καὶ ὀμηγύρεως, ἐν- 10 πνίων καὶ ὀραμάτων λόγοις φιλοσοφούνται· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, θεὸς τοῖς λιχνευομένοις τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἀνεκάλυψε, καὶ τὸ προτεθειμένον εἰπεῖν, ἐπηγγείλατο ἐν αὐτοῖς.

11 Ἀναθέμενοι οὖν οὕτω καὶ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπιδραμόντες, ἐπιβαλοῦμεν τοῖς τούτων ἔχομένοις εἰς ὅσον δύναιμι. Δύναμις δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς μεμετρημένοις τὸ 15 λέγειν, καθ' ὁμοιότητα πελαγοστόλου νεῶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς ἀγαθοῖς διεξάγειν τοὺς λόγους. Ἐκείνη τε γὰρ ὡς οἶον γραμμικῶς τέμνει τὸ πέλαγος ὀλίγας τινὰς που ἔλικας περιάγουσα ὡς ἐξεῖναι καὶ ἐτέραις μυρίαῖς ὄσαις ναυσὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον τρόπον διαθέειν καὶ μὴδὲ οὕτω τὸ πᾶν πέλαγος γενέσθαι πλεύσιμον· καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔσται οὕτως ἰκανὸν τὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ φορὸν πνεύματος, ὡς ἐξαρκεῖν ἐμπλατυναμένοις, πολ- 20 λὴν εὐθυπλοῆσαι τοῦ τῶν βασιλικῶν θαυμασιῶν ὠκεανοῦ ὧν οὐδ' ἂν, ἀνάριθμοι νῆες διεξέλθοιεν, ὅποια τις καὶ ἢ παρὰ τῇ ποιήσει ἐκατόνζυγος ἦς τὸ ἐν λόγοις ἄχθος πολὺ.

12 Ἐν δὴ τοιοῦτοις καὶ τούτων ὄντων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ἀναγόντων τε ἑαυτούς, ὅπως ἄρα καὶ βούλοιντο, καὶ διαπλεόντων οὐριοδομοῦντες ἐνθα προτεθυμησθαι δέον 25 αὐτοῖς· ἡμᾶς δὲ, βασιλικῶν ἀρετῶν περιστοιχίζει χορὸς οὐ χρὴ γενέσθαι, εἰς ὅσον οἶον τε ἡμῖν. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ, πῶς ἂν, ἔπειτα λαθοίμην, πρωτείου τιμήσασθαι τὴν ἐπὶ πασῶν φρόνησιν, τὴν ἀπάσας ἀρτύουσαν ἀρετάς, καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἄλας, καὶ αὐτὴν παγ-

4-5 τὸ ... σεμνύεται: ad sermonem Graecum hodiernum admonet τὰ στερνὰ τιμοῦν τὰ πρῶτα 8 εὐκλεῆς... ἐπαγγελίαις: cf. Mich. Psell. *Chron.* 7.9.8 σύμβολα δὲ αὐτῶ οὕτω ἐδεδῶκε βασιλεία, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις τὸ πρόβλημα 10-11 ἐνπνίων... φιλοσοφούνται: cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 2.217.31 ὀνειρούς ἀληθεῖς ὄντας καὶ αὐτόχρομα οὕτως ἐκβάντας καθὰ ὠράθησαν ἐν ὑπνοῖς ὀράματα καλοῦμεν, θεωρηματικὸς ἐκάλουσιν οἱ παλαιοί; cf. etiam Eust. *De capt. Thess.* 1.40.18. τὰς καθ' ὑπνοῦς δηλώσεις καὶ διαστολὴν οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐξευρίσκουσιν ὀραμάτων τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἄπερ ὑπνοῦς φαίνει 20 ὡς... ἐμπλατυναμένοις: termin. techn. rhet. cf. e. g. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 215.9 ἐμπλατυνόμενος εἰρηκεν ἀπηρητημένη κατασκευὴ καὶ μεθόδοις ῥητορικῆς χρῆσάμενος 22 ἢ... ἐκατόνζυγος: Hom. *Il.* 20.247 ἔστι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισιν ὄνειδα μυθήσασθαι / πολλὰ μάλ', οὐδ' ἂν νῆς ἐκατόνζυγος ἄχθος ἄροιστο; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.401 line 2125 ἔστι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισιν ὄνειδα μυθήσασθαι πολλὰ μάλ', οὐδ' ἂν νῆς ἐκατόνζυγος ἄχθος ἄροιστο, ἔαν γραφεῖεν δηλαδὴ καὶ βιβλίους ἐντεθεῖεν. Ἐκατόνζυγοι δὲ νῆες αἱ πολὺκωποι, ἄς μακρὰς οἱ ῥήτορες ἐκάλουσιν ὑστερον 27 πῶς... λαθοίμην: Hom. *Il.* 10.243 (= *Od.* 1.65) πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ'

tinged to happen had not been foretold in signs, with which God signals his will, these things would have occurred no less. Since it is not through the sign that the thing the sign represents is distinguished, but that which comes after it which gives the sign its distinction.

Even though every proem is good, in cases where the contest hastens us on, 10 one must dispense with lengthy introductions. Likewise, we should not expend all our efforts on describing symbolic preludes, even if this brings much renown in its wake by another means, in so far as it characterizes the emperor's relationship to God as being akin to that of men whose dedication to the Lord was pre-saged. The well known [pagan] signs of old, which have no place in our sacred chapel amid our gathering, are analyzed in books about dreams and visions. As for the signs in our own teachings, and all things of this sort, God himself has revealed them to those who seek after such fore-knowledge, and has vouchsafed to them the task of announcing what has been predestined.

And so having disposed of these things in such a manner, and to such an 11 extent, we turn our attention now to those subjects that follow these, as best we can. Given the precisely allotted time for our speech, that ability would be like conducting our oration through the emperor's virtues in the manner of a sea-faring ship. For it would cut as straight a line across the open sea as possible, making an occasional loop perhaps, so that countless other ships could sail to and fro in a similar manner and the whole ocean would still not be navigated. And yet the breeze supplied by our own rhetorical inspiration would be insufficient for us to 'unfurl' this subject, allowing us to sail a long straight course over the vast ocean of the emperor's awe-inspiring deeds, which countless ships could not cover – whatever may be said in poetry of the ship with a hundred benches of rowers, whose power and speed were said to be great.

Such then being the circumstances, let some launch in whichever direction 12 they wish and let them navigate with the wind at their back wherever they deem best. In contrast, we are surrounded by a chorus of imperial virtues, which we must join to the best of our ability. At this point, how could I therefore fail to award the first prize to prudence in all things, which like seasoning prepares all other virtues, like salt, so to speak, prudence being a universal virtue, with which all human deeds may be "flavoured"? In those cases where prudence precedes

Ὅδυσσος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην 28 φρόνησιν... ἀρετάς: cf. Eust. *Or.* 6 (Λόγος ζ) 93.30 ὁ πάνσοφος βασιλεύς, τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως καταγώγιον; cf. etiam *Or.* 8 (Λόγος Η) 149.23 βάθος τῆς φρονήσεως, ἡ δὲ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἄρτυμα

κόσμιον, δι' οὐ ἅπασιν ἀνθρωπικοῖς ἔργοις τὸ νόστιμον; ἥς προΐσταμένης μὲν τῶν πράξεων, ἀνθρώπου ἔργα τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ ὑπὸ φωτὶ ἐκεῖνος βαίνει τῷ ὄντως· παρεωραμένης δέ, ἄλλο τι ἐκεῖνα, καὶ ὡς οἶα κατὰ σκότον ἠλάσκει ὁ ἐργαζόμενος, καὶ ὡς παρεγκλίνας τὸ φῶς, σκιά τις αἴσσει ἀπολωλεκυῖα τὸ στερέμιον.

- 13 Ταύτης ὁ συνετώτατος αὐτοκράτωρ κατακόρως εἶχε, καὶ οὐ πρὸς σύγκρισιν, ἀλλ' 5
εἰς τὸ ἀληθῶς ἀνυπέμβλητον. Πρᾶξαι γάρ τι δεῖσαν εἶτε καὶ εἰπεῖν, κατάρξας μὲν,
οὐκ εἶχε τὸν ἐπινοησόμενόν τι βέλτιον· ἑτέρα δὲ καταρχῇ τὸ οἰκείον ἐπαγαγῶν, ἀπέ-
κρυπτε τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καθὰ καὶ ἀστέρων φαῦσιν ἀναφανεῖς ὁ ἥλιος. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως
| διατιθέμενος, καὶ τὸ μὲν, ἐκφαίνων ἑαυτόν, οἶα κἀνταῦθα δύναται, τὸ δὲ, καὶ γυ- 165v
μνάζων εἰς μάθησιν τοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντας πρὸς αὐτῷ, μετέφερε ποτε τὴν γνώμην, 10
ἐφ' ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλοιτο, καὶ ἐπιθανολόγει τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ προάγων ἐπιχειρή-
σεις, καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν στρογγυλλόμενος, εἰς πειθῶ τὸν λόγον κατέστρεφεν· ὡς
οὕτω δέον (καὶ μὴ ἄλλως), τινα καταπράξασθαι. Ὡς δὲ ἐπινεύσει τὸ ἀκρωμένον
συμπεισθὲν καὶ κατάθοιτο, καὶ ἡ μὲν βουλή πέρα τι συγκλεισθεῖη, καιρὸς δέ, τὴν
χεῖρα ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι τὰ τοῦ βουλεύματος, τότε δὴ ἀναλαβῶν ἄλλως τὸ πρακτέον, 15
ἀναποιῶν ἦν τὰ ἤδη κατασκευασμένα· καὶ τὸ μὲν πιθανὸν ἀπέκρινε, τῆς δὲ τῷ ὄντι
πειθανάγκης ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν τῆς διανοίας ἐξέφαινε θησαυρόν, πολὺν σοφίας πλοῦ-
τον στέγοντα καὶ μεστὸν εἶναι συνέσεως διεδείκνυτο, οὐ κατὰ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐν
τοῖς πάλαι διατεθειμένοις ἀμφοτερόγλωττον, ἔνθα ἡ τοῦ νοουμένου πλάστιγξ ὡς τὰ
πολλὰ, ἰσόρροπος, καὶ τὸ πρακτέον οὐκ εὐξύμβλητον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφου- 20
μένην συστοιχίαν, τὴν ἐκλέγουσαν μὲν ἐν στοίχῳ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ μὴ τοιαῦτα
σκορακίζουσαν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μελωδοῦ Τιμοθέου σοφίαν, ἄδοντος μὲν

1-2 ἥς ...πραττόμενα: Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1141b9 Ἡ δὲ φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα...τοῦ γὰρ φρονίμου μάλιστα τοῦτ' ἔργον εἶναι 2-3 φωτὶ ... σκότον: *Ev. Io.* 8:12 Πάλιν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· ὁ ἀκολουθῶν ἐμοὶ οὐ μὴ περιπατήσει ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἔξει τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς 2 ἠλάσκει: *alludit ad Emped. Fr.* 121.17 Ἄτης ἂν λειμῶνα κατὰ σκότος ἠλάσκουσιν; cf. *Mich. Chon. Ep.* 61.4 δύστηνοι δὲ καὶ Κιμμέριοι οἱ κατὰ σκότον ἠλάσκοντες 4 σκιά ... αἴσσει: *Hom. Od.* 10.494-495 τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια / οἶψ πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκίαὶ αἴσσουσιν; cf. *Procl. In Plat. rem pub.* 1.119.21 περὶ τοὺς τάφους καλινδουμένας σκιοειδῆ παρέχεσθαι φαντάσματα, καὶ ὁ ποιητῆς σκιάς αὐτὰς παραπλησίως αἴσσειν ἰστόρησεν; cf. *etiam Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.393.40 Ἄμενῆν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ σκίαὶ αἴσσειν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐρβρέθησαν. προῶν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητῆς ἐρμηνεύσει πῶς ἀμενηνοὶ οἱ νεκροὶ, ἐν οἷς ἔρεῖ ὡς οὐκέτι σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα ἴνες ἔχουσιν 4 σκιά ... στερέμιον: cf. *Themist. Or.* 347a οὐδὲν γε ἂν ἦν εὐπετέστερον ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας· ἀλλ' ὅταν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπάρχη...χρῆ οὖν ἐκεῖνο ἀποσκευάσασθαι, καὶ ἡ σκιά συναπελήλαται τῷ στερεμίνῳ; cf. *etiam Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.390.30 καὶ στερέμιόν τι ἔχοντα...οἱ δὲ σκίαὶ αἴσσουσι 7-8 ἀπέκρυπτε... ἥλιος: *loc. comm.* cf. e.g. *Io. Eug. Laud. ad Jac. Pers.* 2.50 Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέκρυψεν ἅπαντας τῷ τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων μεγέθει τε καὶ λαμπρῷ καὶ τῷ καὶ νῷ καὶ φρικώδει τῆς ἀθλήσεως τρόπῳ, ὅσον τοὺς κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινόμενους ἀστέρας νυκτὸς ἡλίου φέγγος ἐξάφνης πρωΐας ἀναφανέν 18-19 τὸ ... ἀμφοτερόγλωττον: cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.161.4 Ὅρα δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἀμφίστομον κἀνταῦθα ῥητορικὴν καὶ τὸ οἶον εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνου ἀμφοτερόγλωττον; *Zeno Test. in Parm. Fr.* 15 Ζήνων ὁ Κιττιεύς, οὐχ ὁ Ἐλεάτης ὁ καὶ Παρμενίδειος...ἀμφοτερόγλωτ-

action, the acts are indeed those of a human being, and that man walks under the true light; but when prudence is neglected, the actions become something else and the person performing them wanders as if in darkness, and turning aside the light flits like some shadow having lost its solidity.

This virtue the wise emperor possessed to an immoderate degree; not just 13
defying comparison, but to a truly unsurpassable extent. For if anything needed to be done or said, once he had begun there was no one who could conceive of anything better. While in cases where his own initiative followed that begun by another, he obscured the proposals of the others just as the sun outshines the stars when it appears. And when he was inclined to change his mind, partly in order to demonstrate his ability here as well, and partly in order to teach a lesson to those who were inclined to agree with him – he would periodically change his opinion to an idea which he himself would otherwise not have chosen, investing it with plausibility and providing the supporting rationale. He would then round out the argument he had constructed, managing to make a persuasive case that this is how one needed to proceed (and not in some other way). And so his audience relented and gave its consent, and the deliberation on the matter was brought to a close. But when the time came for him to implement his plan, he proceeded to act otherwise than he had originally proposed, revising the arguments he had earlier constructed. He rejected mere plausibility in the matter and supported what was actually possible, thus displaying the treasure of his intellect, which housed a great wealth of wisdom. He showed himself to be full of intelligence, not disposed to expressing himself with the legendary double tongue of the ancients, where the scale of the mind remains for the most part balanced, and what needs to be done is not easily determined. But like a philosophical ledger, which tallies the good in one column, and consigns their opposites to one of their own, in this way resembling the wise example of Timotheos the lyric poet, who would first sing expertly to his initiates and then perform differently, noting

σος δ' ἐκλήθη οὐχ ὅτι διαλεκτικός ἦν, ὡς ὁ Κιττιεύς, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνεσκεύαζε καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν 20
πρακτέον ... εὐξύμβλητον: Aesch. *Prom.* 775 ἢ δ' οὐκέτ' εὐξύμβλητος ἢ χρησμωιδία 22 σκορακίζου-
σαν: alludit ad locut. comm. ἐς κόρακας; cf. CPG I p.78 (Z III 87), CPG II p.421 (Ap VII 96); cf. Eust.
Comm. ad Hom. Od. 2.56.2 Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς Ὅμηρος μὲν τοιαύτην οἶδε Κορακοσπέτραν. ἴσως δὲ ἐκ τοιοῦ-
του τινὸς καὶ τὸ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἀνόμασται Κορακήσιον. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸ, εἰς κόρακας, καθά φασιν οἱ παλαιοί, ὡς
ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τὸ τοιοῦτον Κιλικίον Κορακήσιον πονηρῶν ὡς εἰκὸς ὄντων 22 κατὰ ... σοφίαν:
cf. Eust. *Or.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 279.27 Εἰ δὲ καὶ τι μέλος ἤρμωσεν ἢ πάλαι τέχνη κινεῖν πρὸς μάχην δυνάμενον,
ὁποῖον καὶ Τιμόθεος ὑπάδων ποτὲ εἰς ὄπλα τὸν Μακεδόνα βασιλέα ἐξέμηνεν; cf. *Suda, Onom.* s.v. Τιμόθε-
ος (557,2 sqq. ed. Adler)

ἐπιστημόνως τοῖς μύσταις, ἄδοντος δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐτέρως, καὶ ἐπιλέγοντος, ὡς «οὕτω μὲν ἄδειν βουλοίμην ἂν, τοὺς ἐμούς, οὕτω δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀποδεχοίμην ἄδοντας.»

14 Ἐντεῦθεν αἱ πανταχοῦ γῆς βασιλικάι πρόνοιαι, πολυειδεῖς. Καὶ ἄνθρωπος εἰς οὐ-
τος τοῖς μεγάλοις οἰκουμενικοῖς ἑαυτὸν μεγαλοφυῶς ἐπεμέριζε τμήμασιν εἰς τὸ ἐν-
εργόν, προβαλλόμενος ὅσα καὶ χεῖρας ἀμφιδεξίους, τὸ τῆς ἀνδρίας δραστήριον, καὶ 5
τὸ τῆς συνέσεως ἐμπύριον, ὅσον τε ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ φρονήσει, καὶ ὀπόσον εἰς ἀγχίνοιαν.
Ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ σκεπτικῶς ἔχων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις, καὶ ἐφιστάνων διανοητικῶς· τὰ
πλείω, δὲ ἄγχιστα τῇ νοήσει παρίστατο, καὶ ἀχρόνως οἶον τοῦ νοουμένου ἐδράττε-
το, καὶ τούτου, βαθύτατα, καὶ οὐχ' ὡς ἐπιπολάζειν κατὰ τοὺς ταχεῖς μὲν φρονεῖν, οὐ
τι δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς. καὶ ἦν μὲν αὐτῷ, λίαν καλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας σεμνά· περιττότε- 10
ρα δέ γε τὰ τῆς φρονήσεως, ἧς καὶ καταμόνας, εἰς μυρίον πλήθος ὠνάμεθα.

15 Ἦ γοῦν Πυθαγορικὴ κατάρτυσις εἶτ' οὖν ἀγάπησις κατὰ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοὺς
εἰπεῖν, κἀνταῦθα παρεισδύσα καὶ τὴν ἐν βαρβάροις ἀγριότητα ἐξελαύνουσα, τὰς
τῶν πολέμων ἀνοχὰς ἡμῖν κατάρθου, δι' ὧν κατεσιγάξεται τὸ ἀλλόφυλον, καὶ μὴν 15
αἰσθάνομαί τινων ψαλαττόντων ἡρέμα, καὶ ὑποκρουομένων ἀπήχημα γλυκὺ τε καὶ
ἐναρμόνιον, δι' οὗ, ἀνδρία καὶ τὴν εἰρηναίαν γαλήνην ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἄδεται καταπράτ-
τεσθαι. Καὶ ἔχει οὕτως ὧ οὗτοι· καὶ τοίνυν ἐντείνετε τὸ ἄσμα τορώτερον, κἀγὼ τοῦ
μέλους ὑμῖν συνεφάσομαι. Ἀδελφὰ γὰρ ἀληθῶς φρονεῖτον ἀνδρία τε καὶ σύνεσις,
καὶ κοινοῦσθον τὸ ἔμπρακτον παρά γε τοῖς ἔμφορσιν.

16 Εὐπορῶ δὲ ὅμως, εἰπεῖν ἐφ' ὧν τὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς φρονήσεως καὶ μονῆρες ὀρίζε- 20
ται, καὶ τέως, ἐκείνο τὸ ἐνταῦθα μέγα τοῦ λόγου κεφάλαιον τὴν τῶν ἐκασταχόθεν
ὑψηλῶν γενῶν τῷ βασιλείῳ γένει συνάφειαν, δι' ἧς ὅσα καὶ τινος πολυτιμῆτου ὕλης,
τὴν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στέμματος συγκρότησιν ἐτεχνήσατο, τὸν ἀρχικὸν καὶ οὕτω με-
γεθύνων ὄγκον, καὶ χεῖρας ταύτας μεγαλοφρεῖς τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ ὀλομελείᾳ προσφύων,
ἅς ἐκτενεῖ, ὅτε που πολυχειρίας δεήσειε. Τούτου ἡμῖν τοῦ καλοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς σοφίας 25

2 οὕτω ... ἄδοντας: fontem non inveni, fort. alludit ad Timotheum poetam lyricum milesium, vid. not. ad loc.

4-5 τμήμασιν ... ἀμφιδεξίους: Mich. Psell. *Or. pan.* 7.75 ὅπως ἀμφιδεξίως σαυτὸν πρὸς τε μά-
χας καὶ εἰρήνας μερίσας ὡσπερ τινὰς χεῖρας πρὸς ἐκάτερα μέρη καὶ τμήματα 6 ἐμπύριον: Eust. *Or.* 6
(Λόγος ζ) 91.555.6 ἔγνωσάν σου τὸ τηνικαῦτα, πατριαρχῶν σοφώτατε, τὸ τῆς σοφίας ἐμπύριον 6 φρο-
νήσει ... ἀγχίνοιαν: Eust. *Or.* 6 (Λόγος ζ) 93.30 ὁ πάνσοφος βασιλεὺς, τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως καταγώγιον, ἢ
τῆς ἀγχινόιας οἰκήσις; cf. etiam Eust. *Ep.* 8.59 καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν στάσιμος καὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν πάγιος καὶ
τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἠρωϊκὸς 9 ταχεῖς ... ἀσφαλεῖς: Soph. *OT* 618 φρονεῖν γὰρ οἱ ταχεῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς;
cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.196.4 'δὴρὸν βουλευεῖν, ἴν' ἔχη καὶ πολλὸν ἄμεινον', εἰς ἦν συντελεῖ
καὶ Σοφοκλέους τὸ 'φρονεῖν γὰρ οἱ ταχεῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς'; idem 1.764.15 δηναῖος ὁ πολυχρόνιος. χρόνου γὰρ
χρεία τοῖς ὀρθῶ βουλευομένοις. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τραγωδίαν φρονεῖν οἱ ταχεῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς 10-11 ἀν-
δρίας ... φρονήσεως: cf. Pseudo-Maur. *Strat.* 9.5.11.2 Τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα... ἄγρυπνον καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ ἐμπει-
ρον ἐπιλέγεσθαι... οὐδὲ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀνδρείας, ὅσον φρονήσεως δεῖται ἢ τοιαύτη χρεία; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad*
Hom. Il. 1.643.31 προτάξας μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν, ὑποτάξας δὲ τὴν φρόνησιν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν θείας τὴν ἀνδρείαν
12 Πυθαγορικὴ κατάρτυσις: Iamb. *De vita Pyth.* 20, 94.1795.3. εἰ παρέπεται τις αὐτοῖς ἀγάπησις καὶ σωφρο-
σύνη πρὸς τὰ διδασκόμενα. ἐπεσκόπει γὰρ πῶς ἔχουσι φύσεως πρὸς ἡμέρωσιν, ἐκάλει δὲ τοῦτο κατάρτυσιν

“I should like my students to sing the first way; I would not accept them singing in the latter way.”

It was as a result of this that imperial precautions of every sort were adopted in every part of the land. And this one man divided his time generously between the wide parts of the empire in an energetic way, displaying the initiative of his courage and his burning intelligence in a manner resembling an ambidextrous man, who was as adept in matters related to the remaining areas of practical wisdom as he was in those requiring quick decisions. For while he exhibited thoughtfulness in important matters and deliberated carefully, in the majority of cases he reached the heart of the matter very quickly, losing no time in grasping the situation, in all its depth, and not superficially like those who are quick to come to a decision without ensuring its soundness. And while he could also claim extraordinary deeds of bravery, far more numerous were his acts of prudent governance, which we alone have enjoyed in great numbers.

At any rate, Pythagorean discipline, or a loving disposition, if you will, as those wise in such matters would have it, penetrated so far as to drive the savageness out of the barbarians, brought about a reprieve from wars for us as the foreign nations were pacified. That said, I sense some who are singing softly under their breath, sounding a sweet and harmonious tune to the effect that it was bravery in this case also which imposed peaceful tranquility on the foreign peoples. Very well I say to those who think so, let it be thus, make your song louder still, and I shall take up the melody with you. For bravery and understanding are indeed rightly thought to be like siblings, and they are joined by men of reason when things need to be done.

But it is easy for me to talk about those elements which define the uniqueness of his imperial prudence, which has been the fundamental point of this oration until this point, the union in the imperial lineage of high-born families from every side, through which he forged the imperial crown as if using some very valuable material, and in this way also expanding its original size, joining these noble forces to the whole of the Roman empire, which will extend, whenever it stands

13 βαρβάροις... ἐξελαύνουσα: cf. Eust. Or. 15 (Λόγος ξ) 250.20251.28 οὐκ ἔστιν γοῦν τις ἄλλοεθνῆς γῆ, ἥς μὴ τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ κάρπιμον ἐπιλέγδην ἐραυίζόμενος τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνεργήσας· καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν χορηγεῖ ἢ ἐπονομαζομένη ταῖς ἠλιακαῖς ἀνασχέσεσι (Πέρσαι ταῦτα καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ ὅσοι ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ οὐς δὲ ἡ τῆς Ἄγαρ κοιλία ταῖς διαδοχαῖς ἐπλήθυνε καὶ ὅσα τούτοις πρὸς τε βορρᾶν καὶ τὸν ἀντίθετον νότον ἀντιπαρήκουσι), τὰ δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἀφωρισμένη ἐνδαψιλεύεται. Καλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐξ ἑώας, ὅτε θεῖω μοσχευθέντα ὕδατι, τῷ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας λουτρῷ, μετακεντρισθῶσιν εἰς ἡμέρα ἐξ ἀγριότητος

- καρπὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀγαθὰ αἰ σὺν θεῷ βασιλίσσαι, ὧν ἡ μὲν οἶα καὶ ἥλιος
 ἐξ ἑώας ἔφανε, εἰ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ νέφει | σκιάζεται, εἴ τι καὶ νέφος εἰπεῖν θαρρήτερον τὸ 166r
 τοιοῦτον μέλαν, ἐν ᾧ φανότερον ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος θεὸς διοπτεύεται· ἡ δὲ, ὡς
 ἀγρόθι που λελουμένη ὠκεανοῦ ἔσπεριου, καὶ αὐτὴ φωσφόρος ἐπηύγασεν.
- 17 Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐς τοσοῦτον, μὴ καὶ ὠκεανὸς ἐνταῦθα μοι ῥητορείας ἀναρραγεῖς, 5
 ἀνακόψῃ τοῦ εὐθυπλοεῖν. Συγκρούσαι δὲ πολεμίους ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀταράχῳ
 καὶ οὕτω καταστήσαι καὶ τὸ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γαλήνιον καταπράξασθαι, τίς ἄρα κατ' ἐκεί-
 νον δεινότερος; Μέθοδον γὰρ καὶ ταύτην στρατηγικὴν ἐτέχνου, τὸ μὲν ὑπήκοον
 φυλάττειν ἀναίμακτον ἐπὶ μεγίσταις τροπαίων ἀναστάσει προσαράσσειν δὲ τοὺς
 πολεμίους ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐκπολεμοῦν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις τὸ σφίσειν αὐτοῖς ὁμόφυλον, ὡς 10
 καὶ ἐντεῦθεν αὖξασθαι μὲν τὰ ἡμέτερα, μειονεκτεῖσθαι δὲ τὸ πολέμιον, καὶ τὸν Ἐν-
 νάλιον μηκέτι ξυνὸν εἶναι, μηδ' ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν φθισήνορα ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς, ὅσοι
 ἐξήεσαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς πολεμίους ἀπονενεμησθαι τὸν βροτολογίον.
 Οὕτω Πέρσαι Πέρσαις ἀντίμαχοι μεθόδοις βασιλικαῖς· καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰρηναῖον ἐπαια-
 νίζομεν. Οὕτω Σκύθαι Σκύθας εἰς γῆν κατεστρώννουν· καὶ ἡμεῖς ὄρθιοι. Οὕτω πολ- 15
 λὰ τῶν ἔσπεριῶν ἐθνῶν, πλεονεξίαν νενοσηκότα, ὑγιούντο σωφρονιζόμενα· καὶ τὸ
 Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐξεθαμβεῖτο ἐφ' οἷς ὡς οὐκ ἂν αἰσθητοῖ τις, τὸ τῆ ὄπλομανία ἐπίληπτον
 τεθεράπευτο. Δράκων δὲ ὁ νησιωτικὸς ὅς καὶ ὑπὲρ κρατῆρας Αἰτναίους τὸ τοῦ θυ-
 μοῦ πῦρ ἐκφυσᾶν ἠθέλε, πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ὄλκου καὶ βασιλικαῖς ἐκολούθη
 ξίφεσι, τὰ πλείω δὲ, οἰκειακοῖς ἐχθροῖς συγκρουόμενος, οὗς αἰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος 20
 μέθοδοι, ἐπανίστων, διχαστικὴν ὁποῖά τινα μάχαιραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τομώτατα σοφίαν
 βάλλοντος.
- 18 Προμηθείας δὲ ἦν ἄρα βασιλικῆς, μὴ μόνον περισώζεσθαι τοὺς ὑπακούοντας,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεπαύξειν αὐτούς εἰς ὅσον χώρα γίνεται. Καὶ ἔστι καὶ τούτου ταλάν- 25
 του εὐαγγελικοῦ προσεπαύξεως, ὅτι καὶ κληρονομίας θείας πρόσθεσις. Τοῦτο γοῦν,
 εἴπερ ἕτερός τις τῶν ἀνέκαθεν χρόνου βεβασιλευκότων, ὁ νῦν ἐπαινούμενος ἐκτε-

4 λελουμένη ὠκεανοῦ: Hom. *Il.* 5.56 ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῶ ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα / λαμπρὸν παμφαίρησι λε-
 λουμένους ὠκεανοῖο 11–12 Ἐννάλιον... ἀντίπαλον: Hom. *Il.* 18.309 ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος, καὶ τε κτανέον-
 τα κατέκτα; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.211.11 ἡ νίκη ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλω ἐκ πολέ-
 μου προστίθεται, γινομένη ἑτεραλκῆς. Ἐυνὸς γὰρ Ἐννάλιος καὶ τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις λέγεται
 12 φθισήνορα: Hom. *Il.* 2.830–833 τῶν ἤρχ' Ἄδρηστός τε καὶ Ἄμφιος λινοθώρηξ / νίε δὴ Μέρπος Περ-
 κωσίου, ὅς περὶ πάντων / ἤδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὗς παῖδας ἔασκε / στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα; cf.
 Hes. *Theog.* 431 13 βροτολογίον: Hom. *Il.* 5.31 Ἄρες Ἄρες βροτολογεῖ μαιφόνε τειχεσιπλήτα; cf.
 Eust. *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 204.7983 σὲ δέ, ὦ σῶτερ βασιλεῦ, θαρρούντως ἂν εἰποιμι ὀπλίσασθαι κατὰ τοῦ βρο-
 τολογοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ θανάσιμον τοῦτο κακὸν κάτω βαλεῖν· καὶ νῦν τὸ ὑπήκοον ἅπαν εὐζωεῖ καὶ κατα-
 κροαίνει τοῦ πολέμου 16 πλεονεξίαν νενοσηκότα: cf. Proc. *Comm. in Is.* PG 87,2 1912.35 κοινὰ ταῦ-

4 λελουμένη: scripsi λελουμένος B, vid. not. ad loc.

in need of greater support. And the precious things before our eyes, the godly empresses, were a harvest we reaped from this good plant of wisdom. Of these, one appeared out of the East like the sun, even if she is now under the shade of a cloud, if one may be so bold as to call her black garments a cloud, in which God, the sun of justice, can be all the more clearly discerned; while the other has also shone forth, like the evening star washed by the Western ocean nearby.

But enough about this matter, lest the ocean of rhetoric at this point in my speech swell too high and divert me from my course. To make enemies fight one another, while allowing us in this way, as well, to live undisturbed, to achieve the tranquility of peace – who has ever been as able as he was at this? This was the strategy he devised: he kept his own subjects free from bloodshed during his greatest triumphs, all the while setting our enemies upon one another, and going to war against foreigners with troops from their own nations. So that while our own strength grew by this means, that of our enemies diminished. And so the war-god Enyalios (Ares) was no longer ‘even-handed’, bringing destruction to men on both sides, to us and all those who became our foes. Instead the devourer of men fed only on our enemies. In this way did Persians become opponents of Persians as a result of imperial policy; and so we sang the paeans of peace. In this way did Skythians blanket the ground with Skythians; and so we remained standing. In this way did many western nations suffering from greed return to health by being brought to their senses. And the Romans were amazed at the means –barely perceived by anyone– by which an intractable madness for war was cured. And the island dragon, who wanted his fiery wrath to surpass the volcano of Aetna, while he was often prevented by imperial swords from coiling in his customary manner, for the most part he was confronted with enemies at home, whom the emperor’s policies roused to rebellion, striking them with his exceedingly sharp wisdom like some knife dividing his enemies.

His imperial foresight therefore sought not only to preserve those who had submitted to his authority, but to increase their numbers to as many as the land could support. This, too, amounted to a multiplying of the talent mentioned in the gospels, since it also increased the divine inheritance. Indeed, if any of

τα εἶναι παραγγέλματα τοῖς πλεονεξίαν καὶ τρυφῇ νεοσηκόσι **18** Δράκων... νησιωτικός: cf. Theod. Prodr. *Carm. hist.* 30.199200 συναυρομένας ἔχοντα τὰς Οὐγγρικὰς δυνάμεις / τοῦ Σικελίας δράκοντος αὐτοῦς ὑποδραμόντος **18** ὑπὲρ... Αἰτναίους: cf. Theod. Prodr. *Carm. hist.* 18.3536 καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ βυθῷ προσκυβιστήσας ὄλω / καὶ τοῖς Αἰτναίοις προσπεσῶν κρατῆρσιν ὄλος ὄλοις **24–25** τάλαντου ... προσεπαύξησις: *Ev. Matt.* 25.1430; *Ev. Lk.* 19.1227; cf. *Psell. Or.* 17.779780 ἀλλ’ οὐ τοῦτο· θεὸς βούλεται μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐργάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπαυξάνειν τὸ τάλαντον

τέλεκε, πληθύνων τὸ ἀγαθόν. Καὶ οὐκ ἔστι γλῶτταν εἰπεῖν ἔθνους, ἦν οὐ παρέμιξε τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς χρήσιμον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐν λόγῳ μετοικίας τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπέλ- λοντο, καὶ εὐρίσκοντες ἀνάπασιν ἑαυτοῖς· οἱ δὲ, καὶ δῶρων ἐπιβαλλόμενοι ὅσα τὸ βασιλικὸν μεγαλόδωρον εἰς πλῆσιμον ἐχορήγει, τοῦ πλουτοποιοῦ κόλπου ἐγίνοντο, μισθοφοροῦντες μὲν τὴν ἀρχήν· ὅτι δὲ εἰς ἐνδελεχὲς τὸ τοῦ πλούτου ρεῦμα τούτοις 5 ἐπλήμυρον, οἰκήσιμον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἄλλοδαπὴν ποιούμενοι, καὶ πατρίδα κρίνοντες εἶναι πᾶσαν, ἐν ἣ εὐπαθεῖν περιγίνεται. Καὶ ἡ μὲν παλαιὰ ἱστορία, καὶ δούλων πόλιν τινὰ προάγει πρὸς γνῶσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πεπλήθυνται τὸ καλόν. Ἄνθρωποι γάρ, οὓς φύσις μὲν ἐλευθερία ζῆν ὤρισε, νεύροις δὲ στερροῖς ἐτόνωσε, καὶ ὄλως, εἰς ἀνδρίαν ἐστόμωσε, βίου δὲ κύκλος ἐπὶ δουλείαν στρέψας, εἰς τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου 10 Κωσταντίνου περιήγαγε (συχοῦς δὲ καὶ τούτους αὐτὴ πανδοκεύει, καὶ οἴους κατὰ στίφη καὶ λόχους καὶ στίχας συντάξασθαι), ἐλύπουν μὲν -ἦν καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος- τὸ δεσποτικόν, μεμνημένοι κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν ἵππον, τῆς ἐν τροφῇ ἀκοστήσεως, καὶ νομῶν ἐκείνων βαρβάροις καλῶν, καὶ τῶν αὐτοφυῶν καὶ ἀπαραποιήτων λοετρῶν, ὅσα τοὺς βαρβαρικοὺς στρατιώτας πρὸς ἀμάλθακον καρτερίαν ὑγραίνουσι. Ἦν δὲ 15 αὐτοῖς θάτερος μὲν | τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν οἴκοι· ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς εἰς φυγαδεῖαν ἔβλεπε. Καὶ 166v χεῖρ ἡ μὲν, διεπράττετο τὰ δουλικά, ἡ δὲ, ξίφους ἤθελε δράττεσθαι εἰ τις πού καὶ δριμύζεται, καὶ ἐγκόψει τὸ ἐκούσιον. Καὶ οἱ κύριοι ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἂν μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δούλοι, μενοῦνγε καὶ ὡς τολμησαὶ εἰπεῖν, αἰχμάλωτοι, ἀγόμενοι μὲν καὶ φερόμενοι, ἀρώμενοι δέ, ὅτι τοιοῦτοις κακοῖς ἔχονται, καὶ ποθοῦντες ἀπογενέσθαι τὸ δυστύχη- 20 μα. Ἐξακούεται οὖν τὸ εὐκταῖον. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔλεος ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοῖς, ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ δεσπόζουσι καὶ δουλεύουσι, καὶ θησαυροὶ βασιλικοὶ ἐκκενοῦνται· καὶ οἱ δεσπό- ται χαίρουσι ἀποσκευαζόμενοι τὸ φαῦλον οἰκετικόν. Καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοὶ μὲν,

5 πλούτου ... ἐπλήμυρον: Hdt. 5.101 ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν, ὃς σφι ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμόν ποταμόν ἐκδίδοι; cf. Mich. Psell., *Or. pan.* 2.805 ἄλλος τὸ εὐγνωμον μέχρι στήματος ἐνεδείξατο, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πλούτου ρεῦμα τούτῳ ἔρρυσεν ἄφθονον; cf. etiam Eust. *Or.* 11 (Λόγος Κ) 194.13 εὐεργεσιῶν ἀνεχέθησαν ποταμοί· ἄψαι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ διώρυγας ἀναρρήξας πλουτοποιοῦ ρεύματος ποταμοὺς εὐποῖῶν δὸς ἀναχέεσθαι; idem *Or.* 14 (Λόγος Ν) 248.28 ἦν μὲν καὶ τὸ Μαϊάνδριον ρεῦμα πλουτοποῖόν ὅποια καὶ τις Πακτωλὸς τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐρευνωμένοις 6-7 πατρίδα ... περιγίνεται: loc. comm., cf. CPG I pp.149150 (C V 74); cf. etiam Eust. *Or.* 15 (Λόγος Ξ) 256.3133 καὶ ἐξεληθούσα ἐκ τῆς πατριώτιδος γῆς καὶ συσκευασαμένη ἔλθειν εἰς γῆν, ἦν οὐκ ἂν εἴποιεν μὴ καθυποδείξαι θεόν, ἐλογίσαστο καὶ αὐτὴ πατρίδα πᾶσαν εἶναι, ὅπουπερ ἂν εὐ πράττοι τις; cf. etiam Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 5.108 *patria est ubicumque est bene* 7 παλαιὰ ... πόλιν: CPG I p.411 (App II 84) Ἐστὶ καὶ δούλων πόλις: ἐπὶ τῶν πονηρῶς πολιτευομένων. Μνασείας γὰρ γράφει εἶναι δούλων πόλιν ἐν Λιβύῃ; cf. Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* 4.117 Δούλων πόλις, πόλις Λιβύης, Ἐκαταῖος ἐν περιηγήσει. „καὶ ἐὰν δούλος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην λίθον προσενέγκῃ, ἐλεύθερος γίνεται κἂν ξένος ἦ; cf. CPG I p.324 (P I 22) Οὐκ ἔστι δούλων πόλις: διὰ τὸ σπάνιον εἴρηται, vid. not. ad loc.; CPG II p. 371 (Ap VI 35); cf. Mich. Psell. *Or. hag.* 8.581 τὴν δὲ Γαλιλαίαν ἐλάμβανεν, ὡς ὀφθῆναι, καὶ δούλων πόλιν, ἐναντία τῆς παροιμίας 8 πεπλήθυνται ... καλόν: cf. Eust. *Or.* 14 (Λόγος Ν) 248.3637 οὕτως αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν πεπλήθυνται, οἱ μὲν πλείους ἄκοντες, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκόντες μετοικιζόμενοι καὶ ἀποικιζόμενοι 10 βίου ... στρέψας: cf. Athan. *De sanct. trin.* PG 28.1249.14 Τί ἄλλο ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα λέγει βροντήν; τὸν δὲ τροχὸν τὸν κύκλον τοῦ βίου τούτου; cf. etiam Max. Confess.

those who ruled in past times accomplished this, multiplying the good that is, it was the man being praised here. And there is no tongue, which is to say any nation, which he did not mix with our own to our advantage. Thus it was that some set out across our territory, one might say, like migrants who found rest for themselves. Others, yearning for the rewards which imperial generosity granted in abundance, entered the enriching fold of the empire; at first as mercenaries, but since the river of riches flooded upon them continually, they too made a foreign land their home, deeming as their fatherland any place in which they eventually prospered. Ancient history, on the one hand, reminds us of a certain city of slaves. But here this good has been multiplied. For the men whom nature has decreed should live in freedom, fortifying them with unshakable nerves and forging them thoroughly for the pursuit of bravery, even though the circle of life had turned and led them into slavery, bringing them to the city of Constantine the Great (she hosts quite a few of these, so many that they be marshalled into bodies of troops, files, and ranks) these men then –the times being such as they were– caused their masters grief. Since they recalled the sustenance of their upbringing, like the horse in the Homeric poem, and the beautiful pastures among the barbarians, all the free-flowing natural springs which wash barbarian soldiers and instill manly endurance in them. So these men kept one eye on where they were while the other looked to escape. And while one hand carried out their servile duties, the other was prepared to reach for the sword, if anyone ever mistreated them and severed their free will. As a result, I would go so far as to say that their masters, even though they were not themselves slaves, were rather more like prisoners, buffeted back and forth, all the while complaining that they were beset by such great evils and eager to see their misfortune go away. So their prayer was heard. And the emperor's mercy was bestowed upon both masters and slaves alike, and the imperial treasuries were completely drained. The masters were glad to rid themselves of unreliable servants. Consequently, these men returned to their natural condition instead of being slaves. Rather than live

Schol. in Eccles. 1.36 Εἶπουν, πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ βίου πορεία κύκλος τίς ἐστι, διηλεκῶς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐλισσόμενος 13 Ὀμηρικὸν ... ἀκοστήσεως: *Hom. Il.* 6.506507 ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ / δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θεῖη πεδίοιο κροαίνων; cf. *Apoll. Soph. Lex. Hom.* 20 ἀκοστήσας οἱ μὲν κριθιάσας· ἀκοστὰς γὰρ τὰς κριθὰς λέγουσιν, ὅπερ ἐξ Ὀμήρου δυνήσονται; cf. etiam *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.373.19–21 Εἶτα ἐπάγων τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν παραβολὴν φησιν ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θεῖη πεδίοιο κροαίνων, εἰωθῶς λούεσθαι ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο κυδιῶν 15 ἀμάλθακον καρτερίαν: cf. *loc. comm.* τῆς καρτερίας ἀνένδοτον 18–19 κύριοι... αἰχμάλωτοι: *Septuag. Is.* 14.2.5 καὶ ἔσονται αἰχμάλωτοι οἱ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες αὐτοῦς, καὶ κυριευθήσονται οἱ κυριεύσαντες αὐτῶν

- ἀντί μὲν δούλων, ἦσαν τὸ φυσικόν, ἀντί δὲ ἀτίμων, στρατιῶται, τὸ φίλον ἐκείνοις· οὐκέτι δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅσον τοιοῦτον ἀχθείη φύλον, τὸ πᾶν ὑπὸ δεσπόταις ἦν. Ἄλλ' ὅσοι μὲν οὐκ εὐγενῶς ἐφρόνουν, ἔπασχον οὕτω, δουλείαν ἀτίμητον ἤπερ ζῆν πρὸς κλέος, ἐλόμενοι, τάχα μὲν, ἀγεννῶς, τάχα δὲ προμηθεΐα τοῦ βιοῦν ἀσφαλῶς. Οἷς δὲ στρατεύεσθαι ἦν ἐπιθυμεῖν, εἰς ὅμοιον ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἐκ δούλων στρατιώταις ἤρχοντο, χρήμασι δημοσίοις λυόμενοι, καὶ ζώνῃ στρατείας κοσμούμενοι. Καὶ πόλεις ἐπλήρωσαν, καὶ εἰρμῶ συνεπλάκησαν βίου, καὶ διαδοχὰς ἐπλήθυναν, καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν προσθήκην ἐθαυμάστωσαν, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς Σπαρτοὺς ἀναφύντες αὐτόματοι, ἀφ' ἧς δὲ ἐξεσπάσθησαν, μεταφτυεθέντες εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς γῆν, καὶ καρπὸν ἐκδεδωκότες τρόφιμον. 5
- 19 Τὸ δὲ καινότερον· καὶ ἄνδρας τούτων ἔτι πλείους, ἐκ πρὶν ἀρχεκάκων μεταγαγῶν ἀμύνης λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκά, τῷ ἐκείνων ἀγρίῳ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡμερον ἐνεκέντρι-
σαν, καὶ εἰς χρηστότητα μετεποίησεν ἦν θεῖος ἄν, παράδεισος οἰκειώσεται. Καὶ οὐ λέγω μόνους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς χέρσου, τοὺς τῆς Ἄγαρ, τὸ Σκυθικόν, τὸ Παιονικόν, τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἴστρον, καὶ ὅσοις ἀκραιφνῆς βορῶας ἐπιπνεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσους ἐκ θαλάσσης 15
πολυτρόπως ἠγκίστρευσε. Καὶ συντελοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις πόλεσιν εἰς οἰ-
κήτορας. Καὶ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα πολλαπλοῦν τὸ σεμνόν ἤπερ τὸ ἐπὶ Μάγνου Πομπηίου
καθιστορούμενον, ὃς ἐπιλεξάμενος πόλιν ἐψάν, ἐκεῖσε τοὺς περισσοὺς τῶν πειρατῶν
συνώκισεν, ὅσους δεῖν φασιν ἔγνω σωτηρίας ἠξιώσθαι καὶ προνοίας τινός. Εἰ γοῦν
ἱστορίας ἄξιον τὸ μιᾶς πόλεως ἀγαθόν, τίς οὐκ ἂν συγγράψαιτο τὸ πολύχοον καὶ 20
πολλαῖς ἐπιμερισθὲν πόλεσι; Τί μὴ λέγων τὸ μεῖζον, ὡς οὐδεμία τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης
πόλεων, ἀνοργίαστος τοῦ τῆς Μεγαλοπόλεως ἐξέλιπεν ἔρωτος, τοῦ καλοῦ βασι-
λέως ἐκείνου, τὰς φιλητικὰς ἐπαφιέντος ἀπάσαις ἴνυγας; Καὶ ἦν ἐκάστη φίλτρον ἐγ-
καθήμενον ὑπερβάλλον, ποῖαν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, τῶν πόλεων στέρξας, εἰς φιλουμένην

1 δούλων... φυσικόν: cf. Bas. Caes. *De spiritu sancto*. 20.51.8 παρὰ μὲν ἀνθρώποις τῇ φύσει δοῦλος οὐ-
δεὶς 6 ζώνῃ... κοσμούμενοι: cf. *Concil. Chalcedonensis*. anno 451 2,1.3.120 οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν εἴη κληρικὸς ὁ περὶ
θρησκείας δημοσίαι φιλονεικεῖν τολμῶν, ἀποκινήσεται τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν· εἰ δὲ στρατεία κο-
σμούμενος, τὴν ζώνην ἀφαιρεθήσεται 7 εἰρμῶ... βίου: Hom. *Od.* 19.592.593 ἐκάστῳ μοῖραν ἔθηκαν /
ἀθάνατοι θνητοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζειδωρον ἄρουραν; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 2.221.43 μοῖραν φησὶ τὴν καθ' εἰρ-
μὸν βίου διανέμειν 8 Σπαρτοὺς... αὐτόματοι: Pl. *Isth.* 1.30 Ἴφικλέος μὲν παῖς ὀμόδαμος ἔων Σπαρ-
τῶν γένει; Plat. *Soph.* 2.47c βελτίους γεγόνασιν ἄνδρες...σπαρτοὶ τε καὶ αὐτόχθονες; cf. Theodor. *Graec.*
affection. curat. 5.9.6 Ἐκείνοι γὰρ οὐ μόνον γηγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπαρτοὺς ἀνθρώπους γεγενῆσθαι φασὶ καὶ
ἐκ δρακοντείων ἀναφῆναι ὀδόντων; cf. Nic. Basil. *Or.* E 118 Οὐκ αὐτομάτους ἢ τύχη κατὰ τὸν μῦθον τὰς
πόλεις ἀποκομίζει σοὶ 12-13 ἀγρίῳ... ἐνεκέντρισεν: cf. Eust. *Or.* 15 (Λόγος Ξ) 51.4 Καλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖ-
να τὰ ἐξ ἑώας...μετακεντρισθῶσιν εἰς ἡμέρα ἐξ ἀγριότητος 15-16 θαλάσσης... ἠγκίστρευσε: cf. Eust.
Ad styl. Thess. 195.96196.7 Τυραννοῦσι τὴν ὀρατὴν θάλασσαν καὶ θῆρες ὄβριμοι...τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη...ἴνα ὁ
μέγας ἀλιεὺς, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔνθεος βασιλεύς...εὐθυβολῇ 17 σεμνόν... Πομπηίου: alludit ad Plut.

without honor they became soldiers, a thing dear to them. From then on, not everyone who had been enslaved remained subject to masters. Only those without a noble disposition suffered that fate, having chosen ignoble slavery over a life committed to glory and renown, perhaps out of an innate lack of nobility, or possibly to secure the means of staying alive. But those who wished to join the army were subject to the same treatment as those who were recruited out of slavery, having been freed with public moneys, and adorned with a military girdle. These men came to populate cities, and their lives became entwined in the fabric of life. They left behind manifold descendants and multiplied the original imperial supplement, not sprouting spontaneously like the sown Dragon's Teeth but transplanted into our land from the land out of which they were uprooted, and producing a flourishing crop.

And what was still more groundbreaking, he brought over to Roman territory 19 even more of these men who had long proven a source of ill for us in order to defend the empire, grafting onto their wild strain our own civilized one, converting them to a usefulness which divine paradise might welcome as its own. And I am not referring here just to those from the mainland, the sons of Hagar, the Skythian nation, the Paionian, the ones beyond the Istros, and all those upon whom blows the sheer wind of the North; but also those whom he had lured by various means from the sea. And they, too, have joined our ranks to become inhabitants in our cities. And the feat in this case is many times greater than that recounted about Pompey the Great, who, having chosen an eastern city, settled the remnants of the pirates there; those whom they say he determined to be worthy of being saved and deserving of imperial support. Consequently, if an achievement involving one city deserves to be recorded in history, who might not record an accomplishment so widespread and shared among so many cities? Why should I not go even further, and say that not a single one of the cities of the empire was left uninitiated into the Great City's love, since that good emperor sent forth his affectionate charms on all of them? And the deeply entrancing spell prompted each of them to wonder, which of the cities the emperor would look after so that

Vit. par. (Agesil. et Pomp.) 3.2 ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν πειρατῶν τοῖς μεταβαλομένοις πόλεις ἔδωκε; cf. etiam Strabo *Geogr.* 14.5.8.4 Πομπήιος Μάγνος κατώκισε τοὺς περιγενομένους τῶν πειρατῶν, οὓς μάλιστα ἔγνω σωτηρίας καὶ προνοίας τινὸς ἀξίους, καὶ μετωνόμασε Πομπηϊόπολιν 22–23 βασιλέως... ἰγγας: Eust. *Or.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 279.3033 Τοιαύτας, ὦ βασιλεῦ κράτιστε, χάριτας ἐπαφίης ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς, δι' ὧν ἐφέλκη ξύμπαντας. οὕτως ἀφύκτους πόθων ἰγγας ταῖς ἀπάντων ἐντίθης ψυχαῖς, οὐχ' ὥστε σε φιλεῖν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιθέναι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὲρ σοῦ

- εγγράφεται. Καὶ ὅσα καὶ μητροπόλεως περιοικίδες, τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐξήρτηντο ἅπα-
σαι. Καὶ ἴμῃ στερχθῆναι δέ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο, ἀνασκευασθῆναι καὶ ἀφαντωθῆναι ἐκ γῆς.
- 20 Ἦν οὖν ἐν μυριαῖς τῶν συνόδων ὅσας ἀγείρει τὸ βασιλεῖον, πρέσβεις ὄρᾳν οὐ
| κατὰ δεκάδας μετρίας τινὰς, ἐκ τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ χωρῶν συρρέοντας ἐνταῦθα ὡς 167r
εἰς δεκάδα κοινήν, καὶ σύστημα ποιῶντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλόκοτον τοῖς γε πλείοσι. Καὶ 5
ἑώρα ἢ μεγίστη πόλις αὕτη ἄνδρας ἀλλογνώτους ἀληθῶς, ὧν οὐδεὶς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς
οὐδ' εἰς ὄνομα πεπειράται, ὡς καὶ πίπτειν ἐν δυσχερεῖ, ἄνδρα εὐρέσθαι δίγλωττον
τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς διάλεκτον εἰς τὸ ἡμεδαπὸν μεταβάλλοντα. Ἦν δὲ ἐκείνοις τῆς ὁδοῦ
σκοπὸς καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας τὸ τελικώτατον, ἱστορήσαι τε κατ' ὄψιν τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ 10
ἀκουτισθῆναι οἷα λαλεῖ, καὶ τισι τῶν γυμναστικῶν ἔργων ἰδεῖν ἐπιπρέποντα, ἐρανί-
σασθαι δὲ καὶ τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀκουσμάτων, καὶ ὡς ἐν τὰ πάντα εἰπεῖν, θαῦμα συλ-
λεξαμένους, κομίσασθαι τοῖς εἰς πρεσβείαν διαπεμφθεμένοις. Οὕτω καὶ Σολομών-
τος ἢ σοφία, πολλοὺς ἐφείλκετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ τοσοῦτους, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐφ' ὅποσον οὖν. Καὶ 15
ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ θαυμασίου πολὺ. Δέει μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μὴ τι παθεῖν, πρεσβεύεσθαι
τινας, ἢ μελέτη τοῦ φθάσαι ζήτησιν ἐπικουρίας, εἴ που καὶ παραπέσοι τις ἀνάγκη, ἢ 15
καὶ χρημάτων ἐνδεία, ὑφ' ὧν ἔσται καταπραχθῆναι τὸ διὰ σπουδῆς, ἢ ὅλως προμη-
θεῖα τινι τοῦ μέλλοντος, λαμπρὸν μὲν εἰς ἰκανότητα τοῦ δεῖξαι μεγάλα καὶ ἀνευδεῖ
καὶ πολύχρηστα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Ἐξωτερικὰ δ' ὁμοῦ ταῦτα, καὶ
οὐ τὸν κατ' αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ ἦκειν πρὸς τινὰ συνουσίωσιν. Ἐλθεῖν δὲ ἐξ ὑπερορίων 20
ἀγνωτὰς ἄνδρας, καὶ θελήσαι δεινὰ παθεῖν ὅσα τῷ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας μακρῷ συνδιήκει,
καὶ ταῦτα, πρὸς χάριν θεᾶς, καὶ μόνον καὶ ἐντυχίας εὐκταίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἰς
ἀπλοῦν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μέγα, εἰς μυρία δὲ κατασχίσει θαύματα. Δήλον γὰρ ὡς μέγας
βροντῆς, ἤχος ἐπὶ βασιλικοῖς ἀνδραγαθήμασιν εἰς τὸ κατὰ σπουδῆν ἐπέστρεψεν.
- 21 Ἀλλὰ τί μοι, πρέσβεις λέγειν τοὺς ὑπὸ στέμμασιν, ἐξὸν θεωρῆσαι κορυφαίας ἀρ- 25
χὰς ἐσταλμένας μέχρι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, τὰς μὲν, κατὰ τι ἔργον ἕτερον οὐ μετὰ τὴν βασι-

3–5 πρέσβεις... πλείοσι: cf. Eust. Or. 16 (Λόγος Ο) 263.8588 ὁ δὲ ἀλλοφανῆς ἐκεῖνος πρέσβυς ταράττει με καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἕτερος καὶ ὁ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι συχνοί, ἀλλόκοτον αὐτοῖς γένος ἀλλόγλωττον, θεὰ ξενίζουσα, οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων παροικυῖα, τῷ τε καινοφανεῖ τοῦ στολισμοῦ εἰς θαῦμα παράγουσα καὶ τῷ τῆς διαλέκτου ἀλλοθρόφῳ ἐφιστώσα τὸν ἀκροώμενον καὶ τῷ ἀσυνήθει τῆς θεᾶς πηγνῦσα τὴν ὄψιν τοῖς βλέπουσιν 6 ἀλλογνώτους: Hom. Od. 2.365366 μούνος ἐὼν ἀγαπητός; ὁ δ' ὤλετο τηλόθι πάτρης / διογενῆς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀλλογνώτῳ ἐνὶ δήμῳ; cf. Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Od. 1.104.4448 Δῆμος δὲ ἀλλόγλωτος, ἢ ὁ πολέμιος, ἢ ὁ ἄλλα γινώσκων ἤπερ ἡμεῖς, ἢ ὁ ἄλλοις καὶ οὐχ' ἡμῖν γινωσκόμενος. ἐκ τοῦ γνωτὸς δὲ σύγκριται ὁ ἀλλόγλωτος. ὃν γνωστὸν φασιν οἱ ὕστερον. δοκεῖ δὲ ἀλλόγλωτος μᾶλλον εἶναι, ὁ ἄλλοις γνωτὸς, ἦγον κατὰ γένος οἰκεῖος. παρὰ τοὺς γνωτὸς ἦτοι ἀδελφοῦς. ἄλλως γὰρ, οὐκ ἐκώλυε τὸν ποιητὴν εἰπεῖν ἀλλογνώσῳ ἐνὶ δήμῳ 9–12 πρεσβείας... συλλεξαμένους: cf. etiam Eust. Or. 7 (Λόγος Ζ) 129.57130.65 συχνοί καὶ πανταχόθεν γῆς καὶ τὴν τύχην διάσημοι ἐμφορηθησόμενοι τῶν αὐτοῦ θαυμασίων, ἃ φήμης ρέυμα μέχρι καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς διεπὸρθμευσε, καὶ πείρα τὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς πιστωσάμενοι 11–12 θαῦμα... διαπεμφθεμένοις: cf. Kinn. Epit. re. 183.7 ὅτε δὴ καὶ θαμά κατεῖχε τοὺς ὅσοι τηνικάδε ἐτύχανον πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα παρατυ-

2 μὴ supplevi sed fort. στερηθῆναι legendum : καὶ στερχθῆναι B sed vid. not. ad loc.

it should be ranked as his beloved. And all the cities became attached to our own like surrounding towns are to a metropolis. ‘Not’ being cherished, however, was akin to destruction and being wiped off the face of the earth.

And among the countless assemblies hosted by the imperial palace, one could see ambassadors –not just in modest groups of ten– streaming in from every land as into a common vessel, giving most of those present the appearance of a strange confederacy. And the greatest city herself saw truly unfamiliar men, whose name no one among us had ever heard of, so that it proved difficult to find anyone bilingual who could translate their language into our own. And the purpose of their journey and ultimate aim of their embassy was to observe the emperor face to face, to hear him speak, and to see him distinguish himself in exercises, as well as to collect songs and stories about him, gathering it all up into a single wondrous portrait to bring to those who had sent them on their embassy. In such a manner did the wisdom of Solomon attract many; if not quite this many, nevertheless as many he did. And here is a great cause for wonder. Whenever embassies had to be sent in order to prevent some suffering, either on account of a timely request for help, if some need befell them, or because of a want of money which could serve to accomplish the task promptly, or simply for the sake of some promise of support in the future, all of these occasions served as shining opportunities to demonstrate the greatness, wealth, and many advantages of our circumstances thanks to our emperor. These, however, are only manifestations, not the man himself, so that they approach a kind of co-existence with him. But the fact that foreign men came from beyond our borders, willingly enduring the hardships which a long journey entails, solely for the sake of an audience, for even a chance meeting, we cannot call this a singular great event but must divide it into many wonders. For it is clear that the clamor which accompanied the emperor’s accomplishments reverberated like a great thunderclap.

But what point is there in me calling those wearing crowns ‘ambassadors’, when it was also possible to observe sovereigns come to our empire, some while

χόντες 12–13 Σολομώντος... σοφία: cf. Eust. Or. 16 (Λόγος Ο) 262.57 ὁμοίον τι... τῶ περιλαουμένῳ Σολομῶντι καί σοι περιτεύξομαι καθημένῳ ἐπὶ θρόνου δικαιοσύνης περιόπτῳ τοῖς ἀπανταχόθεν ἔθνεσι; cf. etiam Nic. Chon. Hist. 209 τοῖς πλείοσι βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἀνεκτόν ἐστιν ὄλωσ ἄρχειν μόνον καὶ χρυσοφορεῖν καὶ χρᾶσθαι τοῖς κοινοῖς ὡς ἰδίῳις, οὐδὲ μὴν ὡς δούλοις τοῖς ἐλευθέροις προσφέρεσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ καὶ σοφοὶ δοκοῖεν καὶ θεοείκελοι τὴν μορφήν καὶ ἥρωες τὴν ἰσχύν καὶ ὡς Σολομῶν θεόσοφοι 24–24.6 κορυφαίας... κατάλογος: cf. Eust. Or. 16 (Λόγος Ο) 263.7074 τὰς τῶν μεγάλων ἐθνῶν ἀπαρχὰς ταύτας... καὶ τὸν μὲν Σκύθην ἔχω μαθῶν καὶ οὐ με ξενίζει τῇ θεᾷ, Παίονες δὲ καὶ Δαλμάται καὶ πᾶν, ὅσον τοῖς πρόσοικον

- λικὴν θέαν γένοιντ' ἄν, πορισόμενοι συμβολὴν ἱκανήν, τὰς δὲ, καὶ μόνον ἐντυχεῖν καὶ πρὸς θάμβος θεάσασθαι; Τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὄρμαθου ὁ τῶν κατὰ Πέρσας ἐθνάρχης, καὶ ὁ τῶν Παλαιστηνῶν ὑπερκαθήμενος ῥήξ. Λοιπὸς δὲ ὁ ἐξ Ἀλαμανῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας, καὶ ὁ τῆς γερμανικῆς ἀπάσης ὑπεριστάμενος γῆς, οἱ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς θαυμαστώσαντες ἐκείνην ὁδόν· ὁκνῶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν εὐμέθοδον ἔφοδον. Τὸν γὰρ Παίονα καὶ τὸν Γήπαιδα καὶ τὸν Σκύθην καὶ συχνούς τοιούτους εἰπεῖν, μυρίος ὅσος κατάλογος ἕτερος, οὓς (τὸ πᾶν ἐν βραχεῖ συνελεῖν) θάμβος καὶ φόβος καὶ ζήτησις ἐπικουρίας, συνέλεγον εἰς ἡμᾶς. Καὶ ἡ πάντα ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ τούτων τινά. Θάμβος, ἐφ' οἷς μανθάνοντες καὶ ἐκπεληγμένοι συνέρρεον εἰς τὴν ἀκοήν· φόβος μήποτε συμβαῖ ἄλλως ἀναπεπτωκότας αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῶν βασιλικῶν σπλάγχχνων πεσεῖν· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ τρίτον, εἴ τι που κακὸν ἐκεῖνοις ἐπήρητό ποθεν, ὡς μὴ εὐπετές ὄν σκορακίσαι τὸ κακὸν ἐτέρως, μὴ συνεπιλαμβανομένης δεξιᾶς ταύτης βασιλικῆς.
- 22 Ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζειν οὕτως, εἰ καινὰ μαθόντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι, καὶ οἷα ἐπάγεσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, κατόπιν τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐξ οὕτω πορρωτάτου εἶποντο. Ἦ τε γὰρ φήμη ἀνέτοις πτεροῖς διίπτεται, καὶ ἡ παραδοξία τῶν φημιζομένων ἐπιστρέφειν οἶδε τοὺς φιλακροάμονας. Ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μεγαλείου αὔξην ἐκορύφου, τοῦτο ἦν. Ὡς ἔληλυθότες | ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἷς ἔμαθον περιτετυχηκότες ἐκβαίνουσι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἀπήεσαν διαπρύσιοι κήρυκες, ἀναβώμενοι ὅτι καθάπερ ἠκούσαμεν, οὕτω καὶ εἶδομεν· καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γέμοντες θαύματος ἐπὶ μακρόν, καὶ τῇ φαντασιῶδει ἀναπολήσει, τὸ ἐκπλήττον παράμονον φέροντες, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτε τὸν ὄλον βασιλεῖα ἐν καρδίαις ἀνεβίβαζον διαλογιζόμενοι, ὅς οὐ τοῖς ἐντὸς μόνον καὶ ὅσα καίρια καὶ τοῦ ὄντως ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφαινομένοις προέλαμπε.
- 23 Μεγέθους μὲν γὰρ ἐπέβη, ὅπερ εἴ τις ὑπεραναβαίη, ἐγγραφῆσεται ὡς εἰς γίγαντα καὶ ἡ φύσις ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔστερέωσεν, εἰς ὀστέωσιν ἀδρᾶν καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν λεοντώδη, ἀπευθύνασα ἑαυτήν· ὡς εἶναι, τοῖς ἀκρωτηριοῖς ἐπεντρανίσαντά τινα, τοιαῦτ' εἶναι ἀληθῶς ἀποφῆνασθαι τὰ κατὰ φυσικοὺς γνώμονας τὴν ἀνδρικήν χαρακτηρίζοντα ῥωμαλεότητα· οἷς ἀνάλογα καὶ τὰ τῶν διαστάσεων. Ἐντεῦθεν

5 εὐμέθοδον ἔφοδον: cf. Nic. Chon. Or. 14.136.11–13 ὦν ἡ Μαδιὰμ ἐξηφάνισται, κατ' οὐδὲν δ' ἦντον' ἐκείνων καὶ ἡ σὴ μέθοδος εὐμέθοδος καὶ εὐμήχανος πρὸς τὴν κατ' ἀντιπάλων ἔφοδον καὶ τὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπόσκοπον δίοδον 6 Γήπαιδα ... βασιλικῆς: : cf. Nic. Chon. Or. 4.33.1819 γόνυ κάμπτοντες Γήπαιδες ἀνδροφονίας ἄτερ καὶ ὀπλισμοῦ, καὶ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων ὡς κοινὸς δεσπότης ὑπὸ τούτων φιλοφρονούμενος 15 φήμη ... διίπτεται: loc. comm. cf. e.g. Herod. Ab exc. divi Marci 2.8.7.4 ὡς γὰρ διπταμένη ἡ φήμη πάντα ἐπῆλθεν ἔθνη; Bas. Caes. Epist. 45.2.1 Μοιχικῆς φήμης διαβολή, βέλους ὀξύτερον διπταμένη 15 ἀνέτοις πτεροῖς: Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il. 1.389.14 Τὸ δὲ πετεηνῶν ἡ ἀπλῶς εἴρηται ὡς ὄρνιθων ἴδιον ...οἷς οὐχ' οὕτως ἄνετον τὸ πτερόν εἰς τὸ πέτεσθαι; cf. Liban. Or. 56.14.5 πολὺ γὰρ θάττω τὰ τῆς φήμης πτερὰ; cf.

22 ὄντως: scripsi, vid. not. ad loc. οὕτως B

23 γίγαντα: B γίγαντας proposuit Reinsch

journeying on a different mission, which they would resume after having had an audience with the emperor in order to obtain a sufficient contribution; while others came for this purpose alone, to gaze upon this object of wonder? Among this string of visitors were the ethnarch of the Persian lands, as well as the rex who rules over the Palestinians. The rest included that great ruler of the Alamanes, and the sovereign of the whole of German territory, who regarded that journey to our lands as a marvel. For I hesitate to call it a well paved road. To mention the Paian, the Gipaidean, and the Skythian, as well as many others like them, would amount to another catalogue; men (to sum up the whole briefly) whom awe, fear and requests for help gathered to us. And all of these things happened at once or singly: awed at the things they had learned, they gathered, stunned, for an audience with him; or fearing lest events take an undesirable turn and as a result of their complacency they should fall out of favour with the emperor; the third and final reason, that some danger should ever arise from any quarter against them, a misfortune they might not otherwise easily dismiss without the pledged assistance of the emperor.

And it was no wonder, if men such as these, learning of novel and unusual things, such as attract those who hear about them, followed them from afar after hearing the reports. For reputation flies on nimble wings, and the strangeness of the things spread through report can prompt those who hearken to them to turn their attention in their direction. But what brought the increase of imperial magnificence to its peak was the following: once those men had arrived and it turned out that the things they had learned turned out to be true, they went away like heralds crying far and loud, “we see exactly what we had heard.” And this was not all: being filled with awe for some time, they brought with them a permanent sense of astonishment through their imaginative recalling of what they had seen, all the more so when reflecting upon him. They brought up the full image of the emperor in their hearts, a man who shone not just through his essential inner qualities, the marks of genuine humanity, but through his outer features as well.

For such was his height, that any man who surpassed him would have been reckoned a giant. Indeed nature provided him with a firmness different from that of others, adopting a stout and, so to speak, lion-like frame, straightening herself; with the result that, anyone examining his extremities would conclude that these were truly the sort which physiognomists agree characterize manly strength, which were in turn proportionate to his size. Hence he was not bur-

etiam Eust. Macr. *Hysm. et Hysm.* 2.10.2 “Πῶς δ’ οὐ πετεύσεται τὸ πτηνὸν ἀνέτῳ πετεῶ”
περ ... εἶδομεν: *Ev. Io.* 3.11 ὃ οἶδαμεν λαλοῦμεν καὶ ὃ ἐωράκαμεν μαρτυροῦμεν

οὐδὲ σαρκῶν αὐτὸν ἐβάρυνε περιουσία ἐπαχθίζομένη πρὸς περιττότητα τῷ τε αἰεὶ γυμναστικῷ ἀπερχομένου τοῦ πλεονάζοντος, καὶ ὅτι περὶ τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπον ἡσχόλητο τὰ τῆς φύσεως. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πελώριον ὤκειώσατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ· ἀπάσατο δὲ τὸ βουγάϊον. Οὐκοῦν ἀκολούθως, οὐδὲ τὴν κόμην πρὸς τρυφερότητα ἤσκητο· ἀλλ' εἰς κεφαλὴν κόσμου τημελῶν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ τυγχάνων τοῦ ἐφετοῦ, εὐθετίζειν τρίχας 5 ἐμέμφετο. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἡ θεόθεν σοφία τῆς φύσεως, τὸ ἐνταῦθα πολὺ τῆς ὕλης προσδαπανῶσα τοῖς κρείττοσιν, οὐκ ἤθελε τῇ κόμῃ χορηγεῖν τὸ ὑπέρπλεον, ἢ μηδὲ τὸν βασιλικώτατον λέοντα πυκνοῦσα τριχῶν λασιότητα.

24 Τῇ δὲ τοιαύτῃ σεμνότητι, καὶ τὸ τῆς χροιάς καλὸν συνδιήκεν. Οὐ γὰρ θηλυπρεπῆς λευκότης τὸ πρόσωπον ἔγραφεν, ἀλλ' εὐφυῶς μιγνυμένη πρὸς τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἐκέ- 10 κρατο, καὶ τὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας κατὰ γυμνασίαν καὶ λοιποὺς πόρους, ἡλίους, καὶ μάλιστα. Οὐ γὰρ σκιατραφίαν, ἐπραγματεύετο, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ βίον μαλθακὸν καὶ ἀργόν· αἰθερίας δὲ παρεβάλλετο ἀφ' ὧν πρὸς ἀνδρίας ἐζωγραφεῖτο χροίαν, ὄψιν πεφιλοτιμημένος, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς γυναικίας καὶ μαλθακοὺς, ἀλλ' ὅποια κοσμοίῃ ἂν ἡρωϊκὴν στρυφνότητα. Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἐτοιμότητα διηθητίστο γέλωτος, οὐδὲ μὴν ἄλλως τὸ 15 λεοντῶδες ἠκριβῶτο. Κεκραμένη γὰρ δὲ Χάρισιν ἐρρύθμιστο τῇ τοῦ κάλλους μεσότητι.

25 Καὶ δεῖσαν μὲν ἑαυτὸν καταστήσαι, ὅποι χρεῶν, καὶ ἀνθολογία κάλλους ποικίλη αὐτὸν ἤγαλλε. Σεμνότερος μὲν γὰρ προέλαμπεν, ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ, τῷ χαροπῷ ἰλαρότη- 20 τὰ τε προῦφαινον καὶ Ἀρεϊκὴν ἐμβρίθειαν· τῷ προσώπῳ δὲ βαθεῖα γαλήνη ἐνεχώρευε καὶ ἦν κἀνταῦθα τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ ἡ σύστοιχος εὐχροία, καὶ λειμῶνα συνεκρότου ἀξιοθέατον, ἐξ οὗ δρέπεσθαι ἠδονὴν ὄσιν ἐξῆν τοῖς φιλοθεάμοσι.

1 σαρκῶν... περιουσία: loc. comm. cf. e.g. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 3.11.65. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐλκύση, ἀλεινομένην ἡρέμα δι' αὐτῶν ἀτιμίζει τῶν σαρκῶν 'τὴν' ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς περιουσίαν, ποσῇ μὲν τῇ ὑρρότητι, ὑπερβολῇ δὲ θερμότητος; cf. etiam Mich. Psell. *Or. min.* 27.7 τῶν ζώων μεγέθει...καὶ ᾧ μὲν τὸν ὄγκον ἡλάττω σε τὸν τόνον σαφῶς ἐμεγέθυνεν, ᾧ δὲ σαρκῶν περιουσίαν προσέπλασε **2** τὸν... ἄνθρωπον: cf. e.g. Eust. *De capt. Thess.* 52.3032 εἴπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐλθὼν ἀδικήματος ἔληξε καὶ ἐστράφη πρὸς τὸν ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπον, ἀδικήσας εἰς βασιλείαν καὶ μεγάλου τυχῶν πράγματος; et viz. not. ad loc. **3** βουγάϊον: alludit ad Hom. *Il.* 13.824 Ἄλαν ἀμαρτοεπὲς βουγαίε ποῖον ξειπες; cf. *Od.* 18.79 νῦν μὲν μήτ' εἴης, βουγαίε, μήτε γένοιο; cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3.550.26 καὶ Ἐκτωρ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς βουγάϊον τὸν Αἴαντα εἰπῶν ἀργίαν ὄνειδίζει καὶ βραδυκινησίαν τῷ ἡρωϊ; cf. etiam *Etym. Magn.* 206.45 Βουγάϊον: Ἐργάτην βοῦν· οἱ δὲ, μεγάλαυχον, ἀμαθῆ, ἀλαζόνα, βοῶδη, καὶ ἀναίσθητον **4** κόμην... ἤσκητο: loc. comm., cf. e.g. Luc. *Rhet. precept.* 11.8 πάγκαλον ἄνδρα...οὐλας δὲ καὶ ὑακινθίνας τὰς τρίχας εὐθετίζοντα; cf. etiam *Epist. Pauli ad Cor.* i 11.13 cf. οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆ διδάσκει ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἀνὴρ μὲν ἐὰν κομᾷ ἀτιμία αὐτῷ ἐστίν; cf. etiam Mich. Chon. *Or.* 1.1.11.15 Εἰ τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν βασιλείαν ἐνσκευάζη...τῆς κόμης ἀπάθου τὰ περιττὰ; cf. etiam Georg. Torn. *Ep.* 21.153.18 τοσοῦτον ἀκαλλῆς τὴν κόμην ἀποβαλὼν, ὅσον ὠραῖον ὁπότε κομᾷ **8** λέοντα...λασιότητι: *Scholia in Od.* 4.45 λαχμῶ στεινόμενος] τῇ λαχνώσει, τῇ λασιότητι, τῇ δασύτητι τῶν μαλλῶν στενοχωρούμενος; cf. CPG II p.503 (Ap X 61) Λέων τὴν τρίχα, ὄνος τὸν βίον· ἐξ ἱστορίας ἢ παροιμίας **9-10** χροιάς... ἀνδρῶδες: loc. comm., cf. e.g. Adam. *Jud. Physiogn.* 2.4.9 τὸ μὲν λίαν λευκὸν δειλόν...τὸ δὲ

12 σκιατραφίαν: Tafel σκιατραφίαν B, vid. not. ad loc.

13 αἰθερίας B αἰθρίαις coniecit Tafel

dened by a surplus of flesh making a nuisance of itself by its excess, since it was shed through both constant exercise, with the surplus being removed, and because nature busied itself with man as he truly is. And while his enormous size suited him, he nevertheless avoided the bearing of an oaf. And so accordingly he did not set his hair in too elegant a fashion, but he attended to himself as was appropriate for the head of the world. And having achieved this goal, he objected to straightening his hair. And since the divine wisdom of nature had already invested so many of its resources in stronger features, it did not wish to endow him with excess hair, since nature does not cover even the kingly lion with an abundance of hair.

And the quality of his complexion matched the dignity described thus far. 24 His face did not display an effeminate paleness, but was instead suitably part of a manly mixture, a face right out of ancient history, weathered by exercises and other labours, not least by the sun. For he did not conduct his affairs indoors, in the shade, since he cared not for a soft and easy life. Instead he exposed himself to the elements, from which his skin drew its manly colouring, having aspired to an appearance that one does not find on womanly or soft people, but such as might adorn a heroic austerity. He was thus not prone to laughter; nor for that matter was he grim like a lion. Indeed, since his countenance combined with the Graces it was composed of just the right measure of beauty.

When the need arose to present himself, wherever he was obliged to do so, a 25 varied bouquet of beauty adorned him. For while he shone forth more solemnly, his eyes gave the impression of cheerfulness and martial dignity through their brightness. A look of profound serenity gamboled on his face, it too was proportionate and had a healthy complexion. These joined to produce an attractive meadow, from which it was possible to harvest all the pleasure sought by those eager to look upon him.

ταῖς ἐλαίαις τὴν χροιάν ὁμοίον δυνατὸν ἄνδρα σημαίνει; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.720.610 Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἢ παραβολῇ λευκὸν φύσει τὸν Μενέλαον ἱστορεῖ. εἰ δὲ καὶ θηλυπρεπὲς ἐν ἥρωσιν ἢ λευκότης, διὸ τὸν Τρωϊκὸν Κύκλον Θεόκριτος τοιοῦτον ὄντα θηλὴν ἀπὸ χροιάς εἶφη, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθ' αὖ φασιν οἱ παλαιοί, ὅτι κἂν ἄλλως εὐπαθὲς τὸ λευκόν, ἰσχυρότερα δὲ τὰ μελάγχροα τῶν σωματίων, cf. etiam Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 51.3 -7 τὴν δὲ χροιάν οὐτε κατὰ τοὺς σκιατραφουμένους λευκὸς ἦν καὶ χιονώδης, οὐτε μὴν ἄγαν καπνηρός, ὡς οἱ πολλὸν τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου δεξάμενοι καὶ οὐς παρέβλεψαν ἀκτίνες θερμότεραι, ἀλλὰ τῆς λευκῆς θεᾶς ἀναχωρῶν, τῷ δὲ μέλανι προσεγγίζων χρώματι εὐπρεπείας καὶ οὕτως εἶχετο **11** τὸ ... ἱστορίας; fort. alludit ad historiam antiquam, cf. e.g. Luc. *Anachars.* 25 Οὗτοι δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπέρυθροι εἰς τὸ μελάντερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κεχωρσμένοι καὶ ἀρρενωποί, πολλὸ τὸ ἐμψυχοῦν καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ἀνδρώδες ἐπιφαίνοντες; cf. etiam Greg. Nyss. *In Bas. fratr.* 13 ἐν παντὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν καὶ ἀνδρώδες πρὸ τῶν ἡδέων θηρώμενος, ἤλιψ θालπόμενος, κρύει παραβαλλόμενος, νηστείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας καταγυμνάζων τὸ σῶμα **19-20** ἰλαρότητα ... ἐμβριθειαν: cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3.489.10 Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὁ ποιητὴς τοῖς σκυθρωποῖς ἰλαρότητα συναμιγνυσιν, ἐμβριθείας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένην

- 26 Καὶ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτε ἀθέτως εἶχε πρὸς τι παρακινοῦν καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς ὑποκῦ|μαῖνον θάλασσαν, ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ πλάσας ἔθετο. Ὅτε δέ, ὅποια πολλά, θυμο- 168r
δακές τι παραφανθείη ἀνακύψαν ποθὲν, καὶ ἐχρῆν τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν αὐτῆς δορυφόρον
παραστήναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι, τῆνικαῦτα θυμὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐξέζεεν, οὐδὲ καχλάζων ἀπή-
φριζε κατὰ τοὺς εἰς ὀργὴν πυρίνους· βιαζόμενος δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἑαυτὸν καὶ διαζω- 5
γραφῶν εἰς θυμούμενον (ἦν γὰρ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα, ὅτι μηδὲ εἰς παιγνήμονα θετέον τὴν
οὕτω σεμνοτάτην ἀρχήν), οὐκέτ' ἀνήρ ὄδ' αὐτὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ παρατυπῶν τὸ ἔμφυτον
ζωγράφημα, ἐξένευσεν εἰς ὅσα καὶ διδάσκαλος ἔμφρων, τὸν μὲν πρᾶον ἀποτιθέμενος,
οὐ μηκέτι καιρὸς τοῖς διδασκομένοις, τὸν δὲ ἐπιστρεπτικὸν μεταμφιεσσόμενος, ὃν
αὐτοὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀμαθίας προεκαλέσαντο, καυτήρας, οὐκ ἦπια φάρμακα θέλοντες. 10
- 27 Καὶ ἦν ἐνταῦθα βλέπειν ἄλλο κρᾶμα, κάλλους καὶ αὐτό. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἰλαρὸν, καὶ
οὕτω τοῖς οὐκ ἀμβλυωποῦσιν ἐξέλαμπε, τὸ δὲ θυμούμενον τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐχρωζε καὶ
ἄλλως τὸ προφαινόμενον, καθά που κρύπτει μὲν ἐντὸς τὸ φωταυγὲς ἀφανίζει δὲ οὐκ
εἰσάπαν. Καὶ ὁ τῷ βασιλικῷ περιτυχῶν ἐκείνῳ προσήματι, φρίξας, ὅτι μηδὲν ἦν 15
ἄλλως γενέσθαι (εἰ μὴ καὶ λέοντά τις ἡρέμα τὸ ἐπισκύνιον συνδήσαντα παρήλθε που
ἄτρεστος), καὶ τὸ ὀπτικὸν συγχεθεὶς ἐκείνος, ὡς μόνον προορᾶν τὸ ἐπιπολῆς, μὴ
ἐμβαθύνειν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔνδον φαῦσιν (δεινὸν γὰρ λογισμὸς ὑποπτύξας μὴ ἐξακρι-
βοῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ προφαινομένου γίνεσθαι), θανεῖν εὖξαιτο ἄν, ἥπερ βασιλεῖα ἔνθεον
αὐτῷ ἐπισκύζεσθαι, καθὰ μὴδε θεὸν οὐ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ θυμὸς βαρὺς τοῖς περὶ γῆν εἰ 20
καὶ ἄκρα φιλανθρωπία συγκέκραται. Οὕτω τοιοῦτον δέος ἔπαθεν ὁ συσταλαεὶς, καὶ
τὸ βασιλικὸν ἰλαρὸν προέτρεχε, καὶ ἀνελάμβανε καταπίπτοντα, καὶ μηδὲ παραψά-
μενον πικρασμοῦ ἐγλύκαζεν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα εἰς τὸ πάντη πάντως ἐξήνεκτο ἀθεράπευτον.
Ἐν τοιούτοις γὰρ, ἡλίθιος ἄν, εἴη ὁ κατασιγάζων τὸ θυμικόν, καὶ τῷ ἀντιστρόφῳ
χώραν διδοὺς ἐκτραχηλίζειν κατὰ κρημοῦ, καὶ συγκαταφέρειν τῇ μιμήσει πολλοὺς
εἰς ὄλεθρον. 25

10 ἦπια φάρμακα: Hom. Il. 4.218 αἶμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἦπια φάρμακα εἰδῶς; cf. Clem. Alex. Paed. 1.9.83.2.6 καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν παθῶν φλεγμονὰς τοῦ σωτήρος ἐπιδέομεθα· ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον τὰ ἦπια ἐπι-
πάσσει φάρμακα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ στυπτικά; cf. etiam Mich. Chon. Or. 15.274.12 Ἀλλὰ ταῖς μὲν νοσεραῖς ψυ-
χαῖς καὶ τὴν νόσον ὁμολογοῦσαις οὕτω προσφέρετο, ἦπια ἐπιπάπτων καὶ ἄχολα φάρμακα 11 κρᾶμα:
cf. Eust. Or. 11 (Λόγος Κ) 191.28 Περιρρεόμεθα τοῖς βασιλικοῖς κρᾶμασιν καὶ λοιποῖς συγκρίμασιν 12
θυμούμενον ... ἐχρωζε: Gal. De plac. Hipp. et Plat. 5.7.87.6 διαφέρειν τὸ θυμούμενον τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ λογιζο-
μένου; Suda ψ 164.2 Ψυχή: πνεῦμα νοερόν. ὅτι μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ εἶδη τρία· λογίζόμενον, θυμούμενον, ἐπι-
θυμοῦν 15 λέοντά ... ἐπισκύνιον: Hom. Il. 17.136 πᾶν δέ τ' ἐπισκύνιον κάτω ἔλκεται ὅσσε καλύπτων;

21 καταπίπτοντα: (sive καταπεπτωκότα) proposuit Reinsch καταπέττοντα B

And such was the demeanor of the emperor anytime he felt indisposed toward anything stirring the latent sea-swell [of anger] within himself, which the creator 26
instilled in us. When, on the other hand, as often happened, some maddening thing reared its head from some quarter, it became necessary for his soul's sentinel to be present and take up the defence. In that case his anger did not boil over, nor did it bubble up in a froth in the manner of those who are easily inflamed to rage. Forcing himself instead and portraying himself as angry (for there was every need that such a noble ruler not be taken lightly), he did not remain the same man, but altering his innate character, he turned to what a wise teacher might do. And setting aside his milder self, since this was no longer what the students had need of, he donned the appearance of severity, which the students had elicited from him as a remedy for their ignorance, needing strong, not a mild cure.

And it was possible in his case to see another mixture, another thing of beauty. 27
For while his ruddy cheerfulness shone forth in this way to anyone not dim sighted, the wrath of his soul could give an altogether different colour to his appearance, in a manner which hid the brightness within him, but without making it disappear altogether. And the man who encountered this appearance in the emperor was terrified, as was bound to happen (unless a man ever happened to pass by a lion gradually furrowing his brow without trembling). And while the man's sight was thrown into confusion, so that he could see the surface appearance in front of him but not deeper to the inner light (for cowering in the face of some terrible thing the mind cannot discern clearly and concentrates on the surface instead), that man might wish to die rather than face the divine emperor's indignation; just as he would not want to face the wrath of God, whose own anger also falls heavy on those who walk the earth, even if it is mixed with uttermost mercy. But no sooner had the cringing man felt such fear than the emperor's good cheer hastened and raised up the prostrate man, offering him sweetness before he had even tasted bitterness; unless of course the man conducted himself in an altogether irremediable manner. For in such cases it would be idiotic to suppress one's anger, thus giving one's opposed room to cast himself over the precipice like a madman, leading many to their destruction through his example.

cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.27.2 Ἐπισκύνιον δέ ἐστι...δ' ἐπιχαλάται τοῖς τῶν λεόντων ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ καλύπτει αὐτοὺς προνοία φύσεως; cf. Theocr. *Idyll.* 24.118 τοῖον ἐπισκύνιον βλοσυρῶ ἐπέκειτο προσώπῳ; cf. etiam Mich. Psell. *Or. pan.* 4.310 σπακῶς ἐκάθησο τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ βλοσυρὸν βλέπων καὶ λεοντῶδες καὶ ἐς μῆκος σύρας τὸ ἐπισκύνιον

- 28 Ἐπαινώ τὸν τοιοῦτον θυμὸν ἐγώ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ διορθωτὴς νόμος, ὃν οἱ αὐτοκρα-
τουῦντες μετρίασαντες μὲν ἐπαινοῖντο ἂν, ἀπαλείψαντες δὲ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιεν τὴν τοῦ
παντὸς τάξιν συγγέαντες. Καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ ἐπαινούμενος οὕτω χαρακτήρος ἔχων καὶ
καταστήματος τοῦ κατ' ὄψιν, ὅτε θυμικὴ παραδράμη τις περιπέτεια τὰ γε εἰς τὸ πο-
λιτεύεσθαι. Ὁ πόλεμος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἑτεροῖαν εἶχε θυμομαχίαν, ἣν αἱ πράξεις διαζωγρα- 5
φοῦσιν, ἃς αἱ βιβλιακαὶ πτύχες ἀμφιέπουσι.
- 29 Καιρὸς δὴ τις καὶ ἀστεῖσασθαι. Οὐ γὰρ δυστράπελος διὰ βίου παντὸς ἐν ἀνθρώ-
ποις οὐδεὶς, εἴ γε καὶ Τίμων ἐφιλιάζετο. φιλία δὲ οὐδεμία τὸ ἀστεῖον ἀπέπατο κα-
θάπερ οὐδὲ ὀμιλία ἢ πολιτευτικὴ. Καιρὸς δὴ τις καὶ τοιοῦτος ποτέ, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἀπέρρεε μέλιτος τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μάννα ἐβρε- 10
χεν {ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ}, ὅτι τοῦ ἐν ὕψει μεγέθους οὐδ' οὕτω κατέπιπτον οἱ βασιλικοὶ λό-
γοι, οἷς καὶ τὸ τοῦ προσώπου γαλήνιον συνδιατιθέμενον ἐτέρας ἔγευε γλυκύτητος.
Μάννα δέ, ὅτι περ εἰς πολυτροπίαν τὰ τῆς γλυκείας ὀμιλίας διέβαινε, καὶ πολυειδῶς
ἐνεβρωματίζετο τῆς ἡδονῆς ὁ πεινῶν τὸ φιλόκαλον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄλλως ἡδύς, τοῦ προ- 15
φαινομένου ἦν, εἰς γλυκεῖαν αὐτὸ βάπτων ἔννοϊαν· ὁ δὲ λόγιος, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔνδον
φιλοσοφούμενον ἐνεβάθυνεν, ἐκμυελίζων τὸ νόημα. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐξέπιπτε τι τῶν
ἐκείνου ἀργόν, καὶ ὡς οἶον εἰς ὀστῶδες τι | ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ἤρτυε δὲ τὸν λόγον ἄλατι 168v
μὲν διόλου τῷ διὰ παντὸς νοστήμῳ τῆς μεταχειρίσεως, καὶ βαθείαις δὲ θεωρίαις, ταῖς
μὲν, ὄσας οἱ ἀπόστολοι μαθηταὶ καὶ ὁ ἀποστειλας μέγιστος διδάσκαλος ἀνέπτυξαν,
ταῖς δέ, ὁποῖαις οἱ ἐξωτερικοὶ σεμνύνονται. 20
- 30 Ἴνα γὰρ καὶ νῦν ὡς ἐν θριάμβῳ τούτῳ καὶ σεμνῷ καὶ λαμπρῷ τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ τοῦ θαύ-
ματος οἰκουροῦν προαγαγῶν θεατρίσω, οὐκ ἦν ὑποκινηθῆναι ποτε λαλιάν ἐν ἡπερ
ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ οὐκ ἐξελάλει τι καινὸν μὲν εἰς ἀκοήν, θεόπεμπτον δὲ εἰς νόησιν. Ἐγὼ
τοῖνον, ἀνήρ οὔτε ἀμφιλαφῆς τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν πολυβενθῆς οὐ μὴν δὲ οὐδ'

1–2 θυμὸν ... μετρίασαντες; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.820.1821 Τὸν τε γὰρ βασιλέα οὐ κύνειον οὐδὲ ἀναιδῆ ἀποκαλεῖ, ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἔφη, ἀλλὰ ἥρωα, ὡς καὶ προεῖρηθη, ὠνόμασε, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀντὶον ἀπο-
πλεύσειν λέγει, ὅπερ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα, ἀλλὰ μετρίασας τὸν θυμὸν βουλευσασθῆαι φησιν ἅμα ἡμέρα,
ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ εἰρηται. καὶ οὕτω μὲν αὐτοῖ 7–8 δυστράπελος... Τίμων: alludit ad Luc. *Tim.* 1 sqq Τίμων
ἢ μισάνθρωπος; cf. Eust. *Or.* 3 (Λόγος Γ) 9094 εἰπεῖν γάρ, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς τις ἐαυτῷ μέχρι καὶ εἰς τέλος
ἀρέσκοι... ὅτι δὲ τῷ ἀκοινωνήτῳ συνεργάζεται τι, ἰδίᾳ κείσθω, μὴ καὶ βίον κίνδυνος εἴη ζῆν Τίμωνος, ὅς εἰ
μὲν οὐδὲ γοῦν ἐνὸς πειραθείς ἐν ἀκεραίῳ φίλου, τὸ ἀνθρωπικὸν ἦθος ἀπέπατο 8 φιλία... ἀπέπατο: cf.
Plut. *Amat.* 751b5 καλὸν γὰρ ἢ φιλία καὶ ἀστεῖον; cf. etiam Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 709b4 τὸ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχον-
τι παραδοῦναι καὶ παρασχῆναι ὀμιλίας ἀρχὴν καὶ φιλοφροσύνης εὐστοχον ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ἀστεῖον; cf. etiam
Theoph. *Cont. Chron.* 6.207.1 Λέοντα... καὶ ἄλλως ἀστεῖον ἐν ταῖς ὀμιλίαις δοκοῦντα 10 ὡς... μάν-
να: LXX *Ex.* 16:136, *Num.* 11:19, *Ps.* 77.2425 καὶ θύρας οὐρανοῦ ἀνέωξεν / καὶ ἔβρεξεν αὐτοῖς μαννα φαγεῖν
/ καὶ ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς; cf. Eust. *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 224.25 παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ πλήθουσας, ψυχο-
τρόφον, βιόδωρον, ὀλιγόδωρον καὶ μάννα δὲ προσεπενόουν οὐρανόθεν κατενεχθὲν καὶ βρεχθὲν οὐ τούτῳ ἢ
ἐκείνῳ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ λαοῖς; cf. etiam Greg. *Antioch. Ep.* 2 *ad Eust.* 387 κατάγοις δὲ καὶ
μάννα οὐρανόθεν ἡμῖν τῆς ὕψηλῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ σοι γλώττης λόγον κατὰ νοῦν ἡμῖν καὶ τροφίμον καὶ ἡδύς

11 ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ: 2 B *delevit Tafel*, sed. vid. not. ad loc.

For my part I applaud such ire, since it is also the corrective law, which 28
emperors are praised for when applied in moderation, and without which they
would hasten to throw the order of everything into confusion. The man being
praised here possessed just such a character. And this was his outward appear-
ance on those occasions when some fit of anger might exceed the [regular] ad-
ministration of government. For war awakened an altogether different violent
anger in him, which his actions, detailed in the pages of books, illustrate.

There were however also occasions when conversational amiability were 29
called for. No man can go through his entire life being dour and humourless,
seeing as even Timon could make friends. No friendship rejects good-natured
banter, just as no social gathering will, either. And there were indeed times when
the emperor let honey flow from his mouth for those in his presence, so that it
seemed to be raining Manna from heaven. For not even thus did the emperor's
speeches fall short of his elevated position. His peaceful countenance gave them
a taste of another sweetness. It was like Manna, however, because the sweetness
of his company took on varied forms, and anyone who hungered after beauty
savoured diverse pleasures. And those who especially enjoyed its surface appeal,
found some sweet significance in it. But a learned man also entered into its deep-
er philosophical significance, drawing out the very marrow of the meaning. In-
deed, the emperor never uttered anything idle or, as it were, considered 'hard to
swallow'. He spiced his speech throughout with the salt of enduring good taste
in handling [the idea], and with profound ideas; some as developed by the apos-
tles and the Great Teacher who sent them on their mission, others being ideas
on which those outside of our faith pride themselves.

In order, therefore, that I may put on view before you, as though in a solemn 30
and illustrious triumphal procession, something that sustains the sense of won-
der I mentioned earlier: he never made a speech in which he did not say some-
thing at once novel for the ear and a godsend for the mind. For my part, not
being a man of wide and, so to speak, deep knowledge, though also not togeth-
er without depth or stripped of learning, I would not claim to have ever been

12 τὸ ... γαλήνιον: cf. Them. Eius Θεοδοσίον 190c.6 γαλήνη δὲ ἐπικέχυται παντὶ τῷ προσώπῳ 17 ἤρ-
τυε ... ἄλατι: *Epist. Pauli ad Col.* 4.6.2 ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἄλατι ἠρτυμένος, εἰδέναι πῶς δεῖ
ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι; cf. Eust. *Or.* 8 (Λόγος Η) 146.34 πορείαν εὐσταλῶς ἀνέεις ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττο-
να· ἔστι δέ σοι καὶ τὰ τῆς βρώσεως ταύτης ἠρτυμένα λόγῳ, τῷ νοστιμωτάτῳ ἄλατι 24 ἀνὴρ ... ἀμφιλα-
φής: *Suda Lex.* A 1740 Ἀμφιλαφῆ: διπλοῦν, τεχνικὸν τε καὶ σοφιστικὸν ἄνθρωπον εὗρουν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀμ-
φιλαφῆ τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς ἐξηγήσεις; cf. Eust. *De capt. Thess.* 74.3435 ἐς πονηρίαν ἀδιόρατος
καὶ τό γε κρυψίνουν πολυβενθής

εἰσάγαν ἀβαθῆς καὶ ψιλὸς μαθήσεως, οὐκ ἂν αὐχῆσαιμι παραβαλεῖν ποτε τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀκροάσει βασιλικῇ, ἐν ἣ μὴ τι ξενίζον καὶ ἀρτιφανὲς ἐμοίγ' οὖν εἰς χρηστομάθειαν εἰσωκισάμην κατὰ νοῦν. Ἀττικοῖς ἀνδράσι τὸ τοιοῦτον φίλτατον οἷς ἐπίσημον τὸ φιλόκαινον, ταῦτόν δὲ φάναι, ἀνθρώποις διεξεσμένοις εἰς κάλλος λογιότητος, οἱ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, προσεπιζητοῦσι καὶ τὰ καινότερα, λιχνεύομενοι τὴν ἀκροασιν. Καὶ ἦν λέγειν καίριον τῆνικαῦτα, ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς ποιήσεως, ὡς ἄρα θεὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν μορφήν ἔπεσι στέφει, κάλλιστον τοῦτο προσεπισυνάπτων τῷ βασιλικῷ στέμματι.

31 Καὶ οὕτω μὲν, καλὸν τὸ ἐν ὁμιλίαις γλυκύ· τὸ δὲ, καὶ ἐτέρως ἐχρημάτιζε κάλλιον. Τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἐννοίας ὄχημα, τὸ τοῦ προφερομένου βασιλικῷ λόγου τορὸν καὶ τρανέστατον, ἄλλο τοῦτο γλυκύτερος ἄρτυμα ἐπαγωγὸν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, οἷς καὶ ἐπήρχετο μερίζεσθαι εἰς τε τὸ νοούμενον ἄριστον ὄν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπηχητικὴν προφορὰν, συνεπικοσμοῦσαν καὶ αὐτὴν τὸ νοούμενον. Καὶ ἐξύμνηται καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βασιλικὸν καλόν, καὶ βίβλοις ἔγκριται. Τὸ δὲ ἐν ἀντιρρήσεσιν ἔτοιμον, τὸ δὲ ταχὺ μὲν προβαλέσθαι ὀξύ δὲ καταλαβέσθαι τὰ ἐν νοήμασιν, οὐκ ἔχει παραβολὴν τάχους εἰ μὴ τις εἰς βέλους ἐκνεύσει πετομένου ὠκύτητα, ἢ εἰς ἀστραπῆς ταχυτάτην ἐκπυρνήσιν, ἢ εἰς ὁμοιότητα πτεροῦ ροιζῶντος εἰς πτήσιν ἀέριον. Τὸ δὲ πυκνὸν ἐν διαλέξει καὶ πλουτοῦν ἐπιχειρηματικῶς, τοῦτο δὲ ἡ ποιητικὴ σεμνυνεῖ Καλλιόπῃ, παρομοιοῦσα ἐς νιφάδων πύκνωσιν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτε καταφορὰν τινὰ καὶ τοπικὴν ἢ καὶ ἄλλως βαρέως ἐκτραχυνομένην, ἢ τοῦ λόγου προκαλεῖται ὕλη. Τότε γὰρ τὸ τῆς νιφάδος εἰκόνισμα καὶ μάλιστα, καιριώτατον. Πυκνὸς γὰρ τῆνικαδε καιροῦ ὁ καταφορικὸς λόγος ὅσα καὶ νιφάδες τινές· ἔτι μὴν καὶ φρικαλέος καὶ οἷα τις ῥιγεδανός· καὶ τῷ τῆς σαφηνείας μὲν λευκῷ διαλάμπων, ὡς ἐξ ὕψους δὲ κατασκήπτων τῷ μεγαλείῳ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐξάρματι. Οὕτω πολὺ τὸ ἐν λόγοις τῷ βασιλεῖ πόριμον, οὐ πείρα καὶ μόνη διδάσκαλος. Ἐξιστορησαὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν, εἴη ἐς ὅσον καὶ χρή.

7 ἔπεσι στέφει: Hom. *Od.* 8.169–170 ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνὴρ / ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφήν ἔπεσι στέφει; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.288.2628 μορφήν δὲ θεὸς ἔπεσι στέφει...ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς φιλάθλους ὁ λόγος, ὁποῖοι καὶ οἱ Φαίακες. καὶ κείται νόημά τι τοιοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τῷ Πινδάρῳ 7 κάλλιστον ... στέμματι: Eust. *Or.* 16 (Λόγος O) 263.6871 ἀποθανυμάσομαι δὲ τοὺς ἐμψύχους τούτους ἀπολέκτους ἐκ γῆς ἀπάσης μαργάρους καὶ λίθους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἀνάλογον τιμωτάτην ἔλην, τὰς τῶν μεγάλων ἐθνῶν ἀπαρχὰς ταύτας, αἱ τὸ σὸν στέμμα κυκλοῦσι 11–12 προφορὰν ... νοούμενον: cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3.327.20 καὶ τὸ σημαίνειν κατωτέρω τοιοῦτόν τι δηλοῖ, ἐπειδὴ σημεῖα τῶν νοουμένων τὰ λεγόμενα 15 ἀστραπῆς... ἐκπυρνήσιν: cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 2.194.33 κόσμον τὸ θεῖον εἰποῦσι. τοιοῦτον δὲ σὸν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τὸν κόσμον σκάφος εἰπεῖν οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως περιηγόμενον. ὅμοιον δὲ τι καὶ τὸ, ἀστραπᾶς ἐκπυρνηζόμενας νεφῶν φάναι; cf. etiam Eust. *De emend.* 100† Συνελεῖν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν ἐν βραχυτάτῳ· νεφέλη φωτὸς ὀφείλει εἰκάζεσθαι, οὐ μὴν ἐκπυρνηζοῦση κερανοῦς 17–18 ποιητικὴ ... πύκνωσιν: Hom. *Il.* 3.222 ἔπεα νιφάδεσσι ἐοικότα χειμερήσιν 18 καταφορὰν ... τοπικὴν: cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 2.173.8 Τὸ δὲ μηχανώνοντας, κείροντας, ἀτιμάζοντας, ἡρέμα καλλωπίζει τὸν καταφορικὸν ἐνταῦθα λόγον, ἵνα

in an imperial audience in which, as far as I was concerned, I did not acquire knowledge of something astonishing or original in my mind worth learning. In fact this was a thing most beloved to the Athenians, whose love of novelty was a conspicuous characteristic. Put another way, they were a people thoroughly polished in eloquence who, in their craving for audiences, longed to add more innovative ideas to the existing ones. And it would have been apt in this case to cite the following from poetry, “that God crowns the king’s figure with words, attaching this most beautiful thing to the imperial crown.”

And while his conversation was indeed sweet, it proved even better in other respects as well. For the vehicle of his thought, the sonority and majesty of the emperor’s voice, furnished his audience with even more pleasant speech. They in turn had to divide their attention between the meaning, which was excellent, and the sound of his voice, which also helped adorn the meaning. This imperial virtue is also widely praised and documented in texts. And his readiness in debate, being quick to respond while also sharp in understanding what was meant, has no analogy when it comes to speed; unless one has recourse to the metaphor of the swiftness of an arrow flying through the air; or the quick spark of a lighting bolt’s blaze; or the image of a wing flapping into flight. The muse of poetry [Kalliope] honours the concentration of arguments and the wealth of proofs, likening them to a thick snowfall, especially in cases where the subject resembles a tirade either about some topical or is otherwise rough and heavy. For just then is the image of snow most appropriate. For vehement speech is densely packed like snowflakes this time of the season. And you might even say dreadful, like something causing one to shudder; and shining with the brightness of its clarity, rushing down as from a height with the majestic swelling of his greatness. Such were the vast resources of discourse possessed by this emperor, which experience alone could teach you. For it would be impossible to describe them to the extent warranted. 31

τι καὶ μορφῆς τῆς πρὸς χάριν ὁ λόγος ἔχη τῷ ῥήτορι; idem 2.107.7 καταφορά ἢ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ τάσις, καὶ καταφορικὸς λόγος ὁ ὡς εἰπεῖν τοπικός; cf. etiam Mich. Psell. *Epitaph. in Xiph.* 435.29 οὐ γὰρ καταφορικὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πανηγυρικός 19–22 νιφάδος... λευκῶ: fort. ex *Schol. in Hom. Il.* 3.222.2 [νιφάδεσσιν εὐικότα] ὁ τρόπος μεταφορά· τὸ λευκὸν δὲ τῶν νιφάδων τὴν σαφήνειαν τῶν λόγων δηλοῖ; cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.642.6 Τὸ δὲ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν εὐικότα εἴρηται διὰ τὸ τάχος τῶν νοημάτων, διὰ τὸ πυκνόν, διὰ τὸ τῆς σαφηνείας διάλευκον, καὶ μὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ φρίκης γέμον. ἔοικε γὰρ καὶ καταφορικῶς προάγειν τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς

- 32 Τὰ δὲ τῆς μνήμης, βίβλος ἦν ἀναπάλειπτος, γραφείῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένη θείῳ, κινουμένῳ δακτύλοις πνεύματος. Καὶ οἶδε μὲν ἡ τῆς ἱστορίας πολυπραγμοσύνη, πρὸ δὲ ταύτης ἡ φύσις, ἀνθρωπίνην πλάσιν τὴν μὲν, οἷαν ῥάονα μὲν καταλαβεῖν ῥάονα δὲ καὶ ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ μανθανόμενον, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ σωλήνος πάθος, εἰσροῇ τε ἀπόνῳ ὑποκειμένου καὶ ἐκροῇ· τὴν | δὲ, δύσπορον μὲν εἰσοικίσασθαι τὸ ἄκουσμα, λήθη 5 169r δὲ ἀδυσώπητον. Καὶ ὁμοίότης ἐν τούτῳ, κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἀγγείοις σύστομον, οἷς τὸ δυσδιέξοδον, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ στεγανόν. Καὶ τοιαῦται μὲν τινες φύσεις. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ δραμεῖν εἰς ψυχὴν πάνυ εὐοδον ταῖς εἰς αὐτὴν πρεπούσαις χρηστομαθείαις, καὶ ἐκδραμεῖν οὕτως ἂν γένοιτο, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ λαβυρίνθου φυγεῖν σπεύδουσιν. Ἐπέβαλεν ἡ ὄψις τοπογραφία φέρε εἰπεῖν ἢ θέα προσώπων ἢ καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις ὧν 10 ἔδει μνημοσύνην ἐντεθῆναι εἰς ψυχὴν. Καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν εὐμαρῶς παρεδύοντο εἰς ἐντύπωσιν· κλεις δὲ συντηρήσεως ἐπιτεθεῖσα μνήμονος, ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἐφύλαττε τὴν σφραγίδα ἕως ἦν ἀναπτυχθῆναι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ταμειῖον καιρός. Τότε δὲ, εὐπετῶς ἠνοίγετο· καὶ φαντασίας ἀνακινούσης, ἐκαιουργεῖτο τῇ μνήμῃ σαφῆς ἢ ἀνάγνωσις, καὶ τὰ εἰκότα συνήγετο, καὶ ἡ περίστασις διήρθρωτο, καὶ ἡ γνῶσις ἠκρίβωτο, ἅπαξ 15 μὲν ποτε γνωρισθεῖσα, τῷ δὲ ἀποθέτῳ τῆς μνήμης, ἐς μακρὸν οὕτω τι παραμείνασα. Ἐσφράγιστο γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχικοῖς θησαυροῖς θεϊότερον· τὰ πολλὰ δὲ, καὶ ἐκ παιδὸς μέχρι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑπέρακμον διεσώζετο· τόπος ἐκεῖνος, ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος, χρόνος ὅδε τις, ὁμιλία τοιαύτη, ποιότητες πράξεων, καὶ τοιαῦτά τινα, ὧν ἡ ἀναζωγράφησις ἐκαιουρ- 20 γει τὴν παλαιάτην ἐντύπωσιν τοῦ γνωστοῦ.
- 33 Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα τις παρ' αὐτῷ μνήμη, τῷ μὲν προσφάτῳ διεκφεύγειν δοκοῦσα τὸ τοῦ μεμνησθαι τεράστιον, τῷ δὲ καθ' εἰρμὸν συνεχεῖ, καινοπρεπῆς οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ ξενίζουσα. Ἦν μὲν ἐκεῖνος δεξιὸς ὡσπερ λέγειν δημηγορῶν, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς λογο-

1 βίβλος ... ἐγκεκολαμμένη: Cf. LXX Ex. 36.13, καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς λίθους τῆς σμαράγδου συμπεπορημένους καὶ περισσεσιαλωμένους χρυσίῳ, γεγλυμένους καὶ ἐγκεκολαμένους ἐκκόλαμμα σφραγίδος ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ; cf. etiam Chron. Pasch. 214.5 Ἀλλὰ καὶ βιβλίον Σολομώνος, ὡς φασιν Ἑβραῖοι, ἰαμάτων παντὸς πάθους ἐγκεκολαμμένον; Suda E 277.11 ἦν Σολομῶνι βίβλος ἰαμάτων πάθους παντός, ἐγκεκολαμμένη τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ φλιᾶ 1-2 γραφείῳ ... πνεύματος: Epist. Pauli ad Corinth. ii. 3.3.2 ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἐγγεγραμμένη οὐ μέλανι ἀλλὰ πνεύματι θεοῦ ζώντος 4 σωλήνος πάθος: Greg. Naz. de filio 1.162ο λόγον εἰσαγωγικὸν ἐπενόησαν πρὸς ἑξαπάτην τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ἢ εὐθεστέρων, καὶ μὴ τῷ μήκει τοῦ λόγου διαχεθῆ τὰ νοούμενα, καθάπερ ὕδωρ οὐ σωλήνι σφιγγόμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πεδίου χέομενον καὶ λυόμενον; cf. Eust. Comm. ad Hom. II. 3.11ο.813 Δηλοῖ δὲ ὁμοίως ἡ τοιαύτη γραφή, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα μέχρι τοῦ στόματος ἀνελθὼν καὶ πληρῶσαν αὐτὸ ἐξεχύθη, καίτοι τμηθείσης τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὥστε ἔτι κινουμένης τῆς γλώττης δοκεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν κάτω κειμένην φθέγγεσθαι. οὕτω, φασί, καὶ σωλήνα μεστὸν ὕδατος εἰ διατέμῃ τις, ἢ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς ἐπίρροια εἴργεται, ὃ δὲ ἐντός ἐστι τοῦ σωλήνος ἐκχεῖται 13 ἀναπτυχθῆναι ... ταμειῖον: loc. comm., cf. e.g. Plut. Quaest. conviv. 672E9 ἴδιόν τι τοῦτο τῆ ψυχῆ ταμειῖον εὐπαθειῶν ἀποκείσθαι; cf. etiam Clem. Alex. Strom. 7.7.49.7 κἀν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ταμείῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνοσηθῆ μόνον; cf. etiam Basil. Caes. Ep. 74.1 ἀρίστη, εἴτε λόγος μνήμης ἄξιος, εἴτε πολιτεία ἀνδρῶν ὑπερ-

As for his memory, it was like an indelible book, engraved by a divine writing 32
 implement moved by the fingers of the holy spirit. Historical inquiry confirms
 this much about human creation, although nature had anticipated this: that at
 times it is quick to grasp what it has learned, but just as quick to discard it. This
 is characteristic of a tube, that things enter it with the same effortless-ness as they
 exit. One part strains to admit what it hears, but cedes no ground to forgetful-
 ness. And in this it resembles the narrow opening of certain vessels, which makes
 it hard for anything to exit on account of the tapering entrance. Such is the na-
 ture of some people. But in the present case, appropriately useful knowledge
 had easy entry into the soul while to escape would have resembled hurrying to
 free oneself from a labyrinth. Let us say, for example, that his glance fell upon a
 landscape, or upon the faces of some men, or anything else whose memory he
 had to fix in his soul. Such things were easily imprinted on his memory. Mean-
 while, a protective key was placed upon the seal of his memory to guard against
 insidious attack by forgetfulness, until it was time for the treasury of the soul
 to be reopened. But then it would open right away, and once the faculty of his
 imagination had been stirred, the reading renewed itself clearly in the memo-
 ry, the natural associations followed, the circumstantial details were filled in,
 and the knowledge became more precise. So that although he had encountered
 some knowledge but once, it nevertheless remained fixed for a long time in the
 storehouse of his memory. Since it was sealed in the treasury of the soul in a
 rather divine fashion. The majority of these memories had been preserved from
 childhood until well into old age: that location, that man, that occasion, or that
 gathering, the manner in which certain acts had been carried out, and various
 things of this sort, whose re-presentation renewed the oldest impression of the
 thing learned.

But he possessed another kind of memory, as well. As far as recent experiences 33
 were concerned, it seemed to go beyond the sheer magnitude of what he had to
 remember; but it was his ability to recall the exact sequence of things that was no
 less remarkable. And just as he was skilled at speaking in public, so was he able

πεφυκότων τοὺς ἄλλους, πάντα σου τῷ ταμείῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐναπόκειται 13 ψυχῆς ταμείον: Bas. Caes.
Hom. ad sanct. bapt. PG 31.432.10 Εἶσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμειῖόν σου τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀνακίνησόν σου τῶν πεπραγμέ-
 νων τὴν μνήμην 14 φαντασίας ἀνακινούσης: loc. comm. cf. e.g. Io. Philop. *In Arist. de anima comm.*
 455 αἰσθησὶν κάκει καταλείψαι τοὺς τύπους, εἶτα τῇ αὐρίον μέλιτος φανέντος καὶ τοῦ χρώματος ξανθοῦ ἢ
 φαντασία ἀνακινεῖ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τύπους οὕς τῇ προτεραία ἐδέξατο 17 Ἐσφράγιστο ... θησαυροῖς: cf.
Ignat. Diac. Vita Taras. patr. 6.17 τούτων δὲ τὸ χρήσιμον διὰ προσοχῆς τε καὶ νήψεως ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ θησαυ-
 ρίσας ἐσφράγισε 21 ἑτέρα... μνήμη: cf. Chrys. *Encom. in s. Theod.* 61.5 Μετὰ ταῦτα παρὴν καὶ ἑτέρα
 μνήμη. Καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔπραττε, τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγκληθεῖς πάλιν ἀντέλεγε

γραφίαν λαλεῖν, καὶ ταύτην, μικροῦ καὶ ἀπνευστί, καὶ πρὸς τῷ πυκνῷ τῶν νοημάτων, καὶ ἀποτάδην ἡρμωσμένην. Ὡς δὲ εἶχε τέλος ὁ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ νοὸς εὐγενῆς τόκος καὶ ἔδει πρὸς φῶς αὐτὸν ἔλθειν, ὁ σοφὸς βασιλεὺς (δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰδέναι τοιοῦτους ὄντας καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ καλῷ ἐλλάμπεσθαι) ἤθελε ποιεῖν οὕτω, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐκφαίνειν τοῖς οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἡγνοηκόσι. Καὶ προεκθέμενος ὀλοσχερῶς τὸν τοῦ λόγου σκοπὸν, εἶτα καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀπ' ἄκρης μέχρι καὶ περατώσαι τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν ἐπεξιῶν, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς καιριωτάτοις ἐνδραμῶν (τί δέ, εἴπερ βραχείαις τισὶν ἐνέλιπε λέξεσιν;), αὐτὸς μὲν, ἑτέρου ἐγένετο ἔργου, τὸν δὲ μηνυθέντα τόκον προῆγεν ἐσπαργανωμένον ὡσπερ τῷ τόμῳ, καὶ προφήνας τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν, ἐδίδου περιεργάζεσθαι, καὶ ἀνελιχθείς, ἤρχετο εἰς περιέλευσιν ἀκοῶν δι' ἀναγνώσεως. Καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐκλαληθεὶς οὐδὲν ἑτεροιοῦμενος. Τοῦτο χρῆ μὲν, ὡσάν, εἴποι τις, ἐφ' ἅπαντος λόγου γίνεσθαι γίνεται δ' ἐπὶ πάντων οὐχ' οὕτω· σπάνιον δὲ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγίστοις τὸ ἀγαθόν. Νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑκατέροις τῷ τε εἰς ὄχλον ἐκλαλουμένῳ λόγῳ πρὸς ἄνετον χῦμα, καὶ τῷ βίβλοις ἑαυτὸν ἀφιέντι ἐγκατακλείεσθαι. Λήθη δὲ, οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο κἀνταῦθα μὴ κατακαυχᾶσθαι τῶν πλειόνων, ὡς μὴ τοῖς φθάσαισι ὁμολογεῖν τὰ δευτέρα. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, εὐφροῦς μνήμης εἰρμὸς οἶος θαυμάζεσθαι. Ἡμῖν δὲ, πλείω τὰ τοῦ θαύματος φάμεν δ' ὅτι καὶ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις φιλοκαλοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ἀξιεπαίνοις ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν ὅτε καὶ βίβλον ὄλην ἢ αὐτὸς ἀναπτύξας εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν, ἢ ἄλλ' ἑτέρου περιϊόντος, ὡς ἂν ἀκούεσθαι τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ νοῦν ἀναλεξάμενος, εἶτα παρασχεδὸν καιροῦ ἢ καὶ μετὰ συχνὰς ἡμέρας, εἰς τὸ πᾶν συνείρεν ἀπρόσκοπα ἐξάγων τοῦ θησαυροῦ αὐτοῦ, αὐτὰ μὲν, παλαιά, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καινά, ὧν ὁ λόγος οὐτι που μακρὰν ἐμέμνητο.

34 Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅτε συμπεσὸν οὕτω, μὴ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐνασχολούμενος, μικρόν τι ἀδείας λάβοιτο, πόνοις παλαιῶν προσανείχεν, οἱ πρὸς λόγους ἐγένοντο· καὶ οὐ λέγω τοπογραφικοῖς μόνον, καὶ οἱ χρόνους ἀκριβοῦνται πράξεων, καὶ μεθόδους τακτικὰς μηχανῶνται· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὅποσοι φύσιν λεπτολογούσι, καὶ ὅσοι πρὸς συλλογιστικούς ἀπορθοῦνται κανόνας καὶ οὕτω τήν τε ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀκριβοῦσι, τήν τε ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις εὐθύτητα· ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ τε τῶν θείων καὶ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ.

20 ἀπρόσκοπα scripsi ἀπρόκοπα B ἀπρόσκυπα Tafel
vid. not. ad loc.

28 τοῖς correxi τὰς B sed fort. leg. τὰ,

to dictate a speech for transcription which was at once dense in meaning and developed at some length, almost without taking a breath. And when the noble offspring of his imperial mind had been completed, and the time came for it to see the light, the wise emperor wished to do it in the following way and to present himself to those who were not, in any case, unaware of his skill (for great men should be aware of their abilities and shine forth by their own talents). Setting out first the general aim of his speech, he would then go through the arguments starting from the beginning until he had gone over them all. He went into greater detail for the most important parts (and what of it, if he missed a word here or there?) and while he busied himself with something else, he would 'publish' the dictated offspring as a book, like a swaddled infant. And showing it to those who chanced to be present, he would give it to them to study carefully, and thus unfurled it would make its way around to audiences through recital. And the speech he had made turned out to be no different from the written one. And one might say that this is what should happen in the case of every speech (although it does not happen in every case); nevertheless it is a rare quality found in very few instances. For his thoughts remained the same in both cases, whether delivered to the masses in an *ex tempore* manner or when he let them be enclosed in books. But here, too, forgetfulness triumphs over the majority of people, so that the second version does not agree with the first. And once more it was his natural ability to recall an exact sequence that was so admirable. But what is even more incredible in our view (and, I would add, also in the view of those who pride themselves on their ability to appreciate things worthy of praise), whenever either he himself read an entire book or someone else did, so that he effectively read it by hearing its contents, regardless of whether hardly any time or many days had elapsed, he could sum up the whole thing without stumbling, bringing out from the treasury of his memory things which were though old were new to his audience, which we mentioned a short while ago.

For in addition to his other duties, (circumstances permitting) whenever it happened that he was not busy with public affairs, he would seize some small opportunity to devote himself to the literary labours of the ancients. I am not referring just to books about geography, or works which give the precise dates of events, or those which devise military tactics; even less those which quibble about nature, or all those which set out the rules of logic and in this way precisely define the true nature of being, as well as correct conduct in affairs. I mean instead those works concerned with divine matters and with God himself. 34

35 Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἕρις, χερσὶ μὲν καὶ βουλαῖς κατεργάζεσθαι τὸ ἄλλως πολέμιον, λό-
 γου δὲ πειθανάγκαις ἐφέλκεσθαι, τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλότριον. Καὶ εἶχεν ἡ ἱερά κολυμβή-
 θρα συνεχῶς δι' αὐτοῦ πολὺ τὸ ἐνεργόν· καὶ τὸ προδρομικὸν ὁ θεὸς ζήλος ἐν αὐτῷ
 πῦρ ἀνέκαιε, καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς σωτήριος Ἰορδάνης, τοῖς βαπτιζομένοις ἐπληθε, καὶ
 τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς διδασκάλοις, ὀλίγον τι τοῦ μοχθεῖν ἐλείπετο, τοῦ βασιλέως κάνταυ- 5
 θα τὸ τοῦ πόνου πλείον ἐαυτῷ ἀπομερίζοντος. Λογισμὸς γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλικός,
 μὴ χρῆναι σωματῶν μὲν ἐγκρατῶς ἔχειν τὸν ἄρχοντα ψυχῶν δὲ μὴ ἐς δέον περιγι-
 νεσθαι. Σκέψαιτο γὰρ ἂν τις εὐθυβόλως, μήτε γῆς ὄφελος εἶναι ἢς καρπὸς οὐδεὶς
 οὔτε σώματος ἀνθρωπίνου ᾧ μὴ ψυχῇ κάρπιμος ἀγαθοῦ τινος. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀρίστου
 οἰκονόμου, γῆν ἐρήμην οἰκείσθαι ποιῆσαι· καὶ διδασκάλου σοφοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι 10
 ὑμνούμενον, ἔνθα παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐρημία, ἐκεῖ τὸν θεὸν ἀγαγεῖν οἰκήσοντα καὶ προ-
 νοητικῶς ἐμπεριπατήσοντα. Οἱ πλείους μὲν οὖν, τὴν αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἠκούτιζοντο, καὶ
 ἀμέσως αὐτόθεν εἶχον τὸ ἀγαθόν· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀποστολιμαῖα τὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας,
 καὶ ἐπεστρέφοντο. Καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκείνων, οἱ μὲν, ἐπανήρχοντο κατισχύοντες
 τῆς παλαιᾶς φαυλότητος τῶν μαθητευσαμένων ἐθνῶν· οἱ δέ, τῷ μακρῷ τοῦ χρόνου 15
 καμόντες, ἐναπέμειναν τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ μεταταξάμενοι· μακάριοι μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ, μακάριοι
 δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου, ὅτι ψυχὰς ὀνάμενοι τῆς ἐμπορίας κατέπαυσαν, συνεπιμερισάμε-
 νοι τὰ τοῦ κέρδους τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. Ἦν οὖν κατὰ τι θεῖον διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τῆς
 ἐσύστερον κλήσεως· καὶ τῷ θεωνυμωμένῳ πάνυ προσφυσῶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος
 ἀποστολικὸν προσήρμοσαι, σταλέντι μὲν αὐτῷ θεόθεν διδάσκειν τὰ κρείττονα, 20
 στέλλοντι δὲ αὐθις μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος τοὺς ἐν ὁμοιότητι διδασκαλίας
 λάμψοντας. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐνήργει τὰ τῆς διδασκαλικῆς ἀποστολῆς, οὐ στόμασιν
 ἐτέρων ἐπιτρέπων διακονεῖσθαι τοῖς διδάγμασιν, ἐπιτέμπων δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτὸς
 φωνὴν ἐνσεσημασμένην βίβλοις, ὅς | καὶ αὐτὸς νόμος ἀποστολικός, ὁ καὶ Παῦλον 170r
 σεμνύνας, τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ῥήτορα. 25

1 ἕρις χερσὶ: Hom. Od. 18.13 ἀλλ' ἄνα, μὴ τάχα νῶϊν ἕρις καὶ χερσὶ γένηται 2–4 κολυμβήθρα ... βαπτι-
 ζομένοις: Ev. Matt. 3.6.2 περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξο-
 μολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν 4 ὁ ... Ἰορδάνης: fort. alludit ad Bosphorem, sed vid. not. ad loc.;
 cf. Theod. Syncr. Hom. de obsid. Avar. Const. 76.30 ἵπποις ἅμα καὶ ἄρμασιν τῇ γείτονι Χαλκηδόνι περιεκά-
 θητο, ἐπεὶ περ αὐτῷ Θεὸς εὐκαιρία τῆς θέσεως ἐκώλυσε τὴν διάβασιν, τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰορδάνην θέμενος πρὸ
 προσώπου τῆς πόλεως 5 ἐθνικοῖς διδασκάλοις: cf. Nic. Chrysob. Or. ad Io. X Camat. 19.22 καὶ πά-
 λιν ῥῆμα Θεοῦ πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἐγένετο διδάσκειν καὶ κηρύσσειν τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς τῆς μετανοίας ὄλον τὸ βάπτι-
 σμα 11–12 θεὸν ... ἐμπεριπατήσοντα: LXX Lev. 26.12.1 ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός,
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μου λαός; cf. alludit ad varia. apocr. ex LXX Lev. 26.12.1 apud Epist. Pauli ad Cor ii, 6.16.4
 καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι “Ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται
 μου λαός” 13–14 ἀποστολιμαῖα ... ἐπεστρέφοντο: LXX Deut. 4.30 καὶ εὐρήσουσιν σε πάντες οἱ λόγοι
 οὗτοι ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ ἐπιστραφήσῃ πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν σου καὶ εἰσακούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ
 19 θεωνυμωμένῳ ... προσφυσῶς: cf. Eust. Or. 14 (Λόγος Ν) 238.34 ἐλθὼν ὁ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς
 τὴν θεωνυμίαν ἔργους ἐπεσφραγίσω θεϊοτερον ἐπιβεβληκῶς τοῖς πράγμασιν 19–20 ὀνόματος ... προσ-

And he vied with himself to subdue any enemies by means of his decisions 35 as well as by his actions, while attracting those alienated from God by the persuasiveness of his arguments. And the holy baptismal font was kept very active through his actions; and divine zeal kept alive the Prodroomic flame in him. And our very own Jordan river, which brings salvation, was filled with people being baptized. As for the teachers of the faith to other nations, there was little labour left for them to carry out; for the emperor took upon himself the greater part of this as well. His calculation was that of an emperor; namely, that it was no use for a ruler to command the bodies of his subjects while not taking sufficient charge of their souls. The right way to think about this would be that just as there is no gain to be had from land which bears no fruit, so there is none to be had from a human body whose soul cannot bring forth some good. It is also the mark of an excellent steward to settle deserted land; and that of a wise teacher, like the one just praised, to bring God to dwell in the very places which have been barren of every virtue and have him walk among the people displaying his providence. And while the majority heard the emperor's own voice, and thereby acquired the benefit directly, many others received his teachings through missionaries, and they converted to our faith. And of those apostles sent out to proselytize, some returned after having defeated the old vice of the nations under their tutelage. Others still, after striving for a long time, remained abroad and died there, blessed in their chosen journey while also blessed in their departure from this world, having purchased souls they withdrew from the market, sharing their profits with the emperor. And so the name he received later on account of this was like some divine sign. His apostolic name was altogether appropriate for one named after God, the one sent from God to teach the correct faith, while sending out in turn those who would shine by virtue of their teaching. But Manuel also conducted his apostolic mission of teaching in other ways as well. He did not entrust the teaching to be disseminated just through the mouths of others, but dispatched his own voice imprinted in books, an apostolic custom which brought renown to Paul, as well, the church's orator.

ήμοσται: cf. Eust. *Or.* 11 (Λόγος Κ) 192.5862 καλὸν τὸ ἐν κόποις καὶ μόχθοις περισσotέρως, τὸ ἀποστολικόν, καὶ γε ἐπαληθεύεται τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἰσαποστόλῳ βασιλεῖ· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑπερβαλλόντως ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς κοσμεῖ μὲν καὶ αὐτό, καθάπερ ἀπόστολον ἐκείνον τὸν ἐν θεῷ καυχησάμενον, οὕτω καὶ βασιλέα τοῦτον 24–25 Παῦλον... ῥήτορα: Greg. Nyss. *In sanct. Ephr.* PG 46.821.18 καθάπερ Παῦλος ὁ ῥήτωρ τῆς χάριτος, ὁ νυμφοστόλος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ στόμα; cf. Nic. Chon. *Or.* 17.182.21 Παῦλος ὁ τῶν ἔθνῶν διδάσκαλος καὶ ῥήτωρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διαπρύσιος

36 Καιρὸς οὖν οὐ μακρὸς, καὶ λύκος ἔφος, κακὸν Ἀσύριον, γλωσσαλγία Βαβυλωνία ὠρύετο κατὰ τοῦ θείου ποιμνίου, καὶ φωνὴν ἀπόφημον ἠρεύξατο, καὶ τρόπου δίχα εἶπειν· ἀλλότριός τις ἀνὴρ σοφὸς μὲν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ὡς ἐν μέθης λόγῳ παραλαλῶν, κυνηδὸν κατὰ τῶν θειοτάτων ὑλάκτησεν, εἶτε καὶ ὡς ἵππος ἐξελάκτισε φριμασσόμενος κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ ὧν οὐδὲ ἐπέγνω. Καὶ μελετήσας κενά, 5 ξυνεφόρησεν ἀλλοκότους παραλογισμούς· καὶ δοκῶν πάγας πλέκειν, συνέχευε καὶ βιβλίον οἶον συνθέμενος ἀποστασίου, ἐξέπεμπε μὲν τὴν συζευχθεῖσαν ἀνθρώπῳ παντὶ θεόθεν γνῶσιν, ἑτέραν δέ, ἣν οὐκ ἔχρην, εἰσποισιθάμενος, ἐδήλου τὴν ἄνοιαν τῷ καὶ χερσὶ δυνατῷ καὶ λόγοις κραταιῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐνδεικνύμενος, δύνασθαί τι κατὰ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἱερωτάτης θρησκείας λαλεῖν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀνιστᾶν ἐθέλων ὡσεὶ 10 καὶ τινα ἐξ ἄμμου οἰκοδομῆν, καταρρίπτειν δὲ πειρώμενος τὰ ἡμεδαπὰ νήπιος, ὧν οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ πύλαι Ἄιδου κατισχύσαιεν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταχὺ ἐπελθὼν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐπινυστάζειν), καὶ καταγνοὺς καὶ προβληματισάμενος ἑαυτῷ τὰ τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ἐρεσχηλίαν κατασιγάσοντα, εἶτα καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐκδέδωκεν εἰς ἀντίρρησιν, στρατηγὸς ἀγαθός τε καὶ ἱερός, στρατιώταις ἰκανῶς καὶ αὐτοῖς 15 τοῖς τοιαύταις μάχαις ἐνησκημένοις. Καὶ πάντες μὲν κατετοξάζοντο τοῦ θηρίου ἐπιτυχῶς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καὶ ὁ εὐρυφαρέτρας, καὶ πολλοὺς πλουτῶν τοὺς κατὰ λόγον πεπερόντας βασιλεὺς· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οὐ κατὰ καρδίας ὁ θῆρ ἐβάλλετο, αὐτὸς δ' ἄλλα τυγχάνει μέσης αὐτῆς. Καὶ ὁ τῆς θήρας ταύτης ἐπιστατῶν θεός, ναὶ μὴν καὶ ψαλμικῶς εὐλογῶν αὐτὴν, ἔχαιρε. Καὶ νῦν τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν ἐκεῖνο βέλος, ἐν τε χερσὶ φι- 20

1–2 λύκος ... ὠρύετο: cf. Io. Scylitz. *Syn. hist.* 4.30 τοὺς ἔφους Σαρακηνοὺς; cf. Theod. Prodr. *Carm. hist.* 25.33 ἢ Περσικὴ φλόξ...καὶ πᾶς ἔφος Ἰσμαηλίτης λύκος 1 γλωσσαλγία Βαβυλωνία: Cyr. Alex. *Exp. in Ps.* PG 69.965.40 Καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ Πανάκης ὁ Βαβυλωνίος ἀμετρήτῳ γλωσσαλγία κατὰ Θεοῦ χρώμενος; cf. Io. Maur. *Canon.* 6 (Panagioutou, Βυζ. Γραμμ. 5) Od. 7 Ἐν τῇ σφενδόνῃ / τῶν θεοπλόκων δογματῶν σου / τοὺς λοιμώδεις λύκους ...τῆς μανιῶδους Ἀρείου γλωσσαλγίας / ἀσινῆ / τὸν λαόν σου διςώσω 4 κυνηδὸν ... ὑλάκτησεν: cf. Georg. Pis. *Laud. s. Anast. Pers* (Flusin, S. *Anastase le Perse*) 47 Ἄνῆρ τις, ἐνθα τὸ τίμιον ἐναπεθέμην σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος, ἀκαθάρτῳ συνείχετο πνεύματι καὶ κυνηδὸν ἀνυλάκτηι φοβερόν τε καὶ φρικῶδες κορυβαντιῶν τε καὶ μανιῶδῶς ἐξορχούμενος; cf. etiam Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 306.5557 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀντῆροντες τοῖς ἀλαλάζουσι Κυρίῳ ἄσματα ἠφίεσαν πορνικὰ καὶ κυνηδὸν ὑλακτοῦντες ἐνέκοπτον τὴν ῥῆσιν καὶ ὑπερφώνουν τὸν εἰς θεὸν ἰκετήριον 5 μελετήσας κενά: LXX Ps. 2.1 Ἴνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη / καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; 7 βιβλίον ... ἀποστασίου: *Ev. Matt.* 19.7 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Τί οὖν Μωϋσῆς ἐνετείλατο δοῦναι βιβλίον ἀποστασίου καὶ ἀπολύσαι [αὐτὴν]; *Ev. Marc.* 10.4. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν, Ἐπέτρεψεν Μωϋσῆς βιβλίον ἀποστασίου γράψαι καὶ ἀπολύσαι; LXX. *Deut.* 24.1 γράψει αὐτῇ βιβλίον ἀποστασίου καὶ δώσει εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς 11 ἄμμου οἰκοδομῆν: loc. comm. cf. e.g. Plut. Ἐκλογῆ περὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων 10 Νεκρὸν μαστίξεις / Εἰς ψάμμον οἰκοδομεῖς / Εἰς ὕδωρ σπείρεις; cf. etiam Orig. *Fragm. in Psalm.* (Pitra, *Anal. sacra*) 106.33.5 τοῦ μωροῦ τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος ἐπὶ τῆς ψάμμου; cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.818.11 ὡς δῆλον ἔσται μάλιστα, ὅπου φανερταί παῖς οἰκοδομήσας ἐπὶ ψάμμου τὰ συνήθη ἐν τῷ ἄθρῳ, εἶτα χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ συγγέας αὐτὰ 12 πύλαι ... κατισχύσαιεν: Hom. *Il.* 5.646 ἄλλ' ὑπ' ἔμοι δημηθέντα πύλας Ἄϊδαο περήσειν; cf. 9.312 *Od.* 14.156; cf. etiam Aesch. *Ag.* 1291 Ἄϊδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσεννέπω; cf. etiam Diog. Laert. *Vit. phil.* 8.34.3 Πυθαγορείων παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κυμάτων ἥτοι ὅτι αἰδοῖς εἰσ-

5 ὧν B post correct. manu incerta : ὄν ante correct. sed vid. not. ad loc.

And it was not so long ago, the wolf from the East, that wicked Assyrian, 36 howled against the divine flock with a garrulous Babylonian tongue and threw up a defiant voice. To put it in words without recourse to figures of speech, he was a foreigner wise with respect to his own beliefs though deluded like a drunk with respect to our own. He barked against the most divine things like a dog, you could even say he kicked like a horse, neighing against the lord himself about things he did not understand. And brooding meaninglessly, he assembled some unusual fallacies. And thinking himself to have woven snares for us, he confounded everything and composed something like an apostate's treatise, professing on the one hand the knowledge from God imparted to each person, but introducing other ideas, which he should not have, thereby demonstrating his foolishness to the emperor, who was both physically and intellectually strong. And indicating that he thought he was able to say something against our most divine religion, he wished to raise up his own belief like a house built on sand, all the while proving himself childish in his attempt to knock down our own faith, which not even the gates of Hades can conquer. But the emperor intervened right away (for it was not his habit to be sluggish in the face of such things). And contemplating and troubling himself over what would silence the barbarian inanity, he published his refutation for those who sought arguments against them, acting like a good and holy general for soldiers who were themselves sufficiently trained in such battles. And all fired their arrows successfully against the beast, among was the emperor, equipped with a large quiver, full of so-called "winged" arguments. And the beast was not struck in the heart by the others, while the emperor hit the mark right in the middle. And God who watches over this hunt, to quote the Psalms, "blessed it," and he rejoiced. And today that 'cho-

ιν ὁμοιοὶ ἢ ὄτι Ἄιδου πύλαις; *Ev. Matt.* 16.18 *κἀγὼ δέ σοι λέγω* ὅτι σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ἀβδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς 17 *εὐρυφαρέτρας*; *Pi. Pyth.* 9.26 *κίχῃ νιν λέοντί ποτ' εὐρυφαρέτρας*; cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.84.20 *εἰ δέ τις ἐκατηβελέτην Ἀπόλλωνα εἰπεῖν θέλει ὡς ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν βελῶν...διὸ καὶ Πίνδαρος εὐρυφαρέτραν αὐτὸν λέγει* 17 *πολλοὺς ... πτερόεντας*; *Hom. Il.* 1.201 *καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα*; cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.135.36136.2 "Ἔθος οὖν ἐντεῦθεν Ὀμήρῳ ἔπεα λέγειν πτερόεντα. τῶν τινες δὲ παλαιῶν σοφῶ μεθοδικῶ ἐκλαθομένῳ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν τέχνῃς τέλειον ἐπέσκωψαν εὐφῶς, ὡς γεγόνασιν αὐτῶ οἱ λόγοι πτερόεντες ὡς οἶα πτερυξάμενοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ 17-18 λόγον... ἐβάλλετο: cf. *Eust. Or.* 11 (Λόγος Κ) 186.6365 *μόνος γὰρ αὐτός, λέγω δὲ θαρρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ τοῦ λόγου πτερόν ἀληθείας ἐντεινούσης κατὰ σκοποῦ βάλλεται* 19 *θήρας ... θεός: cf. Xen. Cyr.* 2.4.20 *καὶ προσεκύνησε Δία βασιλέα, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας: Ἡ μὲν θήρα καλὴ ἔσται, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἦν ὁ θεὸς θελήσῃ* 20 *ψαλμικῶς εὐλογῶν: LXX Ps.* 131.15 *ὠδε κατοικήσω, ὅτι ἡρετισάμην αὐτήν. τὴν θήραν αὐτῆς εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω* 20 *ἐκλεκτὸν ... βέλος: LXX. Is.* 49.2.2 *ἔθικέν με ὡς βέλος ἐκλεκτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ φαρέτρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐσκέπασέν με; Greg. Nyss. In Cant. cantic. (Langerbeck, Greg. Nyss. opera)* 6.127.12 *τὴν δὲ ἀγάπην τὸν θεὸν εἶναι παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς μεμαθήκαμεν, ὃς τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν ἑαυτοῦ βέλος; cf. Eust. Or.* 12 (Λόγος Λ) 199.9 *βέλος ἐκλεκτὸν καὶ βέλος ἠκονημένον τοῦ δυνατοῦ θεοῦ, δι' οὗ λαοὶ καταρριπτοῦνται ἀφιεμένου πρὸς τε θεοῦ πρὸς τε βασιλέως*

λοκάλοις ἔν τε ὄψει φιλοθεάμοσι φέρεται, καὶ ὁ ἔπαφεις εὐλογεῖται μακαριζόμενος. Καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦτο σύγκειται εἰς μαρτύριον.

- 37 Ταύτης τῆς σοφίας μέρος οὐκ οὐκ ἔλαχιστον, καὶ οἱ φθάσαντες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἀγῶνες, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς, βασιλικά σὺν θεῷ ἐκνικήματα, καὶ θεομάχων γλωσσῶν ἐκρίζωσις, ὅσαι τὴν κοσμοσωτήριον προσφορὰν τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ θύτου καὶ θύματος, ἀπενόσφιζον αὐτοῦ, ἰδιάζουσαι ταύτην τῷ πατρί, ὡς εἶπερ εὐλαβοῦντο γλισχρότερον, μὴ ποτε τὰ τῆς προσαγωγῆς οὐκ εἴη τῇ ὑπερθέῳ τριάδι ἀρκέσοντα κἀντεῦθεν αὐτὴν ἀφρόνως εἰς τὸν πατέρα μονάζουσαι, καὶ τοιοῦτου κεφαλαίου παγκοσμίου σωτηρίας, ἀκοινώνητον τὸν τε υἱὸν ἀφιεῖσαι (τό γε εἰς αὐτὰς ἦκον) τὸ τε πνεῦμα, ὡς μὴδὲν ὄν καὶ αὐτοῖς τούτου μετόν. Καὶ πρόκειται τὸ βασιλικὸν κἀνταῦθα πόνημα, ἢ ἱερὰ βίβλος ἦν τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἀνάκτορον ἐντεθησαύρισται, τὴν βασιλικὴν μὴνύον σοφίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν μέριμναν.
- 38 Οὐπὼ πᾶν εἰρητὸ ἔπος ἐκείνου τὸ δογματικόν, καὶ ὁ αὐτόφθοнос δαίμων βασκίνας, εἶπερ ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία εἰς ἐνότητα ἤρμοσται, καὶ τὴν διχόνοιαν σχάσασα, συνήκται εἰς ἓν, καὶ πρὸς πνευματικὴν συνήπται ὁμόνοιαν, περιεργάζεται τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μείζον πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, τὸ εὐαγγελικῶς ἐκλαλούμενον. Καὶ προσκόμματα κἀνταῦθα, καὶ πολὺ τοῖς πλείοσι τὸ ἀπερίσκεπτον, τῶν μὲν εἰκαίως ἐντρεχόντων τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ | ὁδῷ, οὐχ ὥστε μὴ καὶ πάντῃ μέχρι πέρατος ἐκδραμεῖν τῆς ὀρθῆς, ἀλλ' εὐθέτως ἔχειν ἐμβιβασθῆναι ποτὲ εἰς τὸ εὐθύτατον. τῶν δὲ καὶ παντελῶς τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐκκλινάντων, καὶ εἰς ἀπωλείας κατακυψάντων βάραθρον, ὡς καὶ ἐμπεισῖν αὐτόθι ἐλέσθαι. Ὅτε καὶ οἱ μὲν, τὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ σωτήρι θεανθρώπῳ φύσεων εὐκρινῆς, συνέχεον ὡς ἂν καὶ λάθοι τις οὕτως ἐξαμαρτάνων, οἱ δὲ, τῇ ἀσυγχύτῳ ἐνώσει ἐπεβούλευον τῷ αὐθάδει τοῦ δυασμοῦ. Καὶ ἦν αὐθις κἀνταῦθα ὁ σοφὸς βασιλεὺς, ὁδο-

4 θεομάχων γλωσσῶν: loc. comm., cf. e.g. Bas. Caes. *Adv. Eun.* PG 29 636. Ἄλλ' ὅμως εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἢ θεομάχος γλώσσα τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς περιαγαγεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν; cf. etiam Phot. *De spirit. sanct. Mystagog.* (Migne) 41 ἢ δὲ γε θεομάχος γλώσσα οὐ τῷ αἰτίῳ τὸν Υἱὸν μείζονα τοῦ Πνεύματος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πατρικῆς ἐγγύτητος πορρωτέρω ποιεῖ 5-6 θύτου ... θύματος: cf. Mich. Psell. *Epit. in patr. Mich. Cerull.* (Polemis, Pselli *or. fun.*) 381 Τοῦ δὲ μετὰ σὲ θείου θύτου καὶ ἱεροῦ θύματος, τῆς μεγάλης τῶν κρειττόνων σάλπιγγος καὶ πάντα περιηχούσης τὰ πέρατα, πῶς ἂν τις τὴν περὶ σὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐνδείξαιτο; Mich. Psell. *Opusc.* 6 7ο ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους ἐφοῦδ, οὐδὲ ἢ περὶ τὴν στολὴν δῆλωσις τὸν ἱερέα ποιεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐκείνους ἐμοὶ θύτης τοῦ μεγάλου πέφυκε θύματος; Th. Prodr. *Carm. hist.* 57.6 τοῦ θύματος δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου τοὺς θύτας 10-11 πρόκειται ... βίβλος: cf. Mich. Glyc. *Quaest. in sac. script.* 65.194.10 Εἰ γὰρ ἀνεπίβατός ἐστι δαίμοσιν ἢ οἰκία ἐκείνη ἐν ἣ βίβλος ἀπόκειται ἱερά 11-12 βασιλικὴν ... μέριμναν: cf. Eust. *Or.* 11 (Λόγος Κ) 186.8 ὅση τε ἐν δόγμασιν καὶ ὅση ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς...καὶ ἢ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν μέριμνα ἐν λόγῳ μεγίστῳ τέθειται 16 πατρὸς...ἐκλαλούμενον: *Ev. Io.* 14.28 πορευόμενοι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ μείζων μοῦ ἐστιν 16 προσκόμματα: LXX *Ex.* 23.33 ἔαν γὰρ δουλεύσης τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν, οὐτοι ἔσονταί σοι πρόσκομμα; *Pauli Epist. ad Rom.* 14.13 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κρίνατε μάλλον, τὸ μὴ τιθεῖν πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἢ σκάνδαλον 18 εὐαγγελικῇ ... εὐθύτατον: alludit ad LXX *Is.* 26.7 ὁδὸς εὐσεβῶν εὐθεῖα ἐγένετο; cf. Greg. Nyss. *In inscript. psalm.* (McDonough, Greg. Nyss. *op.*) 5.14ο τινα καὶ ἀχμῶδη τόπον ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ μνημονευόμενον. διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀπεστενωμένης διόδου τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ἐκείνην τῆς βασιλείας ὁδὸν ἐνοήσαμεν 20 βασιλικῆς ἐκκλινάντων: cf. Plut. *Dem.* 46.1.1 Ἐπει δ' ἅπαξ ὡς περ εἰς ὁδὸν βασιλικὴν τὴν ἐλπίδα κατέστη; cf. etiam Philo Jud. *De post. Caini.* (Wendland, *Phil. Alex. op.*) 101.5 μόνος

sen arrow' may be found both in the hands of those fond of beauty and before the eyes of those who fond of contemplating things, while the one who fired the arrow is praised and blessed. And this, too, may be adduced as testimony the rest of his philosophical ideal.

And no small part of this wisdom could be seen in the recent ecclesiastical 37 conflicts, the same ones during which, with the help of God, the emperor achieved victories, rooting out the tongues which waged battle against God, and sought to steal from the great sacrificer and sacrificed the salvation he offered the world, making it exclusive to the Father alone, as though they feared something worse, namely, that the attribution would not avail the most Holy Trinity, and for this reason they senselessly isolated it in the Father, thus leaving both the son without a share in this chapter of the world's salvation (to the extent that they could) and the holy spirit, as a thing amounting to nothing and not participating in this with them. And the emperor's effort may be seen here as well, in the holy book which the ecclesiastical palace houses as a treasure declaring the emperor's wisdom and his concern for the churches of God.

As soon as the statement of our faith was proclaimed, malice incarnate, the 38 devil, incensed lest the church of God become united and leave behind its discord combined into one and joined in spiritual harmony, he [the devil] set to meddling in the matter of the Father being greater than the Son, as is stated in the gospel. And there were stumbling blocks here as well, and thoughtlessness among the great majority, with some entering the path of the gospels without care, not so as to avoid entirely veering from the right path until the very end, but to be in a good position to be brought back at some point to the straight and narrow. While those who had left entirely the path of the kingdom perched over the pit of destruction as one who wishes to fall into it. It was at this point that some confused what is clearly distinguishable in the natures of the saviour God-man, so that in this way one might fail to realize that he is in error, while the others tampered with the unconfused union by means of their stubborn insistence on division. And here, too, the wise emperor immediately paved the way

τῶν ὄλων βασιλεὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγουσα ὁδὸς ἄτε βασιλέως οὕσα εἰκότως ἀνόμαστα βασιλική; cf. etiam Clem. Alexandr. *Strom.* 7.12.73.5.3 φόβον ἢ ἐλπίδα δίκαιός τις ἦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως, αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς λέγεται βασιλική, ἦν τὸ βασιλικὸν ὀδεύει γένος, ὀλισθηραὶ δὲ αἱ ἄλλαι παρεκτροπαὶ καὶ κρημνώδεις 20 ἀπωλείας... βάραθρον: LXX *Is.* 14.23 καὶ θήσω τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἔρημον ὥστε κατοικεῖν ἐχίνους, καὶ ἔσται εἰς οὐδέν· καὶ θήσω αὐτὴν πληοῦ βάραθρον εἰς ἀπώλειαν; cf. Greg. Naz. *De theol.* (Barbel, *F, nf theol. Reden*) 15.24 καὶ διέσπειρεν εἰς ἓν τι θανάτου καὶ ἀπωλείας βάραθρον; cf. Eust. *Or.* 9 (Λόγος Θ) 165.27 διολισθαίνοντα εἰς ἀπώλειας βάραθρον 22 ἀσυγχύτῳ ἐνώσει: cf. etiam Athan. *Fragm.* PG 26.1236.53 ἡ θεία χάρις ἰκανὴ δεῖξαι δυνατὸν καὶ ἀκόλουθον τὸ καὶ δύο φύσεις τελείας εἰς ἕνωσιν ἀσύγχυτον συνδραμεῖν

ποιῶν τὴν εἰς θεὸν τρίβον, καὶ διανοίγων γραφάς, καὶ εἰσάγων δι' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας παράδεισον. Καὶ οἷς μὲν ἐπήλθε μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ εἰς σωτηρίαν καλοῦντι, ἀπωλείας υἱοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ ὤλοντο, πεισιμονὴν παθόντες, ἧ καὶ συγκατεβλήθησαν· οἱ δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς διδασκαλίας, εἰπεῖν δὲ ταῦτὸν ἐνθέου καὶ ἀποστολικῆς, ἐπιγνώμονες, καὶ παρεκνεύσαντες μὲν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ὄσον, τῆς εἰς ὀρθὸν ὁδοῦ ἦν θεὸς ἑαυτῶν οἰ- 5
κειοὶ καὶ πρὸς ὄνομα, ἐπιστραφέντες δὲ πάλιν καὶ ἀνὰ πόδα ἐπαινετῶς χωρήσαντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τὸ μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκέρδαναν. Καὶ ἰδοὺ γέγραπται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν βίβλῳ βασιλειῶν ἐκατέρων, τῆς τε τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς αἴσθησιν, καὶ τὸ πολυγραφεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἐκκόπτεται.

- 39 "Ἴνα δὲ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐπισφραγίσωμαι κεφαλαιωσάμενος, οὕτω καὶ τὴν 10
πνευματικὴν ἐξήσκητο διαλεκτικὴν ὡς πῦρ βαλεῖν ἐνθέου ζήλου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ λέγειν, ἐθέλειν εἰ ἤδη ἐξανήφθη λαμπρῶς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἐνώσεως ἐκκαίεσθαι τῶν διεβρώγῳτων ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς δόγμασιν. Ἐπεποιθεὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῇ λογαδικῇ τάξει, ὅση τε ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἀλείπτῃ εὐ μάλα τὰ θεῖα ἠσκήσατο, καὶ ὅσην ἢ παρ' ἄλλοις διδασκα- 15
λία πρὸς ἀγῶνας τοιούτους ἐθρέψατο. Οὐκ ἂν δέ τις τῶν ἀγαθὰ φρονεῖν εἰδῶτων ἀξιῶσοι, τὸν οὕτω σοφὸν αὐτοκράτορα, μὴ ἑαυτὸν τοιοῦτον ὄντα εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ καὶ στρατηγὸν κύνιστον καὶ κυβερνήτην ἄριστον καὶ ἱατρὸν ἐπιστήμονα καὶ τὸν ὅλως ἐπαινετοῦ τινος εἰδήμονα, νομοθετοῖα, μὴ τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τυγχάνειν ἕξεως ἐπιγνώ- 20
μονα, ὡς οὕτω κινδυνεύειν, ἀνεπισημόνως τεχνουῖσθαι τὰ ἐπιστημονικά, καὶ πως κατὰ τὸ αὐτόματον εὐοδοῦσθαι τὰ τεχνικά. Οὐκοῦν ἑαυτὸν εὖ εἰδῶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡσπερ ἐν πρακτέοις οὕτω καὶ ἐν σοφίᾳ μέγαν (οὐ γὰρ ζῳοῖς μὲν τοῖς ἐτέροις, δοτέον αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν ἐν σφίσι αὐτοῖς καλῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ λογικοὺς καὶ λογίους στερητέ- 25
ον τοῦ τοιοῦτου πλεονεκτήματος), μὴ καὶ λεληθότως ἑαυτοῦ τὸ λογιστικὸν στερόμενον, εἰς ἀλογίαν μεταπλάττεται, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἀργία καταψηφισθεῖ λόγου σοφοῦ παρεργυωμένου γινώσκειν ἕκαστον ἑαυτόν, ἐθάῤῥρει ὡσπερ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ συμπλοκὴν 25
ὁ τὴν ἀνδρίαν δεξιώτατος, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἐν λογομαχίαις ὁ τῆς σοφίας τρόφιμος. Καὶ

1 τὴν... τρίβον: Io. Chrys. *Or. de nat.* (Regtuit, *Homil. Ps.Chrys.*, vol. 1) 131 τὴν ἐπουράνιον πρὸς θεὸν φέρουσαν ὀδεύσωμεν τρίβον 1 διανοίγων γραφάς: *Ev. Lk.* 24.32 ὡς διήνοιγεν ἡμῖν τὰς γραφάς; cf. *Eust. Or.* 10 (Λόγος I) 179.15 Ἀληθῶς, ἰσαπόστολε βασιλεῦ, κλεῖδας παραδείσου τε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας οὐρανῶν πεπίστευται καὶ αὐτός, αἷς διανοίγων ἡμῖν τὰς γραφὰς εἰσάγεις, ἔνθα θεὸς τοὺς ἀξιῶσους αὐτοῦ βούλεται; *Georg. Torn. Ep.* 30.325.9 λαλῆ μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Χριστός...διανοίγη δὲ τὰς γραφὰς 3 ἀπωλείας... ἐκεῖνοι: *LXX Prov.* 13.1 υἱὸς πανοῦργος ὑπήκοος πατρί / υἱὸς δὲ ἀνήκοος ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ; *Ev. Io.* 17.12 σου ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι, καὶ ἐφύλαξα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῆ; *Epist. Pauli ad Thess. ii* 2.3 πρῶτον καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῆ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας 6 ἀνὰ... χωρήσαντες: *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 2.154.4 Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἀναχωρήσας, ἤγουν ἀνὰ πόδα χωρήσας, ἔφη 16-18 ἑαυτὸν... ἑαυτόν: ex paroeim. gr. 'γνώθι σαυτόν' cf. *CPG I* p.391 (App I 80); *CPG II* p.750 (MP I 43); *Paus. Graec. descr.* 10.24.1 ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν ὠφελήματα ἀνθρώποις ἐς βίον, ἐγγραφή δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν οὓς γενέσθαι σοφοῦς λέγουσιν "Ἐλληνες...οὗτοι οὖν οἱ ἄν-

9 ἐκκόπτεται: scripsi ἐγκόπτεται B

which leads to God, laying open the scriptures, and through them leading into the paradise of truth. And to those to whom it occurred not to obey the one calling them to salvation, they became ‘the sons of destruction,’ and they were destroyed, suffering from arrogant confidence, on whose account they were struck down. Others who acknowledged the imperial teaching, which may be called divine and apostolic, though they had veered from the correct path briefly in which God dwells in name as well, returned once more and they advanced in a praiseworthy manner, profiting from being on our side and on the side of truth. Observe, these things have been written in the book of both kingdoms, both that of God and that of this earth, wherefore we are relieved of writing at length on this matter.

And in order that I may ratify all that I have said thus far in summation, such 39 was the manner in which he employed spiritual arguments that a fire of divine zeal was sparked in his heart. And as soon as that was set alight brightly in him, he wished to speak up and to be consumed on behalf of the common union of those divided in matters of divine dogma. And he trusted in that select band of troops, trained by him, who exercised their divine duties diligently, as well as all those whom instruction by others had nurtured for such contests. Of course no one who knows how to exercise good judgement would deem such a wise emperor ignorant of his own abilities, unless he makes it a rule that a famous general, or an excellent captain, a learned physician and anyone possessed of some praiseworthy expertise, would be unaware of his own ability, with the resulting risk that matters requiring special knowledge are carried out without the necessary expertise, and somehow matters requiring knowledge are carried out in ignorance. And so, being fully aware of his greatness in practical matters as well as in wisdom (for it is not right that the other animals be endowed with an awareness of their own abilities, while those possessing reason and speech be deprived of this advantage), and so as to avoid allowing his faculty of reasoning to become imperceptibly dull and thus be transformed into irrationality, and thus be accused of idleness, since a wise saying exhorts each man to know himself, so the emperor boldly entered the fray, for like the man skilled in martial valour during armed conflicts, so did the nursling of wisdom not hesitate to enter in

δρες ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Δελφοῦς ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὰ ἄδόμενα γνῶθι σαντὸν καὶ Μηδὲν ἄγαν; cf. LXX Job 5.27.3 ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ ἀκηκόαμεν· σὺ δὲ γνῶθι σεαυτῷ εἴ τι ἔπραξας 17 κυβερνήτην ἄριστον: loc. comm. cf. e.g. LXX Mach. IV 7.1 Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἄριστος κυβερνήτης ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ελεάζαρου λογισμὸς πηδαλιουχῶν τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας ναῦν ἐν τῷ τῶν παθῶν πελάγει 21–22 ζῶεις ... αἰσθάνεσθαι: cf. Aristot. *De sensu et sensib.* 436b9 ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν αἰσθήσεως καὶ τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι, τί ἐστι καὶ διὰ τί συμβαίνει τοῖς ζῶεις τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, εἴρηται πρότερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς

όπου δίκην ἐπεποίθει συναγαγεῖν τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐνώσεως διερρηκός, οὐχ ὑπεραιρόμενος οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ὡς τὴν γνῶσιν ἀποτελεωτῶν εἰς φυσίωσιν τὸ τῶν πολλῶν πάθος οὐς ἀλαζονείας πνεῦμα φυσῶν ὑπεραίρει τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' ὑπερθεῖν ἄρρεσι φερόμενος θειοτέραις | καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ἑαυτὸν καὶ μετρῶν κανόνισιν ὀρθότητος, καὶ 171r
πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις θεῖοις ὀπλίταις, καὶ ἑαυτῷ προσανέχειν ἐγνωκῶς εἴ ποτε καιρὸς 5
ἐνσταίῃ ἀγῶνος προκαλουμένου τὸν εὐ εἰδότα μάχης τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ.

40 Καὶ οὕτω μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ οὐράνιος Παῦλος οὐ μόνον τῇ ὑψοῦ ἐσεμνύνετο ἄρσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ γῆν ποτε καὶ ταπεινὰ εἶχεν αὐτόν, κάτω μὲν βαίνοντα, οὐρανῷ δὲ κάρη στηρίζοντα τῇ πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον ἐγγύτητι, τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῖς τε ὑψηλοτάτοις ἐξήρητο φιλοσοφήμασιν, 10
συνδιίκνεϊτο δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τοῖς ὅσα περὶ γῆς καὶ κατ' ἄνθρωπον, σοφίας αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο καταπραττομένης τὸ ἀγαθόν. Φύσεως γοῦν κατασκέπασθαι βάθη καὶ αἰτιολογήσαι γένεσιν καὶ ἀνακαλύψαι μυστήρια πλάσεως, οὐτ' ἂν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν λεπτότης εἶχεν εἰς σαφὲς οὕτως ἐκθέσθαι, οὔτε τις λοιπὴ ἐπιστήμη τοῦ φυσικεῦσθαι. 15

41 Ἦν δὲ δεινός καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπολῆς καὶ κατ' ὄψιν προσβάλλων, τὰ ἐν βάθει κατοπτεῦειν καὶ ἐξακριβοῦσθαι σοφωτάτῳ φύσεως γνώμονι. Καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐκ ἦν στοχάζεσθαι ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐν ἀληθείᾳ εἶναι καὶ μὴ διεκκίπτειν τὸ λαληθέν, ὡς καὶ εἰκοτολογίαν συνελογισατό τινα ἐμβριθῆ (καὶ ἦν τοιοῦτος ὁ νοηθεὶς), ἀλλὰ εὐ-ἠθή. Καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἕτεροῖος ὁ γνωματευθεὶς· διώπτειν τὸν κρυψίνου, τῷ παντὶ πλέον 20
τὸν ἐπιπόλαιον, τοὺς τῶν λοιπῶν ἡθῶν ὁμοίως. Καὶ εἶπεν ἂν, ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν ἅπας ὀστισοῦν, καρδιαίς αὐτὸν ἐμβατεῦειν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς τὴν φύσιν ἐνδοθὲν ποθεν αὐτῷ ἐκλαλεῖν τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀπόρρητα.

26 δεξιότατος ... λογομαχίας: cf. *Pauli Epist. ad Tim.* 2.14 Ταῦτα ὑπομίμησε, διαμαρτυρόμενος ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ λογομαχεῖν, ἐπ' οὐδὲν χρήσιμον, ἐπὶ καταστροφῇ τῶν ἀκούοντων 3 ἀλαζονείας... γῆς: Io. Chrys. *In Io.* PG 59.28.32 μήτε ἀλαζονείας ἐπαίρεσθαι πνεύματι 5 θεῖοις ὀπλίταις: cf. *Anal. Hymn. Graec. Canon. Diei Oct.* (Debiasi Gonzato Schirò, *Anal. hymn. gr.*) 17.21.8.27 πανευλαβῶς δοξάζωμεν, θεῖους ἀταδέλφους καὶ γενναίους ὀπλίτας 9 οὐρανῷ... στηρίζοντα: *Hom. Il.* 4.442443 ἦ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσειται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει; cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.784.2028 Τὸ δὲ 'οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη' στρυφνῶς πέφρασαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔως εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐλθοῦσα οὐ δύναται ὑπεραναβῆναι! Ἰστέον δὲ, ὅτι Ὀμηρος μὲν εἰπὼν, ὡς Ἔρις οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη, ἐντελῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἔφρασεν. Εὐριπίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ 'κύμα οὐρανῷ στηρίζον' ὑπερβολικῶς τε ἔφη κατὰ ἀφέλειαν τοῦ λαλοῦντος προσώπου καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνελλιπῶς, εἰ μὴ τις τὸ στηρίζον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγγίζον εἶπε καὶ στηριζόμενον 13-14 Ἀσκληπιαδῶν... ἐκθέσθαι: *Eust. Or.* 11 (Λόγος K) 191.22 Ποικίλος εἰ τὴν σοφίαν, ἐνθεε βασιλεῦ, καὶ διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς ἐλλόγως ὁδῷ προῖων καταλύεις καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν· καὶ σου τὰς ἰατρεικὰς μεθόδους ἔργον ἂν εἴη καὶ αὐτὰς περιηγῆσθαι 16-17 βάθει... ἐξακριβοῦσθαι: cf. *Bas. Caes. De virgin.* (AmandMoons, *Revue BÉnÉdictine* 63) 685.44 Οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἔξωθεν φαντασίᾳ τούτων μόνον προσέρομεν,

3 πάθος: *proposuit Reinsch* πάρος B 7-8 οὐ μόνον *Tafel* : καὶ μόνον B 19 συνελογισατό... ἐμβριθῆ: B εἰκοτολογίαν τινὰ συνελογισατό τινα ἐμβριθῆ *fort. per err. Tafel* 22 ἐμβατεῦειν B ἐμβαθεῦειν *Tafel*

debates. And in the manner of the curdling fig-juice, he was confident of joining together the divided parts of the church, though without extolling himself, lest his knowledge result in pride, the fault of many in the past whom a gusting spirit of arrogance has raised above the earth. He was carried instead on high by more divine elevation, and he scrutinized himself in the manner of a philosopher taking his own measure in accordance with the rules of rectitude. And he knew full well he must rely on himself, as well as on the other divine soldiers, should the time of reckoning ever come which calls forth the one who knows well the battle on behalf of God.

And such was his conduct in affairs of this kind, as well. Since even the heavenly Paul was not only distinguished by his elevation on high but was in fact also on occasion occupied with earthly and humble matters, walking here below while keeping his head fixed on the heavens by reason of his proximity to the lord on high, the emperor was raised up in the same way by his very lofty inquiries, analyzing thoroughly in an impressive manner all those things having to do with the affairs of man and this world, since his wisdom was able to accomplish this good as well. At any rate, neither the scrupulous precision of the Asklepiian physicians nor any other natural science could have demonstrated so clearly how to scrutinize the depths of nature, to account for the origins of things, and to investigate the mysteries of creation.

And he had a remarkable ability when attending to surface appearances and looking a person in the face, to look into the depths and arrive at an accurate evaluation by means of a highly skilled understanding of natural causes. And the matter was no mere guess but truly that very thing and what he had said was not off the mark, so that his diagnosis was deemed grievous (and the man in question was as [Manuel] had said), but one easily treated. And any man scrutinized did not turn out to be other than as he had said. He could see through the dissembling man, above all the man of outward appearance, and likewise men of other character. And anyone witnessing this might have said that Manuel

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει δύναιμι τούτων μάλιστα σοφῶς κατοπτέυσωμεν **20** διώπτετε ... κρυψίνου: cf. Xen. Cyr. 1.6 Πλέον δ' ἔχειν, ὡ πάτερ, πολεμίων πῶς ἂν τις δύναιτο μάλιστα; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκέτι τοῦ φαῦλον, ὡ παῖ, οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν ἔργον ἐρωτᾷς· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐπίβουλον εἶναι καὶ κρυψίνου καὶ δολερὸν καὶ ἀπατεῶνα **22** καρδίας ... ἐμβατεύειν: cf. LXX Regn. I, 16.7, ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται εἰς καρδίαν cf. Io. Chrys. In Gen. PG 53.198.17 καὶ ὅτι ταῖς καρδίας ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐμβατεύων οὐδένα περιορᾷ; cf. etiam Proc. Rhet. Comm. in Is. 1849 Ἀπέναντι δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου, φησὶν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δυνατὸν ἐπιπλάστωσ καὶ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν δοκεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀγαθοῦς· Θεὸς τὰς καρδίας ἐμβατεύων, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς διανοίας ὀρᾷ' cf. Eust. De emend. 71.812 οὐδὲ μὴν ἀνθρωπος μένων ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν· ἐπαγωγὸς οἷς προφαίνῃ, φευκτέος οἷς ἐνδομυχεῖς· γλυκὺς τὰ ἐξεπιπολήσ, ἀγλευκὴς τὰ ἐς βάθος· κάλλιστος εἰς πρόσωπον, οὐ καθικνεῖται ὄψις ἀνθρώπου, αἰσχιστος τὴν καρδίαν, εἰς ἣν ἐμβαθύνων βλέπει ὁ θεός

- 42 Εἶδέ ποτε καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ἐν λόγοις καθηγητὴν, ὑπουλὸν τινα νόσον τρέφοντα, ὅτε τῶν σοφιστευόντων προήδρευε· καὶ ἡ ὄψις ἐμήνυεν οὐ μακρὰν ζωὴν τῷ ἀνδρὶ. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ἀπρόοπτον ἦν τὸ σημαινόμενον· ὁ δὲ, νοερωτέραις ἐπιβολαῖς ὄψεως, παρανοιογόμενας οἶον θυρίδας ἐωρακῶς, δι' ὧν οἶδε ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεσθαι, προέφη τὴν οὐ μετὰ μακρὸν ἔξοδον τοῦ ἀνδρός. Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖνος οὐ παραπροθεσίμας τὴν πρόγνωσιν. Νόσων δὲ ἀκέσεις, τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ αὐταὶ σειρᾶς ἔχονται. Οὐ γὰρ χρῆστα μόνον ἐξεῦρε καὶ πιστὰ φάρμακα, ὃ δὴ τις ἐπιγράφει τῷ παλαιῷ Προμηθεῖ σεμνολόγημα, οἷς δὲ βασιλικοῖς ἐστὶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρὸς τε τῶν χρωμένων, πρὸς τε τῶν χορηγούντων (χορηγοῦσι δὲ δημόσιοι ταμίαι δόσιν ἄφθονον αὐτὰ καὶ εἰς δωρεὰν τοῖς χριζοῦσιν)· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς καινοῖς εὐρήμασι τούτοις, καὶ τὰ πάλαι προὔποκείμενα θαυμασιώτερον ἐξειργάζεται. Οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐδίδου τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὄσιον, αὐτὸν παρεῖναι τὸν θεραπευτὴν αὐτοκράτορα ὡς καὶ πείρα γνῶναι τὴν κακουργίαν τοῦ ἀβρῶσθήματος καὶ τῆ δυστροπία τῆς νόσου τεχνηέντως ἐπεξαγαγεῖν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ὑπόυργει μὲν ἀκοή, νοῦς δὲ γνωματεῦων τὴν θεραπείαν ἐξέστελλεν. Ἐλεπτολόγει δι' ἐρωτήσεως τὰ τοῦ κειμένου, ἐμάνθανε, διεγίνωσκεν, ἐπέττατε, καὶ ἐπηκολούθει τὰ τῆς ἰάσεως· τὰ πολλὰ δὲ, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς θανάτοις τε καὶ ἦν εἰπεῖν προσφυές, ὡς μικροῦ ἐρωτῶν | καὶ ποῦ θάπτεται, ἀνίστα τῆς θανατηφόρου νόσου τὸν κάμνοντα. 5 10 15 171v
- 43 Ὁ δὲ καὶ εἰσέτι πλέον θαυμάζειν ἄξιον· κατειργάζεται μὲν αὐτὸν ἡ χεῖριστος νόσος, τὸν κοσμικὸν θεμέλιον ὑπονομεύουσα. Καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν δεινὰ ἐποίει, καθυποσπῶσα τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸν ἐκτὸς ἀνθρωπον βλάπτουσα· ὁ δὲ ἐντὸς αὐτοκράτωρ σωζόμενος εἰς ὀλόκληρον, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐξήρκει καλοῖς καὶ τινα βλέπων τῶν ὅσοι πρὸς βασιλικὴν ἐξικνοῦντο θέαν ὁμοίω πάθει προστετηκότα, μεθόδοις ἐνήγη θεραπευτικαῖς προμηθεστάτα. Καὶ ἐμέμεφο μὲν τὸν ἀνθρωπον οἷς ἑαυτοῦ ἀμελῆς ἐξέπιπτε· κατήρτιζε δὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν. Εἰ δὲ οὕτω μὲν ἀπώνατο καὶ περίεστι, ὁ δὲ καθηγεμῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀπελήλυθεν, ἕτερος ἂν, τις θαυμάσειεν. Ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω δότεόν μαινέσθαι ὡς τοιαῦτα νοεῖν. Ἀνδρίζεται τις ἠρωϊκῶς, καὶ συχνοὺς ρίπτει τῶν πολεμίων, πίπτει δὲ ποτε καὶ αὐτός. Καὶ οὐκ ἤδη τὸ, ἀνδρεῖον περιάδεσθαι συγκαταπέπτωκε τῷ ἀνδρὶ. Μακρὰ τις κυβερνήσας καὶ μυρίους ὄσους περιωσάμενος, 20 25 30

7–8 παλαιῶ... σεμνολόγημα: Aesch. *Prom.* 476483 οἷας τέχνας τε καὶ πόρους ἐμησάμην. / τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, εἴ τις ἐς νόσον πέσοι, / οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξῃμ' οὐδέν, οὔτε βρώσιμον / οὐ χριστὸν οὐδὲ πιστόν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων / χρεῖαι κατεσκελλόντο, πρὶν γ' ἐγὼ σφισιν / ἔδειξα κράσεις ἠπίων ἀκεσιμάτων, / αἷς τὰς ἀπάσας ἐξαμύνονται νόσους 17–18 θάπτεται... κάμνοντα: alludit ad *Ev. Io.* 11.3334 Ἰησοῦς οὖν...εἶπεν, "Ποῦ τεθείκατε αὐτόν;"

1 Εἶδέ: proposuit Reinsch Οἶδέ B, vid. not. ad loc. Tafel, sed corr. Tafel²

5 παραπροθεσίμας: B παραπροθεσίμας

“entered into the hearts of men,” so that nature itself expressed to him her most hidden secrets from somewhere deep inside.

He once saw my professor of rhetoric, who harboured some festering disease at the time he was presiding over the sophists. And the man’s face signalled that he did not have long to live. And while the sign portended nothing to others, by observing him with a more studied approach, as though he had looked directly into open portals through which the soul is wont to leave, he foretold the man’s departure in the not too distance future. And the man died as the prognosis had foreseen. His cures for illnesses, too, belong to this same category. For he did not just create useful and reliable medicines, a distinction someone in fact ascribed to ancient Prometheus, but substances which could be called ‘imperial’ by those who used them and those who supplied them (the public stewards distribute these in ample doses without charge to those who need them). Besides these innovative discoveries he also made more remarkable use of the pre-existing old drugs. For in those cases where the imperial discharge of duties did not allow for the healer emperor to attend to the sick himself, so that he might diagnose the ill effects of the disease first hand and lead the charge skillfully against the irritation of the disease; in such cases he made use of reports while he conducted a mental diagnosis and dispatched the treatment. He inquired in great detail about the state of the patient, learned what it was, made a diagnosis, prescribed a cure, and he followed up on the treatment. And quite often, in the face of death itself, when it would have been almost natural to ask “where is he being buried?” he raised the suffering man from the deadly illness.

But what was even more worthy of admiration was that a most damaging illness had attacked him, undermining the man who was the foundation of this world. And although this disease had terrible effects, sapping his constitution and harming the outer man, the autokrator within was wholly preserved, while his remaining virtues were undiminished. And when he saw anyone who had an audience with him plagued by the same illness, he would take the greatest care to instruct him how to treat the disease. And he criticized any man who recklessly neglected himself, while he instructed him how to restore himself to health. One may wonder, however, how it was that one man flourished and survived, while he who brought about the cure died. For we should not be so mad as to think we can understand why such things happen. A brave man fights heroically, bringing down many of his enemies, yet he, too, eventually falls. The opportunity to sing the praises of valour did not however perish with the man. A man may thus steer a ship a long time and save countless thousands, until he himself enter the

εἶτα βαψάμενος ἐς ἄλμυρὸν βυθόν, ἔξαπόλωλε. Καὶ οὐ συγκατέδου τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κυβερνήτου ὄνομα. Ἀσκληπιάδης κατὰ νόσων παγκρατιάζων καὶ συχνὰ στεφανωσάμενος, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ πεσεῖται θανάτῳ. Καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις δικαίως τοὺς στεφάνους ἀφελεῖται τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ κληρονομήσει τῆς νικητικῆς διὰ παντὸς ἐκεῖνος κλήσεως.

- 44 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ ὑμνούμενος, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς ἔπασχε τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθεῖν δυνάμενος, ὅμως καλούμενος πρὸς τοῦ κρείττονος, ἀπελήλυθεν, ἔχων σεμνύνεσθαι τῇ καὶ τῶν σμικροτάτων ἐπιστροφῇ, διὰ τοὺς ἐκάστων ἀγγέλους οἱ παραστατοῦσι θεῷ. Οἷς μὲν οὖν τὸ θεῖον σμικρολογεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις εὐαρεστεῖται, μέχρι καὶ εἰς σελήνην ἐξ ὑψίστων χαλαῖσθαι τὴν τῆς προνοίας σειράν· ἐπὶ δέ γε τοῖς ἐκείθεν καὶ 10 περὶ ἡμᾶς, μὴ ἂν, ἐθέλειν γλισχευέσθαι τὴν θεϊότητα, συγκατακερματιζομένην τοῖς οὕτω πολυσχιδέσι καὶ ἀπασχολοῦσαν ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα τὸ σμικροπρεπὲς ἐπιλέγεται. Θεὸς δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ἔτερα βούλεται· καὶ οὐ φέρει παρ' ἡμῖν ἀτέχων σεμνύνεσθαι, καὶ προσχήματι μεγαλειότητος εὐμεθόδως κατασμικρύνεσθαι. Ἦ γὰρ οὐ τυραννεῖ θεὸν ἀντικρὺς ὁ τοῖς μὲν ὑψοῦ ἐπιπρέπειν αὐτὸν ἀφίεις, τῶν δὲ περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐκ 15 ἐντὸς εἶναι σοφιστευόμενος, καὶ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς δὴ βασιλεύειν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πέπλασται, ἀπάγων θεοῦ; ὡς ἂν οὕτω τοῦ καὶ παμβασιλεία ἐκείνον εἶναι ὑποῦλως ἀφέλιτο, καὶ μὴν, θεῖον ἀληθῶς ἢ ἐν προνοίᾳ λεπτοτομία, καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀδρότεροις ἀνελικτικόν τε καὶ ἀναλυτικόν· οὐ δὴ πρὸ πάντων, ἀνάγκη μετέχειν τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεόν, τὸν μόνον σοφόν· ὃς οὐ μόνον τὴν ἔως καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς οὔτε ὠκνησε κάθοδον, ὁ 20 καὶ σωματικῶς αὐτὴν (ᾧ τοῦ θαύματος), ποιησάμενος, οὔτε μὴν συγκαταβαίνων ὀκνεῖ, ἐργαζόμενος εἰσαεὶ κατὰ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐξεπιπολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μυχαιτάτων γινόμενος, καὶ ὡσπερ τοῦ ἐμψύχου κόσμου, ὅτε καρδιαῖς ἐμβατεύει καὶ διαλογισμοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅτε μέχρι καὶ εἰς ρίζας γῆς τοὺς προνοητικὸς λόγους ἀφήσι.

2 δεξιὸν ... ὄνομα: cf. supra pag. 39 et not. ad loc.; loc. comm., cf. e.g. Io. Maur. *Canon. in s. Nicol.* 3.5 Οἱ πνεύμασι καὶ θαλάσσης / μαχόμενοι κύμασι / καὶ κλυδωνιζόμενοι, / σὲ δι' εὐχῆς προσκαλούμενοι, / ἔτοιμον εὐρίσκουσι / καὶ δεξιὸν / κυβερνήτην αὐτοὺς σώζοντα; cf. etiam Euthym. *Mal. Ep.* 35.10 καλῶ βεβηκυῖαν ἰδόντες τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων κατάστασιν, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ κοινοῦ σωτήρος, τοῦ δεξιοῦ κυβερνήτου, τοῦ θεοδωρήτου καλοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν ἀναβεβηκὸς θρόνον; cf. etiam Eust. *Or.* 6 (Λόγος ζ) 91.6365 καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ναῦς (δοῦτε μοι γὰρ οὕτω τροπολογῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν ἱερὰν κιβωτὸν) ἐν καθιστώτῳ ἔμεινεν ὑπὸ κυβερνηταῖς δεξιόσις 9 τὸ ... σμικρολογεῖται: cf. Synes. *Homil.* 1.24 ἀτόποις ἔοικε τὰ λεγόμενα· οὐ μὴν τὰ γε νοούμενα· οὐδὲν μέλει τῷ θεῷ θεοφορήτου λέξεως· πνεῦμα θεῖον ὑπερορᾷ μικρολογίαν συγγραφικὴν; cf. etiam Theod. *De prov. orat. dec.* PG 83.560.2629 καὶ οἱ μὲν μὴδὲ εἶναι παντελῶς τὸ θεῖον...σμικρολόγως δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ περιορίζειν τὴν πρόνοιαν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου μέρος ὡς ἔτυχε φέρεσθαι τῇ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκῃ δουλεύειν βεβιασμένον 14 προσχήματι ... κατασμικρύνεσθαι: cf. Greg. Nyss. *Antirr. adv. Apoll.* 3,1.175.20 πῶς κατασμικρύνει τοῖς βρεφικοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασι τὴν ἄφραστον τοῦ κυρίου μεγαλειότητα; 23 ἐμψύχου ... προνοητικὸς: Plat. *Timaeus* 30b οὕτως οὖν δὴ κατὰ λόγον τὸν εἰκότα δεῖ λέγειν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον ζῶν ἐμψυχον ἔννου τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν; cf. PseudoPlut. *Placita philos.* 886892 γ' Εἰ ἐμψυχὸς ὁ κόσμος καὶ πρόνοιᾳ διοικούμενος; cf. Mich. Psell. *De omnif. doct.* 156 Ὁ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγος οὐδὲ ἀκροθιγῶς τοῖς ὡσὶν ἐμψυχον εἶναι

salty depths and perishes. But his reputation as a skilled captain does not go down with the man. Even when an Asklepian [i.e., a physician] stands victorious against maladies, and is often crowned with laurels, there is no way in which he may not himself succumb to death. And no one may justly deprive the man of his crown, instead that man will preserve his reputation for victory forever.

In this way also was the man being praised here able to help those affected 44 by the disease from which he himself suffered. But called by the almighty, he departed, enjoying praise from the angels who stand at the side of God for the care he showed even to the humblest among us. Now those for whom the divine is curtailed are satisfied to let the chain of Providence descend from the highest realm only as far as the moon, while not wanting to squander the divine in the affairs from there until the point affecting us, fracturing itself among people so divided [in their minds], and busying itself in what is acknowledged as petty. But God has other intentions here as well: he does not suffer being extolled by us in a casual way, effectively diminished under the pretext of his majesty. For does he not openly set his rule above God, who leaves the matters on high as rightfully belonging to him, all the while cunningly arguing that the affairs concerning us are not within God's sphere, thereby removing from God's purview the affairs of mankind, who has been created to rule over the earth? So that this subtle parsing of Providence and the unraveling and analysis of mundane things would subversively deprive God of being an absolute ruler, and in fact truly divine, precisely on those counts where there is the greatest need for God, the one and only wise one who rules over all, to intervene. For not only did he not hesitate to descend among us, assuming bodily form to do so (ah, what a marvel) nor indeed condescending does he hesitate, working always according to the will of the father, to watch not just over the humblest things, those things deemed superficial, but entering into the deepest reaches, and just as he enters the ensouled world when he enters our hearts and minds, so does he enter upon the rest when he extends his providential word as far as the roots of the earth.

τὸν κόσμον προσέεται, προνοία μένοιγε διοικούμενον 24 καρδίας... διαλογισμοίς: cf. supra cap. 41; cf. Hesych. *Comm. in Ps.* 25.2.5 πύρωσον Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἐμβατεύων καρδίας καὶ διαλογισμούς; cf. etiam *Cat. in Marc.* (rec. ii) 285.22 κριτῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἀφιέναι καὶ μὴ· ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ ταῖς διανοίαις ὡς Θεὸς ἐμβατεύων, καὶ εἰδὼς τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀποκαλύπτει αὐτῶν τὴν ἐνθύμησιν 24–25 μέχρι... γῆς: cf. *Const. Manass. Carm. mor.* 256 οὐκ ἔστι κρύφιον οὐδὲν ὃ μὴ πρὸς γνώσιν φθάνει, κὰν ὑπὸ ρίζας κρύπτοιτο γῆς ὑποπυθμενίους

- 45 Τούτου γινόμενος ὁ ἔνθεος ἐκεῖνος βασιλεὺς τοῦ ὑποδείγματος, οὐ μόνον τοῖς
 λογάσι καὶ μεγαλείοις τῶν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι λόγων ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδίδου, | ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς 172r
 εἰς τὸ ὑποδεδῆσθαι πυθμενιζόμενοις τὴν κηδεμονίαν ἐμέριζεν, οὐ καταβαίνων ταπεινῶς,
 ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνων τρόπον ἔνθεον. Καὶ ἦν βλέπειν ἐκεῖνον ἐν λαῷ βαρεῖ καὶ συλ-
 λόγῳ πλήθοντι, οὐ μόνον εἰς κοινὸν βροντῶντα λόγοις, ὧν ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ ἴσου μετέχειν 5
 ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα διομιλούμενον, ἥτοι πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν, ἕκαστος προ-
 βάλοιτο, ἢ ἐνθα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἔννοους περιπέτεια προκαλέ-
 σεται. Ταύτης τῆς μεθόδου ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκάστοτε ὡς ἂν, εἴποι τις οὐρανόπολις,
 ἐπειρᾶτο, ταύτης οἱ περιοικίδες ἅπασαι, ταύτης ἅπαν Ῥωμαϊκὸν στρατόπεδον, καὶ
 φύλον ἅπαν Χριστιανικόν, καὶ ὅσον δὲ παρ' αὐτό· τὸ μὲν, ὑπήκοον, τὸ δὲ, εἰ καὶ 10
 παρήκοον, οἷς αὐτονόμως ἤθελεν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τρόπον ἄλλον ὑπακοῦον καὶ αὐτό, οἷς
 ἤγγετο τὴν σιαγόνα, ὅσα καὶ χαλινοῖς καὶ κημοῖς ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἀντιπράξεις, καὶ
 τῆς ἀτάκτου φορᾶς εἰργόμενον, καὶ ὡς οἶον ἀναχαιτιζόμενον, τῆς θρασυτήτος ἀνε-
 σειράζετο.
- 46 Καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ βασιλικὸν τοῦτο προμηθὲς, ἱκανόν, καὶ συνδιήκε τοῖς ὄλοις, 15
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἕως καὶ κάτω ἱκανούμενον, ἀνεχέετο εἰς τὰ κύκλω καὶ ψυχῆς
 δίκην, τοῖς τοῦ παντὸς ἐγκατέσπαρτο μέρεσι καὶ σμικρολόγον εἶχεν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ
 τὰ πάντα θεῖα, καὶ ὅποια βλέπων τις, ἀνευδεῆ βασιλεῖα τοῦτο εἶπεν καὶ μόνον, καὶ
 ἑαυτῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀρκοῦντα, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπάντων ἐπιδεδόμενον, εἰ μὴ ὅτι γε, εἰς
 τοσοῦτον, εἰς ὅσον αὐτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ φύσει δουλευτικὸν ἐνδείκνυσθαι, 20
 δι' οὗ τὸ τοῦ βίου μὲν ἄνομον καὶ θηριῶδες μακρὰν ἀφορίζεται, τὸ δὲ πολιτικόν, καὶ
 νόμιμον εἰσοικίζεται. Ἔστιν ἀναλέξασθαι λογαδικούς ἄνδρας, ἔστιν ἀπολαβεῖν μέ-
 σους, ἔστιν ἀπαριθμήσασθαι τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτοις μυρίους ὄλους, οἷς ἐκεῖνος τὰς εἰσαεὶ
 ὀμίλιας διένεμε· τὰς μὲν, ἐμπράκτους ὅποι ἐχρῆν, ἔστι δὲ ἄς, καὶ ἐν λόγοις ὅσοις τε
 τό ζῆν κληροῦται καὶ τοῖς ἐν γράμμασιν. 25

4-5 λαῷ ... πλήθοντι: LXX Ps. 34.18 ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, κύριε, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πολλῇ, ἐν λαῷ βαρεῖ αἰνέσω σε; cf. Theod. Mops. *Expos. in psalm. 34.18b* Ἐν λαῷ βαρεῖ αἰνέσω σε. Φανερώτερον Σύμμαχος εἶπεν Ἐν λαῷ παμπληθεῖ αἰνέσω σε 5 βροντῶντα λόγοις: cf. Mich. Chon. *Or. 14.213.18* κατὰ τοὺς πάλαι Περι- κλέας καὶ Ξενοφώντας καὶ Δίωνα, τοὺς ἐν λόγοις μὲν βροντῶντας 8 οὐρανόπολις ... στρατόπεδον: cf. Mich. Chon. *Ep. 153.307.12* Ἦδὺ μὲν γὰρ ὁρᾶν πολίτευμα τῆς οὐρανοπόλεως ἀντίτυπον καὶ συγχαί- ρειν βασιλείῳ ἱερατεύματι χαίροντι 12 ἤγγετο ... κημοῖς: LXX Ps. 31.9 ἐν χαλινῷ καὶ κημῷ τὰς σια- γόνας αὐτῶν ἄγξει τῶν μὴ ἐγγιζόντων πρὸς σέ 13 φορᾶς ... ἀναχαιτιζόμενον: cf. Anna Komn. *Alex. 1.13.14* καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τῆς δύσεως ἅπαντας ἀρχηγούς ἀναχαιτίζεσθαι τῆς πρὸς τοῦτον φορᾶς σφόδρα τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων εὐροίας τῷ βαρβάρῳ λογίζομαι; cf. etiam Mich. Psell. *Theol. 68.3135* ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος γο- γὸς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ταχέϊαν ὑπάντησιν, ἐνδιάθετος δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως, ὁξὺς τε μάλιστα καὶ δριμύς διὰ τε τὸ ταχὺ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως καὶ τὸ δριμύττειν ἀποχρώντως τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ αἴσθησιν καὶ οἶον ἀναχαιτίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνασειράζειν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω φορᾶς 16-17 ἀνεχέετο ... μέ- ρεσι: cf. Phil. Jud. *Leg. ad Gaium 118.7* τὸν τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς εὐεργετήν, ὃς τῆ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει τοῖς μέρε- σι πᾶσι τοῦ παντὸς ἀφθόνοος περιουσίας ἀγαθῶν ἐκδίδωσιν 19 ἑαυτῷ ... ἀρκοῦντα: cf. Eust. *Or. 11*

Following this example, our divine emperor did not just engage in discussion 45
with the élites on grand occasions involving discussions about government, but
divided his care as well among the ranks of humbler persons, not descending
humbly, but condescending in a divine manner. And it was possible to see him
amid a dense throng of the people and in crowded gatherings thundering with
speeches to the whole assembly, in which everyone could not but have an equal
share. But he could also be seen speaking individually to each man, whether
it was about whatever each man brought up, or about anything the changing
course of a man's thoughts prompted the emperor to bring up. And this was of-
ten the experience, one might say, of our 'city in the sky', as it was for all the sur-
rounding cities and for the whole Roman army and the entire Christian nation,
and all that beyond it. Some of these were obedient subjects, others, even if they
did not submit, since they wished to be self-governing, nevertheless also obeyed
in another manner, their jaw curbed by the bit and muzzle of imperial reactions,
preventing from making an unruly behaviour, their arrogance held in check like
that of a horse trying to buck its rider.

And this imperial bestowal of care and generosity was sufficient to be 46
distributed among all, with ample provision for those at the top all the way down
to those at the bottom. And spreading itself all round in the manner of the soul
it was sowed in all the parts of the whole, and there was nothing trifling about
it since it was altogether divine, and anyone seeing this had one name for it –an
emperor in want of nothing and self-sufficient in everything, requiring nothing
at all; except for one thing, that the beneficiaries of his benevolence submit to
being governed and demonstrate their natural obeisance, through which law-
lessness and brutality are banished from life while the rule of law and public
order are inculcated in them. One can reckon the number of men of the upper
classes, can calculate separately the middle classes, can enumerate the scores of
those below these, with whom he had perpetual contact; some of this took place
in the course of affairs, as the need arose, while at other times it took the form of
a speech, both that which chanced to be conducted live and that written down.

(Λόγος Κ) 186.596ο Καὶ μὴν αὐτάρκης ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ κατὰ θεῖαν ὁμοιότητα πανταχοῦ ἐπιβλέπων καὶ πᾶ-
σιν ἐξικνούμενος 21–22 θηριῶδες ... εἰσοκίζεται: cf. Eus. *Vita Const.* 4.5.2: καιρῷ πάντας παρεστή-
σατο, ἄρτι μὲν τοὺς ἀφηνιώντας στρατιωτικῇ σωφρονίσας χειρὶ, ἄρτι δὲ λογικαῖς πρεσβείαις τοὺς λοιποὺς
ἡμερώσας, ἐξ ἀνόμου τε καὶ θηριώδους βίου ἐπὶ τὸ λογικὸν καὶ νόμιμον μεταρροσάμενος. οὕτω δ' οὖν Σκύ-
θαι Ῥωμαίους ἐγνωσάν ποτε δουλεύειν

- 47 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ, οὐ πάνυ φιλῶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον ὑπόδειγμα προσαρμοῖσαι τῷ λόγῳ, λάμποντα καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπαφίεντα τοῖς καταλαμπομένοις τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καλόν· σοφῶ δὲ διδασκάλῳ ἐκεῖνο παραβάλλω, οὐπερ ἀγαθόν, πᾶσί τε κοινοῦσθαι τὸ διδασκάλιον, οὐ πάντες δέοιντο ἄν, καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν οὐ χρεῶν, συνδιασχίζειν ἐκάστοις τὴν μέριμναν· μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὃ καὶ εἰπεῖν προετέθη θεῶ, τῷ πᾶσι τὰ πάντα, ὃ δὴ καὶ Παῦλος ὁ μέγας, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς μίμησιν ἀνεμάξατο, τῷ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς μερίδας δὲ βίων ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ψυχὰς ἐκάστας, διοικονομουμένῳ τὸ σύμφορον. 5
- 48 Καὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρετῆς τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον, αἱ συγγραφαὶ λαλείωσαν. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ εἰς ἀπέραντον ἐξαγαγεῖν τὰ τοῦ λόγου προτεθυμήμεθα, οἷς γε καὶ βραχέα λαλεῖν, οὔτε ἐν καλῷ καιροῦ κεῖται ὅπου τοῖς παθαινομένοις οὐκ εὐπορος ἡ ἀκοή, οὔτε ἐν εὐχερῇ, διὰ τὸ καὶ οὕτω πολυπληθὲς τῶν μνήμης ἀξίων· ἐν οἷς, καὶ ὡς ἀγαθῶν ὑπορρεόντων ἦν καινιστής, ἀταξίας ἀρμοστής καιρικῆς, ἐπισκευαστῆς τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀφωρισμένων ἐνδικοτήσεων, χρόνου φθορᾶς ἀντίπαλος. Ὁ μὲν, γὰρ πάντα δαμάζειν ἐθέλων βαθὺ ἔχασκε κατὰ τε θείων ναῶν καὶ ὅσον αὐτοῖς εἶτε σύνναον εἶτε | καὶ ἄλλως οἰκειούμενον· ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ εἰς κενόν ὃ φασί, χαίρειν αὐτὸν ἀφίεις ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ἐπεποιεῖτο ἐξήγειρε τὰ καταπεπτωκότα, ἴατο τὰ πεπονηκότα, πάντα ἐποίει ὅσα χρονικῶ ἀντιπίπτει στόματι ἀνοιγομένῳ εἰς φθορὰν τῶν ὅσα μὴ χρεῶν φθείρεσθαι. 15 172v
- 49 Σεισμοὶ ποτε ἀναταράττοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐκμοχλεύειν ἔχοντες, καὶ ἡ γῆ τοὺς θεμελίου ἀνέπτυε· καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ χεῖρ, ἀνίστα τὰ ἱερὰ πτώματα. Εἰ δὲ μὴ θεμελίους ἐπεβούλευε τὸ κακόν ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μὲν ἀφίει κατευμεγεθεῖν τοῦ βλάπτεσθαι τοῦ δ' ὑπερφαινομένου κατεπεχειρεῖ, ἐνταῦθα μικρὸν ἐδόκει τῇ βασιλικῇ μεγαλοδωρεᾷ, τὸ ἐνδέον ἀναπληρῶσαι τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἀγαθοχυσίας ἐμπλήσει τοῖς ἐν ἀναθήμασιν ἱεροῖς. Καιροὶ τινες, καὶ ἀνήφθη πῦρ ἢ αὐτόματον ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπίβουλον, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἠναιδεύσατο, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν φειδόμενον, καταβοσκηθὲν δὲ καὶ πολλὰ ὧν ἦν τὸ πολλοῖς ἄβατον. Καὶ πάλιν κἀνταῦθα τὸ βασιλικὸν προμηθὲς ἀντεπεξήγετο τοῖς καιρικοῖς, καὶ τὸ ἀπελθὸν καλὸν ἀποκαθίστατο. Καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν κακὸν οὕτω φιλονεικηθὲν ἐκκορυφωθῆναι εἰς μήκιστον, ὃ μὴ ταχὺ ἐξηφάνιστο. 20 25

5 τῷ ... πάντα: *Epist. Pauli ad Cor. I 9.22* τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα, ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω 14 πάντα ... ἐθέλων: *LXX Dan. 2.40.2* καὶ βασιλεία τετάρτη ἰσχυρὰ ὥσπερ ὁ σίδηρος ὁ δαμάζων πάντα καὶ πᾶν δένδρον ἐκκόπτων, καὶ σεισθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ; Nonn. *Dionys. 33.139* σὺν Κλυμένη Φαέθοντα, σὺν Ἐνδυμίῳ Σελήγη, πάντες ἵνα γνώωσιν, ὅτι ζύμπαντα δαμάζω.“ 15 κενόν ... χαίρειν: *loc. comm.*, cf. *Suda* Λ (816) Λύκος ἔχανεν: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλπίζόντων μὲν τι ἔξειν, διαμαρτόντων δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος... ὅταν οὖν μὴ λάβῃ ὃ προαιρεῖται, κατὰ κενοῦ αὐτὸν χανεῖν φασιν 19 Σεισμοὶ ... ἐκμοχλεύειν: cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il. 2.493.24* πρὸ δὲ τούτου ἀναρρήξει καὶ ἐκμοχλεύσει τῶν θεμελίων, τῇ διὰ σεισμῶν δηλαδὴ καὶ ὑδάτων, ὡς εἰκόσ, ἐπικλύσεως, ὧν κύριος Ποσειδῶν σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι 20 χεῖρ ... πτώματα: cf. *Nicol. I Myst. Epist.*

5 προετέθη: B προετέθη Tafel 27 καιρικοί: *compendium habet codex*, κ(αιρικοί) *propoesuit Reinsch* κανονικοί *legit Tafel*

And here I would rather not adapt the example of the sun to my speech, 47
 shining and emitting its benefits to all those basking in its good. I would compare
 him rather to a wise teacher, whose virtue is that he shares his teaching with all
 who have need of it. Put another way, it is a teacher's obligation to apportion his
 solicitude to each, which is a thing said especially of God, who is all things to all
 people. Whence indeed the most eminent Paul drew on as a model to imitate the
 one who disburses what is advantageous to all in common and to specific groups
 of people, as well as to each soul individually.

And as for specific examples of the emperor's aforementioned virtue, let the 48
 history books tell those stories. For we were not prepared to extend our oration
ad infinitum, all the more so in a case where it is neither opportune to speak briefly
 when the mourners are not receptive nor when it is easy given the multitude
 of things worthy of being remembered. These included his role as renovator of
 crumbling structures, one who imposes order on periodic disorder, the repairer
 of dwellings dedicated to virtue, a man who stood in opposition to the decay of
 time. For time, who seeks to conquer everything, opened its jaws wide against
 both sacred shrines and all their affiliated buildings, be they chapels or buildings
 housing other activities. The emperor, meanwhile, allowing him to gape in vain,
 as they say, carried out repairs, restored, raised fallen buildings, healed the sickly
 ones, and did all that which offers resistance to the gaping jaws of time in its
 intent on destroying things which should not suffer destruction.

At some point, earthquakes convulsed these buildings and topple them, and 49
 the earth churned up their foundations. But the imperial hand raised the fallen
 holy bodies. And in cases where evil did not conspire against the foundations,
 but allowed these to resist destruction, it nevertheless attacked the structure
 above. In such circumstances it seemed but a small thing for the emperor's gener-
 osity to rebuild the part of the structure in need of repairs, at least when he
 did not proceed to fill the interior as well with sacred offerings as a result of an
 outpouring of his goodness. And there were times when fire broke out, either
 by accident or deliberately set, and it proceeded unchecked, not sparing public
 buildings, and consuming many of those to which entry is forbidden to most.
 And once more in this case he responded with imperial munificence to the [rav-
 ages] of time and restored the good that had been lost. And no one may say that
 there was any disaster demanding to be overcome which reached such a great
 height and which did not immediately vanish.

32.377 Οικονομία μὲν γὰρ σωτηριώδης ἐστὶ συγκατάβασις, σφίζουσα τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα, χεῖρα βοήθειας ὀρέ-
 γουσα καὶ ἀνιστώσα τοῦ πτώματος τὸν πεσόντα

- 50 Καὶ οὐ περιεγράφετο ἐν μόνοις ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ταυτὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ· τὰ πλείω δὲ, οἱ τῆς
 ἑώας λήξεως ἐκληροῦντο, καὶ τὸ Εὐρωπαϊὸν πλάτος, καὶ νῆσοι ἐγκαινιζόμεναι καὶ
 οὕτω προφητικῶς, οἷς ἐκ καινῆς τὸ ἀποιχόμενον ἐν ἱεροῖς κάλλος ἀνεκομίζοντο. Καὶ
 ὁ ἐνταῦθα κενούμενος πλοῦτος, δόξειε μὲν ἄν, ἐκ μέρους στοχᾶσθαι τοῦ εὐεργε-
 τεῖν, οἷς ἐκερματίζετο. Τὸ πλῆθος δὲ τις καταλέξας τῶν ἐπιπονηθέντων καὶ σεμνείων 5
 καὶ θείων ναῶν, πάνυ πολλὰς ὀλότητος καὶ μεγίστας, δαπάνης ἐκκορυφώσκει τῷ
 ἀδροτάτῳ τῆς ἐκχύσεως. Καὶ οἱ μὲν φθάσαντες τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοκρατόρων, μίαν
 δῆπουθεν ἢ καὶ δευτέραν καλλονὴν θείαν φωτὶ δειξάντες νεοτήσιον, σεμνὸν καὶ
 μέγα τι ποιῆσαι κέκρινται, καὶ ἀληθῶς πεποιήκασιν. Ὁ δὲ, συννοησάμενος κρεῖτ-
 τον εἶναι φυλάξαι τὸ εἶναι τοῖς οὐσι μὲν κίνδυνον δὲ ὑπομένουσιν ἀπιέναι, πρὸς τῷ 10
 ἔργῳ τούτῳ εἶχε τὸ πᾶν, φιλοτιμούμενος μηδὲν τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἔργων ἀπογενέσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ πάλαι κτητορικὸν αὐτοῖς ἐναπομεῖναι μέχρι τέλους ἐκφώνημα πρὸς μνήμην
 τοῖς ἀνεγείρασιν. Ἐπηκολούθει δὲ ἄρα τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτοφῶς ἐντεῦθεν, κληρονομεῖν
 αὐτὸν μάλιστα τῆς τοιαύτης κλήσεως. Καὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ κτισαμένῳ ἤδη ἀπαλείφων
 ἦν ὁ χρόνος τοῦνομα τῆς μνημονικῆς δέλτου τὰ γε εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς 15
 δεῦτερος ἦκων τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐκείνόν τε αὐθις εἰς μνήμην ἐνέγραφε τὴν προτέραν, καὶ
 ἑαυτὸν προσενέγραφεν· ὅτι μηδὲ ἔστι τὸ νεάζον, λαθεῖν καὶ παρευδοκιμηθῆναι τῷ
 φθάσαντι, καὶ τὸ τῆς μνημοσύνης ἀπενέγκασθαι δευτερεῖον, ἔνθα τὸ παλαιὸν οὐκ
 ἂν συνεστήκοι μὴ τοῦ νεάζοντος ἐπιγεγονότος.
- 51 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ἀγαθαῖς μιμήσεσιν ἐντηκόμενον καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀεὶ προβαίνοντα τέλειον, 20
 ἐχρῆν κἀνταῦθα τῆς ἐν τοιοῦτοις καὶ αὐτὸν ὀλότητος εἶναι μέτοχον, οὐκ ἄρκοῦν
 ἠγεῖται τὴν τοσαύτην ἐπιποίησιν, ἀλλὰ ὀλοκληροῖ καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον ἔργον, καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ
 πρὸς κενὸν φανησιασμὸν καὶ σοβαρὸν ὄγκωμα, ὡς ἂν δὲ θαυμάσειεν ὁ | φρονῶν εἰς 173r
 στρυφνότητα· καὶ χαρισάμενος ἀνδρὶ μονάδος βίου κατακόρως ἔχοντι (ἔχαιρε γὰρ
 τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, εἴπερ τινὶ τῶν ἐτέρων), ἀνιστᾶ φροντιστήριον, οὐ τὸ μὲν ἀνακεχωρη- 25
 κὸς, ἐρήμου τμήμα, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἔξαρτύσοι ἂν λόγου λαμπρὰν πανήγυριν. Ἡ δὲ τῆς
 ἐν αὐτῷ πολιτείας διάταξις οικειότατα λεχθεῖν ἂν, ἀγγέλοις πρέπουσα. Καὶ νῦν πέπλη-
 θεν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνο ἀσκουμένων φερωνύμως τῇ ἐπικλήσει, καὶ τὸ μικροῦ ἀσώματων

2 νῆσοι ἐγκαινιζόμεναι: LXX Is. 41.1.1 Ἐγκαινίσετε πρὸς με, νῆσοι 12 μνημονικῆς δέλτου: cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 789 ἢ ἐγγράφου σὺ μνήμοσιν δέλτοις φρενῶν; cf. Eust. *Or.* 14 (Λόγος N) 236.61237.65 Ἀλέξιος μὲν ἐκεῖνος...δὲν ἐνδοτάτω τῆς ψυχῆς φέρω κείμενον καὶ φρενῶν δέλτοις ἐγγεγραμμένον μνήμοσιν ἀναπάλειπτον 20 τὸ... τέλειον: cf. Io. Philop. *In Arist. de anima comm.* 15.94.23 ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἀτελοῦς εἰς τὸ τέλειον προβαίνων; cf. Mich. Phil. *In ethic. Nicom. ix-x comm.* 551.28 χρόνῳ γὰρ πᾶσα γένεσις καὶ κίνησις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀτελοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον προβαίνει

4 στοχᾶσθαι: correxit Tafel ἐστοιχᾶσθαι B 14 κτισαμένῳ: Tafel² κτησαμένῳ B sed vid. not. ad loc. ἀπαλείφων: correxi, vid. not. ad loc. ἐπαλείφων B

And these good works were not restricted just to our area. Those in the eastern part of the empire and the European plains were allotted the majority of the benefactions, while the islands were revived in the manner prophesied, as the lost splendour of their temples was restored anew. And the wealth expended there might appear to those among whom it was distributed to be calculated as a partial benefaction. But if one were to list the numerous monasteries and holy shrines refurbished, he would arrive at a sum total of a great many whole expenditures of the largest scale by calculating the abundance of the money poured out. Whenever any of our earlier emperors brought to light somewhere a single, or even a second, divine beauty in the form of a church, they were deemed to have built some great, pristine place of reverence, and in truth they had. Manuel, on the other hand, after reflection decided that it was better to preserve the existence of those churches which, though still standing, nevertheless ran the risk of falling. He devoted himself fully to this task, striving to ensure that no sacred building should perish, but that their original foundation should remain forever more an expression of the memory of those who built them. And so it followed that as a consequence the emperor naturally acquired the attribute of founder of the buildings himself. Time had already begun to erode the name of the original builder from the register of memory as, in any case, it is wont to do; but the emperor, who came after the founder both restored the memory of his predecessor and added his own as well, since the new should not be overlooked and surpassed in fame by its forerunner, carrying off the second prize in the contest of memory, in those cases where the old would not stand unless the newer structure were added to it.

And since one who was cast in the mold of virtuous exemplars, striving always towards eternal perfection, was bound to be a full participant in virtues such as these as well, he was not satisfied with having initiated such supplementary works; instead he, too, brought to completion a divine project, and this not as some hollow show of ostentation and imposing pride, but so that one inclined to sternness of mind might admire it; and showing favour to the one who had devoted himself entirely to the life of monk (for he was glad for such men more than he was for any other) he built a place of prayer and study, which was at once a place to withdraw from the world, like a section of desert, but whose beauty could supply material for a splendid celebratory speech. And its monastic rule might be most appropriately described as befitting angels. And now it is filled with men whose piety deservedly carries his name, stopping just short of the title Asomatoi in their vehement striving; men over whom an angel of light

βιαζομένων, οἷς ἄγγελον φωτὸς ἐφίστασθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀνομάζονται καὶ πιστεύονται καὶ αὐτοὶ οἶδασι, καὶ περιάδεται λόγος ἐκείνου ὑμνητός, ὡς ὅτι ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησε, τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἱεροῦς τούτους ἄνδρας, πάντων ὑπερεῖναι τῶν ὁμοιοβίων. Καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιθυμία, εἰς ἀνάλογον. Αὐτὸς τε γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν φθασάντων ἐξέπιπτε δεῦτερος ὅσοι τοιοῦτοις ἐνηγλαίσθησαν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ οἱ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ἐπιθυμίας ἄνδρες, ὀφειλέται πάντων περιέμμεναι ἄλλων. Καὶ τοίνυν γίνονται τοῦ τοιοῦτου καλοῦ εἰς ὅσον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλλιπεῖν δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀμιλλῶνται, τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς κρατεῖν στάδιον, ὡσεὶ καὶ εἰς ἀπαραμίλλους καταστῆναι παγκρατιαστάς. Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπέιπασθαι, ὡς θεοῦ ἐπαλείφοντος, οὐκ ἐκπεσοῦνται τῆς ἀγαθῆς προθέσεως.

52 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἷον τὸ ἀκοῦσαι «γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε,» ὅτε γλυκύτης θεία τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐμβρωματίζεσθαι πρόκειται, ἅμα ὁ τὰ θεία λιχνευόμενος ἤκουσε, καὶ ἅμα ἔφαγε καὶ ἔπιε τὸ κερασθέν ὡς οἶδεν ἡ Σολομώντειος δαιταλουργεῖν σοφία· καὶ δαπανήσας τὸ παρατεθέν, ἐρεθίζεται εἰς πλείω ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ τῆς θείας οὐκ ἔχει τρυφῆς κορέννυσθαι· τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῷ ὄντι μακαριστός καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου δειπνοκλήτορος δαιτυμῶν φίλιος ἐγεύσατο καλὸν εἶναι οὕτως ἐργάζεσθαι· καὶ ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνδρεία κατάστασις, οὐκ ἐσβέννυε τὴν λυχνίαν, δι' ἧς ποδηγεῖται τις εἰς τοιαύτην ὀρθὴν βίου τρίβον. Ἐξανῆπτε δὲ εἰς πλεόν, ἀναρρίπιζων θείῳ πνεύματι καὶ ἐπιποθῶν τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς θεόν, ὅθεν προσβιβαζόμενος, ἐμελέτα καὶ ἐτέροις ὁμοίοις ἐπιβάλλειν πράγμασι. Καὶ οἱ τόποι, ἐν ἐτοιμίῳ, ἐπιλεγέντες ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως, καὶ τὰ τῆς ὕλης ἠτρεπίστο, καὶ τὸ τεχνικὸν φύλον προκατεῖληπτο τοῖς μισθοῖς, τὸ τε ἀρχιτεκτονοῦν καὶ τὸ ὑπουργικόν· καὶ τούτων, οἱ μὲν τοῖς Ναζιραίοις θέσθαι σκηνώματα, ἐγγὺς δὲ ἐστὶ φάναϊ καὶ θεῶ, διὰ τε τὸ θεῖον τοῦ σκευάσματος, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ καθαρεύουσι θεὸς ἐνσκηνοῦν οἶδε καὶ ἐμπεριπατεῖν· οἱ δὲ, σκευάσαι ξένοις ἀνάπαυλαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς, τραυματίαις, ἢ καὶ ἐτέρως νόσοις ἐνολισθήσασιν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν, οὕτω

1 ἄγγελον φωτὸς: *Epist. Pauli ad Cor. ii 11.14.2* αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Σατανᾶς μετασηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτὸς 1 ὀνομάζονται ... πιστεύονται: cf. *Greg. Nyss. De perf. Chr. ad Ol. mon. 8.1.174.7* τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκόσι τὸ Χριστιανὸς ὀνομάζεσθαι 6 ὀφειλέται ... ἄλλων: †*Hom. Il. 6.208* αἰὲν ἀριστετεῖν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων; cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il. 1.164.22* 7-8 ἀρετῆς ... στάδιον: cf. *Nemes. De nat. hom. 43.135.1* γινωσκέτω ὡς οὗτος ὁ βίος ἁγίων ἐστὶ καὶ στάδιον ἀρετῆς 9 θεοῦ ... προθέσεως: cf. *Aporphth. patr. 10.102.4* τὸ μὴ ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς προθέσεως καὶ ἵνα τῆς τελείας ἐφάψηται ἀγαθότητος; cf. *Io. Clim. Scala parad. 26.1092.20* ἀρχὴ δὲ μετανοίας ἀρχὴ σωτηρίας· ἀρχὴ δὲ σωτηρίας πρόθεσις ἀγαθῆς 10 γεύσασθαι ... ἴδετε: †*LXX Ps. 33.9* γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος 10-15 Σολομώντειος ... δαιτυμῶν: cf. *Greg. Antioch. Laud. patr. Basil. Cam.* τῆς τοῦ Σολομώντος ἀσματικῆς, ὑψηλῶς τε καὶ γλαφυρῶς τὸ κήρυγμα διατίθησι καὶ τὸ δειπνοποιηθὲν ...τραπεζοκόμος, δαιταλουργός, ἐστιάτωρ, δειπνοκλήτωρ, κήρυξ πάντα συγκαλῶν τὸν ἀνακεισόμενον εἰς ἐστίασιν; cf. *Nic. Chon. Or. 765.7* κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τροπαίῳ σου χαρᾶς προσειλήφεις ὡς ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς δειπνοκλήτωρ, οὗς ἐσχεδίασε δαιτυμόνας ἐκ τριόδων καὶ ἀγυῶν ἠθροικῶς 15-16 ἐργάζεσθαι ... λυχνίαν: *LXX Prov. 31.18.1* ἤρεισεν τοὺς βραχίονας αὐτῆς εἰς ἔργον.

10 ὅτε: B et Tafel ὅτι Tafel²

has been placed to watch, for whom they at once named and revered, as they themselves know, and his praiseworthy declaration makes known to all, that he ardently wished for these holy men of his to be superior to all their peers. And this corresponded to his desire for himself. For he was second to none of his predecessors who had been distinguished by such deeds, and the men who are in accord with the emperor's as well as god's wishes owe it to him to surpass all others. They therefore adopt this virtue to the full extent of their strength, and they vie with one another in the arena of virtue, just as if they were being ordained unrivalled champions. And it is not possible for them to fail, since with God as their trainer they will not fall short of their virtuous intention.

For when the divine sweetness lies before those who wish to partake of it, it is like hearing the words “taste and see”, since no sooner had the man craving divine things heard this that he ate and drank what was poured for him, the sort of banquet only the wisdom of Solomon knew how to lay out. And consuming all that is before him, he is stimulated to further desire and he cannot get enough of divine nourishment. And he, too, being this sort of man, truly blessed, and a beloved guest of the great banqueting host, tasted that it is good to carry out works in this way; and his soul's courageous disposition did not put out its lamp, by which one is guided to such a correct path of life. But his flame burned brighter, rekindled all the more by divine breath, passionately seeking God with his soul, as a result of which he was persuaded to devote himself to other, similar deeds. And the locations were ready, selected through careful judgement, the materials were supplied, and the craftsmen had been secured in advance with wages, both the engineers and the labourers; and of these, some were to raise temples for the Nazarenes, which is almost to say for God himself, on account of the holiness of the building, and because God normally dwells with those purifying themselves in it and walks among them; others were assigned the building of accommodation for visitors, those among them who had sustained injuries or who had succumbed in some other way to illness. And he thus felt warmed by desire for

ἐγεύσατο ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶν τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀποσβέννεται ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ὁ λύχνος αὐτῆς 16–17 ποδηγεῖται... τρίβον: cf. Lycophr. Alex. 912 κλύοις ἄν, ἄναξ, κάναπεμπάζων φρενὶ / πυκνὴ διοίχει δυσφάτους αἰνυγμάτων / οἴμας τυλίσων, ἤπερ εὐμαθῆς τρίβος / ὄρθῃ κελεύθῳ τὰν σκότῳ ποδηγετεῖ 19 τόποι... ἐτοιμῶ: Ev. Io. 14.2.3 εἶπον ἄν ὑμῖν ὅτι πορεύομαι ἐτοιμάσαι τόπον ὑμῖν 21 Ναζυραίοις... σκηνώματα: LXX 2 Ma. 14.35 ἀπροσδεῆς ὑπάρχων ἠδὲ δόκησας ναὸν τῆς σῆς σκηνώσεως ἐν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι; cf. Nic. Mesar. Renunt. rer. pol. et eccl. 24.30 εἰ τοὺς Ναζυραίους ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων ἐκσφενδονήσεις κατασκηνώσεων καὶ ἐπαύλεων 23 θεὸς... ἐμπεριπατεῖν: LXX Lev. 26.12.1 καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μου λαός; Deut. 23.15.1 κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐμπεριπατεῖ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ σου; Epist. Pauli ad Cor. ii. 6.16.4 καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεός ὅτι Ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεός

τῇ θεῖα ἐπιθυμία ἐκθερμανθεῖς, καιομένην εἶχε τὴν καρδίαν ἐν ἑαυτῶ, εἴ πως ἴδοι τὸ ἐπιθυμητόν. Ὡς δὲ τὸ χρεῶν ἤπειγεν ἀπῆλθε, προσάγων θεῶ τὴν ἔφεσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰγαθὸν πρόθεσιν ὡσεὶ καὶ ἔργον ἤδη τέλειον, ἀφέμενος τῷ υἱῶ βασιλεῖ τελεσφο-
ρησαὶ τὸ | ἔλλειμμα, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐνδούς αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἐκείνο 173v
δὲ φιλοτιμησάμενος τὸ παντέλειον. 5

53 Ἦν δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισκευῆς καὶ ἡ τῶν πόλεων καὶ φρουρίων τῶν μὲν, ἕγερσις ἐκ τοῦ πάλαι κείσθαι, τῶν δὲ, ποιήσις, καὶ εἰπεῖν καιριώτερον, κτίσις καινῆ. Καὶ Τιβε-
ρίω μὲν, προνοίας προσμεμαρτύρηται ἀγαθόν, ὅτι πολλὰς πόλεις κατασεισθείσας,
ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἀνέλαβεν. Ὁ δὲ, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, εἰς ὅσον οὐκ εἰπεῖν
ἡμῖν εὐμαρὲς ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι, μὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπιμετρημένην ὥραν τοπικοῖς ὀνόμασι 10
προσδαπανήσωμεν· ὅσας δὲ καὶ ἐκκαινῆς ἐν ἐπικαίροις χωρίοις ἀνέστησεν, ἀριθμὸς
ἕτερος αὐταὶ οὐχ οἷος μὴ ἐπεξισοῦσθαι ταῖς λοιπαῖς. Οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἑκατὸν ἄπαξ οὐδὲ
εἰς διπλοῦν τοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερέκεινα κορυφούμενα ὑπερανίστανται, δι' ὧν ἀποτει-
χιζῶν τοὺς πολεμίους εἶργε τῆς ἐκδρομῆς, ἐχόμενα τριβου σκάνδαλα τιθέμενος αὐ-
τοῖς, καὶ προοδεῦσαι μὲν κωλύων, βιασαμένοις δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν φόβον θανάτου ἐπισειῶν 15
ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθε, καὶ μένειν οὕτως οἴκοι, βιαζόμενος, καὶ ἡ τὸν θυμὸν πέττειν, ἢ κατὰ
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς θυμομαχοῦντας ῥήγνυσθαι.

54 Οὐχ ἤττον δὲ τι καὶ ἐκείνο καινόν, ὅτι τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, ἑαυτὸν
ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν ἐφίστα, καὶ διευκρινεῖν τὰ δι' ὧν ἀσφαλῶς ἐστήζονται, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ,
καὶ διακονεῖν καὶ χειρουργεῖν τοῖς πολιζοῦσι καὶ παραφορεῖν ὅσον χρήσιμον. Καὶ 20
χθὲς μὲν, τὰς βασιλικὰς ἔτριβον χεῖρας καὶ εἰσαύριον δὲ τρίψουσιν, ἢ σπάθη βαρυ-
νομένη πολλῶ τῷ σιδήρῳ καὶ ὅσον δίχα γε τοῦ τέμνειν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδ' ἄλλως φέροι
κατενεχθέντα πολέμιος ὄμιλος, ἀλλὰ συχνὸς τοῦ βίου ἐκθεριζόμενος, δραγμαεῦοιτο
ἂν, εἰς στοιβάς· ἢ κορὴν σιδηρεὰ χάλκεον ὕπνον τῶν πληττομένων καταφέρου-

1 καιομένην ... καρδίαν: *Ev. Luc.* 24.32.2 καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν [ἐν ἡμῖν] ὡς ἐλάλει ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὡς διήνοιγεν ἡμῖν τὰς γραφάς; **7** κτίσις καινῆ: *Epist. Pauli ad Cor.* ii. 5.17 ὡσεὶ εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινῆ κτίσις. τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινὰ **7-9** Τιβερίω ... εὐεργεσίαις: cf. *Io. Zon. Epit. histor.* (lib. 13-18). 178.11 βασιλέα τὸν Τιβέριον ἀνηγόρευσεν, ἐπ' ἀκροάσει πάντων αὐτῶ ἐντειλάμενος τὰ πρὸς θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν, τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐεργετεῖν; cf. etiam *Mich. Psell. Hist. Brev.* 73.35 δεῖν τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς θριάμβοις...ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις τὴν βασιλικὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. Τιβέριος. Τιβέριον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῦτοῦ πράγματος ἐπαινεῖν **13-14** ἀποτειχιζῶν ... ἐκδρομῆς: cf. *Eust. Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 208.1822 φρούρια δὲ Ῥωμαϊκὰ καὶ πόλεις ὀπλοφόρων ἀνδρῶν διὰ πάσης τῆς τῶν ὑπεναντίων γῆς διασπεῖραι, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο θετέον, ὅποι τις βούλεται στρατηγικοῦ μηχανήματος. τοῦτο καὶ καθὰ τριβόλους τὰς ἐπιτειχιζόμενας πόλεις κατέστρωσε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. σφάλλει γὰρ ἐκείνοις τὰ εἰς ἄνετον διαβήματα **14** τρίβου σκάνδαλα: *LXX Ps.* 139.6.3 καὶ σχοινία διέτειναν, παγίδας τοῖς ποσίν μου, ἐχόμενα τρίβου σκάνδαλον ἔθεντό μοι; cf. *Athan. Vita Ant.* 23.4 καὶ πειράζουσιν ἐχόμενα τρίβου τιθένα σκάνδαλα. σκάνδαλα δὲ αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ ῥυπαροὶ λογισμοὶ **16** θυμὸν πέττειν: cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.87.45

the divine, his heart burned within him, that he might somehow see his wish fulfilled. But when the time came for him to discharge his debt, he departed, bringing to God both his desire and his propensity toward virtue, like a work already completed, leaving the shortfall for his son the emperor to complete, and in this way having initiated this praiseworthy thing as well, all the while aspiring for that other state of perfection.

And he proceeded to repair cities and fortifications, raising those which had fallen in the past, while building others, or to put it more fittingly, a new foundation. History testifies to the emperor Tiberius' munificence, since he rebuilt many earthquake-damaged cities through his patronage. Manuel, for his part, did this as well to such an extent that it would be unfeasible for us to describe, at the moment at any rate, lest we spend the time allotted for this oration on place names; while all those he raised anew in strategic districts would amount to a different number altogether, one not incomparable to the others. For these did not amount to a hundred, or twice that number, but the structures raised peaked well above that number. These he used as a bulwark to block the incursions of enemies, setting them up as a series of obstacles in the path of the foe, preventing them from advancing, while holding out the threat of death from behind if they managed to force their way along the road, requiring them to remain at home and either to set aside their passion for war or in their anger to break into open fighting amongst themselves.

And this was no less novel, that he himself took charge of the construction of the majority of these works, determining how they might stand securely, often helping and lending a hand to the builders, and carrying out whatever task was required. And the imperial hands were only yesterday being chafed and will again in times to come, either by the heavy iron sword, even before being cut down, whose strike our assembled enemies could not withstand, but cut down from life in large harvests they could be gathered into sheaves like corn; or, by the iron mace, which brings bronze sleep to those it strikes; or by the heavy spear,

οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ κρυψίχολος πέττειν δοκεῖ τὸν θυμὸν... ὁ δὲ μὴ κρύπτειν εἰδὼς τὸν θυμὸν, ἐκεῖνος οὐ πέττει, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ ἐξεμεί **16** κορύνῃ σιδερέα: Hom. Il. 7.140-141 οὐνεκ' ἄρ' οὐ τόξοισι μαχέσκετο δουρί τε μακρῶ, / ἀλλὰ σιδηρεῖη κορύνῃ ῥήγγυσκε φάλαγγας **24** χάλκεον ὕπνον: Hom. Il. 11.241 ὡς δὲ μὲν αὖθι πεσῶν κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον; Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il. 3.186.11 'τά οἱ ἄσπετα ποιμαίνοντο' χάλκεον μὲν ὕπνον ἢ τὸν ἐκ σιδήρου φησὶ ἢ τὸν στερρὸν διὰ τὸ ἀνέγερτον

σα, ἢ βριθὺ δόρυ καὶ ὄπερ εἴκασεν ἄν, ποιητικὴ μεγαλοφωνία, ὡς εἰς νηὸς ἰστὸν
 ἐεικοσόροιο. Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἢ βασιλικὴ παλάμη ἀνεῖχέ τε καὶ ἐχώρει. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
 χθές τε καὶ εἰσαύριον ἔργα τηνικαῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ· μεταξύ δὲ, χάλικες ἐν χερσὶν ἄδροι
 καὶ ἀνδραχθεῖς λίθοι, προσκόμματος καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ δήπου
 ἀγαπητόν εἰ μέχρι τούτων ὁ κάματος. Ὁ δὲ, καὶ εἰσέτι πλεον ἐπετεῖναιτο. Μεθ' ἡμέ- 5
 ραν μὲν γὰρ, τοιαῦτα ἦν· ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ἐδίδου,
 καὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἀναπαύσεως καιρὸν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς εἰς τοιαύτην ζέσιν ἐκκαύσεως,
 διακαρτερῶν ἄπνους καὶ μηδὲ γόνυ κάμπτων, καὶ στήλην οὕτω καρτερίας ἑαυτὸν
 ἀνιστῶν· ὁ δὲ εὐμαθῶς μεμελέτηκε διὰ βίου εἰς τὸ παντοίως ὑπομενετικὸν ἑαυτὸν
 ἐκπονούμενος. 10

55 Ὅλως γὰρ εἰπεῖν, εἰς πλείω διηρημένης τῆς ὑπομονῆς, καὶ τῆς μὲν, εἰς τὰ περὶ
 σῶμα ἐχούσης, ἦν φερεπονίαν ὀνομάζειν οἶδαμεν, τῆς δὲ, εἰς ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐποχὴν, ὁ δὲ
 ἔστιν ἐγκράτεια, τῆς δὲ εἰς παντὸς λυπηροῦ κατακέρασμα, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ καὶ σωφρο-
 σύνης καὶ καρτερίας, ἔτι μὴν καὶ πραότητος ἐκνίκημα, οὐκ ἔστι, περὶ ἦν ἰδέαν ὑπο- 15
 μονῆς οὐκ εἶχεν ἄκρον τὸ εὐδόκιμον, βασιλεὺς κἀνταῦθα ὦν καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι μηδὲ 15
 ἐχρῆν τὸν οὕτω μεγάλως | ἄρχοντα, εἴκειν τοῖς χείροσι. Διήρκει οὖν εἰς ἅπαν φερε- 174r
 πονῶν, ψῦχος μὲν ὑπομένων, ὡς ἔαν καὶ μεσαιτάτου θέρους φρύγοντος, φιλοτιμίαν
 εὐκράτου πνοῆς εὔρισκε, θερινῶ δὲ θάλπει αὐθις παραβαλλόμενος καὶ ἐγκαρτερῶν,
 ὡς εἰ καὶ ζωογόνοις αὔραις ἐψύχετο· δίψαν δέ, ὡς οὐδ' ἄν, οἱ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἄδιφοι,
 ἀνεχόμενος· λιμὸν δὲ ἀεργῶ μὲν ἀνδρὶ σύμφορον εἶναι φιλοσοφῶν, ἐργατικῶ δὲ ἀν- 20
 θρώπων, ἀπροσάρμοστον, ὃν οἶδε τρέφειν τὰ σπουδαῖα ἔργα ἑαυτοῖς ἀπασχολοῦντα
 τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐναγώνιον.

1 βριθὺ δόρυ: Hom. *Il.* 5.746747 βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν, τῷ δάμνησι στίχας ἀνδρῶν; Georg. *Torn. Orat. in Georg. Xiph.* 2.5.111 ὁ βριθὺ τούτου δόρυ καὶ δολιχόσκιον συχνὰ βαρβάρων αἵματι ἐμβαπτόμενον; Nic. *Chon. Hist.* 375.16 εἰς ἵππον θυμικὸν Ἀρράβιον ἀνεπήδησε καὶ δόρυ βριθὺ καὶ στιβαρόν ἠγκωνίστατο; Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.26.16 ἐνθυμητέον δὲ καὶ ὅτι τοῦ, δόρυ βριθὺ, ἐφερμηνευτικά εἰσι τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ στιβαρόν 1 ποιητικὴ μεγαλοφωνία: cf. Luc. *Jurr. Trag.* 6.10 ἀποσέμνυνε, φημί, τὸ κήρυγμα μέτροις τισὶ καὶ μεγαλοφωνία ποιητικῆ; cf. Mich. *Chon. Or.* 14.235.15 Ποιητικὴ γὰρ εἶπεν ἄν μεγαλοφωνία 1–2 νηὸς... ἐεικοσόροιο: Hom. *Od.* 9.322 ὅσων θ' ἰστὸν νηὸς ἐεικοσόροιο μελαίνης; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.59.3 Ὅτι νῆα ἐεικοσόρον ἐμφαίνων ἄμα καὶ ἐτυμολογῶν, φησί. νῆ' ἄρσας ἐρέτησιν ἐεῖκοσιν. ὅθεν δηλονότι ναῦς εἰκοσόρος 4 λίθοι προσκόμματος: LXX *Is.* 8.14 καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθου προσκόμματι συναντήσεσθε αὐτῶ οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι; *Epist. Pauli ad Rom.* 9.33 προσέκοψαν τῷ λίθῳ τοῦ προσκόμματος 8 διακαρτερῶν ἄπνους: loc. comm. cf. e.g. Greg. *Antioch. Laud. patr. Bas. Camat.* 362 ὀρθοστάδην εἶλον ἄπνους διακαρτεροῦσαι 8 γόνυ κάμπτων: cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 32 τήνδε φρουρήσεις πέτραν ὀρθοστάδην ἄπνους, οὐ κάμπτων γόνυ 8–9 στήλην... ἀνιστῶν: cf. Christ. *Mytil. Calend. metr. Mai. canon.*

1 εἴκασεν ἄν: B εἰκάσειεν proposuit Tafel²

12 ἐποχὴν: B : συνοχὴν Tafel

which the poet's grandiloquence could liken to the mast of a twenty-oared ship. For such was the spear the imperial hand raised and hurled. And such were the emperor's works both yesterday and for times to come. But in the time between he carried bulky and back-breaking rubble in his hands, stones meant to serve as obstacles to the enemies of god. And doubtless it would have been appreciated if his labours had only extended this far. But his efforts stretched even further. Such therefore were his activities during the day, but the emperor applied himself to war planning at night as well, and he treated this time of rest as an opportunity to exert himself with burning zeal to such pursuits, remaining sleepless and vigilant 'without bending his knee' and thus raising himself into a pillar of perseverance. Indeed this was a thing at which he had studiously toiled throughout his life, namely, to achieve every sort of forbearance.

For generally speaking, his endurance divided into several kinds, the one 55 having to do with the body, which we customarily refer to as 'tolerance of hardship'; another which leads to the regulation of desires, which is defined as 'self-control'; another still which tempers every form of grief, a thing won by prudence and forbearance, all the more so by mildness; there was no form of endurance which he did not have the highest reputation, demonstrating that in this case as well he ruled over himself, since it was not fitting for so great a ruler to yield to the worst tendencies. And so he was able to cope with every sort of hardship, either enduring the cold, as though he had come upon a temperate breeze compensating for the parching midsummer heat, or subjected in turn to the summer heat and withstanding it, as if being cooled by invigorating breezes. As for thirst, he could endure it even more than the 'Un-thirsty' ones of history; and it was his considered judgement that hunger is the privilege of an idle man, while it could find no place in the life of one who toils, whom productive labours are wont to nourish, keeping the ambition of his soul fully occupied.

19 Στήλη καρτερίας ὦν Ἰῶβ / τιμάσθω παρ' ἡμῶν; cf. Eust. Or. 2 (Λόγος Β) 43.19 ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτου κατεξανίσταται καὶ στήλην καρτερίας ἑαυτὸν ἀνιστῶν 14 πραότητος: cf. Mich. Glyc. Vers. in Man. 6567 ἐγὼ τῆς ἡμερότητος καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας σου καὶ τῆς πραότητός σου μάρτυς οὐκ εὐπαράγραφτος οὐδ' οἷος ἀπιστεῖσθαι 15 βασιλεὺς ... ἑαυτοῦ: Io. Chrys. Fragm. in Prov. 64.733.7 Ἦ βασιλέα, τὸν πρὸ τῶν βασιλευομένων ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεύοντα 19 οἱ... Ἄδιψοι: cf. Clearch. 74 apud Athen. Deipnosoph. VIII 345e: Κλέαρχος μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ περὶ θινῶν, φάσκων Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα παῖδας θρέψαι... ἀδίψους ἀσκήσαι τοὺς ἐρευνησομένους τὰς ἐν Λιβύῃ ψάμμους; Eust. Or. quad. 2.43.17 ὁ δὲ καὶ ταύτην παρεκθέει τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς φύσεως, ὅποτε μὴ χθου καιρός, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θρυλουμένους ἀδίψους διακαρτερεῖ 20 λιμὸν... ἀνδρὶ: Hes. Op. et di. 302 αἰδοίη, βίότου δὲ τὴν πιμπλήσι καλιήν. / Λιμὸς γάρ τοι πάμπαν ἀεργῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρὶ 22 ψυχῆς ἐναγώνιον: loc. comm. Christian.

- 56 Ἀμέλει καὶ ἐπέιχε τὰ εἰς γαστρὸς θεραπείαν, ὅσα καὶ τις ἀνδριάς, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐθέλων τὴν ἔνθεσιν, εἰς ὅσον καὶ ὁ ὑπερπλησθεῖς· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐπισάττοι ἂν, τὸ ὑπέρφορτον· οὔτ' αὐτὸς εἶχε τὴν καθάπαξ σφιγγθεῖσαν λόγῳ συστέλλοντι, ἀνευρῆναι εἰς βρῶσιν κατὰ τοὺς κοιλιοδαίμονας. Καὶ ἔστι ταῦτὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τὸ αἴτιον. Οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πλῆρες, ἔτι στέγει τὸ ἐμβαλλόμενον, οὔτε τὸ εἰσάγαν σύστομον ἀφήσιν 5
τι τῶν ἐντιθεμένων, προκύπτει ἐντός.
- 57 Οὕτω κατισχύων ἦν ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ δεινοτάτου κόλακος. Θυμὸν γὰρ, ὅσα καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔννομος, ἐξώθει τύραννον. Στρωμνὴ δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς γῆς τραχύτητα, στρώμασι μαλακοῖς ἀμεσολάβητος οὕτω τι λελόγιστο φίλον, ὡς πραγματεῖαδὲς αὐτῷ ἐν καιρῷ εἶναι μηδὲ τῷ παντὶ τοῦ μεγέθους κατακλίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καθῆσθαι ὀρθούμενον, καὶ 10
οὕτως ἐκκλίνειν τὸν σοφὸν κατευναστήν ὕπνον τῆς φύσεως. Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ὀμηρικὸν Δία, ὕπνος ποτὲ περιεχέθη ἐπίβουλος οὐχ ἐκόντα, καὶ ὁ λόγος ὑπονοεῖται, δηλοῦν τὸ τοῦ ὕπνου βίαιον μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἄλλως ἔχουσι τοῦ βιοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλατῦ ἄρχουσι. Τῷ δὲ, καὶ προκαλούμενος ὕπνος οὐχ ὑπήκουε· τὸ γὰρ φροντιστικὸν, τοῦ χρειώδους περιεγίνοτο· καὶ ἐπιπετασθεῖς δὲ, ταχὺ ἀπεπήδα, μετῶν ἑαυτόν, ὡς 15
ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέταττε, καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἔργων καιριοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὑπεξιστάμενος, καὶ πως ὀκνῶν τῷ ἀεικινήτῳ παρεῖναι, καὶ τῷ ἀθανασίας ἐπαξίῳ θάνατον οἶον τεχνᾶσθαι τῇ ἀργίᾳ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, καὶ τῶν σπουδαίων ἔργων ἐκκόπτειν τὸν τῆς κοσμικῆς ἐργάτην συστάσεως.
- 58 Ὑδωρ μὲν αὐτῷ φίλον ποτόν, δελεαζόμενον, ὅτι τρυφᾶν δέει, πρὸς τινα σκευωρίαν ἡδονῆς σῶφρονα, εἰς ἣν καὶ ὁ γλυκὺς συμβολὴν τινα παραμύγνουσι κάλαμος· ἔτι γε μὴν, καὶ ὁ στύφων χυλὸς ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ ἡρέμα ὄξυνς ὁ κριθίνος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ οἴνω προσδεῖται χρῆσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἀγλευκῆς καὶ ὄξινης ἐκίρνατο καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀπρόσιτος. Καὶ ἦν τοῦτο βασιλικῷ κρατῆρος ἐπίσημον, οὐχ οὕτω χαίροντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ πόματι (οὐ γὰρ ἡδὺ τὸ τῇ γεύσει μὴ προσηγές), ὅσον οἶμαι καταμη- 25

1-2 γαστρὸς... ὑπερπλησθεῖς: Soph. OT. 779 ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἐν δείπνοις μ' ὑπερπλησθεῖς μέθης / καλεῖ παρ' οἴνω πλαστός ὡς εἶην πατρί 4 κοιλιοδαίμονας: cf. Athen. *Deipnosoph.* 3.52 Κύνουλκος ὀργισθεῖς ἰγάστρων, ἔφη, καὶ κοιλιόδαμον ἄνθρωπε; cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.633.57 Τὸ δὲ ὀλβιόδαμον [παρωδηθὲν ὕστερον ποτὲ τὸν ὀλβιογιάστορα καὶ τὸν κοιλιοδαίμονα προέφηνεν, ὦν τοῦ μὲν χρήσις παρὰ τῷ Δειπνοσοφιστῇ 7 ἐπιθυμίας... κόλακος: cf. Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1233b.31 ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐχερῶς ἅπαντα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὀμιλῶν κόλαξ 7-8 Θυμὸν... τύραννον: cf. Plut. *De cohib. ira* 455b5 Ἔστι γὰρ τις, ὡς ἔταίρε, πρώτη καθάπερ τυράννου κατάλυσις τοῦ θυμοῦ; Arist. et corp. Arist. *Fr.* 661 (apud Stob. 3.20.46) ἢ οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι τῶν ἐν ὀργῇ διαπραττομένων ἀπάντων ὁ λογισμὸς ἀποδημεί φεύγων τὸν θυμὸν ὡς πικρὸν τύραννον 11-12 Ὀμηρικὸν... ἐκόντα: Hom. *Il.* 14. 352353 Ὡς δ' ἐμὲν ἀτρέμας εὐδε πατήρ ἀνὰ Γαργάρῳ ἄκρω, / ὕπνω καὶ φιλότῃτι δαμείξ 12 Δία... ἐκόντα: Hom. *Il.* 1.610 Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς δὴν λέχος ἦι' Ὀλύμπιος ἄστεροπητῆς, / ἔνθα πάρος κοιμᾶθ' ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἰκάνοι 17 ἀεικινήτῳ παρεῖναι: cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.641.81ο ἐπεὶ ὀρθοῦς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς σπουδαίους, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ δρθρος γίνε-

18 ἐκκόπτειν: proposuit Reinsch ἐγκόπτειν B et Tafel 20 ὅτι... δέει: B et Tafel ὅτε τρυφᾶν δέει proposuit Tafel²

Of course he held his appetite in check, like some statue, wishing to consume 56 only as much as a man who has already had more than his fill; for neither might that man heap more upon a surplus nor was this man [Manuel] able to expand his stomach once he had contracted it by his will in order to eat as gluttons do. And the reason in both cases was the same. For that which is full cannot accept anymore, and anything with a very narrow opening will not allow something placed in it to enter inside.

Such was the control he exerted over his desires, that most dreadful parasite. 57 And as for his passions, he banished them as a legitimate emperor might exile a tyrant. The rough ground served as his bed, and he slept without soft mattresses coming between himself and the ground, so that it was practical for him when the need arose, not to recline his whole body but to sit upright, and in this way to turn away the wise tranquilizing sleep of nature. Indeed treacherous sleep once flowed over Homeric Zeus against his will, a story which conveys the compulsion of sleep, not just among common men, but also among those who rule far and wide. But in the case of Manuel, even when called upon, sleep did not obey, for his worries won out over his needs. And even when sleep lighted upon him, it immediately leapt off, making its impact felt in moderation, as the emperor dictated, yielding on those occasions when there was work to be done, being somehow reluctant to be present at the side of a man in constant motion. It was as though sleep was contriving the death of a man deserving of immortality by rendering his senses idle, thus severing the one who created worldly order from his achievements.

Water was his favourite drink, tempting him, since he needed to indulge in 58 some restrained form of pleasure, to which the sweet sap of the reed mixes in its share; still more in fact the viscous juice, and on occasion even slightly bitter beer. And if there was need of wine as well, it was unsweetened and served bitter, unappealing to most. And this was characteristic of the emperor's drinking habit, not so much because he enjoyed this sort of drink (for that which does not appeal to taste is not pleasurable), but as a measure, I think, against excessive

ται, ὅς εἰς ἔργα ἡμᾶς ὀρθοῖ. Οὕτω δὲ μύθου καὶ τὸ τὸν ἀεικίνητον Δία ἐπὶ θρόνου καθίζειν 17 θάνατον ... τεχνᾶσθαι: cf. Hom. *Od.* 13.798ο καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε, / νήγρετος ἦδιστος, θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἑοικώς 18 ἀργία ... αἰσθήσεων: cf. Arist. *De insomn.* 461a4 νύκτωρ δὲ δὲ ἀργίαν τῶν κατὰ μόριον αἰσθήσεων καὶ ἀδυναμίαν τοῦ ἐνεργεῖν 18-19 κοσμικῆς ... συστάσεως: cf. Procl. *Theol. Platon.* 1.22.5 εἰκόνα φέρουσι 'τῆς' κοσμικῆς συστάσεως, ἐν ἣ καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον κάλλος θεοπρεπές ἐστὶ 21 γλυκὺς ... κάλαμος: cf. Diod. *Sic. Bibl. Hist.* 3.10.3.2 διόπερ ὅταν γεύσωνται τοῦ θρύου καὶ τοῦ καλάμου, διὰ τὴν γλυκύτητα τῆς τροφῆς μένει καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαίταν καταφθεῖρει; cf. Mich. *Ital. Or.* 43.258.6 Μέλι ἐκ πέτρας ἔκει, κἀνταῦθα γλυκύτατος χυμὸς ἐκ καλάμων παραδοξοτάτων λείβεται

χανωμένου τῆς ἄγαν ὀρέξεως. Καὶ οἶδα πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν ἀσκητὰς ἄνδρας τοιοῦτον ἑαυτοῖς οἰνοχοῦντας κέρασμα, ὡς ἂν κατευμεγεθῶσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ἔνδον ἔχθροῦ.

59 Στάσιν δὲ ὀρθίαν, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐρρέθη, ὡσεὶ καὶ κίων ἐκπονησάμενος ἀστραβῆς καὶ ἀναστηλῶν ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὕτω πρὸς εὐκλειαν οἷς ἀνείχεν ὑψοῦ τὰ ἡμέτερα, γόνατα κάμπτειν αὐθις θεῶ ἑυχῆς λόγῳ καὶ οὕτω πρεπόντως ἀφοσιούσθαι τὸ γουνάζεσθαι, 5 ἀρχετύπῳ παράμιλλος ἦν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐκείνῳ δικαίῳ, οὐπερ οἱ τῶν γονάτων τύλοι τὸ συχνὰ γονυπετὲς ἠγόρευον. Καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἐν ἀριστεύμασιν ἀνάστημα πεπραγματεύτο. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν τὸν εἰς θεὸν κατανεύοντα μὴ κατεξανίστασθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, μηδὲ τὸν ἐξ ὑψους οὕτω μακροῦ ἑαυτὸν ταπεινοῦντα, μὴ θεόθεν ὑψοῦσθαι, καὶ τοῦ 10 μέχρι καὶ εἰς γῆν ταπεινοποιῶ ἀντιλαμβάνειν ὑψωμα εὐκλείας οὐράνιον.

60 Τὸ δὲ βαδιστικὸν ἐντεῦθεν διαδεχόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ καρτέρημα ἦν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀνέπαυε λιπαροὺς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων, οὐδὲ ἵππου κουφότητι αἰρομένου πρὸς τάχος, εἰσαιεὶ τοὺς δρόμους ἐπίστευεν. Ἀλλὰ δεῆσαν, τοὺς πεζοδρομεῖν ἐπιστημονικοὺς παρήλαυεν, οὐκ ἀπαξιῶν τὸ πεζὸν κατὰ τὸ πάλαι Περσικὸν ὑψηλόφρον, οἷς ἤρесе 15 νομοθετησά, δίχα τοῦ κατ' οἰκίαν περιπάτου λοιπὴν πορείαν | ἐφ' ἵππου τίθεσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῖς μὲν ἀνάγκαις, καὶ ὅτε δὲ θρίαμβοι, τὴν ἵππασίαν ἐγκρίνων, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ ποσὶ χρώμενος εἰς τὸ καρτερόν. 174v

61 Οὕτω τὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς λυποῦντα, καὶ τῷ ἐναγωνίῳ πικράζοντα, κατεκίρνα γλυκάσμασιν ἀρετῆς, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ἀνεξικακὸν ἐπορίζετο νωθρευόμενος κατ' ὀρθὸν λόγον εἰς ἀμυνα, καὶ καιρὸν εἰς ἐπιστροφήν ἐνδιδούς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦς ἀποστρέψασιν 20 εἰς φαυλότητα τὸν σωτήρα Χριστὸν ἑαυτῷ κἀνταῦθα προϊστών εἰς ἀρχέτυπον μιμήσεως, τὸν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ὄντα καὶ πάντων προνοητικῶς ἀνεχόμενον· οὐ καὶ τὸ αὐτουργὸν ἐμμεῖτο, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἔργοις αὐτοδιάκονον, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς μεγίστοις. Οὐ γὰρ ἤθελε χερσὶ μὲν ἐτέραις ἐκπονεῖσθαι τὸ καλόν, αὐτὸν δὲ τοῖς ἀνδραγαθήμασιν

2 κατευμεγεθῶσι... ἐχθροῦ: cf. Eust. Or. 2 (Λόγος Β) 38.47 ὃς οὐ μόνον βαρβάροις ἐχθροῖς ἐπικείμενος κατευμεγεθεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ παθῶν ἀριστεὺς ἴσεται φιλοτιμούμενος, εἰς ὅσον ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει δίδωσι θεός, παμβασιλεὺς εἶναι καὶ αὐτός, βασιλέων τε πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπέρτερος καὶ παθῶν ἀνώτερος; idem Or. 4 (Λόγος Δ) 55.1718 3 κίων... ἀστραβῆς: Pi. Ol. 2.82 ὃς Ἔκτορα σφᾶλε, Τροίας / ἄμαχον ἀστραβῆ κίονα 6 ἀρχετύπῳ... δικαίῳ: Epist. Pauli ad Ephes. 3.14 Τοῦτου χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γονάτά μου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα; cf. Greg. Naz. De pace PG 35.721.41 πάντα μοι ἦν ὑπεκαύματα καὶ ὑπομνήματα τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαζεύξεως, ἀγρυπνία, νηστεία, προσευχαί, δάκρυα, τύλοι γονάτων; cf. Eust. Or. 9 (Λόγος Θ) 160.6 εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ γόνατα τύλοις ἐκτραχυνθῶσιν εἰς γῆν κλινόμενα, ὁποῖον τὸν κατ' ἐξοχὴν δίκαιον ἢ φιλόθεος ἱστορία παραδίδωσιν 10 γῆν... οὐράνιον: cf. Eust. Or. quoad. 7.582 ὦ καὶ πρὸς χάος ἄβυσσον καταγῶν καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὑψῶν ὁ αὐτός, τὸ πρῶτον, οἷς ταπεινοποιεῖ ἐκ μεταμέλου 12 λιπαροῦς... εἰλαπινάζων: Hom. Il. 14.241 τῷ κεν ἐπισχοίης λιπαροῦς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων 14 ἀπαξιῶν... τίθεσθαι: Xen. Anab. 8.8.19 Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν ἦν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῖς μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι πέξῃ πορευομένοις, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἕνεκα ἢ τοῦ ὡς ἵππικωτάτους γίγνεσθαι; Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il. 3.819.31 Εἶη δ' ἂν ἵπποκέλευθος κυριολεκτικῶς ὁ πέξῃ βαδίζειν ὀκνῶν, τὰ πλείω δὲ ἀναβάλλων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔφιππος προίεσαι. ὃ δὴ νόμος ἦν Πέρσας, ἐπὶν ἔμα-

appetite. And I know genuine ascetics who pour themselves such a mixture with precision so that they may overpower the enemy within.

He strove to maintain an upright stance, as has been noted, like an uncurving column, setting himself up this way also in a manner deserving of praise for the way he supported our empire, bending his knees in turn in prayer to God, and thus so fittingly consecrating his genuflection, like a rival to that great and just archetype, whose calloused knees testified to his frequent kneeling. And thus did he achieve prominence for his achievements. For there was no reason for the man who bowed before God not to stand up to his enemies, nor for one who humbled himself from such a height not to be raised up high by God, and to receive in exchange from the one who humbled himself to the ground a heavenly height of good repute.

His capacity for walking comes next, itself being another form of endurance. He did not put up his 'smooth feet while feasting,' nor did he always rely on the ease of a horse carrying him aloft speedily along the roads. But as the need arose, he would overtake those expert at going on foot, not denigrating walking, as the haughty ancient Persians had done, whom it pleased to lay down the following law, that with the exception of walking inside one's house, all other transit should be made on horseback. When it was necessary, however, as in the case of triumphal processions, he approved of using a horse, while making vigorous use of his feet the rest of the time and showing great stamina.

In this way did he combine things which cause most people suffering and prompt bitterness to a contestant with the sweeter aspects of virtue, to which he owed his forbearance against malice, being indisposed to punish as a result of heeding his reason, giving those who had strayed onto the path of disgrace the opportunity to return, holding out before himself in such cases Christ the Saviour as his archetype, the one who stands above all and bears everything with providential care, whose direct involvement he imitated, as he did Christ's self-reliance in his works, especially the most important ones. For he did not wish to execute virtuous works through the hands of others while having the achievements ascribed to himself, nor did he wish to simply hear about imperial

θον λυσιτελέστερον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸ μεθ' ἵππων πολεμεῖν ἢ πεζομαχεῖν 23 αὐτουργὸν... αὐτοδιά-
 κονον: Strab. *Geogr.* 16.4.26.5 οὕτω δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστὶ δημοτικὸς ὥστε πρὸς τῷ αὐτοδιακόνῳ; cf. Neoph.
 Incl. Πανηγ. βιβλ. 29.206 Χριστὸς αὐτῆς ἐπηγγεῖλατο βασιλείαν ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς αὐτουργὸς καὶ ταύτης θεμέ-
 λιος; cf. Mich. Psell. *Theol.* 3.385 Χριστῷ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν εἰργάσατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πατήρ [εὐδ]
 οκί[α]σεν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ταύτης αὐτουργὸς γέγονεν

ἐπιγράφεσθαι, οὐδ' ἀκοὰς παραβάλλειν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς πρακτέοις, ὀφθαλμοὺς δ' ἐπιβάλλειν καὶ χερσὶ καταβάλλειν τὸ ἀντικείμενον.

62 Ἀμέλει καὶ κινδύνοις ἑαυτὸν παρενετίθει ἔνθα τῷ στρατῷ ἄλλως ἦν ἄφυκτον· καὶ διδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἕως καὶ εἰς θάνατον, κατηλλάττετο τοῖς λοιποῖς τὸ σώζεσθαι. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τοῖς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος τραύμασιν ἥπερ τοῖς ἐν διαδήματι 5 ἀγλαΐσμασι, καὶ σφραγίδας ταύτας ἔφερον, ἐγγεγλυμμένας τὸ ἀνδρικόν. Βασιλέα μὲν οὖν θεωρεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο διαδοχῆς ἦν θεὸς παραδόξως αὐτῷ διέθετο, ἐπικρίνας εἰς βασιλέα τὸν ἐν ἀδελφοῖς μεγάλοις τε καὶ καλοῖς, μικρὸν μὲν τηνικαῦτα κάλλιστον δέ, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἐπιόν, καὶ μέγιστον. Στρατηγὸν δέ, οὐκ ἂν εἴη πόρρω τοῦ 10 καὶ οὕτω βασιλέα διασκέπτεσθαι. Ἔστι γὰρ βασιλεὺς, ἅπας (οὐκ ἔξω λόγου εἰπεῖν) στρατηγῶν στρατηγός. Ἰππότην μὲντοι ἄριστον θεθεῖσθαι, καὶ πεζομάχον, καὶ μονομάχον ῥώμην πνέοντα, καὶ πρόμαχον, καὶ πολιορκητὴν δεινότατον, καὶ λόχους καθίζειν δεξιόν, καὶ λοιπαῖς ἀπάσαις παρεῖναι μάχαις θερμότατον, ταῦτα δὲ οὐκέτι διαδοχῆς ἀλύσει συμπλέκεται εἰ καὶ ἐκ γένους καθήκεν ἄχρι καὶ εἰς αὐτόν, ἀσκή- 15 σεως δὲ ὅτι μάλα συγχῆς, καὶ τριβῆς διαρκοῦς, καὶ ὀργανώσεως ἦν φύσις ἐφιλοτέ- χνησεν ὑπὸ θεῷ ἀρχιτέκτονι.

63 Ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἄγαν ὑπερορίοις μάχαις οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔκρινε δέον παρεῖναι τοῦ ἀνεκα- 20 θεν χρόνου τὰ μεταξὺ τὰ μὲν, ἐκπολεμώσαντος τὰ δὲ, ἐν ὑπόπτῳ θεμένου· ὅθεν καὶ ἦν ἀνάγκη πρὸς τῷ μέσῳ εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ καρδίας λόγῳ τὰ πέριξ θάλπειν καὶ ζωογονεῖν· Οὗτ' ἂν, εἴπερ αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν (ἔκρινε δὲ ἐν ἅπασιν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ζέον), ἀδυσώπητος ἔμενε πρὸς γε τοῦ συγκλήτου λάχους καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ. Ἀμέλει καὶ προ- 25 ελθῶν τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πῆ μὲν, διχῆ τεμῶν τῷ στρατοπεδεύματι, πῆ δὲ, καὶ ὑπερμεσώσας, ἐξέστελλεν ἐγγύθεν τὸ στρατιωτικόν, καὶ κατεπράττετο οἷα θεὸς ἐδίδου ὁ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβανόμενος. Κἂν εἰ μὴ καινόν τι καὶ μέγα συνεπεπτῶκει, οὐκ ἦν ἀναστρέψαι τοὺς βασιλικούς ἐκεῖθεν 25 ἀποστόλους, μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐν καλῷ καταστήσαντας. Συνεξέπεμπε γὰρ ἐκείνοις ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ βουλευμάτα, δι' ὧν ὡς αὐτὸς παρῶν ἐνήργει τὰ τρόπαια. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν βουλευσάμενον μὴ οὐκ ἐπιτυχεῖν. Εἰ δέ που ἢ στρατοῦ ἀτασθαλίᾳ ἔσφαλλε τὰ τῆς

6 σφραγίδας... ἐγγεγλυμμένας: cf. Io. Damasc. *Or. de imag. tres* 1.16.7173 'οἱ λίθοι ἦσαν ἐξ ὀνομάτων τῶν υἰῶν Ἰσραὴλ δώδεκα ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν ἐγγεγλυμμέναι σφραγίδες, ἕκαστος ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος εἰς τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς' 15-16 ὑπὸ ... ἀρχιτέκτονι: cf. *Epist. Pauli ad Cor.* i. 3.10 Κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκα, ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ. *Eust. Or.* 2 (Λόγος Β) 30.7577 Λυχαὶ λίθοι ζῶντες, εὐθετοὶ πρὸς οἰκοδομίαν θεοῦ καὶ εἰς ἀρμογὴν συνδεδεμένοι στερερὰν ὑπὸ τῷ μόνῳ καὶ σοφῷ καὶ δυνατῷ ἀρχιτέκτονι 19-20 θάλπειν ... ζωογονεῖν: cf. *Greg. Nyss. Testim. adv. Jud.* PG 46.196.27 τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος θάλποντος καὶ ζωογονοῦντος εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν γονὴν τὰ πάντα, τῆς Γραφῆς δηλούσης; cf. *Theod. Prodr. Carm. hist.* 1.1-2 "Ἦλιε Ἰώμης νεαράς, αἴγλη φωτὸς μεγάλου, / ἀρτί-

projects but preferred to look upon them with his own eyes, and to bring down anything opposing him with his own hands.

And indeed he exposed himself to dangers in situations where the army had no means of escape, and going so far as to expose himself to deadly risk, trading his own safety for that of the others. For this reason he was proud of the wounds all over his body, in the same way he was of the jewels on his crown, and he bore these like seals, the carved signs of his manly bravery. And so whereas looking upon him as an emperor was a matter of royal succession, which God had granted him unexpectedly, selecting as emperor among the older and decent brothers one who may have been at that time the youngest but was by far the best, and would in time prove the greatest. And to think of him as a general would not be all that different from thinking of him as emperor since (I think it apt to say) every emperor is the general of generals. To look upon him as an excellent knight, however, and as a foot-soldier, exuding strength in one-on-one combat, formidable at leading the charge and at laying siege, expert at setting ambushes, a fervent participant in every kind of battle –these things were no longer bound up in the chain of succession, even if these qualities were passed down to him from his ancestors, they were nevertheless the result of frequent training and constant practice, as well as his physical constitution, which nature lovingly fashioned under the guidance of God the master-builder.

He did not deem it necessary to be present himself at battles far beyond our borders, since the preceding period saw lands within the empire grow hostile, while others came under suspicion; for which reason it was necessary for the emperor to remain in the middle, and like the heart give life and warmth to the surrounding parts. Nor would he, even if he had already come to a decision (since in all matters it was the ardour of his soul which decided), remain unswerving in the face of the senate's vote for the remainder of the time. Indeed, whenever he set out from the queen of cities, sometimes encamping half way to the enemy, at other times further afield, he would dispatch the army not far ahead, and he proceed to accomplish what God had provided, who collaborated with him in these works. And unless some big new obstacle befell them, there was no way for the imperial envoys to turn back from where they had been sent until they had arranged for everything. For the emperor sent along with them instructions, through which he achieved victory as though he himself had been present. Since he always achieved what he had resolved to do. And if ever a battle was lost on

τυπε τοῦ κτίσαντος τὸ σύμπαν ἀρχετύπου...εἰ θάλλεις, εἰ ζωογονεῖς, εἰ διοικεῖς προνοίᾳ; *Carm. hist.* 4.207
ὦ φέγγε φέγγε, βασιλεῦ, φέγγε τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα, / περιθάλπε περιλαμπε ζωπύρει ζωογόνοι

μάχης, ἢ τὸ συμμαχικὸν οὐκ ἀπονήρως ἐμισθοφόρει, τυχὸν δὲ οὕτω, καὶ κύβος μάχης οὐ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἔρριπτο, τούτου μὲν ἄλλοθεν τὸ αἴτιον, τὸ βασιλικὸν δὲ ἔργον ἀναίτιον.

64 Καὶ οὕτω μὲν τὸ τῆς στρατείας διωκονομεῖτο ἔκτοπον. Οὐκ ἂν δέ τι ἐγγένοιτο, συχρὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαριθμήσασθαι. Τὰ πλείω γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἐπέ- 5
βαινε, οὐκ ἔχων ἑτέροις τὰ οὕτω μέγιστα πιστεύειν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα. Κίλικες οἶδασι ταῦτα, καὶ Ἀρμένια φύλα, καὶ γένος Ἀσσύριον, καὶ λοιπὸν, ὅσον πρωτοφαέσι βολαῖς ἡλίου βάλλεται. Σκυθικὴν δὲ ἀγριότητα οὐ μόνος ὁ πολυαριστεὺς πατὴρ ἡμερώ-
σατο, ἀλλὰ | καὶ οὗτος ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔλαττον. Ἰστρου δὲ τὰ πέραν οὕτω κατέδραμεν, 175r
ὡς εἰ καὶ ἀδεῶς τις περιωκοδομημένα θηρία κνηγετῶν, τὰ μὲν, ἀλίσκει τὰ δ' εἰς 10
φόβον κινεῖ· καὶ αὐτὸ οὐκ εἰσάπαξ. Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ τοῦτο πάθος, κατισχύσαντος μόγις τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι περαίας, καὶ ἅμα πεφευγὸτος ἀμεταστρεπτί· καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐρυμνότητα χωρίου εἰπεῖν ἧς μὴ ταχὺ περιεγίνετο, αὐτὸς τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐπι-
δεδημηκῶς. Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦτο μεγαλούργημα, ὃς -ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅπου -καὶ τὸ τοῦ
Ἡρακλέως σεμνὸν ἀπήλεγχεν. Αὐτίκα γὰρ ὁ μὲν τὴν Ἄορνον (πέτρα δὲ αὕτη, τὸν 15
Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ὑπομένουσα ταῖς ρίζαις προσαρασσομένον), ἐλείν οὐκ ἔσχεν, εἰς τρις μὲν προσβαλὼν τοσαυτάκις δέ φασιν ἀποκρουσθεῖς· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, εἰσάπαξ προσ-
βεβληκῶς, εἶλεν ἐγκρατῶς.

65 Εἰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων πόλλ' ἐμόγησεν ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς πο-
λιορκία τριβόμενος, πολέμου νόμος καὶ τοῦτο. Ἐχει δὲ ἡ συγγραφή καὶ ἅς ἅμα τε 20
εἶδε καὶ τὰς μὲν, κατέβριψεν ὅσας οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἴσασθαι, τὰς δὲ, ἀφήκεν ἐστάναι ὅσαις τὸ συντελεῖν πρὸς ἡμῶν ἦν. Ἀριθμὸν δὲ τούτοις ἐπιστήσαι, συγγραφικῆς ἔργον λε-
πτολογίας, καὶ ὅλης δέλτου βούλημα. Εἶδον ἡμέραι δύο ποτὲ πέντε πόλεις ἀνδρα-
ποδισάμενον τὸν πολὺν Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ τούτων οἶα μὲν τὰς τρεῖς ἐκεῖνος διέθετο,

1-2 κύβος ... ἔρριπτο: Aesch. *Sept. contr. Th* 414 ἔργον ἐν κύβοις Ἄρης κρινεῖ; Plu. *Caes.* 32 καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς εἰς τύχας ἐμβαίνουσιν ἀπόρους καὶ τόλμας προοίμιον ὑπειπὼν „ἀνερρίφθω κύβος;“ ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν

8 Σκυθικὴν ... ἀγριότητα: Strabo *Geogr.* 7.3.6.24 τὸ δυσχείμερον καὶ τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν περιουκούντων ἐθνῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Σκυθικῶν, ξενοθυτούντων καὶ σαρκοφαγούντων καὶ τοῖς κρανίοις ἐκπῶμασι χρωμένων; cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.370.24 πολύθηρος δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πολύζωος καὶ ἡ τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων, εἶγε μὴ γεωργούντες ἐκ τοιούτων ἔζων ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ σκυθικώτερον

10 περιωκοδομημένα θηρία: Xen. *Cyr.* 1.4.11 ἐφλυαροῦμεν ὅτε τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἐθιρῶμεν...ζῶντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ περιωκοδομημένα

11-15 Ἀλεξάνδρου ... Ἄορνον: Plut. *Reg. et imp. apophth.* 181c6 Περὶ δὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἀόρνον πέτρας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀκούσας, ὅτι τὸ μὲν χωρίον δυσάλωτόν ἐστιν...πέτραν ἀληπτον δοκοῦσαν εἶναι; Strab. *Geogr.* 15.1.8.11 Ἄορνον δὲ τινα πέτραν, ἧς τὰς ρίζας ὁ Ἰνδὸς ὑπορρεῖ πλησίον τῶν πηγῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ μίαν προσβολὴν ἐλόντος, σεμνύνοντες ἔφασαν τὸν Ἡρακλέα τρις μὲν προσβαλεῖν

7 Ἀσσύριον: scripsi Ἀσύριον B 13 πραττομένοις: B ταρραττομένοις proposuit Tafel², sed vid. not. ad loc. 14 -καὶ τὸ: καὶ post ὅπου B 17-18 προσβεβληκῶς: B προβεβηκῶς Tafel

account of the army's recklessness, or our mercenary allies acted treacherously, so that the dice of battle were not cast favourably, the cause of this lay elsewhere, while the emperor's actions were not to blame.

This was how the army's campaigns abroad were conducted. And it would not be possible for anyone to calculate the many such occurrences. For in most cases he took charge of such operations himself, not being able to entrust such important and dangerous things to others. The Kilikians know well of what I speak, as do the Armenian tribes and the Assyrian nation; as are all the rest who are struck by the first appearing rays of the sun. Moreover, his much accomplished father was not alone in taming the wild nature of the Skythians. Manuel, too, did so no less than his father. He raided on the far side of the Istros, like someone hunting wild beasts in a walled area, capturing some and striking fear into others. And he did this more than once. For this was Alexander's problem, that having prevailed as soon as he crossed to the other shore, he was forced to flee straight back. And it was not possible to name a single fortified town where he did not overcome the rebels themselves as soon as he arrived. This was Alexander's great achievement –and it is possible to say where this took place– he also surpassed the distinction of Herakles. To begin with, Herakles was not able to conquer the Aornian fortress (this is a great rock which withstands the flow of the Indus as it batters its roots) though he attempted three times, and three times they say he was repelled. Alexander, on the other hand, assailed it only once and he successfully conquered it.

If however our emperor exerted himself many times by laying siege to many cities, this was normal in wartime. But the historical record shows that there were cities that as soon as he came upon them, either he tore down since they should not have been built in the first place, leaving standing the ones which paid taxes to us. Ascertaining the precise number of these would be a task worthy of a detailed historical account from someone intending to compose an entire book. Alexander the Great once conquered and enslaved five cities in two days. And those who diligently record such things give no details about how he

τῇ πέτρα ταύτῃ τρίς δ' ἀποκρουσθῆναι; cf. Eust. *Comm. in Dion. perieg.* 1143.26 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ πέτρα τις Ἄορνος περὶ τὴν Ἰνδίαν, ἣπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν προσβαλὼν εἰς τρίς ἀπεκρούσθη, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ κατὰ μίαν εἴλε προσβολήν. Ταύτης δὲ τῆς Ἀόρνος τὰς ρίζας ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ὑπορέειν λέγεται **19–20** πολιορκία τριβόμενος; Arrian. *Alex. Anab.* 2.24.3.4 ὀργῇ γὰρ ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ πάν οἱ Μακεδόνες, τῆς τε πολιορκίας τῇ τριβῇ ἀχθόμενοι; Cass. Dio *Hist. Rom.* 66.9.2a5 ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ νείους ἐπανέλθῃ πρὸς τὴν Πρώμην. τριβόμενου δὲ χρόνον ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ; cf. Polyb. *Hist.* 21.28.18.2 τοιαύτην δὲ λαμβανούσης τριβῆν τῆς πολιορκίας **23** ἡμέραι ... Ἀλέξανδρον; Arrian. *Alex. Anab.* 4.3.1.1 Οὕτω δὲ τὰς πέντε πόλεις ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις ἐλὼν τε καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἦε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην αὐτῶν τὴν Κύρου πόλιν

οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα φιλοπονησάμενοι. Αἶ γε μὲν λοιπαὶ δύο, τοὺς σφῶν πολίτας ἄρδην ἀνηρημένους ἔκλασαν. Καὶ οὐκ οἶδα μὲν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἀκριβειαν ἐφ' ὅτῳ κακῶ προϋπάρξαντι· οὐκ ἔχω δὲ μὴ ἀπόρως ἔχειν, τί ποτ' ἂν, ἦν ἐκεῖνο μέγα ὁ τοσοῦτοις ἀνδράσι βασιλείαν ἐζημίωκεν. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὰ τρόπαια οὐδὲν ἐλάττω, καὶ τὸ ἀλισκόμενον ἐσώζετο καὶ περιεποιεῖτο εἰς εὐχρηστούμενον· ἵνα καὶ οὕτω 5 καθὰ καὶ ἀνόπιν ὁ λόγος ὀρθῆ κρίσει ἐζυγοστάται, τὸ θεῖον ἐπαύξῃται τάλαντον. Οἱ πῶς οὐκ ἂν τοῦ λοιποῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς πρόοιντο καὶ τὴν ζωὴν, ἄνθρωποι θανάτῳ μὲν περιτετυχηκότες, πεφιλοτιμημένοι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τοῖς εἰς βίον ἀρκοῦσι καταντλούμενοι δαψιλῶς; Οἷς καὶ ἄλλως ἀρκοῦν πρὸς μάχης ἐρεθισμὸν, τὸ ἐν πολέμοις οὐ μόνον ἐκβοᾶσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ 10 εἰς τὸν Ἐνυάλιον διεγερτήρια, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν, προθέειν τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἔργον καὶ προαρπάζειν τὸν στέφανον.

66 Ἦν γὰρ τῷ ὄντι παραθῆξαι μὲν εἰς μάχην λόγοις, Τυρταίου ῥητορεία ἢ Τιμοθέου πρὸς μέλος ἄρμοσις, ὧν ὁ μὲν, ἄδεται τοῖς εἶναι εἰς πόλεμον ὀτρύναι, ὡς δεξιῶς ἔχειν ἐρεθίσαι εἰς θάνατον· Τιμόθεος δὲ, τὸν πολὺν Ἀλέξανδρον ἄδων ποτὲ, εἰς θυ- 15 μὸν ἐκμῆναι Ἀρεϊκόν, καὶ πείσαι πρὸς ὄπλα δραμεῖν, ὡς εἰ καὶ πόλεμος ἐνίστατο· προθυμηθῆναι δὲ εἰς ἔργον, ἀστραπῆς ἔχων ἔξαλμα, ἔργου δὲ γενέσθαι πῦρ ὕλης δραττόμενον. Καὶ ἔστι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν οὐκ οἶδ' οἷς ἀγνώστων. Ναὶ γὰρ εἰς ἀνδριαν κραταιοῦσθαι τὸν ὑμνούμενον ἐκδηλον ὅσοις καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔγνωστο, (ὅσον γὰρ 20 τῆς γῆς –ἦν δὲ τὸ ἅπαν τοῦ οἰκουμένου τμήματος αὐτῆς– οἶδε θάτερον, οἶδε καὶ τὸ λοιπόν), βασιλεὺς πανταχοῦ γῆς περιადόμενος, καὶ ἀνδρείος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου μὴ τῆς οἰκησίμου γῆς. Ἐνταῦθα τίς ἂν, ἔχοι ἑαυτὸν ἀπασχολῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδραγαθήμασι καιρῷ βραχεῖ μετρούμενος; Βίβλοι ὅλαι καὶ ταῦτα. Βιβλιογραφεῖν δὲ νῦν, τίς ἂν, αἰτήσειεν ἢ ἀπαιτήσειεν;

6 θεῖον... τάλαντον: *Ev. Matt.* 25:1430 10–11 βασιλέως... Ἐνυάλιον: *Xen. Anab.* 1.8.18 καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἶον τῷ Ἐνυάλιῳ ἐλελίξουσι; cf. etiam idem 5.2.14 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαίανισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγατο, ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνυάλιῳ ἠλέλιξαν 13 Τυρταίου... Τιμοθέου: *Pl. Leg.* 629a3ob {AΘ.} “Ὡ Τύρταιε, ποιητὰ θεοῖοι—δοκεῖς γὰρ δὴ σοφὸς ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθός, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διαφέροντας διαφέροντας ἐγκεκομῖακας; cf. *Anna Comn. Alex.* 4.1.13; Τιμόθεος δὲ ὁ αὐλητῆς τὸν ὀρθιόν ποτε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αὐλήσας εἰς τὰ ὄπλα παραχρῆμα καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐκίνει τὸν Μακεδόνα; cf. *Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.609.18; 3.262.9; 2.324.25 τοιοῦτον ἡ ἱστορία καὶ τὸν Τυρταῖον οἶδε ῥήτορα, οἶον ἐρεθίζειν προθύμως ἀποκινδυνεύειν εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ ὁ ἐντυχῶν ἔπεσιν ἐκείνου εἴσεται, ὅπως ἐνθουσιᾷ τῷ εἰς μάχην ἐγερτικῶ; cf. *Eust. Orat.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 279.27 Εἰ δὲ καὶ τι μέλος ἤρμωσεν ἢ πάλαι τέχνην κινεῖν πρὸς μάχην δυνάμενον, ὁποῖον καὶ Τιμόθεος ὑπάρδων ποτὲ εἰς ὄπλα τὸν Μακεδόνα βασιλέα ἐξέμνηεν 15–16 Τιμόθεος... ὄπλα: cf. *Nic. Bryenn. Hist.* 2.27 τὸν δ' εὐθύς ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὰ ὄπλα ἐκίνησε μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς φασι, πάλαι ἢ Τιμοθέου αὐλησίς; cf. etiam *Anna Comn. Alex.* 9.5 ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς μεμαθηκῶς οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς εἶχεν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς αὐτοῖς ἐξωπλίσατο μὴ πάνυ τι μὴδὲ τοῦ αὐλητοῦ Τιμοθέου πρὸς τοῦτο δεόμενος καθάπερ Ἀλέξαν-

treated three of these. The other two, at any rate, wept for their fellow citizens who were cut down all at once. And while I cannot say with any certainty what previous wrong could have been the reason for this, I cannot but be at a loss to explain what could have been so important as to cost the empire so many men. But in our case, there were just as many victories and those conquered survived and were transformed into something useful. So that in this way, too, just as earlier estimate prove accurate when we weighed the matter earlier in the oration, the divine talent was increased. And why would these people not risk even their lives on behalf of the lands of the Romans from then on, people who, though facing the prospect of death at every turn, were instead granted their lives by the emperor, in addition to which they were lavished abundantly with the means to support themselves? These were in any case men roused to battle not just by an emperor's sounding the war cry of Ares but also when he himself led the charge and tried to seize the laurels of victory.

For one could, actually, compare the emperor's calls to battle with the 66 eloquence of Tyrtaios, or with the musical harmony of Timotheos. Of these two, the former is reputed to have been so adept at rousing men to war that he was perfectly capable of stirring them to their death; for his part, Timotheos incited such delirious passion for battle one time in Alexander the Great while singing his praises, that he convinced him to make a dash for his weapons, as though war itself was at hand. Once his passion had been aroused in the pursuit of something, he resembled a flash of lightning, and set upon his task like fire making its way through a forest. And these things, too, surely are well known. Indeed, it is clear that the man being praised here had no rival in courage, at least to all those whom the emperor made himself known to (across the entire world – at least the inhabited part of it – our neighbours were aware of his courage as well, as was the rest). He was hailed emperor in every part of the world and there was no part of the habitable earth where he was not known for his bravery. But who could go into greater detail about his acts of bravery, pressed for time like this? These things, too, would require whole books. But who would ask or demand from us now to write a book?

δρος περιμεινας τὸν ὄρθιον νόμον; cf. etiam Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 485.26486.29 Οὕτω φρομισάμενοι καὶ δεξιῶς χορδολογήσαντες τὸ τοῦ λόγου βάρβιτον ἐπήνεγκαν τὸν κολοφῶνα τῆς ὑποθέσεως, οἷόν τι μέλισμα ἐξιστῶν τὸν βασιλέα φρενὸς καὶ μεταφέρον εἰς μανιώδη ἀλλοίωσιν, ὡς οὐδ' Ἀλέξανδρον πάλαι πρὸς ὄπλισιν τὰ Τιμοθέου ἐνεθέζον κρούματα 17 ἀστραπῆς ... ἔξαλμα: cf. Nic. Basil. *Or.* B3.66 Λόγος εἰς τὸν αἰοδιμον βασιλέα κύρ Ἰωάννην τὸν Κομνηνόν· Ἐδέξατό σου τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δπλων σελάγησιν καὶ μεγίστη πόλις Ἀσσύριος ὡς κερανοῦ ἐκπυρήνισμα ὡς ἀστραπῆς ἔξαλμα, καὶ κατήστραπται

- 67 Ἀναμνηστέον τοῦ μεγάλου ἐκεῖνου πολέμου, ἐν ᾧ μόνος ἀπάντων ὡσπερ βασι-
 λεύων ὑπερεῖχεν, οὕτω καὶ ἀνδραγαθιζόμενος, ἑαυτὸν τε σώζων ἐξ οὕτω μεγάλου
 μαχίμου κλύδωνος, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς ἑαυτὸν κατακολπίζων | ὡς εἰς λιμένα σω- 175v
 τήριον. Ἐρμῆ μὲν οὖν εἰκάσαι τὸν ἀποστολικοῖς λόγοις ἐλλαμπόμενον τοῦ σωτήρος
 Χριστοῦ μαθητὴν, ἐπιτυχῶς ἔσχεν, οὐ διὰ τὸ πάνυ μέγα τοῦ τῆς εἰκόνης ἀφομοιώμα- 5
 τος, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεόν ὁ Ἕλλην εἶχεν ἐμβαθύνων σεμνύνειν τὸν ἀπόστολον.
 Τὸ δὲ βάρβαρον, τότε τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν σοφίαν ὑπερανέβη, καὶ θειοτέραν ἐσχημάτιζε
 παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔννοια, καὶ ἀγγέλου τόπῳ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα προσεβίβαζε, καὶ ἔτι ἐτέρα
 κρείττονι φύσει, ὡς ἀσύμμετρον ὄν, ἀνθρωπίνους ἔργοις παραβαλεῖν τὰ φαινόμενα.
- 68 Καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πλεῖον ἡμῖν ἔστι διατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐς ὅσον ἀνακινήσαι τοῖς 10
 ἀκρωμένοις τὴν μνήμην, οὐδὲ ἄλλως καθεύδουσαν. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ὑπνηλός
 ὡς ἀπολέσαι τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐγρήγορσιν. Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν, ἀκμαῖος ἦν τὴν ῥώμην, καὶ
 ἔργα, μέγιστα μὲν ἀπὸ σώματος ἐκεῖνα, εὐτόνου καὶ τῆς στοιχειακῆς κράσεως εὖ
 ἔχοντος· τὰ δὲ εἰσέτι ἔναγχος οἷς ἢ τοῦ Κλαυδίου γραῦς πόλις ἐνεκαλλωπίσατο, 15
 ἄλλο τοῦτο θαῦμα, ὅτι καὶ στρατηγοῦ ἔργα ἐκεῖνα οὐκ εὐθυνομένους εἰς εὐεξίαν,
 ἀλλ' οἴου ἀξίως ἔχουν τιμηλεῖσθαι, καὶ νοσοκομεῖν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὸ τῆς
 ὑγείας ἀπελθόν· ὅτε καὶ ἦν ἀγὼν φύσεώς τε καὶ σπουδῆς· τῆς μὲν, οἷον ὑπολαλού-
 σης φεῖδεσθαι ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς δὲ, θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. Καὶ ἦν τὸ πλεῖον ἐνταῦθα
 καὶ ἡ σπουδὴ ἔξενικά τὴν φύσιν. Καὶ ἡ μὲν νοσήλιος κλίνη ἀφίετο εἰς θαῦμα τοῖς
 βλέπουσιν, ἵππος δὲ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἔφερεν, οὐ γυμναστήριος, οὐ καὶ μόνου χρεῖα 20
 ἦν ἀνδρὶ οὕτω καταπόνῳ, ἀλλὰ μάχιμον φρουαττόμενος, καὶ διατινάσσω τὸν ἐπι-
 βάτην εἰς ἔναγχωνιον· καὶ προέθεε τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πάλιν ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ
 ἀνδρίαν πνέων, ὡς εἴπερ οὐκ ἀπὸ νοσηλείας ἀλλὰ μακρᾶς ἀναπαύσεως ἤλαυνε· καὶ
 μανθάνων χερσὶν ὀλίγαις πρὸς μυριόχειρας ἀρτύειν τὴν ἔφοδον, ἐπὶ μᾶλλον εἰς προ-
 θυμίαν προέκοπτε, τὸ εἰς θεὸν προβεβλημένος θάρσος· ᾧ συζυγοῦν καὶ τὸ μένος, 25
 τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν φόρτον συνδιέφερε. Καὶ τοίνυν ἦνυσται προσβολῇ πρώτη ὃ τις οὐδὲ
 ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔλαβεν ἄν, πτώσις τῶν θαρρήσαντων τὸ τῆς μάχης ἀντιπρόσωπον, φυγῆ

3-4 λιμένα σωτήριον: loc. comm. cf. e.g. Eus. *Vita Const.* 4.6.1 οἱ δὲ λιμένα σωτηρίας οὐκ ἄλλον ἢ μόνον Κωνσταντῖνον εὗραντο, ὃ δ' οἷα σφῆξιν εἰδὼς τούτους πάντας; cf. etiam Ptochopr. *Carm. polit.* 3. 711 Στίχοι Θεοδώρου τοῦ Πτωχοπροδρόμου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κὺρ Μανουὴλ τὸν Κομνηνόν· Μόλις ποτὲ παραδραμῶν τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ βίου / τὴν οὕτω κατακλύζουσαν καὶ συνβυθίζουσάν με / πρὸς τὸν κοσμοσωτήριον προσ-
 ἔδραμον λιμένα, / τὸν τῆς χριστομιμήτου σου μεγάλης βασιλείας, / σὺ γὰρ λιμὴν ἀκύμαντος τῶν σοῖ προσ-
 πεφευγῶτων 4-6 Ἐρμῆ... ἀπόστολον: *Acta Apost.* 14.12 ἐκάλουν τε τὸν Βαρναβᾶν Δία, τὸν δὲ Παῦ-
 λον Ἐρμῆν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἡγουμένος τοῦ λόγου 14 Κλαυδίου... πόλις: cf. Eust. *Ad styl. Thess.*
 196.19-196.30 Τὰ ἔναγχος λέγω τρόπαια, τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ποτε ὑμνουμένην πόλιν, ἣν ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας Κλαύ-
 διος ἑαυτῷ ἐπωνόμασεν 25 θεὸν... θάρσος: cf. Athan. *Expres. in Ps.* 27.316.35 Μέγα θάρσος τῆς πεποι-
 θήσεως αὐτῷ προβάλλεται, τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἐλπίδα

We should recall that great war, in which he excelled over everyone in bravery 67
 in the same way as he exceeded all as emperor, saving both himself from so great
 a wartime tempest and drawing the remaining troops to himself as if to a harbour
 of salvation. And so it was fitting to liken the disciple of Christ the saviour, the
 one radiating with apostolic speeches, to Hermes, not because of any great re-
 semblance in their appearance, but because the Greeks had no profounder hon-
 our to bestow upon the apostle. The barbarians, on the other hand, surpassed
 Greek wisdom in this case and conceived a more divine notion for themselves,
 placing the emperor closer to the realm of the angels, and to a still more powerful
 nature, on the assumption that it was incongruous to liken the things they had
 seen to human deeds.

And we cannot dwell on this subject either for very long, except as far as is 68
 necessary to stir the memory of the audience, which would not have lain dor-
 mant in any case. For no one is so prone to slumber as to lose completely the
 capacity to be stirred by such events. But back then he was at the peak of his
 strength, and while he achieved great feats, these were performed by a vigorous
 body, possessed of a healthy mixture of the bodily elements. But as for his still
 more recent feats, on the other hand, by which the 'old woman' of Claudiopolis
 was made fair, they were another sort of marvel, since they were the achieve-
 ments of a general who was not flourishing in health, but who deserved to be
 looked after and to place himself under medical care, to restore the health he
 had lost. And there occurred at that point a contest between his physical nature
 and his zeal, with the one whispering, as it were, to him to take care of himself,
 while the other told him to sacrifice himself for the common good. And the lat-
 ter predominated, and his zeal won over his physical nature. And to the amaze-
 ment of those around him he not only abandoned the sickbed, but the horse
 which carried the emperor was no mere exercise steed, the only sort of horse
 a man in his condition should have been riding, but a high-spirited warhorse,
 which threw its rider into the contest. And once again the general-emperor led
 the way exuding courage, not as one recovering from illness but as one who has
 returned after a long rest; and learning that he would be leading a campaign with
 a few men at arms against many thousands, he showed even greater willingness,
 making it clear to all that he drew courage from God, wedded to which was also
 a fierceness which helped carry the burden on our behalf. Accordingly, with his
 first strike he achieved something no one could have conceived, the downfall of
 those arrogant enough to meet him face to face in battle, the flight of all those

τῶν ὅσοι προμηθέστερον ἔσχον τοῦ ζῆν, εἰς πολλὰς μὲν χιλιοστῦας κορυφούμενοι, κολοβωθέντες δὲ τῷ πλείονι τῆς στρατιᾶς.

69 Ταῦτα εἰς διάνοιαν ἀνασκάλλοντες, καὶ ὅσα τῇ συστοιχίᾳ ταύτῃ σύνθετα, οὐκ ἔχομεν ὅπως οὐ διὰ μακροῦ πενθεῖν· καὶ τὸν τάφον περιϊστάμενοι, τὸν τοσοῦτου κα-
λυπτῆρα καλοῦ, ἐξαγόμεθα καὶ πρὸς οἴκτους οἱ παραμυθεῖσθαι καὶ ἐτέρους ὀφειλέ- 5
ται ὄντες. Καὶ ὦ, φαμεν, ὅποι κατήνησας τὸ κοινὸν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν ὅποι πρὸς αἴσθησιν
περιγέγραψαι ὁ καὶ πληρῶν τὰ πάντα θαύματος οἷς ἠνδραγαθίζου καὶ πληρώσων
εἰσέπειτα. Ἔως εἴη δὲ θεὸς ἐπινεύων τοῖς λόγοις, ὁ καλὸς λεοντιδῆς βασιλεὺς κρα-
ταιωθῆ τοὺς ὄνυχας ὡς καὶ ἐμπείρειν ἔχειν τοὺς καθ' ἡμῶν ὀργῶσι θηρίοις. Τέως
γὰρ, βρυχηθῶμῃ διοικονομεῖται τὰ τοιαῦτα βασιλικῶ καὶ σταθεραῖς ἐπαγγελίαις τοῦ 10
μέλλοντος.

70 Καὶ μὴν ἡ κοινῶς σοι καὶ βίου καὶ βασιλείας καὶ συνέσεως ἄκρας μέτοχος καὶ
(τὸ πᾶν συνελεῖν) βασιλεῖ οὕτω μεγάλῳ εἰς συμβίωσιν ἐπιπρέπουσα, καὶ συμπάρε-
στι τῷ νέῳ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ πάντα οἶδεν οἷς οἰκουμένη κατορθοῦται, τῆς σῆς ἀπο-
ναμένη καὶ μαθήσεως καὶ μιμήσεως· καὶ τὰ διδασκάλια ἔργοις προϊσχομένη, οὐκ ἂν, 15
ἔχοι μὴ οὐκ εἰς τὸ πᾶν κατευστοχεῖν τοῦ κοινωφελούς. Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς καὶ νοῦν μὲν βασι-
λικὸν ἐθέλομεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείθεν ἀγαθὰ· ποθοῦμεν δὲ καὶ ὀπλίτην | κατὰ σέ, καὶ χεῖρας 176r
οὕτω γενναίας, καὶ Ἀρεῖκὸν ἀτένισμα πρὸς τὸ ἀντίμαχον, καὶ ἀνδρῶδες ἔξαμμα, καὶ
χρῆσιν αἱμάτων οἷς ἀνοίγει τὸ ρεῦμα σίδηρος χερσὶ βασιλικαῖς εὐθυνόμενος.

71 Ἔδυσ, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ ἦλιε. Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡ σὴ σελήνη φωσφορεῖ τοῖς περὶ γῆν 20
μέλαινα μὲν τῷ τε πενθίμῳ ζόφῳ καὶ τῷ προφαινομένῳ δέ, καλὸν δὲ καὶ φεραυγὲς
ἀπαστράπτουσα τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνθέοις κάλλεσι καὶ φωσφορήσοι δὲ οὐ κατὰ τοὺς
ὄψε δύνοντας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἄδυτον εἴπερ ἔστιν εὐξασθαι. Δοίη δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸν ἥλιον τοῦτον
ἐλθεῖν εἰ[ς] ὅσον μήκιστον, καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἡμῖν οὕτω πληθυνθῆναι, καὶ ὑπὸ φωτὶ διά-
γειν ἐκατέρωθεν ὃ διαδοχὴν οὐκ οὐκ ἐτέραν οἶδεν ἢ τὴν εὐτακτουμένην ἐκ φύσεως. 25

72 Ὡ τάφος, τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπάνθισμα κρύψας ὦ τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως πλάτος συ-
στείλας, ὦ συγκλείσας τὸν ἀεικίνητον· οὐκ ἔδει τοιαύτην τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποτελευτη-
θῆναι τῶν μακρῶν πόνων ἀνάπαυλαν· ἔδει τοὺς μακροὺς καμάτους παύσαντα, καθ'

8 λεοντιδῆς ... ὄνυχας: cf. Eust. Or. 8 (Λόγος Η) 148.19 ὡς λέων οὐκ ἐνεδρεύει μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἐμφα-
νῶς ἐπίκειται καὶ ὄνυχων ἀκωκὰς ἐμπείρει ; cf. CPG II p.409 (Ap VII 57) Ἐξ ὄνυχων λέοντα ἐνεστι μα-
θεῖν 22–23 φωσφορήσοι ... ἄδυτον: cf. Th. Prodr. Carm. hist. 12.46 πορφυραυγὲς ἀήτητε σκηπτουχε
τροπαιοῦχε, / ἄδυτε Ῥώμης ἦλιε, κοσμολαμπὲς φωσφόρε, / δαδοῦχε τοῖς ὑπ' οὐρανόν, φῶς τοῖς ὑπὸ σελή-
νην 23 ὄψε δύνοντας: Hom. Od. 5.271273 ἦμενος· οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε / Πληιάδας
τ' ἐσορῶντι καὶ ὄψε δύνοντα Βοώτην 29 καμάτους παύσαντα: Hesiod. Op. et di. 176178 νῦν γὰρ δὴ
γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον· οὐδέ ποτ' ἡμᾶρ / παύσονται καμάτου καὶ οἰζύος οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ / φθειρόμενοι· χαλε-
πὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μερίμνας

6 ἀγαθόν: B ἀγαθῶν fort. per err. Tafel² 15 μαθήσεως B : μαθέσεως fort. per err. Tafel
24 εἰς: scripsi εἰ B 28 τῶν: correxit Tafel² αὐτῶν B

who were more inclined to save their lives, their numbers rising to the many thousands, amputated from the majority of the army.

And as we recall these things by delving into them, as well as all the things which might be included in this catalogue of his achievements, we cannot help but mourn for a long time. And standing round his tomb, the covering of so good a man, we, whose duty it is to console others as well, are ourselves driven to laments. “Oh,” we say, “our common blessing, where have you ended up? What sort of place are you physically confined to, you who filled the world with wonder, through your feats of bravery, and will continue to do so in the time to come?” But until such time as God shall give his assent to our prayers, may the beautiful lion-cub emperor grow strong claws, so he may sink them into the beasts raging against us. Until then, such things are managed by means of the imperial lion’s roar and by the firm indications of what is to come.

And indeed your partner in both life and imperial rule, a woman of the highest intelligence, and (to sum up) one well suited to a common life with so great an emperor, both stands at the side of the young emperor and she knows everything by which the empire may continue to flourish, having had the benefit of your teaching and example. And demonstrating with her deeds the lessons she has learned, she could not but achieve the common good in everything. But while we want both the understanding necessary to imperial affairs and the good things which flow from such knowledge, we nevertheless desire a warrior like yourself, with courage in arms like yours, and Ares’ stern look towards our foes, as well as the manly readiness to leap into battle, to spill streams of blood with a sword held by imperial hands.

You have set, oh greatest of imperial suns. And now as your moon illuminates those on earth, though cast in black by her mournful gloom as well as by her outward appearance, she nevertheless radiates brilliant goodness with her God-given imperial loveliness and may she shine forth, not like the late setting stars, but as one which never sets, if in fact we may hope for such a thing. And may God grant that this sun, too, should go on as long as possible, and that the good to us be thus multiplied, and that we may live our lives under the light from both sources which knows no other succession than the one ordained by nature.

Oh tomb, you have hidden away the bloom of nature; you have enfolded the breadth of practical wisdom; you have confined the man who was ever on the move; there was no need for the emperor to end his days with such a rest from his long labours. He should have ceased his great exertions and remained at rest,

ἡσυχίαν μείναι, καὶ τοὺς ἰδρῶτας ἀποψήσασθαι, καὶ βίον διατελέσαι ῥάονα εἶτα, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔμφρονα ῥαστώνην καὶ ἄλυπον μετατάξασθαι. Ὁ δὲ, χθές που τὰ πολέμια παγκρατιάζων καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνεθείς ἐφ' ὅσον στεφανώσασθαι, ἀφῆκε μὲν τὰς περὶ γῆν στρατιάς καὶ δυνάμεις, τῶν δὲ ἀνωτάτω γέγονεν.

73 Ὡς κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ὦ κάλλιστε μὲν προφανῆσαι, ἄριστε δὲ πράξαι, εἰπεῖν δὲ ἡδι- 5
στε· τί δὴ ποτε ἀποκρυσάμενος, τοιαῦτα καλὰ συναπέκρυσας; Σεπτὸς ὁ κατὰ σὲ
τάφος, τοιοῦτον ἔσω κατακρύπτων ἄνδρα, οὐ μὴδὲ πᾶς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς κόσμος ἀντά-
ξιός. Πικρὸς ὁ τάφος οὗτος, τοιαύτην ἀπαγαγὼν ἐξ ἀπάντων γλυκύτητα. Ἦδη τις
ιδὼν ὡς ἐπὶ σίμβλον δραμεῖται τοῦτον, τρυγῆσων τοῦ ἔνδον μέλιτος· ἀπελευσεται
δὲ χολὴν σπάσας, πικρίας καὶ θλίψεως κέντρῳ νυγείς· καὶ ψωμμεῖται δάκρυα. Τοῖς 10
δ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ποτιεῖ ἑαυτόν. Ὡς λίθος οὗτος τάφου, τὸν παντάρβην ἔσω
λίθον κρυσάμενος.

74 Ἦν γὰρ ἀληθῶς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συντρέχοντα ἰδεῖν ἅμα τοῦτον καὶ ταρβῆσαι καὶ 15
τραπέσθαι εἰς φυγὴν ἐφιεμένην αἰεὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πίπτειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
χειρὸς βασιλικῆς ἔργον, δρουστομούσης ὡς ἐν ἀξίναις λόχημι τὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς
στρατιάς ἐν πυκνότητι λάσιον· οἱ καὶ βραχὺ τι ἀναψύχοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἄρτι καὶ βελῶν
καὶ τραυμάτων ἀπηλλαγμένοι, ὧν εἰς βάθος ἐντετηκνίας τὰς οὐλὰς φέρουσι, ὅμως
οὐ τι που διὰ τέλους χαίρουσι. Παραιρεῖται δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τοῦ χάρματος, τὸ πολὺ καὶ
ἐκπλήττον τοῦ θαύματος, προσέτι μὴν καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀρχετύπου ἀπέλευσις πρὸς ὅπερ 20
αὐτοὶ, τοὺς ἐν σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἐθνάρχας ἤθελον γράφεσθαι. Ἦρσκε γὰρ ἐκάστοις,
γνωματεύειν. Καὶ καλῶς ἄρα εἶχε τὸ γνωμάτευμα, ὡς εἴπερ τοιοῦτος αὐτοῖς, ἐφί-
στατο στρατηγός, οὐκ ἂν ἔπασχον οὕτω τὰ πάνδεινα· πᾶσαν δὲ ἂν μάχην ἐκράτουν
καὶ τὸ ἀήττητον ἐπεγράφοντο. Συνεννοοῦντο γὰρ ὡς οὐ συστέλλων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ
τῷ χεῖρε καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀπράγμον καταλύων, διωκεῖτο τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς· τὰ πλείω δὲ κινδύ- 25
νοις ἐπιτολμῶν, καὶ βριαρότητα προφαίνων χειρῶν καὶ νίκαις παρασπιζόμενος. Καὶ
μὴν, ἤθελε πολλάκις τὸ τοῦ πολέμου στόμα ἐγχανεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ πρὸς θάνατον· καὶ

1 ἰδρῶτας ἀποψήσασθαι: loc. comm. cf. e.g. Nic. Chon. Or. 1.3 τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν ζωογόνος τε καὶ φανσί-
βιος· ἡ γοῦν μὴ καθαρῶς ἀποψήσας τοὺς ἰδρῶτας τῆς θεοεικέλου σου μορφῆς καὶ τὴν Ἄρεος σκευὴν ἀποθέ-
μενος 2 ἔμφρονα ῥαστώνην: fort. ex schol. ad Arist. De caelo 284a32 ἄσכולον εἶναι καὶ πάσης ἀπηλ-
λαγμένην ῥαστώνης ἔμφρονος, εἴ γε μὴδ' ὡσπερ τῆ ψυχῆ τῆ τῶν θνητῶν ζώων ἐστὶν ἀνάπαυσις ἡ περὶ τὸν
ἔνδον γινομένη τοῦ σώματος ἄνεσις; cf. Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il. 1.237.910 αἰνίττεται δὲ ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης δαι-
τὸς λόγος, ὡς ἐξὸν μύθῳ, τὸ αἰεὶ ἐν ῥαστώνῃ ἔμφρονοι τὰ θεῖα εἶναι 7-8 πᾶς... ἀντάξιός: alludit ad prov.
ψυχὴν... ἥς οὐδ' ὁ πᾶς ἀντάξιός οὗτος ὁ μέγας κόσμος; cf. etiam Io. Chrys. Expos. in Ps. PG 55 459 Εἰσὶ
δὲ τινες, ὧν οὐδὲ ὁ κόσμος ἀντάξιός 9 σίμβλον... μέλιτος: Sophr. Anacr. 9.2 Ἀρετῶν μέλιττα Παῦ-
λε / ἐπὶ σοὺς ἄγοις με σίμβλους, / ἴνα σὸν μέλι τρυγῆσας; cf. Eust. Macr. Hysm. et Hysm. 4.22.12 γοῦντά
μοι τοῖς φιλήμασιν. Εἰ δέ μοι κέντρον φέρεις ὡς μέλιττα καὶ φυλάττεται τὸ σίμβλον καὶ πλήττεται τὸν τοῦ μέ-
λιτος τρυγητὴν, ἐγκαρτερῆσῶ τῷ σίμβλῳ 10 ψωμμεῖται δάκρυα: LXX Ps. 79.6.1 ἕως πότε ὀργίξῃ ἐπὶ
τὴν προσευχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου, / ψωμμεῖς ἡμᾶς ἄρτον δακρῶν 11-12 παντάρβην... κρυσάμενος: cf.
Ctes. Fr. 57.2; Philostr. Vita Appol. .3.46; cf. Heliod. Aethiop. 8.11.8 δακτύλιος δῶρον μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς

13 συντρέχοντα: emend. Tafel² συντρέχον Β

16 βελῶν: scripsi βουλῶν Β οὐλῶν Tafel²

to wipe off the sweat, and to live out his life with greater ease and pass over to one of wise tranquility free from distress. But the one who only yesterday competed in the contests of war, and rested only long enough to be crowned the victor, has left behind the terrestrial armies and forces while joining those on high.

Oh most powerful emperor, most beautiful in appearance, most accomplished in deed, pleasantest speaker. Why have you hidden yourself away, hiding with you such virtues as well? Venerable is your grave, hiding such a man within, of whom our entire world is not worthy. Bitter is this grave, having snatched from us all such sweetness. And seeing it now, one runs to it as to a beehive, intending to gather the honey within; but he will leave having drawn bile, stung by the needle of bitterness and grief, and from it he will harvest tears. And he will shower himself with these same tears without restraint. Oh gravestone, hiding within yourself that precious gem. 73

For truly one could see that as soon as he charged the enemy he both terrified and turned them to flight, aiming always at the front ranks. And if they did fall in battle, it was by the emperor's own hand, felling the thick ranks of the barbarian army like thickets of wood by an ax. The ones who had just had a reprieve and regained some strength, having rid themselves of the arrows and injuries whose deeply struck scars they still carry, are nevertheless unable to rejoice completely. They are deprived of the source of their delight, this great and unexpected miracle, even more so the departure of the archetype in whose image they wished to depict their ethnic leaders. For each man preferred to come to his own conclusion in this regard. And the opinion that they would not be suffering as badly as they were if such a general had been in charge of them, was well founded. Instead they would have won every battle, and would have been credited with being undefeated. For they agreed on this much, that the emperor did not govern by folding and unfolding his arms in idleness. Most times he dared to confront danger, demonstrating the strength of his hands, shielded by his victories. Indeed, the jaws of war often tried to gape at him as well in a bid to kill him. And he strove 74

τούμου τῆ μητρὶ παρὰ τὴν μνηστειάν δοθεὶς, λίθῳ δὲ τῆ καλουμένη παντάρβῃ; cf. etiam Const. Manass. *Brev. Chron.* 62096210 οὐδὲ τρομάσει σίδηρον, οὐδὲ καμίνου στόμα· φέρει γὰρ σύμμαχον θεὸν ὑπὲρ παντάρβην λίθον, ὑπὲρ τὸν περὶ Τίγρητα θηροδιώκτην μύνδα· 13–14 ταρβῆσαι... τραπέσθαι: Hom. *Il.* 13.284285 τοῦ δ' ἀγαθοῦ οὐτ' ἄρ τρέπεται χρώς οὐτέ τι λήην / ταρβεῖ, ἐπειδὴν πρῶτον ἐσίζηται λόχον ἀνδρῶν 25 βριαρότητα... χειρῶν: alludit ad myth. apud Hes. *Theog.* 149 τρεῖς παῖδες μεγάλοι 'τε' καὶ ὄβριμοι, οὐκ ὀνομαστοί, / Κόττος τε Βριάρεώς τε Γύγης θ', ὑπερήφανα τέκνα / τῶν ἑκατὸν μὲν χεῖρες ἀπ' ὤμων αἴσσοντο; cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.687.13 καὶ σημειωτέον ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε ἐν χειρὶ βριαρότητα τοῦ ἀνδρός 26 πολέμου... ἐγχανεῖν: Hom. *Il.* 19.313 τέρπετο, πρὶν πολέμου στόμα δύμεναι αἱματόεντος; cf. Hesych. *Lex.* Π 2768.1 πολέμου στόμα· τὸ ἀναλωτικὸν καὶ φθαρτικὸν τοῦ πολέμου; cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.335.4 Φησὶ γὰρ 'οὐδέ τι θυμῷ τέρπετο, πρὶν πολέμου στόμα δύμεναι αἱματόεντος.' Ἐχει δὲ τι ἀστείότητος τὸ πολέμου στόμα δύμεναι

φιλόνηκος ἦν, ἐπαληθεῦσαι κἀνταῦθα, ὡς ἄρα ὁ πόλεμος ἐν ἀνδράσι τὸ κρεῖττον αἰεὶ ἐπιλέγδην αἰρεῖται. Κίνδυνοι γοῦν ἐν ποταμοῖς, κίνδυνοι ἐν ἐφόδοις, κίνδυνοι ἐν λόχοις, πλείονες ἐν σταδία μάχῃ, οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν πολιορκίαις· καὶ ὡς ἐν συναίρεσει φάναι, μυριαχοῦ κίνδυνοι, εἰς ἓν τῷ θανάτῳ φρονοῦντες. 176v

75 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπρεπε τοιαύτης φύσεως κατακαυχῆσασθαι σίδηρον, μηδὲ πεσεῖν αἵματι πεφυρμένον τὸν πολλὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων χέαντα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τις τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρτι τὰ ἔργα τάδε γενέσθαι σκώψει, πίπτει κατὰ φύσιν μηδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων κατ' αὐτοῦ δούς ἐναβρῦνασθαι ὁ εἰσαιεὶ νικητῆς, καὶ ὑπνοῖ τὸν μακρὸν μὲν μακαρίως δὲ αὐθις ἐγέρσιμον· αἰδιμὸς μὲν τοῦ πρῶην βίου, αἰδιμὸς δὲ εἰσέτι πλέον τοῦ πρὸς τῷ τέλει, ὅτι καὶ βασιλείας ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸν ἐπεβίβασεν ἢς ἐξάσιον τὸ ἀτελεύτητον. 10

76 Τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα κρινεῖ πρὸς θαύματος, ὅτι καὶ τὸν βίον ἤδη ἀπομετρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τε τῆς ἐν θνητότητι φύσεως εἰ καὶ μήπω ἔδει τὸν τηλικούτον, πρὸς τε τῆς ἄνωθεν κλήσεως διχαζόμενος, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μὲν ἀνάγκη ἔχων παρατιθέσθαι τῇ γῆ, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον ὠκνεῖ μὴ εὐγενῶς ἀναλῦσαι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τέλους ταπεινὸν καὶ τοῖς φθάσασιν ἀσύνητροχόν τι παθεῖν; Μάχῃ μὲν οὖν ἅπανσα, ὑπερόριος ἐλήλατο· κατήπειγε, δὲ οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν ἀπάντων, εἰς πόνον μείζονα. Θῆρας τοίνυν νεανικούς ἔρριπτε, τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τοῦτο σεμνόν, ὑποκοριζόμενος μάχην ταύτην ὡς ἐν γυμνάσματι. Τοῦ βαδιστικοῦ δὲ τόνου ὑπενδιδόντος, κατὰ συχνάς αὐθις ἀναπαύλας ἐγίνετο τοῦτο. Καὶ ἡ νόσος μὲν, ἡσυχάζειν προὔτρεπετο, ἡ δὲ χεῖρ τῶν γενναίων ἔργων οὐκ ἀπέιχετο· καὶ πῶς αἰδῶς αὐτὸν περιέτρεχεν εὐρεθῆναι μὴ εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐγρηγορότα ὅτε κληθῆναι δεήσειε. 15

77 Καὶ τοίνυν τὸ τοῖς ἅπασιν εὐκταῖον, οἷς μέτεστι τοῦ πρὸς ὀρθὸν φρονήσεως ἴστασθαι, ἐξήρκεσε μέχρι καὶ εἰς τέλος τοῦ ἀπεληλυθέναι εἰς τὸν πεποθημένον θεόν, ἑαυτοῦ ὦν εἰς τὸ πάντη τέλειον· στέλλων πρεσβείας· ἐπιστέλλων ὅποι ἐχρήν· χρηματίζων τοῖς μυριαχόθεν πρέσβεσι· δημηγορῶν ἐμβριθῶς, ἃ δὴ τις ὀνομάσει ἂν, ἀπὸ 25

1–2 ἐπαληθεῦσαι... αἰρεῖται: cf. Sim. Epigr. 7.296.23 καὶ πόλεμον λαῶν θούρος Ἄρης ἐφέπει, / οὐδαμὰ πω κάλλιον ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν; cf. etiam Arist. Eth. Nich. 1117b1420 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀνδρείος, ἴσως δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι τὸ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καλὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνων αἰρεῖται; et supra cap. 7 2 Κίνδυνοι... κίνδυνοι: Pauli Epist. ad Cor. ii. 11.26 ὁδοιπορίας πολλάκις, κινδύνοις ποταμῶν, κινδύνοις ληστῶν, κινδύνοις ἐκ γένους, κινδύνοις ἐξ ἔθνων, κινδύνοις ἐν πόλει, κινδύνοις ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, κινδύνοις ἐν θαλάσσει, κινδύνοις ἐν ψευδαδέλφοις 5–6 αἵματι πεφυρμένον: Hom. Od. 9.396397 αὐτὰρ ὁ μοχλὸν / ἐξέρυσ' ὀφθαλμοῖο πεφυρμένον αἵματι πολλῷ 8–9 ὑπνοῖ... ἐγέρσιμον: Theocr. Idyll. 2.4.7 'εὔδ'ετ', ἐμὰ βρέφεα, γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον; cf. Nonn. Paraphr. sanct. evang. Io. 21.78 Ἰησοῦς μετὰ θεῖον ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον ὀλέθρου 10 βασιλείας... ἀτελεύτητον: Greg. Nyss. de beat. PG 44.1265.23 Οὐκοῦν ὁ τὸν Θεὸν ἰδὼν, πᾶν ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀγαθῶν καταλόγῳ, διὰ τοῦ ἰδεῖν ἔσχε...τὴν ἀτελεύτητον βασιλείαν; cf. Pseud.-Just. Mart. Quaest. et resp. 436a5 τοῦ αἰωνίως βασιλεύοντος τῶν Χριστιανῶν βασιλείαν ἀτελεύτητον, τὴν κατὰ τὸν προφήτην Δαυὶδ δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ 13 σῶμα... γῆ: cf. Vita s. David, Sym. et Georg. Mityl. 33.18 Εἰς χεῖράς σου τὸ

17 Ἡρακλέος: B Ἡρακλέους Tafel
B θαυμάσιοι proposuit Tafel²

22 ὀρθόν: corr. Tafelz ὀρθρὸν B Tafel

25 ὀνομάσει:

for victory, thereby confirming here as well, that war does indeed select the most valiant men to carry off. There were, at any rate, dangers in fording rivers, dangers in assaults, dangers in ambushes, even more in close combat, and not a few in sieges; in sum, there were countless dangers united in purpose with death.

But since it was not fitting that the sword should boast that it had brought 75
down a man of his nature, or that one who had so often spilled the blood of foreigners should fall defiled by blood, lest some barbarian derisively claim to have carried out these acts, he succumbed to natural causes, and the eternal victor did not give any of those arrayed against him an opportunity to gloat. And he sleeps the long sleep, but from which he will in turn rise blessed. And while celebrated on account of his former life, he will be even more celebrated for his final days, since God raised him unto the kingdom whose immortality sets it apart.

And who would not consider it a marvel in such circumstances, that even as 76
he was measuring out his last days, divided between his mortal nature –even if it was not yet the time for someone of his age– and the call from above, with his body on the one hand feeling the need to be placed upon the earth, while his soul climbed to high heaven, he was afraid he might not depart this life in a noble way, coming instead to a humble end and suffering in a manner inconsistent with his previous accomplishments? And so while every battle had been driven beyond our borders, there was no urgent matter of any kind for him to exert himself. He therefore hunted young, vigorous beasts, a noble pursuit associated with Herakles, pretending this was a battle, as though he were exercising. As his stamina began to give way, he needed more frequent rests during these hunts. And while illness compelled him to rest, his hand would not cease from valiant works. Perhaps he was overcome by a sense of shame lest he might not be found entirely active and alert when the time came to be called to [by God].

And what is therefore to be hoped for by all, he remained in his right mind 77
until the very end of his departure to yearned-for God, in perfect possession of his faculties. He sent out embassies, dispatched letters wherever necessary, gave audiences to ambassadors from every place, declaiming solemnly things which one who wanted to make the point more aptly with proverbs rather than employ garden variety expressions might designate as “from the imperial bedchamber.”

πνευμά μου, Σῶτερ, εἰπών, παρατίθημι, τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῇ γῆ 16–17 Θῆρας ... γυμνάσματι: cf. Paus. *Graec. descr.* 8.24.53 ὡς Ἡρακλῆς κατὰ πρόσταγμα Εὐρυσθέως παρὰ τῷ Ἐρμάνθῳ θηράσειεν ἕν μεγέθει καὶ ἄλλῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερηκτότα; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 2.207.42 μελέτη γάρ, φασιν, αὐτὸ πολεμικῶν κινδύνων ἦν, καθὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἡρακλέος ἄθλων φαίνεται; cf. Eust. *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 214.610 ἐπιεράθη καὶ τῆς ἀνδρικής ῥωμαλεότητος, ὅσα γε ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθεῖα στρατιώτην βριαρὸν ἐπιδείξασθαι ἐν ἱππασίαις γυμναστικαῖς ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ ὅσαι τοὺς θῆρας ῥίπτουσι, τοὺς ὀρεβήτας, τοὺς πελωρίους

κλίνης βασιλικῆς καιριώτερον παροιμιάζεσθαι θέλων ἤπερ τὰ ἀπὸ κηπαίας λεγόμενα· ἀπομνημονεύων καὶ ἀνελίττων σπουδαίας πράξεις, τὰς μὲν, ἅς νοῦς βασιλικὸς ἐκείνου προεβάλλετο, τὰς δὲ, παλαιάς αἷς παραδειγματικῶς ἑαυτοῦ παρέβαλλε· διαιτῶν ὑποθέσσει δι' ὧν ἀπευθύνονται πόλεις· διδάσκων ἅτε δὴ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀποστολικός, εἴ που διδασκάλιον τι ἀπορηθεῖη· ἐν δικαιώμασι θεοῦ ἀδολεσχῶν μετὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ· 5
 θεολογίαις ἐμβαθύνων λεπτῶ λογισμῶ καὶ θαρρῶ καὶ ὀλίγα μετέχοντι σώματος· τάσων ἐμφρόνως τὰ κατ' αὐτόν· ἐπιτάσων μεγαλοφυῶς τὰ μετ' αὐτόν· εἰς τέλος προάγων ἃ μὴ φθάσας εὐεργετικῶς εἰς ἐντελὲς ἤγαγε· δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ κατ' ἄνδρας, ἀξίαις ἐμβιβάζων· πλοῦτους ἐπιβρέχων τοῖς ὅσα καὶ γῆ διψῶσα ἐπιδοσμένοις· χρυσῶς ἐπιτιθεὶς κορωνίδας ἱκετηρίοις γράμμασι, σφραγιζῶν, ἐπισφραγιζῶν, τὰ μὲν, ἐκ 10
 καινῆς τὰ δ' εἰς πλεῖον στερέωμα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν φροντίς καὶ προμήθεια ἦν ἀγχοῦ που ἡμερῶν ἢ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κορυφαία ἐκρότει περισαλπιγχεῖσαν ἐξάκουστα· τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν, θεμελίους ὑφιστῶν στερεοὺς τῶ τὴν οἰκουμηνικὴν οἰκοδομὴν διαδεχομένην υἰῶ βασιλεῖ· ὃς ἅμα ἦν ὅτε, σπαργάνοις περιελίχθη, καὶ ἅμα 15
 διαδήματι περιελήφθη, καὶ στέμ|ματι βρεφόθεν ὠραίσθη βασιλικῶ, ἵνα διὰ παντὸς ὧν βασιλεύς, συνδιϊκνύμενον φέρη ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀπάσαις τὸ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πρέπον εὐεργετικόν, καὶ συνεπαυξάνοι τὸ ἔνθεον, καὶ τὸν μέγα βασιλέα καὶ παῖδα, εἰς ἄνδρα 20
 τελειώσσει μέγιστον βασιλεύτατον· ὅπερ καὶ εὐαγγελίζεται ἡμῖν, τεκμήρια παραφαίνων, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι λύεσθαι ἢ ἐκπίπτειν εἰς τὸ δυστέκμαρτον.

78 Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν μοι ἢ ἐν λόγῳ θερμότης ἕξω τοῦ προκειμένου παρέθετο. Ἐκείνος 20
 δὲ ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ πάντα πέρας αὐτῶ εὔρε τὰ κρείττω, καὶ εἰπεῖν ἔσχε καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἤδη τετέλεσται καὶ ἃ μὲν κατὰ σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ βιώσιμον δέ, ἀπορρίπτει μὲν τὸ ἔμβιον, γίνεται δὲ τοῦ ἀβίου. Καὶ χρυσὸς μὲν ἡλίου ἀντίμιμος, καὶ μάργαρος ὑποκρινόμενος φῶς καὶ λίθοι πυραυγεῖς καὶ ὅσοι κάλλος ἅπαν ἀνθέων παρευδοκιμοῦσι, λογίζονται

1–2 παροιμιάζεσθαι... λεγόμενα: alludit ad proverb. ταῖς κηπαίαις θύραις, cf. Diog. Laert. *Vitae phil.* 7.25.4 “οὐ λανθάνεις, ὦ Ζήνων, ταῖς κηπαίαις παρεισρέων θύραις καὶ τὰ δόγματα κλέπτων Φοινικικῶς μεταμφιεννός” 5 μετὰ... Δαυὶδ: LXX Ps. 118 (119) 1516; cf. Gen. 24.63 9 γῆ διψῶσα: LXX Job 29.23 et passim, ὡσπερ γῆ διψῶσα προσδεχομένη τὸν νετόν 9–10 χρυσῶς... ἐπισφραγιζῶν: cf. Eust. Or. 14 (Λόγος N) 247.1820 οἱ βάρβαροι... καὶ οὐ λόγους μόνους φερεγγύοις εἶχον ἐκείνοι τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμασιν, οἷς χρυσαῖ κορωνίδες, αἱ βασιλικαὶ σφραγίδες, ἐπέκειντο; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.116.2123 ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος τῶν πράξεων ‘χρυσὴν κορώνην’ ἢ παροιμία καλεῖ, ὡς ὅτε τις εἴπη ‘χρυσέαν ἐπιτεθῆναι κορωνίδα ταῖς πράξεσιν ἢ τοῖς λόγοις’ ἤτοι συμπέρασμα καὶ τέλος ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης τοῦ τόξου κορώνης τὴν μεταφορὰν λαβοῦσαν ἢ τυχὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν νηῶν κορωνίδος ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τὰς θύρας συγκλειούσης

3 προεβάλλετο: post corr. supra lineam προεβάλλετο legit Tafel 6 θαρρῶ: ut vid. in cod. θυμῶ Tafel 9 ἀξίαις: B ἀξίας fort. legend. 18–19 παραφαίνων: B παραφαίνον Tafel

He described from memory important projects, some which his own imperially inclined mind had proposed, others drawn from the past, which he compared with his own by way of example. He oversaw the regulations by which the cities were to be administered; he offered lessons, like an apostle, whenever instruction of some kind was called for. He meditated on the justice of God by keeping company with the Psalms of David. He plumbed the divine teachings through subtle reasoning, which I dare say bore little relation to bodily existence. He ordered the affairs around him wisely, and prescribed with great intelligence what should be done after his passing. He made plans for the completion of projects he had undertaken as benefactor but not already completed; he conferred both public and individual honours; he poured down wealth on all those who stood in need of it like the ground which thirsts for rain; he placed his golden seal on replies to letters pleading for his assistance, sealing and ratifying them. Some of these were new requests, others asked for additional security, including the maintenance and supplies for churches, a thing which only recently their leading church loudly acclaimed, trumpeting it for all to hear. In a word, he built firm foundations for his son the emperor, who would inherit the edifice of the empire, and who was crowned with the diadem even as he was still wrapped in his swaddling clothes, and adorned from infancy with the imperial diadem, so that being an emperor all his life, the will to act as a benefactor proper to an emperor should be familiar to him as he grew up. This way [Alexios II] might thus also augment the divine within himself and a great emperor child might in the end turn into the greatest one, an emperor or emperors; which is a thing vouchsafed to us by revelation and demonstrated in signs which cannot be refuted and which leave no room for doubt.

But in my fervour I have perhaps included matters beyond the subject at hand. 78 For his part, on the other hand, coming to the very end of his life he found everything in a superior state, so that he, too, could say “it is accomplished”, referring to both what he aimed to achieve and the course of his life. And so he has cast off his life and entered upon the lifeless state. And gold which imitates the sun, or the pearl which assumes the guise of light, gemstones burning with brilliance, as well as all those which surpass the full beauty of flowers, are deemed as nothing

ώσει οὐδέν. Ἐπικρίνεται δὲ τὸ νύκτερον ἄμφιον ὃ τὴν εἰσπέιτα ἡμέραν εὐαγγελί-
 ζεται, ἥς εἰ μὲν ὄρθρος προηγῆσεται, λόγον ἂν, ἔχοι· νυκτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἂν εἴη διαδοχή.
 Καὶ συμβόλω τοιούτῳ δεδωκῶς ἑαυτόν, ἀπολέγεται μὲν τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ τρυφερὰν
 στιβάδα· ρίπας δὲ ὑποστορεσθῆναι θελήσας, τυγχάνει τοῦ ἐφετοῦ. Καὶ στρωμνὴν
 ἐσχάτην ταύτην ἑαυτῷ τίθεται ὃ πολλάκις ὁμοία πεπονθῶς οἷς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐνήθλει· 5
 καὶ καταβάς τὴν ἐν ταπεινώσει ταύτην κατάβασιν, ἀναβέβηκεν οὐπὲρ ἀνωτέρω οὐ
 θέμις ἀνελθεῖν ἄνθρωπον. Καὶ φιλοσοφῆσας ὅσα ψυχὴ καθαρὰ καὶ θεοειδῆς μο-
 νάζουσα σώματος καὶ ἐπιγνώμων γενόμενος τῆς ἀναλύσεως, καὶ εἰπὼν ἡσυχῇ καὶ
 ἀκούσας πρὸς τῶν ἐγγιστα ὅσα ἐχρῆν, ἀπελύθη τοῦ δεσμοῦ· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἀλη-
 θῶς ἐκδεδήμηκε συνταξάμενος, ὃ δὴ μακαριώτατον ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀνθρώποις γε οὖσιν 10
 ἡμῖν ἅπασιν, εὐκταϊότατον. Κεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐμπνέοντα καὶ σιωπῇ κατάσχετον καὶ
 οὐδὲ φρονεῖν εἰδότα, τοῦτο θνήσκειν ἂν ρηθεῖ ἀληθῶς· μεταστῆσαι δὲ λαλοῦντα
 ὧν μεμνήσεται τις εἰς ἀγαθόν καὶ σῶα φρονούντα, τοῦτο δὲ, ἀποδημία λέγοιτ' ἂν
 μάλιστα, καὶ αὕτη, μακαριστέα. Εἰ δὲ καὶ θάνατος, ἀλλ' οὗτος οὐδέν τι τοῦ νοεροῦ
 παρακερδήσας οὐδὲ τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς καιροῦ νοσφισάμενος, οὔτε μὴν κατακλείσας τὸ 15
 φρονεῖν εἰς ἄπρακτον καὶ τῷ οἰκοδεσποτοῦντι λογισμῷ ἐπιβουλευσάμενος, ἀπελ-
 θόντος δὲ, τῷ οἰκίσκῳ καταμόνας ἐπιθέμενος, κατὰ ἑαυτοῦ δεδρακῶς.

79 Καὶ οὕτως ὃ μὲν βασιλεὺς εὐλογίαν τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ λελοιπῶς τῇ τε ὁμοζύγῳ δεσποί-
 νῃ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τέκνω, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ὅσοι τὸ ἱερὸν περιῖσταντο σκῆνωμα,
 συνήπτο τοῖς ἀνωτάτῳ τάγμασι καὶ τῷ παμβασιλεῖ παρέστη θεῷ οὐ πρὸς θεραπείαν 20
 ἀεὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπεύθυνεν. Ἡ δὲ πόλις, οὐκ ἂν εἶπες οἰκησιν αὐτὴν ἀνθρώπων
 εἶναι φωνὴν ἐχόντων· ἀλλ' ἠθέλον μηκέτ' εἶναι. Καὶ τοῦ θεμελίου ὑποσπασθέντος,
 καὶ αὐτοὶ συγκατέπιπτον· καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου φῶς ἀπολωλεκότες, τὴν ἐντὸς, ἐκτὸς
 ὑπέφαινον μέλανσιν, ζοφώσαντες ἑαυτούς, καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ νέφει ὁμόλογον ὑετόν
 τὸ δαψιλὲς δάκρυ κατάγοντες. Κἂν ἐξέλιπον εἰς τὸ παντελές εἰ μὴ τὸν τοῦ θεμελίου 25
 τόπον ἐκείνον ἀρτιωθέντα εἶδον, τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν, τὴν θειοτάτην κορυφὴν οἱ τὴν

1-2 ἡμέραν εὐαγγελίζεται: LXX Ps. 95.2. ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ, εὐλογήσατε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, εὐαγγελίσεθε ἡμέ-
 ραν ἐξ ἡμέρας τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ 3-4 ὑψηλὴν ... στιβάδα: cf. Greg. Naz. *De paup. amore* 877.33 ἡμεῖς
 δὲ ἀνακείσόμεθα λαμπροὶ λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ στιβάδος ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ μετεώρου; cf. Mich. Psell. *Or. Pan.* 4.436
 καὶ ὃ πρὸς τῷ θανεῖν γενόμενος οὐκ ἀλγεῖ· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς χαμεύνης ἐπὶ στιβάδος κείμενος μαλακῆς τε καὶ
 ὑψηλῆς 8 ἐπιγνώμων ... ἀναλύσεως: *Epist. Pauli ad Tim. ii.* 4.6.1 Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἦδη σπένδομαι, καὶ ὁ και-
 ρὸς τῆς ἀναλύσεώς μου ἐφέστηκεν 12-13 θνήσκειν ... ἀποδημία: cf. Pl. *Phaed.* 61e23 περὶ τῆς ἀπο-
 δημίας τῆς ἐκεῖ, ποῖαν τινὰ αὐτὴν οἴομεθα εἶναι 19 ἱερὸν ... σκῆνωμα: cf. *Hist. Alex. Magni.* 609ο τὸ
 βασιλέως σκῆνωμα, ποιήσας μέγαν τάφον, καλέσας τοῦτον ἱερὸν; Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.25.6 ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τό-
 πων, ἐνθα τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποστόλων τὰ ἱερὰ σκηνώματα κατατίθεται 22-23 θεμελίου ... συγκατέπι-
 πτον: cf. Greg. Nyss. *De opif. hom.* 244.5ο τὸ ἀκαρὲς τῆς φύσεως ἀντισχούσης τῇ τρώσει, ὡς περ θεμελίου
 τινὸς ὑποσπασθέντος ὄλον τὸ οἰκοδόμημα συγκατεσείσθη τῷ μέρει; cf. Liban. *Or.* 28.23.3 Ἰκάριος ἐπολι-

4 ρίπας: B ρύπος proposuit Tafel²

12 μεταστῆσαι: B μεταστῆναι proposuit Tafel²

[at that point]. On the other hand, the dark garment meets with approval, which holds out the promise of the day to come, which might stand to reason if it is preceded by daybreak, since the night has no succession. And having submitted himself to such an identity, he renounced the high and comfortable bed, wishing instead that a reed mat be laid down for him to sleep on, and his wish was fulfilled. And a man who had submitted to similar hardship on many occasions when he had triumphed on our behalf made this his final bed, descending to this humble state of self-abasement, he rose up as far as it is permitted for humans to rise. And he reflected upon all those things which a pure and god-like soul does, withdrawing from its body, becoming aware of its impending liberation. He spoke quietly, and after hearing all that he needed to from those nearest to him, he was released from his bond; or rather, he did in fact truly depart on the journey, having bid farewell, which is in truth a most blessed thing and intently prayed for by all us human beings, at any rate. For to lie there breathing, imprisoned in silence, not even able to think for oneself, this might truly be called death. Still, to make the journey still able to speak such things as a man remembers fondly, able to think clearly, this could certainly be called a journey, itself a most blessed thing. And even if it is death, it will not cheat such a man of his mental ability even a little, or rob him of any part of his lifetime, or confine a man's intelligence to idleness, plotting against the mind which hosts it, but in assaulting the departing man's shell alone, death undermines himself.

And in this manner he gave his final blessing from God to both his conjugal spouse and to his imperial son, as well as to all the others who were standing around the divine body of the emperor. He joined the ranks of heaven, taking his place at the side of all-ruling God, in whose service he always governed the empire. As for the city – you would not have said it was the dwelling place of people possessing a voice; no, they would have preferred to no longer exist. Their foundation having collapsed, they, too, fell with it. And having lost the light of life, they showed outward the gloom inside of themselves, donning dark clothing, raining down a shower of tears corresponding to such a dark cloud. And they would have perished altogether had they not seen that site of the foundation being readied, our emperor and empress, the most divine pinnacle, who hold up

τεύσατο καὶ τοιοῦτοις ἡμίψατό σου τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδὴν τῶν πόλεων τὸν θεμέλιον ὑποσπάσας. ἴσμεν γάρ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν βουλευτηρίων αἱ πόλεις ἐστήκασι, κὰν ταῦτα ὑφέλης, οὐδὲν ἔτι τὸ μένον 25 δαψιλὲς δάκρυ: cf. Greg. Antioch. *Epitaph*. 2.86.16 ὑφῆρει τοῦ πένθους καὶ δαψιλὲς τὸ δάκρυ προτρέχον τῶν βλεφαρίδων ἀνέστελλεν; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.330.9 Τὸ δὲ ἔκπεσε δάκρυ δαψίλειαν δηλοῖ τοῦ ὕγρου

τοῦ κράτους ὀροφὴν ἡμῖν ὑπανέχουσιν. Οὓς καὶ εἴη συντηρῶν παγίως βεβηκότας ὁ μέγας οἰκοδόμος θεός, ὁ μὴ μόνον πόλεις οἰκοδομῶν ἄς εἰ μὴ φυλάξει αὐτός, εἰς μάτην ἀγρυπνηθήσεται ἡ φυλακὴ· ἀλλὰ καὶ πηλοποιῶν πλάττων εἰς τὸ στερέμνιον, καὶ οἴκους οὕτως οἰκοδομῶν τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς 177v
 μεγίστους οἱ πρὸς ἀλεωρὴν παντὸς κακοῦ τοῦ ἐν κόσμῳ ἀνωκοδομῆνται. τοὺς βα- 5
 σιλεῖς λέγω, ἐν οἷς τὸ κορυφαῖον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὧν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἤδη βαλβίδων τοῦ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας δρόμου ἀναπιμπλάμεθα λαβόντων μὲν ἐκεῖθεν τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ἐνδόσιμον, προσεπαυξανόντων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεόν τὸ ἐξομοιοῦν θεῷ τῆς εὐεργεσίας τάλαντον· ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀγαθοῖς οἰκονόμοις παρέθετο, θέλων ἐπιπλέον χεθῆναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν κατὰ θεῖαν μίμησιν καὶ εἶναι πλείω τὰ εὐεργετούμενα 10
 καὶ γε τὰ εὐερ(γε)τήματα.

80 Ὡσιωσάμην τὸν λόγον, ὦ μακαριστὲ βασιλεῦ εἰς ὅσον ἐπεμέτρει καιρός. Εἰπεῖν γάρ εἰς ὅσον καὶ δύναμις οὐκ ἂν ἀληθὲς ἀπελεγχθεῖ μοι ἐνδαψιλευσαμένῳ καὶ χρόνον εὐοικότα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀδείας καλόν. Ἀπέστω δὲ νέμεσις.

2–3 οἰκοδόμος ... φυλακὴ: cf. LXX Ps. 126.14 Ἐὰν μὴ κύριος οἰκοδομήσῃ οἶκον, / εἰς μάτην ἐκοπίασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες αὐτόν. / ἐὰν μὴ κύριος φυλάξῃ πόλιν, / εἰς μάτην ἠγρύπνησεν ὁ φυλάσσων 8 βαλβίδων... δρόμου: cf. Heliod. Aeth. 4.3. τοῦ δρόμου τὴν χώραν ἐκεκλήρωτο καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν ἐνδὺς ἐφειστήκει τῇ βαλβίδι τὸν δρόμον ἀσθμαίνων καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἐνδόσιμον ἄκων καὶ μόγις ἀναμένων 8–9 προσεπαυξανόντων ... τάλαντον: Ev. Matt. 25:1430; cf. supra par. 65; 14 Ἀπέστω ... νέμεσις: cf. Eust. Comm. ad Hom. Il. 3.799.2526 cf. Τὸ δὲ 'μὴ νεμέσα, τοῖον γὰρ ἄχος βεβήκε' λεχθεῖ ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ δέεσθαι μεφομένου νεμεσῆσῃ τὸ θεῖον; cf. Aesch. Ag. 904 τοιοῖσδ'ε τοῖ νιν ἀξίῳ προσφθέγμασιν, / φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω; cf. etiam Eust. Ep. 19.211 ἐροῦσι δέ, ὅτι κατὰ πάντων ῥητόρων (ἀλλ' ἀπέστω φθόνος) φέρεις τὰ νικητήρια

II εὐεργετήματα: (γε) suppl. Tafel εὐεργετήματα B

the roof of the state for us. May God the great builder preserve them on a steady footing. For he not only builds cities, but if he should not guard them, then their guards lose sleep in vain. But he also creates structures out of clay, building shelters in this way, those who walk among mankind; especially the greatest ones who are raised up as a bulwark against every evil in the world – I mean the emperors, among whom our own are the summit, whose patronage we are suffused with right from the starting gate of their imperial career. They took their cue from Manuel regarding all imperial affairs, but they increased even further the talent of good works in likeness to God, which he entrusted to them as good stewards, since it was his wish that this virtue should be dispensed in ever greater quantity in imitation of the divine, and that the number of both the beneficiaries as well as the benefits themselves should increase.

I have fulfilled the obligation of this oration, oh blessed emperor, to the extent 80 that I could in the time available. For to say that I said all that I might have would have been proven false even had I been able to lavish both the appropriate time and enjoyed the license to do so. May Nemesis stay away!

COMMENTARY

TITULUS

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ: a reliable indication that the titles were composed in tandem with the production of the manuscript. αὐτοῦ, however, does suggest that there may have been room for another author, either in the original or the target manuscript. Commissioned copies might have had the author's name inserted into the title if the preceding work was not by the same author. Occasionally this was overlooked, leaving modern scholars to puzzle out the identity of the rightful author, as happened with Gregorios Antiochos' *μονωδία* for Manuel, seemingly attributed by a scribe's oversight to Michael the Rhetor in the manuscript (*Scor.* Y.II.10) and faithfully reproduced in *Fontes Rerum Byzantarum*, eds. W. Regel et N. Novossadsky (Petropoli, 1917) 191–228. It is worth asking whether we would know that Eustathios composed the Ἐπιτάφιος had it been similarly copied without his name into a collection by diverse authors.

τὸν ἀοιδιμον ἐν ἀγίοις βασιλεῦσι: still strongly attached to the formulas of an archaic culture of renown through song, ἀοιδιμος was frequently employed in Byzantium. ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις βασιλεῦσι was common in commemorative texts for emperors, at least those whose piety earned them a place among the saints; cf. *Synax. Const. mens. Maii* 29,3: Μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις βασιλεῦσι μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος; Io. Geom. *Carm. hex. et eleg.* (ed. E.M van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre: Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques*, Leiden-Boston, 2008) 80.1: τίνας ἂν εἶποι λόγους ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις βασιλεὺς κύρ Νικηφόρος, ἀποτεμνομένων τῶν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ. It is surprising that the two only rarely appear as part of the same phrase; cf. Eust. *Or.* 18 (Λόγος P) 294.5: Διάκονός τις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ δεομένῳ ἐφημερίας προσηνέχ[θ]η παρὰ τὸ δέον κειμηλίοις ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατριάρχαις ἀοιδίμου κύρ Λουκά. With some notable exceptions like Constantine I, it was the office of emperor, not the man, who was consecrated. Cf. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken.* 2. Aufl. (Darmstadt, 1956) 40–44, nn. 54–56.

οὐ τυχόντως μεθώδευται, ὁ πεπαιδευμένος διακρινεῖ: the requisite meaning of μεθοδεύω here derives from the sense “to do something in a systematic fashion” as applied to composition (LSJ, s. v. μεθοδεύω). E. uses μεθοδεύω in the *Παρεκβολαί* to designate the poet's handling of the full range of choices involved in composition, from the arrangement of the narrative elements to what we might broadly define as *style*, cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.401.4–5: ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰς ψυχαγωγίαν ἀκροατοῦ καὶ λέξεων δὲ πολυωνυμίαν ἀκριβοῖ καὶ ἄλλα μυρία μεθοδεύει. The word had acquired the technical sense of the specific rhetorical means

to achieve particular literary qualities, including choice of diction, motifs, arrangement, and other elements of style, cf. Hermog. Περὶ ιδεῶν λόγου 1.6; cf. etiam Greg. Pard. *Scholion* 7.2 (ed. C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, Stuttgart, 1834) 1090: Σκοπός ἐστι τῷ Ἐρμογένει διδάξαι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ πραγματείᾳ, πῶς τεχνικῶς ἐν λόγῳ μεθοδεύσομεν ἕκαστον ὧν χρῆζομεν, ἥγουν σχημάτων, ἢ ἄλλων χρησίμων εἰς ῥητορείαν. While πεπαιδευμένος never lost its association with what might be characterized as “civilized” conduct (cf. Isocr. *Panath.* 30), its most common Byzantine usage was that of “well educated” and “cultured” (LSJ s. v. παιδεύω, II). The author of the title employs it to designate the most likely prospective reader of such a text outside of its occasional setting. The “educated” in this case is someone interested in the compositional artistry of the text, its *method*. While many had incentives to become educated, those seeking to study an oration of this kind with an eye to its formal and structural qualities made up a more limited potential audience and would have come from the same ranks as Eustathios himself had when he began his career as a rhetor and teacher. The reference is significant in as much as it demarcates the secondary audience whose potential interest ensured the survival of the oration.

διακρινεῖ: the manuscript clearly reads διακρινεῖ, which suits the sense. In the notes to his translation, Tafel² prints διεκκρινεῖ, an unknown form, probably as a result of error since he translates *wird der Gebildeten wahrnehmen*. διακρίνω appears frequently in E.’s surviving corpus, including at least 3 examples of the contract fut. διακρινεῖ: cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.369.22; *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.33.18; *Or.* 5 [Λόγος E] 61.6. There are no extant examples warranting consideration of διεκκρίνω.

Πολλῶν γὰρ ἄλλως γραψάντων: besides a funerary poem by Io. Tzetzes (P. Matranga, *Anecdota graeca*, II 619–622) we possess one other funeral oration for Manuel I Komnenos, a μονωδία (Scor. Y.II.10 = Andrés 265), ff.15v–23r81 in W. Regel, *Fontes* II, 191–228) by Gregorios Antiochos, himself a former student of Eustathios. Antiochos’ eulogy appears to have been initially composed for the funerary commemoration customarily held 40 days after burial (Regel, *Fontes* 191,15 ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν τεσσαρακοστῶν) but was delayed and actually delivered some months later, at a different occasion, which made its sorrowful tone untimely. Given the large number of surviving panegyrics for Manuel –Magdalino, *Empire* 414, counts over seventy– it is not hard to imagine that multiple funerary texts, not all of them necessarily orations, were either commissioned or composed at the author’s will for the commemorative ceremonies marking Manuel’s death. E.’s Πολλῶν... γραψάντων was therefore probably not hyperbole. Like the

rest of the title, this too may derive directly from the contents of the oration rather than from the historical circumstances in which it was composed. Thus in Ἐπ. 2, E. refers to other rhetors having already bestowed praise on the deceased emperor as what prompted him to deliver an oration himself, suggesting a kind of *agon* among the capital's orators. The mention of this in the title –the effort to make one's oration stand out– provides an important clue to the anticipated audience of the manuscript.

ἔστρυφνῶθη πρὸς διαφορὰν ὁ παρῶν ἐπιτάφιος: for the significance of ἔστρυφνῶθη in the title and as part of Eustathios' critical vocabulary, see the introduction. For the sake of economy and intelligibility, I render the term as “in an intricate style,” though this reflects only part of my broader analysis of Eustathios' usage and may not find everyone in agreement. It is worth noting that the author of the title expected a prospective reader of the oration to see it as a distinguishing feature of Eustathios' text.

The expression πρὸς διαφορὰν means something equivalent to “in contrast to” or “be at odds / at variance with” and appears to be a late Hellenistic coinage, with no text earlier than Plutarch testifying to its use; cf. Plut. *De frat. amore* 478e (ed. M. Pohlenz, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 3, 1929; repr. 1972) φύσις ἀδελφούς δύο καὶ τρεῖς καὶ πλείονας ἐποίησεν οὐ πρὸς διαφορὰν καὶ ἀντίταξιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως χωρὶς ὄντες ἀλλήλοις μᾶλλον συνεργῶσιν. The author of the title wished to underline that the Ἐπιτάφιος was deliberately composed to be distinguished from the other funeral orations. Sideras, *Byzantinische Grabreden*, 73–74, admits *variatio* within the canonical schemes of Byzantine funerary genres but summarily rules out originality; for a critique of this position, see the review by P. Agapitos in *Hellenika* 46 (1996) 195–205, esp. 199–200.

1

Οὐκ ἦν μοι καταδοκοῦντι... γλώσση λαλεῖν: phrased as an elaborate impersonal construction, the opening sentence displaces the focus from the orator and the *laudandus* to the oration itself. E returns to the composition of the Ἐπιτάφιος again and again, in the self-conscious manner of so much epideictic oratory since antiquity. The feigned apprehension about not being up to the laudatory task was a commonplace of both Greek ἐγκώμιον and Roman *laudatio* intended to inflate even further the rhetor's achievement. E. could look to precedent for metaphors to describe the encomiast's task as practically beyond reach: Pind. *Ol.* II, 108–110; XIII, 45–46; Ael. Arist. *Isthm.* 3 *fin.*; *Sacr. Or.* I, 2; cf.

E. Dutoit, *Le thème de l'“adunaton” dans la poésie antique* (Paris, 1936) 171–172; cf. A. Gow, *Theocr.* XVI, 60. τινά is the acc. subject of a series of interlocking subordinate infinitives beginning with τετολημκέναι.

οὐτω ταχὺ τὸν τηλικούτον... λόγω ἐξᾶραι: the rhetor's complaint about having too little time to give due praise to his subject was a commonplace intended to preempt criticism that the orator had failed to mention some accomplishment or do the *laudandus* justice by underlining the constraints of time on the speech. E. invoked the limitation again and again throughout the funeral oration, making a rhetorical virtue out of a practical necessity; cf. Ἐπ. 4 καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμετρηθήσεται τι χρόνου τῷ κατὰ σκοπόν; Ἐπ. 6 Καί τις ἄν, ἐπιμετρήσῃ χρόνον ἀρκοῦντα; Ἐπ. 8 καὶ διεκπεσεῖν τοῦ τε καιροῦ τοῦ τε σκοποῦ; Ἐπ. 11 Δύναμις δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς μεμετρημένοις τὸ λέγειν.

Μικροῖς μὲν χαρακτῆρσι ... γραφικῆς: the oration acknowledges the rôle of writing in composition. This does not necessarily mean E. was reading from a transcribed copy, though the little visual evidence for recitals before audiences at court in the illustrated Madrid Skylitzes depicts readers reciting from a written text in hand, cf. *The illustrated chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, ed. V. Tsamakda (Leiden, 2002) ff. 125v, 128v, 134r, 219v. E. exploits the incongruity between “small characters” used to depict “the greatest [man],” thus further amplifying the theme of the opening, namely, that any speech would be incommensurate to the scale of deserved praise. For this sense of γραφική, see LSJ s.v. γραφικός II, 2., 3.

ἐκτυπώσασθαι ... ὑψῶσαι: the infinitival clauses are dependent predicates of τίθεμαι.

μετρίου καιροῦ: Tafel prints μικροῦ, probably as a result of misreading the -ε- before the ligature for -τρ-. The phrase is not common; cf. Zonar. *Vita s. Eupr.* (BHG 631m) 17: Μετρίου δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις παραρρύντος καιροῦ.

τοὺς ἐν τραγωδία ἐγκεκαλυμμένους: in spite of the masc. participle, any mention of veiling would have placed the accent on the markedly feminine inclination to surrender to grief. See M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 2002) 4–24. The reference might derive from such plays as Euripides' *Alcestis* 1120–1125, whose heroine by the same name is led onto the stage at the end of eponymous play as a ghostly veiled figure. Many of the women in tragedy were depicted as veiled in statues and vase painting. E. may be conflating references to shrouded grieving figures in myth generally with tragedy *per se*. Greek vases were often decorated with scenes from myth or Greek epic in which women mourning are veiled, and the figure was a popular motif for

sculptors. Cf. E. Hall, *Greek Tragedy: Suffering Under the Sun* (Oxford, 2010) 2. The reference to veiling could also be associated with femininity (Aristoph. *Lys.* 530–532) and, by extension, lack of emotional self-restraint.

τὸ ἐν λόγοις ἀνδρῶδες πεπαρησίασται: the sense is that of giving voice courage, which consists of stepping forward and risking falling short of the mark in composing a suitable oration for such an occasion: οὐκ εὐθυβολήσαι πρὸς τὰ τοῦ σκοποῦ κίνδυνος. The language is reminiscent of Plato *Rep.* 567b3: Οὐκοῦν καὶ τινὰς τῶν συγκαταστησάντων καὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντων παρησιάζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπιπλήττοντας τοῖς γιγνομένοις, οἱ ἂν τυγχάνωσιν ἀνδρικότατοι ὄντες. E. was well aware of the more politically charged sense of παρησία under monarchical regimes; cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3.381.6: Παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς παρησία τοῖς ἡγεμόσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πολλή and while the word was routinely used in a non-political sense, Byzantine orators had not entirely forfeited the claim to speak freely at court, even if they rarely exercised the privilege.

ἢ ἐν δέοντι θερμότης: for the claim to being moved by one's ardour to speak, cf. Athen. *Deipnosoph.* 1.1: τοιοῦτον ὁ θαυμαστός οὗτος τοῦ λόγου οἰκονόμος Ἀθήναιος ἡδιστον λογοδειπνον εἰσηγεῖται κρείττων τε αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ γινόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ Ἀθήνησι ρήτορες, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν θερμότητος πρὸς τὰ ἐπόμενα τῆς βίβλου βαθμηδὸν ὑπεράλλεται.

οἱ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἄνδρες: ἀγαθὴ ἐπιθυμία had become a formula to describe monks. Its use in the Septuag. (cf. *Prov.* 13.12) ensured it a long life as a ready description of those who took vows, apt to the ideal represented by those who turned their hopes and desires toward God, as may be seen in Basil of Caesaria's *Lesser Asketikon* or 'short rule', cf. *Regul. brev. tract.*, PG 31 col. 1185a: Ἐρώτησις PNZ: Ποταπῆ διαθέσει ὀφείλει τις δουλεύειν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ὅλως ἢ διάθεσις αὕτη τί ἐστίν; Ἀπόκρισις: Διάθεσιν ἀγαθὴν ἠγοῦμαι εἶναι ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν εὐαρεστήσεως σφοδρὰν. E. is almost certainly referring here to the monks of the Pantokrator monastery, founded by Manuel's parents, John II Komnenos and Eirene. The *Typikon*, or foundation charter, contains a series of provisions pertaining to the funerary commemorations of the members of the imperial family buried there, including references to the candles and chanting alluded to here. See, P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974), 1–145, with text at 27–131: Οὗτοι δὲ πάντες κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν μνημοσυνῶν... συνελεύσονται εἰς τὸν τῆς ὑπεραμώμου δεσποίνης καὶ Θεοτόκου ναὸν μετὰ καὶ τῶν δυναμένων μετακινεῖσθαι ἀρρώστων, ποιῶντες λιτὴν καὶ ψάλλοντες τὸ Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, ὡς ἀγαθὸς τῶν δούλων σου, καὶ τὸ Μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀνάπαυσον καὶ τὸ Πρε-

σβεία θερμή, εἶθ) οὕτως ἵνα ποιῶσιν ἐκτενὴ δέησιν καὶ λέγωσι τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τὸ Μακαρίσει ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς κτήτορας... ἐφ) ἐκάστη δηλονότι τῶν τοιούτων μνημοσύνων λιτή, διδομένων καὶ φατλίων μεγάλων ὑπὲρ τῶν λιτῶν τοῦ ὄλου χρόνου δεκαεξί, ὥστε ἔχειν ταῦτα τοὺς πριμμικηρίους πρὸς τὸ ἀνάπτεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν λιτῶν.

ἀνάπτουσιν ἄρτι... καὶ λόγου λαμπάδας: the *Typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery (ed. Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” 35) required that during each celebration of the liturgy, the tombs of the imperial family be censured while the monks sang the *Trisagion*. It made further provision that prayers should be recited for the deceased emperors. On such prayers for the dead, see V. Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium the Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art* (Cambridge, 2017) 93–106. In addition to daily liturgical commemoration, the charter also specified the continuous lighting of lamps at the imperial tombs, as well as the regular distribution of charity on behalf of the deceased emperors. ἄρτι suggests that the monks had just finished reciting a prayer for Manuel, perhaps while lighting the candles in the funerary chapel containing the tomb. The time marker places the oration in the precise moment of its delivery, thereby diminishing the rehearsed effect of reciting a text composed in advance. Should we conclude that E. could anticipate so precisely the sequence of ceremony that he could work it into the Ἐπιτάφιος? The text demonstrates once more the importance of collating, as it were, the literary and the liturgical, matching textual to archaeological evidence.

αὐτοδεξίωσιν ὀφειλετικὴν: unattested elsewhere, the compound αὐτοδεξίωσις appears to be a Eustathian coinage in the Ἐπιτάφιος (see *LBG* s.v. αὐτοδεξίωσις). The expression is deliberately self-contradictory, designed to underline that the monks make the required offering of prayers motivated by their very own desire to do so, which proves a fitting dedication to the deceased emperor. Cf. E. A. Congdon, “Imperial commemoration and ritual in the typikon of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator,” *RÉB* 54 (1999) 161–99, 169.

2

Εἴη ἂν ἀγεννῆς... συνδιεξαγόμενος: a relatively rare example of periodic syntax in the Ἐπιτάφιος. The use of the third person is intended to present E.’s decision to compose a funeral oration as observing widely acknowledged decorum. The passage passes from the general to the specific in the last sentence as E.

describes himself having conformed to the principles he has just laid out: οὐδ' ἡμᾶς ὁ χρόνος εὔρεν ὀκνοῦντας τὰ δυνατὰ ἐγκώμια.

τοιούτοις: refers again to the monks lighting candles and chanting hymns on behalf of the deceased emperor.

Μίμησιν... διδάσκαλον: E. appears to cite a pedagogical or ethical maxim regarding “imitation” of exemplary conduct, appropriated here to explain and justify the decision to compose a funeral oration in the wake of others having already done so; cf. Ἐπ. 5: ζήλω διαθερμανθεὶς πρὸς μίμησιν. The length at which E. dwells on his incentives to compose the Ἐπιτάφιος suggests he may have been trying to answer questions regarding his own motives. The significance attached to *mimesis* mirror's that of E.'s argument in an essay on the evolution of *hypokrisia* from a term describing an actor's prerogative to the more familiar one of the liar's pretense to one thing while doing another; cf. Περὶ ὑποκρίσεως (Tafel, *Opuscula*, 88–98). There E. emphasizes the edifying effects of μίμησις on the ancient Athenian stage of both exemplary and unexemplary behaviour.

σιωπῶντων μὲν τῶν ἔλλογιμωτέρων... λαλοῦσι δὲ: E. suggests that he might have remained silent had his most accomplished peers done so as well. Now that they have begun to raise their voice in tributes to Manuel, how can he do anything but add his voice to their chorus? As the former μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων, a post which granted the title-holder imperial recognition as the leading man of letters in the capital, and especially of oratory, E. describes himself being drawn into praise of the emperor by his need to remind audiences of his continued rhetorical prowess. While such motives as peer rivalry and ambition are routinely invoked by scholars to explain the great flourishing and expansion of imperial panegyric throughout the twelfth century, it is perhaps unexpected to find such a frank admission of the rhetor's true inducement to compose an oration. Or does its inclusion in a text governed by conventions of rhetorical decorum detract from its reliability as an expression of genuine motive? For the standard survey of the relevant genres, see Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, 120–145. The best description of the professional incentives for rhetors to outdo one another in praise of Manuel remains Magdalino, *Empire*, 413–489. This was not the first time E. made reference to rhetoric having nurtured him from his youth to the rôle of imperial orator; cf. Eust. *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 203.41–43: καὶ τὴν φίλην θρέπτειραν ῥητορείαν, ἣτις ἔτι παῖδά με ὄντα καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς Ἰουλιον ἀρτιφυῆ λασιούμενον ῥήτορα βασιλικὸν παρεστήσατο.

ὁ φθάσας βίος... ὑστερεῖν λαλιᾶς: cf. Eust. *Or.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 266.78–82: Ἄλλ' ὃ χρόνος εἰς τοῦτό με περιαγαγὼν ὥρας, ὡς μὴ ἔχειν ἐμπλατύνεσθαι τοῖς βασι-

λικοῖς τούτοις καλοῖς φειδοῖ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἑμαυτοῦ δυνάμεως, οἷς ἄλλοι μὲν ἐνδιέτριψαν πρὸ ἡμῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἦκομεν δεύτεροι καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μέλον, εἰ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ λόγου δυνάμει, ὡς, εἴ γε λέγειν ἦν ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἂν τὰ τῆς δευτερολογίας ταύτης ὠκνήσαμεν.

ἡμᾶς... ὀκνοῦντας τὰ δυνατὰ ἐγκώμια: E. had previously underlined his service to Manuel's "image", as Magdalino has aptly described the cumulative efforts of the court panegyrists to fashion a public persona of the emperor. Cf. *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 204.65–66: Καὶ οὕτω μὲν τὸν ἑμαυτὸν ἐδικαίωσα μὴ πενιαντίζειν τὰς λαλιάς, ἀλλὰ συχνότερον φθέγγεσθαι καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀριστείας περικροτεῖν. Further down (Ἐπ. 4) E. reiterates his obligation, as he see it, not to remain silent in such circumstances but to speak up, as he was wont to do: μηδὲν οὖν σιγᾶν χρῆναι, ἀλλὰ τι λαλῆσαι, ὧν ἐθάδες ἤμεν.

ὅποι γάρ ποτε παρήκοι: the optative παρήκοι is iterative (Smyth 2340a); there is also a discernable alliterative effect in the quick succession of –π with –οι at the end of the first and last word of the short clause. Such small acoustic elements accumulate over the course of the oration.

3

περιόντος μὲν... ὑποπτος ἢ χάρις: as the citations in the apparatus illustrate, E. combines two ideas: the ethical *topos* that kindness or favour shown to someone present is motivated by shame or social obligation, and is therefore subject to suspicion of disingenuousness. A narrative and paraenetic discourse in antiquity cautioned against the perils of flattery at court, e.g. Plutarch's "How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend," (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 48e-74e). E. cleverly turns what ought to be a weakness of imperial panegyric, its perceived insincerity, into a supposed strength of his funeral oration by stressing the absence of the deceased and the purity of his motive in praising Manuel.

περιόντος μὲν... ἀπελθόντος δέ: sc. τοῦ Μανουήλ.

ὅπου τὰ κρείττονα: the plural of τὸ κρείττον was used in Late Antiquity by Christian authors to refer to "higher things" or "higher orders of being"; see Lampe s.v. κρείσσων, 3. a, c. This meaning was derived directly from its earlier, pagan sense of "the Almighty" or "Providence" found in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the Epistles of Julian; see LSJ s.v. κρείσσων.

προθυμεῖσθαι... προθυμίας: a variation on *poluptoton*, a rhetorical figure whereby a word from the same root is repeated in different declensions. The al-

literative effect was commonly used by Byzantine rhetors and E. makes frequent use of it here and in his other orations.

χρεῶν ταύτης : sc. τῆς παλαιᾶς προθυμίας, “that old desire”.

4

καθεσταμένου: a post-classical form of the perf. part. (LSJ s.v. καθίστημι II.B) attested in the LXX Nu. 3.32: ὁ υἱὸς Ααρων τοῦ ἱερέως καθεσταμένος φυλάσσειν τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν ἁγίων; as well as of Hellenistic authors, cf. Polyb. *Hist.* 38.17: Ὅτι ἄρτι τοῦ Διαίου παρόντος εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, καθεσταμένου στρατηγοῦ διὰ τῶν πολλῶν (*verbatim apud* Const. VII Porph. *De virtutibus et vitiis*, 2.208.15 [eds. T. Büttner-Wobst, A.G. Roos, Berlin, 1910]). The form was common by the twelfth century; cf. Zosim. *Hist. nova* 1.32.1: τῶν ἐκεῖσε στρατιωτῶν ἡγεμόνος καθεσταμένου μετὰ τῆς οὔσης αὐτόθι δυνάμεως. Jannaris (973) supplies inscriptional evidence from the 3rd c. A.D. in which ἰσταμένου was written ἔσταμένου (cf. *Mitteilungen des Archaeol. Instituts*, Berlin, 1876, xix. 249,2).

νόμοις μὲν λογογραφίας... πολλὰ παραποιοῦσι: announcing his intention to break with the prescriptions of rhetorical instruction (νόμοις... λογογραφίας), E. cites the precedent of paragons of speech-making who violated the very rules they embodied, “when the occasion called for it” (ὅτε καίριον). E. nevertheless cautions against taking too much liberty with the contents of an oration such as this by creating things which have no place in such a text: ἔκτοπα δὲ αὐθις πλάζεσθαι γράφοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο παρανομεῖν ἐν τέχνῃ λόγων ἐστίν, leaving us wondering just what such ἔκτοπα might amount to. The orator, he tells us, must strike a balance between convention and innovation by “select[ing] what is both lawful in encomia and what is most effective under the circumstances”: ἐπιλεκτέον οὖν τό τε ἔννομον ἐν ἐγκωμίοις καὶ τὸ ἐν περιστάσεσιν εὐμέθοδον, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονοῦσαν κἂν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δεινότητα; this was intended, according to E. to ensure “the most forceful design in cases such as this”: κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονοῦσαν κἂν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δεινότητα. The methodological excursus serves to defend E.’s decision not to dwell on Manuels’ venerable ancestors, as rhetorical conventions mandated, with the added justification that were he to begin listing Manuel’s noble lineage, there would be no time left for the remainder of the funeral oration. The “fathers of rhetorical law(s)” (τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ πατέρες νόμου) did not need to be named since they would have been sufficiently well-known to educated Byzantines. They included the canonical ten Attic orators, as well as an eclectic selection of post-classical authors, like Aelius Aristides and Gregory Nazian-

zus; not, as some assume, the authors of the rhetorical handbooks, who could not be described as having violated the rules since they generally left no examples of their own orations. In contrast, the reference to the “laws of speech-making” would have brought to mind the lessons of the handbooks of the extensive Hermogenic corpus, Aphthonius, and *Menander-Rhetor*, who formed the theoretical backbone of basic instruction in composition. The authority and imprint of these lessons on Byzantine literature, especially on such ceremonial genres as βασιλικὸς λόγος, is frequently described in the scholarship as rather decisive. A case by case analysis of funerary orations, for example, or panegyric more broadly, reveals significant departures from the prescribed norms (see the Introduction). It might be argued that such statements were a posture of non-conformism, intended to disarm a cliché-weary audience. In E.’s case, we may acknowledge an abiding preoccupation not with novelty for its own sake but in pursuit of rhetorical effectiveness and aptness to the subject, an approach stressed in his commentaries. The only extensive survey of theoretical instruction in rhetoric in Byzantium remains Hunger, *Profane Literatur*, 75–92. For a more rarefied approach, see Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Thessalonikē, 1973) 27–63. The texts in question may best be considered as a body of instruction in G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Text Books of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Leiden, 2003).

ἔκτοπα ... πλάζεσθαι: E. appears to be saying that he has no intention to innovate with respect to the contents of the speech, in order to balance his declaration earlier that he does not think it necessary to follow every prescription regarding such speeches to the letter. ἔκτοπα πλάττω appears to be a Eustathian coinage, cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.48.38: ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη νῆσος, ἔκτοπος καὶ ἀοίκητος ἀνδράσι πλάττεται.

ἑπταδικὴ δὲ τελειότης... γένος κοσμεῖ: E.’s methodological excursus at the top of this paragraph offers a theoretical rationale for his decision to abridge the genealogical account of the deceased’s ancestors. The one surviving handbook with fairly detailed blueprints for the various kinds of speeches, that of *Menander-Rhetor*, places description of the family at the beginning of a funeral oration –presumably in a bid to establish the prestige of the deceased’s bloodline and to show him as a worthy descendant. Cf. *Men.-Rhet.* Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, 420.10–12: ἐγκωμιάσεις δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τόπων τῶν ἐγκωμιαστικῶν, γένους, γενέσεως, φύσεως, ἀνατροφῆς, παιδείας, ἐπιτηδευμάτων. By a rhetorical sleight of hand, E. implies a family tree of such great accomplishments that it is best left out of the oration, lest it become the main focus of the Ἐπιτάφιος to the exclu-

sion of the task at hand: Κἂν δεήσει τοῖς κατ'αὐτὴν ἐπεξελθεῖν σεμνώμασιν... ἀναλωθείσης τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ ἀδείας εἰς τὰ μὴ πρὸ ἔργου τῷ γράφοντι. The expression *τριγόνους... γονὰς* was not strictly numeric, but referred to a long and distinguished ancestry which could confer *βασιλεία* as a birthright; cf. Nic. Chon. *Or.* 5.36.15–17: Ὡ γλυκείας ταύτης ἡμέρας, ἐν ἣ νυμφεύεται βασιλεὺς νέος νέαν, ὠραῖος ὠραῖαν, ἀνθοῦσαν ἀνθῶν, ὁ ἐκ τριγωνίας αὐχῶν τὸ γένος βασιλειον τὴν ἐκ Καισάρων Ἰουλιῶν τὴν γένεσιν ἔλκουσαν. In keeping with the inflationary norm of the panegyric mode, E. feigns literalism and declares that if Manuel's pedigree went back *just* three generations (the exact number for the Komnenian dynasty up to his time), he might have been able to include their record of achievement. Instead, Manuel's royal line was adorned by the accomplishments of a *sevenfold ancestry*! For all its ideological legitimacy, a good rhetor could nevertheless make the absence of pedigree a strength, as Nicetas Choniates did for the Angeloi and for Theodore I Laskaris. cf. Nic. Chon. *Or.* 87.20–22; 55.7–26. For the geneology of the Komnenians, see K. Varzos, *Η Γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, 2 vol. (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1984). Relative upstarts from Anatolia in the previous century, by the time of Manuel the Komnenians had come to project an image of immemorial power and heroism. In Ἐπ. 6, E. retreats from the subject of pedigree, citing too long a record of accomplishment as his reason for not recapitulating the feats and reputation of Manuel's ancestors: Γένος μὲν οὐ πολυπραγμονητέον ἐνταῦθα... οὐπερ ὁ κατάλογος ὑπὲρ τὰ ἠρωϊκά. None of the historians of the Komnenian dynasty, save perhaps for Anna Komnena, observes Tafel² (not. ad loc.) including Bryennius, and Manuel's (self-appointed?) apologist Ioannes Kinnamos, indulged in such panegyric hyperbole. But none of these authors was writing in a patently epideictic, ceremonial genre like the βασιλικὸς λόγος or the Ἐπιτάφιος. For an analysis as to how E. presumably arrived at a "sevenfold perfection" in Manuel's geneology, see Tafel², n.4. This was not the first time E. cast aside geneology from the received sequence of panegyric subjects. Speaking in praise of the patriarch Michael III (also known as τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου) on the occasion of the feast of Lazarus, E. offers various reasons why he will not enter into the details of Michael's ancestral achievements. See *Or.* 6 (Λόγος ζ) 79.47–58. In light of the rationale for dispensing with geneology in the Ἐπιτάφιος, it becomes clear that E.'s objections were not really contingent so much as programmatic and formal in nature. He was, however, not alone in his impatience with the received schema of praise. E.'s senior colleague, Michael Italikos, had similarly rejected geneology as befitting his encomiastic subject. See Mich. Ital. *Or.* 2.72.9–16.

ἐπεξελθεῖν σεμνώμασιν: this sense of ἐπεξέρχομαι construed with the dat. derives from the original meaning of *proceed against, pursue*, extended to *examine carefully*, cf. Pl. *Georg.* 492d ΣΩ. Οὐκ ἀγεννῶς γε, ὦ Καλλικλείς, ἐπεξέρχη τῷ λόγῳ παρρησιαζόμενος.

5

φυτὸν εὐθαλέστατον αὐτὸ ἀνέβλασεν: the vegetal metaphor was a common feature of addresses to the emperor, Greg. Antiochos also uses it in his funeral oration for Manuel I, (ed. Regel, *FRB*, 197/14–19). Images of plant life were widely exploited by twelfth-century writers who had learned the rich metaphorical potential and the means to ‘cultivate’ such imagery in *progymnasmata* designed to teach students to write in the ekphrastic mode. See the example in A.R. Littlewood, *The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres* (Amsterdam, 1972). Vegetal imagery like that of the tree became *topoi* or commonplaces of imperial encomium (see below, Ἐπ. 16: τοῦ καλοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς σοφίας καρπὸς ; cf. Th. *Prodr. Hist. Ged.* nos. 1, 7, 13–14, 20) Like so many of the images used to portray the emperor’s virtues and accomplishments, the likeness to a tree “whose shade revived the efforts of those seeking its shelter out of the sweltering labour of life” is largely unassailable because it is at once vivid and imprecise.

Σεμνὸν... ἀρχὴν βασιλείας ἑαυτῷ προκαταβαλέσθαι...τῇ βασιλικῇ χρυσέα σειρᾶ ἐνδοῦναι ἀρχήν: the interlaced repetition of key words (ἀρχὴν βασιλείας... βασιλικῇ ...σειρᾶ ἐνδοῦναι ἀρχήν) is a device E. employs throughout the oration. Panegyric convention enjoined the orator to chronicle the dynastic succession down to the *laudandus* (cf. *Men.-Rhet.* 419.15–21), a further sign of the need to constantly shore up the legitimacy of an emperor by pointing to the enduring success of his ancestral line (οὐκ ἀθεμελίωτα τῷ ὑμνουμένῳ τὰ τοῦ βασιλεῦν). The insistence of the Komnenian clan on their illustrious lineage may be seen in E.’s mention of τῆς χρυσῆς ταύτης ὑμετέρας σειρᾶς in a letter to his patron and frequent correspondent, Nikephoros Komnenos; cf. *Ep.* 8.44–45. In the next paragraph, E. explains why he will forego the inventory of Manuel’s eminent ancestry: Γένος μὲν οὐ πολυπραγμονητέον ἐνταῦθα. Although he does not name him, E.’s audience would have in all likelihood understood the ruler in question to have been Manuel’s grandfather, Alexios I Komnenos, who usurped power from Nikephoros III Botaneiates in 1081, since the memory of Isaac Komnenos’ short-lived reign in 1059–1061 was not frequently recalled in Komnenian dynastic accounts. Regardless of whether he was technically the founder of the

dynasty, everyone credited Alexios with establishing the basis of his dynasty's dominance or "golden chain" and it is he who answers best to E.'s description of a forefather whose feats were added to and surpassed by his descendant. For the Komnenian family tree, see K. Varzos, *Η Γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών* Vols. 1–3 (Athens, 1984).

6

Τί δέ: for all the obvious preparation in the carefully premeditated eloquence of the oration, E. does not forego the seeming spontaneity of apostrophizing the audience with feigned deliberation about an issue, a rhetorical figure known as *aporia*. E. sustains the sense of uncertainty about which way to proceed again a little further down: *Καί τις ἂν ἐπιμετρήσῃ χρόνον ἀρκούντα ... τοῖς τοῦ κειμένου ἐπεξιόντες θαύμασιν;* Both questions are designed to enlist the audience's sympathy for the orator's predicament, namely, that should he begin to chronicle Manuel's upbringing, the audience will soon stop listening to his account and turn to their own memories, each one in effect composing his own distinct oration. Once more E. combines implicit praise of Manuel by rationalizing his reluctance to enter into the details of his achievements.

τὸ ἀκροατήριον... ἐπεξιόντες: the subject of the subordinate clause after *ἐνθα* is the neuter singular τὸ ἀκροατήριον, construed first with a singular verb, *στρέφεται*; then in a combined bid for grammatical *variatio* joined to vivid portrayal, E. conjures the members of the audience as individuals with a series of plural participles and verbs *πεπηγότες... συστέλλουσι... παρανογνύντες... λογογραφοῦσιν... ἐπεξιόντες*. Though seemingly unremarkable as rhetorical devices go, *variatio* is hard to achieve seamlessly.

τὸ ἀκροατήριον... ἑαυτὸ στρέφεται: the claim that the family reputation of the *laudandus* was such that the audience had no need of an encomium formed part of the panegyrist's repertoire. Cf. Psell. *Or.* 2.451–452: *καὶ πατρίδα μὲν καταλέγειν καὶ γένος εἰ καὶ τεχνικὸν ἔστιν ὑπερβήσομαι, οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς ἀγνοοῦσαν ἀκοὴν φθέγγομαι, οὔτε τοῖς ἔξωθέν σε σκιαγραφῆσαι τὸν καθ' αὐτὸν ζωγραφούμενον βούλομαι*. On the apostrophe to the audience, who are able to compose their own laments based on their individual memories of Manuel's good works; cf. Eust. *Or.* 1 (Λόγος Α) 7.63–8.69: *Ἄλλὰ τί μοι μακρὰν ὀδεύειν τῷ λόγῳ ... εἶτα καὶ ὁ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐκτίθεισθέ μοι τὰ τῶν εὐεργετημάτων, οἷς ἐδεξιοῦτο ὑμᾶς*.

ὦν τὰ σεμνὰ ἔστι κατανοεῖν τῷ μαθήσεως εὖ ἤκοντι: the periphrasis employing an impersonal construction with *εἰμί* and a dat. of relation (Smyth,

1495) strikes us as both verbose and stilted. Affectation alone does not explain the resort to such syntax, whose effect must be likened to the language of disinterested observation and general maxims.

ὄπερ ὁ κατάλογος ὑπὲρ τὰ ἡρωϊκά: the plural of ἡρωϊκός, meaning “having the attributes of the hero(es),” referred to the actual deeds of mythic heroes, and by extension to designate epic, hexametric poetry or “the heroic age,” cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.568.3–4: τοῦ δὲ Εὐριπίδου ἀναχρονίσαντος τὴν τοιαύτην ἱπτεῖαν εἰς τὰ ἡρωϊκά. It is not implausible to construe the prepositional phrase to mean “exceeding the deeds of heroes.”

7

ποτε πρὸ ὥρας... περιέκειτο νίκην: whether by design or reputation, Manuel’s youthful proclivity for displays of daring became part of his later “image.” E. appears to be referring to an episode in which Manuel exhibited preternatural courage and military prowess. Kinnamos cannot corroborate the claim since he may have served as E.’s source; cf *Epit. re.* 1.9. Nicetas Choniates also included an account of the youthful future emperor’s memorable bravery; cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 35.28–38. Both historians underline that Manuel acted without his father’s approval, a point E. exploits to dramatize an important political lesson regarding prudence and self-control. The historicity of the event matters less than the repetition of it as something revealing about the emperor’s formation. The same historians invoked Manuel’s precocious bravery to explain his father’s eventual decision to pass over his older brother Isaac and appoint Manuel as his successor.

πατέρα βασιλέα διδασκαλιῶν... ἐρεθιζόμενον: having explicitly foregone the conventional catalogue of Manuel’s worthy ancestors, E. chooses to illustrate how Manuel’s innately brave character was shaped, or held in check, by his father; a relationship whose formative role E. is keen to emphasize by describing the future emperor as “following in his fathers’ footsteps,” (ἐμβαίνων ἴχνεσι, τὰ δὲ καὶ πατρικῶς ῥυθμιζόμενος). In a passage with distinctly paraenetic overtones, E. dramatizes the tragic flaw in the future emperor: his audacious and reckless willingness to cast himself with heroic fervour into the mêlée, with little thought to his own life sacrifice: πρὸ ὥρας ὕγραῖς ἔτι χερσὶ (καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ παιδικαῖς) ὁ μὲν κατεθάρρησε μάχης (ἦν δὲ οὐ πολλοί, οὐδὲ τῶν γενναιοτέρων), καὶ περιέκειτο νίκην. Kinnamos reports that Manuel was 16 when he took his first prisoners in battle, possibly even the same battle which prompted John II to caution his

son against heedless courage; cf. Io. Kinn. *Epit. re.* 3.5; cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 35.29–38, who gives an account of the episode, which appears to have been the source of stories such as the one abridged into the Ἐπιτάφιος which prefigure Manuel’s daring on the battlefield even as emperor. Indeed the episode feels slightly premonitory, setting the stage for Manuel’s narrow escape from certain death at the battle of Myriokephalon in 1176, against the victorious Seljuk forces, where Manuel’s bravery led to his being cut off and surrounded by the enemy: vid. infra Ἐπ. 62 and 67; cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 183.66–74. The historical conceit of the episode is that it implies that Manuel, despite being fourth in line to succeed his father, was even at this time being groomed for rule by his father; cf. Ἐπ. 62: διαδοχῆς, ἦν θεὸς παραδόξως αὐτῷ διέθετο.

ὕγραῖς ἔτι χερσὶ: the translation notwithstanding, the dat. in the Greek is likely to be instrumental, “with hands still soft.” For this sense of “moist” or “wet” applied to the limbs, see LSJ s.v. ὑγρός II. The parenthetical statement (καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ παιδικαῖς) is very elliptical and compressed, in keeping with the economy of E.’s style: we should understand a suitable implied verb with the interrogative τί, while the dat. of παιδικαῖς is attracted to that of ὑγραῖς, even if it would not strictly parallel the construction.

ἦνυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ μαθητῇ βασιλεῖ... καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι παιδευθέντα: a memorably paraenetic passage, dramatized as a reproach from a father to his son, from a sitting emperor to his as yet unforeseen heir. We need not dismiss the possibility of its historicity in order to acknowledge its staged, programmatic character here. Though it stops short of the systematic teachings of a bona fide *Fürstenspiegel* or *Mirror of Princes*, assuming the Ἐπιτάφιος served a current function beyond simply memorializing Manuel through evocative anecdotes, we may ask what was being communicated by the passage, and to what end? Manuel’s father counsels prudence and reminds the young man to check his impetuous desire for glory. Is this an instance of a royal or imperial ethic confronting an aristocratic one? For all his dependence on Komnenian patrons, E. appears ideologically attached to an imperial ideal, as against the narrower interests of aristocratic clans. For the socioeconomic background, see A. Kazhdan and S. Ronchey, *L’aristocrazia bizantina* (Palermo, 1997) 92–95, 130–133. It is worth recalling that Manuel’s young son, Alexios II, was in the audience, and while he is reported to have been sickly and therefore unlikely to emulate his father’s physical daring, the more important lesson regarding prudence would not have been lost on those advising the designated heir.

συνήγαγε μαθόντα ... ἀκούσαντα ... παιδευθέντα: while the grammatical subject of the sentence is πατήρ βασιλεύς, the notional subject is in the three acc. participles representing distinct thematic unities of Manuel's education and upbringing. The objects of his lessons are introduced by means of *amplificatio*, expanding, dividing, and particularizing each assertion in subordinate clauses short enough not to strain the ability of the audience to follow the syntax within each thematic unity:

- (1) συνήγαγε μαθόντα,
 (2) μὴ χρῆναι θάλος οὕτω νέον ἀνέμοις ἑαυτὸ παραβάλλειν,
 (3) οἱ ἐκστρέψαι τῆς εἰς ὀρθὸν στάσεως καὶ ἐπὶ γαίης ἔκτανύσαι
 ἰσχύουσιν.
- (1) ἀκούσαντά τε καί,
 (2) μηδένα φαῦλον ἄνδρα πόλεμον αἰρέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αἰεί,
 (3) οὓς κρατυνθέντας μὲν πάνυ στερρῶς
 καὶ ἄθλοις ἐντριβέντας μυρίοις
 (4) τάχ' ἂν ποτε δυσωπηθεῖη ἢ δυσπρόσωπος μάχη
 παναπάλοις δὲ οὓσι ταχὺ ἐγχανεῖται,
 καὶ ἀπαγάγοι πρὸ ὥρας, μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ὠφελικώτας τὸ
 βοηθούμενον.
- (1) καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι παιδευθέντα,
 (2) ἡρέμα τὸ ἔμπρακτον προῖσχεσθαι,
 καὶ βαθμιδοῦν οἶον τὴν ἐν ἀρεταῖς ἀνάβασιν κατὰ εὐτακτουμένην
 προσάξεισιν,
 (3) ἵνα τῷ τελείῳ προσβάς, εἴη τῷ κόσμῳ χρήσιμος·
 ὃ καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἐκβέβηκεν ὕστερον.

δυσωπηθεῖη ἢ δυσπρόσωπος μάχη: it is worth noting how frequently E. has recourse to such elementary rhetorical devices as simple assonance as we find in the juxtaposition of so similar-sounding words. An uncomplicated rhetorical figure, its appeal to the ear helps it register with the mind and the pleasant effect of its music engages the senses as a scaffolding for the argument.

8

Ἀλλὰ τί μοι ... εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐξικέσθαι: E. repeatedly offers rationales for not dwelling longer on the formative stages of Manuel's life, be it his noble lineage or his upbringing in the palace (a subject we should have liked to know more about). Nevertheless, balancing the length of an oration against the desired aim,

to pay tribute to the deceased emperor in a manner befitting his character and reign was the orator's perennial dilemma and indeed became a *topos* of panegyric, cf. Pernot, *La rhétorique de l'éloge*, 666–667, nn. 37–38, where Pernot cites examples from Plato as well as Aelius Aristides confronting the problem of time within the oration. The elusive proportions between the time available and the scale of the subject, what E. describes as ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς δυνατὴ συμμετρία, can only be achieved by leaving out much that might merit praise in return for having stirred some small measure of reminiscence and awe among the audience: μικρὰν γοῦν τινα τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς ἀνακινήσαι μνήμην καὶ θαῦμα, τοὺς τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης καρπούς.

ὡς ὑπὸ κλεψύδρα... τὸ τοῦ λόγου μετρητέον ὕδωρ: as if to underline the kinship of the Ἐπιτάφιος with ancient oratory, E. mentions the famed water clock, the bane of every ancient orator fearful that he might not make his case adequately before the water had run out from the vessel. Water clocks were used in Byzantium, though not to allot time to speakers. Having begun as a means to limit speeches in the courts, it eventually served to ensure fairness in epideictic competitions among orators. In combination with κλεψύδρα, the characterization of the occasion of the Ἐπιτάφιος as an ἀγών recalls the implicit rivalry cited by E. as having impelled him to compose a funeral oration of his own: μὴ θέλοντα τινῶν ὑστερεῖν λαλιᾶς τῆς ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ. Solemnity thus shared the stage with Sophistic contest, a point reiterated in the title, which effectively advertises its formal difference from its rivals. An early variant of later, more accurate, water clocks of the Hellenistic age, the κλεψύδρα became a symbol of an orator's disciplined effectiveness; for its use in Athenian courts, see P. Rhodes, *Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenian Politeia* (Oxford, 1981) 719ff. E.'s mention of the water-clock raises the question of how long the recital of the Ἐπιτάφιος would have taken. Based on estimates for analogous texts, a typical Eustathian oration would have required approximately one hour. Given its scale and occasion, we may assume a more generous allotment of time for the Ἐπιτάφιος. For examples of such calculations, see Pernot, *Epideictic rhetoric*, 82; *ibid.*, *La rhétorique de l'éloge*, 454–460. If the length of the Ἐπιτάφιος seems out of all proportion to a live recital, it is because silent reading paradoxically adds time. We might speculate that Eustathios delivered a less elaborate, less amplified version of the oration at the actual ceremony – though he censures the practice when he praises Manuel's for not needing to revise his speeches before circulating them. The constraints imposed by time were a *topos* of oratory, serving as an alibi against any criticism that the rhetor omitted some important aspect in the life of the *laudandus* and

his legacy. The commonplace nature of the motif does not mean that time was not a genuine preoccupation for orators, and E. closes the Ἐπιτάφιος by begging the indulgence of the blessed emperor, noting that he did his best in the time available: Ὡσιωσάμην τὸν λόγον, ὦ μακαριστὲ βασιλεῦ, εἰς ὅσον ἐπεμέτρει καιρός.

9

συμβόλων ἐκείνων... ἃ τὴν βασιλικὴν προεδήλου καὶ ἀνάρρησιν καὶ λοιπὴν ὑψωσιν: in the earliest extant oration in praise of Manuel not long after his precipitous accession to the throne, Michael Italikos dwelled at some length on the favourable portents of Manuel's reign; see Mich. Ital. Or. 44.278: τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γενέσεως σύμβολα, τὰ μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἢ ἔξωθεν ἐπαχθέντα ἢ φύσει ἐπιδειχθέντα ἢ σπουδῇ συγκατορθωθέντα ἢ θεόθεν οἰκονομηθέντα μέχρι καὶ τῆς βασιλείου ταύτης περιωπῆς; the portents were further reiterated by Manuel's unofficial court historian Io. Kinnamos many years later; cf. Kinn. *Epit. re.* 23: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Μανουὴλ ἔσχατος αὐτῷ γένοιτο, φάσεις αὐτίκα ἐφοίτων καὶ ζύμβολα βασιλείας εἰς τὸν παῖδα ἐγνωρίζετο, ὧν ἐνὸς ἢ δυοῖν ἐπιμνησθῆναι οὐ μοι ἔδοξεν ἄπο εἶναι καιροῦ. Kinnamos depicts Manuel's father, John II, justifying his choice of heir by noting the signs; cf. Kinn. *Epit. re.* 28: εἶπον ἂν ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν ζυμβόλων τινα ἃ τύχην τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτῷ προῦφαιεν, εἶγε μὴ λόγον ἄλλως αὐτὰ νομισθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἠπιστάμην· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐς διαβολὴν ῥάδιον ἀνθρώποις ὡς ὄνειρων φάσεις καὶ μελόντων ὁμφαὶ γίνεται. Politically marked omens and portents were a staple of royal panegyric since Hellenistic times, used to demonstrate cosmic or divine sanction of the ruler. Their inclusion in later Roman imperial encomia is encouraged by the fourth-century epideictic manual attributed to *Menander-Rhetor*, which deems them so indispensable to praise of the βασιλεύς that the encomiast should 'elaborate' such signs where they exist and should not hesitate to 'create' them (presumably when they do not exist) in accordance with what is plausible; cf. *Men.-Rhet.* 81: ἔστω σοι μετὰ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μετὰ τὸ γένος τρίτον κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως, ὡς ἔφαμεν, <καὶ> εἴ τι σύμβολον γέγονε περὶ τὸν τόκον ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, [καὶ] ἀντεξέτασον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον καὶ Κῦρον καὶ τοιοῦτοις τισί. [τὰ] κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν [καὶ] γὰρ κάκεινοις συνέβη τινα θαυμάσια, τῷ μὲν Κύρῳ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὄνειρατα, τῷ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν λύκαιναν· κἀν μὲν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξέργασαι, ἐὰν δὲ οἶόν τε ἢ καὶ πλάσαι καὶ ποιεῖν τοῦτο πιθανῶς, μὴ κατόκνει. Byzantine church authorities dating back to the Greek fathers appeared to equivocate, at once rejecting astrology as residual paganism, underscored by the identification of heavenly bodies with the ancient

Greek pantheon, while Christian historians and hagiographers invoked the very same signs as manifestations of Providence and God's will, most notably exemplified in the NT description of the star (interpreted by some Byzantines as a comet) which appeared to the Magi. Astrology experienced a notable revival in the twelfth century, becoming a respectable subject for verses by Ioannes Kama-teros and Theodore Prodromos (cf. E. Miller, *Poèmes astronomiques de Théodore Prodrome et de Jean Camatère* [Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale 23.2. Paris, 1872; cf. etiam L. Weigl, *Johannes Kamateros. Εισαγωγή ἀστρονομίας*, Leipzig, 1908) prompting isolated though significant criticism from the self-appointed “guardians of Orthodoxy,” to employ Magdalino's apt expression, including Eustathios, who voiced his scepticism about astrology; see the discussion in *Empire*, 377f. For surveys of Byzantine astrological treatises, see Hunger, *Profane Literatur* 1:269–71. On astrology in Byzantine life in general, see the still relevant discussion in Koukoules, *Βίος* 1.2:218–26.

ὀράσεις ... τὸ ἀκροατήριον: here, perhaps, we get an intimation of E.'s own judgement regarding astrological signs. It is the historical outcome which bears out the truth of things, not the portents or signs of them, for the absence of signs does not diminish the achievement: *κἄν εἰ μὴ ἐν συμβόλοις προδηλοῖτο τὰ μεγάλα μέλλοντα ... ὁμῶς αὐτὰ πρὸς τέλος οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐκβέβηκεν. ἐκστήσω > ἐξίστημι* carried the metaphorical sense of “drive one out of one's mind or senses” (LSJ s.v. ἐξίστημι, A.2). The implication is clear: dwelling on astrological portents and “delving into revelations” (*ἀποκαλύψεσιν ἐμβαθύνας*) risks engrossing the audience to the point of distraction. In a lengthy homily on the prayer ‘Lord have Mercy on us’ (*Κύριε ἐλέησον*), probably dating to the period of his Thessalonican bishopric, E. had publicly, if obliquely, dismissed the power of the stars over the course of events, which belonged to God alone; cf. *Eust. Or.* 5 (*Λόγος E*) 74.66–71: *παντὸς κήδεται κόσμος, πάντων γενῶν, πασῶν ἡλικιῶν, τέχναις ἀπάσαις ἐπιστατεῖν προκαλεῖται καὶ πείθει θεόν. ἀπάγει τῶν ματαίων ἀποτελεσμάτων, ἀφορίζει τοῦ τῶν ἀστέρων ὄρου καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπινοουμένης εἰμαρμένης ἀφίστησι καὶ θεῷ πάντας προσάγει, ὡς τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ῥοπῆς αὐτοὺς ἔχουσθαι.* E. now found himself eulogizing an emperor who had placed considerable trust in astrology, as Nicetas Choniates confirms (*Nic. Chon. Hist.* 154.51–55), only to express his contempt for the authority enjoyed by astrologers at Manuel's court; cf. *Nic. Chon. Hist.* 220.23–221.31. See P. Wirth, “Zur Apologie Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos gegen den Vorwurf häretischen Vertrauens in die Macht der Astrologie.” in *Untersuchungen*, 30–32. The only one to confront Manuel openly about his partiality to astrology was Michael Glykas, who put his doctrinal objections in writ-

ing in a long letter *cum* treatise in response to Manuel's scientific 'proofs', cf. Mich. Glyk. Ἀνταπολογητικόν, *Catal. cod. astrol.* 5, I (eds. Boll et al., 125.11–140.11).

ὅτι μηδὲ διὰ τὸ σύμβολον...τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ σεμνύνεται: the phrasing is deliberately arranged to underline the true logical sequence of events. The antecedent of the relative οὐπερ has been omitted but may be inferred from the sense as "the thing of which a sign exists" (Smyth, 2503–2516).

10

καλὸν ἅπαν προοίμιον: E. likens the parts of the oration traditionally dedicated to portents and signs –vital to shoring up support among all ranks of society who gave credence to such divine or prophetic tokens– to belaboring the preamble of a text, when one should get on with "the contest" (τὸ ἐναγώνιον). The pronounced alliterative sequence of -π- plosives (ἅπαν προοίμιον, ἀλλ' ἔνθα κατεπέγει τὸ ἐναγώνιον, περιορατέον τὸ τοῦ προοίμιου πολὺ) was probably not entirely unintentional. The mix of rhyming *homoioteleuton* (προοίμιον ... ἐναγώνιον) in the first two of the three virtual isocola creates a sing song cadence. Such musical effects, at once felt but not so conspicuous as to interfere with the solemnity of the occasion, may be discerned in nearly every passage of the Ἐπιτάφιος.

φροιμιαζόμενον: φροιμιάζομαι, an aspirated, contracted form of προοιμιάζομαι common to tragedy, *metri gratia*, adopted by later Attic prose.

ἡμῖν: a dat. of interest with μὴ δαπανάτω, equivalent to an adverbial "in our case".

τοὺς ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις ὠσιωμένους: most likely a reference to the prophets and other figures in the Old Testament, as well, perhaps, to saintly figures 'announced' or, as the term came to be interpreted, vouchsafed by God. ἐπαγγελία was nevertheless a strongly marked word associated with the messianic "promise" deemed fulfilled by Christ, cf. ex. gr. Greg. Naz. *In Mach. laud.* (Or. 15) PG 35.916.34: τὸν μονογενῆ, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. Manuel's being a namesake of Jesus only further encouraged such analogies.

ἐνυπνίων καὶ ὄραμάτων: Although churchmen like himself have no part in dream interpretation, E. concedes, probably out of deference to the many (no doubt among the audience, as well) who trusted in the interpretation of dreams, that such practices were old and venerable: παλαιά, καὶ μήδε τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεράς ἀύλης τε καὶ ὀμηγύρεως. Dreams and visions portending rise to the throne had been part of imperial lore for centuries. Among the best known examples because of the apparent reversal of fortune, were the multiple dream visions which

augured the unlikely rise of the humble Basil I, founder of the Macedonian dynasty, to the throne, in the biography commissioned by his grandson, Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos, *Vita Basilii* 8.7–14, 8.14–28, 9.5–40, 10.1–15 (ed. I. Ševčenko, *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur liber quo Vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur*. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 42. Berlin, 2011). For wide-ranging discussions of the meaning(s) attached to dreams in Byzantium, and especially their political utility, see *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. C. Angelidi and G. T. Calofonos (Farnham, UK ; Burlington, VT, 2014)

φιλοσοφοῦνται: the subject of the plural verb is the neuter plural παλαιά, a departure from the archaizing grammar which observed the use of a singular verb with neuter plural subjects (cf. Smyth 958–959). Though not always adhered to even by classical writers (cf. Jannaris 1170), the σχῆμα Ἄττικόν, as it was known, became one among many attestations of ‘correct’ Attic Greek among learned authors already by the late Hellenistic age when its use was revived by Second Sophistic rhetors and pedagogues who bequeathed the practice to Byzantine authors. E. normally adheres to the rule in the epitaphios: cf. (Ἐπ. 14) καὶ ἦν μὲν ... καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας σεμνά; (Ἐπ. 23) ἡσχόλητο... τὰ τῆς φύσεως.

τοῖς τούτων ἐχόμενοις : the medial form of ἔχω may be construed with a gen. or dat. to mean “come after” or “follow closely upon.” See LSJ s.v. ἔχω C I 3.a

καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, θεὸς ... ἐπηγγείλατο ἐν αὐτοῖς: E. repeats here the argument he had made in his homily on the Κύριε ἐλέησον; cf. Eust. *Or.* 5 (Λόγος E) 74.66–71, where he subsumed all foreknowledge of events assigned to dreams and omens within God’s providence (cf. supra, Ἐπ. 9) as a rebuttal to claims on behalf of astrological prognostication and augury, whose popularity, especially with educated élites in no way diminished with the coming of Christianity and remained steady throughout the Byzantine middle ages. Indeed the circumspect way E. amends the authority of visions and signs by reassigning their source to God betrays the hesitation to openly criticize popular belief. It is not clear to whom, other than the prophets of the Bible, God may be said to have pledged the ability to “announce that which had been predestined.”

τοῖς τούτων ἐχόμενοις: as a result of the metaphorical use meaning “hold close/cling to,” the middle form of ἔχω came to mean “follow close upon” or “next in order” (LSJ s.v. ἔχω IV C.3), e.g., τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτοις *what follows*, Pl. *Grg.*

494e. By the “subjects following these” E. is referring to the topics which usually comes next in a conventional funeral oration or eulogy, thus at once acknowledging rhetorical tradition while flouting its binding authority in a case where it ran counter to E.’s own convictions, and perhaps to the planned structure of the Ἐπιτάφιος, which included long excurses on Manuel’s policies. For the sense of ἐπιβαλοῦμεν, see LSJ s. v. ἐπιβάλλω II.3, III.4 (sc. τὸν νοῦν) *set to a thing, devote oneself to it*, c. dat., e.g., τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν Plu. *Cic.* 4.

εἰς ὄσον δύναμις. Δύναμις: an example of *anadiplosis*, the repetition of the last word of a clause or sentence to begin the next as means of expanding on the last stated subject. The motif of rendering homage in accordance with one’s ability, or κατὰ δύναμιν, went back to archaic hymns to the gods; cf. Hes. *Op. et di.* 336 καὶ δὲ δύναμιν δ’ ἔρδειν ἱέρ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν. Its effect was to preempt criticism through a show of modesty while simultaneously elevating one’s accomplishment by raising the threshold of success.

πελαγοστόλος νεῶς: πελαγοστόλος or “fit for sea-crossings” appears to be a Eustathian coinage (see LBG s.v. πελαγοστόλος, with a citation to this passage), most likely fashioned on the model of the existing, albeit rare, πελαγόστροφος and πελαγοδρόμος. To judge by the absence of any other attestations in later literature, it does not appear to have caught on. Like most neologisms coined by E. and his peers, it aimed at both aptness and at exhibiting the orator’s resourcefulness. Like many Greek compounds coined for the occasion, it would nevertheless have been reasonably transparent in meaning, combining as it does στόλος and πέλαγος, i.e., a ship “fitted out for crossing the sea” as a metaphor for an oration fully equipped with all the requisite rhetorical means to navigate the great sea of Manuel’s virtues and accomplishments.

Ἐκείνη: refers back to πελαγοστόλος ναῦς above.

ἑλικας περιάγουσα: the extended nautical metaphor is shot through with references to rhetorical practice. The orations as ships “criss-crossing” their way over the sea of Manuel’s qualities and achievements, forming “winding,” i.e., *involved* sentences (cf. LSJ ἑλιξ (B) VI), merged poetic imagery with E.’s actual description of poetic style in the ancient poet Pindar, for whose panegyric odes E. appears to have planned (but probably never completed) a commentary on the model of the Παρεκβολαί on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; cf. Eust. *Pro. in Pi.* 9.6 τὸ λαβυρινθῶδες τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φράσεως καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδιόδεντον ἀπευθύνουσι καὶ τὰς ἑλικας περιοδεύοντες.

ὡς ἐξείναι ... διαθέειν: for the impersonal use of εἶμι with a dat. and infin., see LSJ s. v. VI. διαθέειν is an uncontracted infinitive of διαθέω. In Attic Greek we

should expect -θεῖν but as the complaints of the 2nd c. grammarian Phryniscus indicate, the uncontracted form had entered standard use by post-classical times, even among ‘Atticizing’ authors of the culturally nostalgic Second Sophistic (cf. Kühner-Blass ii.138). Tafel (10 n.8) translates, “damit auch die unzählig vielen andern Schiffe in gleicher Weise sich bewegen können, und so das ganze Meer schiffbar bleibe,” taking ὡς ἐξείναι as a final clause and recommending μηδὲ be dropped to accommodate the resulting sense. This, however, misses the point of the passage, namely, that the emperor’s virtues are like an ocean so vast that even if an armada of ships were to set sail, the whole of the emperor’s sea of virtue would still not be navigable, a point reiterated, as so often in Eustathian orations, in a subsequent clause: οὐκ ἔσται οὕτως ἰκανὸν... πολλὴν εὐθυπλοῆσαι τοῦ τῶν βασιλικῶν θαυμασιῶν ὠκεανοῦ, ὧν οὐδ’ ἂν ἀνάριθμοι νῆες διεξέλθοιεν.

τὸ πᾶν πέλαιος γενέσθαι πλεύσιμον: for the nautical simile between enumerating the virtues of a *laudandus* and crossing the sea, cf. Pind. *Olymp.* 2.108–110, 13.45–46; Ael. Arist. *Isthm.* 3.

τὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ φορὸν πνεύματος: an example of the rhetorical figure of σύγρησις whereby words are rearranged so that alternate words should be read together. The listener must be more than usually attentive to the pattern for the meaning to become clear. It was a common device of artful prose since antiquity.

ἐμπλατυναμένοις: sc. λόγοις; (LSJ s. v. πλατύνω, 4) had a technical sense in rhetorical analysis to mean “amplify” one’s speech or text; LSJ includes use of the Med./Pass. ἐμπλατυναμένοις with λόγοις to mean “expatiate on” (though the ref. given to Strabo *Geogr.* 8.7.3 does not contain the relevant words). The term recurs frequently with this rhetorical sense in both Eustathian scholarship and oratory: *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.413.14 καὶ ἱστορῶν ἐν βραχεῖ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν οἶα ὡς εἰκὸς φειδόμενος ἐμπλατύνεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τούτων λόγοις φησίν; cf. *Eust. Or.* 5 (Λόγος E) 67.13: εἴ τι χρῆ καὶ τοιοῦτοις λόγοις προσεσηκέναι (χρῆ δὲ ἄρα τὸν ἐμπλατύνεσθαι οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιρίου προθέμενον). E. is probably also punning on the sense of “unfurling” one’s sails, as in Philo Jud. *De somniis* (ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt* [Berlin, 1898; repr. Berlin, 1962] 1.3: καὶ πλατυνθήσεται ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ λίβρα καὶ βορρᾶν καὶ ἀνατολάς.

ἢ παρὰ τῇ ποιήσει ἑκατόνζυγος: ἑκατόνζυγος (< ἑκατόζυγος) was a term of Homeric hyperbole intended to serve as an imaginary measure of the mutual hate felt by Greeks and Trojans for one another “which not even a ship with a hundred benches could carry off” (*Il.* 20.246–247: ἔστι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισιν ὀνειδέα μυθῆσασθαι πολλὰ μάλ’, οὐδ’ ἂν νηὺς ἑκατόζυγος ἄχθος ἄροιτο). The Indian Rig Veda makes similar references to a “hundred-benched ship”, suggesting the the

nautical image had Indo-European roots. See L. P. Paine, *The Sea and Civilization: a Maritime History of the World* (New York, 2013). E. had had occasion to comment on the marvelously large ship in the Παρεκβολαί, likening it to descriptions of “long” ships by later orators: *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.401 Ἐκατόνζυγοὶ δὲ νῆες αἱ πολὺκωποὶ, ἄς μακρὰς οἱ ῥήτορες ἐκάλουν ὕστερον. Despite the allusion to Homeric epic, one would not have needed to have read or recalled the verses in question to make sufficient sense of a composite as self-explanatory as ἐκατόνζυγος.

12

οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀναγόντων τε ἑαυτοῦς... ἡμᾶς δὲ: E. makes reference to the other rhetor-orators like himself who embarked on praise or eulogy of the deceased emperor, whence probably the reference to πολλῶν γὰρ ἄλλως γραψάντων in the title. Had those with a reputation for eloquence kept silent, E. explains, he would have done so as well: σιωπώντων μὲν τῶν ἐλλογιμωτέρων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν. But since they raise their voice in praise of Manuel, he too “harmonizes” with them: λαλοῦσι δὲ τὸ σύμφωνον ἐναρμόσεται. One can only guess to whom E. is referring with τῶν ἐλλογιμωτέρων; we can be fairly certain that the modesty of the comparative “more eloquent” was intended to have the opposite effect on the audience. We know the names of more of Manuel’s panegyrists than of almost any emperor before or after. Besides Eustathios, Manuel had heard his praises sung by Michael Italikos, Theodore Prodromos, Euthymius Malakes, Euthymius Tornikes, Gregorius Antiochus, as well as a few others, some known to us, a few probably not; see Magdalino, *Empire*, 413–488, esp. 413–421, 434–470.

ἀναγόντων... ἑαυτοῦς: ἀνάγω is used in both the transitive and intransitive, especially in the middle, with a nautical sense “put a ship out to sea” (LSJ s. v. I.2, II.B.2); sometimes construed with ἑαυτόν (LSJ s. v. II.10) to mean to “fall back, retreat, or put back out to sea.” E. draws the other, in this case hypothetical, eulogists into the nautical metaphor by having them “put to sea [themselves].” The ability to select and sustain a metaphor in a manner apt to the desired point to be made was among the rhetor’s most prized talents.

φρόνησιν: φρόνησις appears a total of six times in the course of the Ἐπιτάφιος, across a variety of thematic units; if paired with σωφροσύνη, that number rises to nine, with each mention of either serving to emphasize a key characteristic of Manuel’s conduct as emperor and of his governing temperament reflected in his policies. As noted in the introductory section on subtle forms of *parae-*

nesis running through the funeral oration, the emphasis on wisdom, prudence, and judiciousness denoted by φρόνησις – σωφροσύνη was intended to provide governing guidance to Manuel's heir, the regency, and anyone else with the ear of the future emperor. In his account of Manuel's reign, Kinnamos describes John II praising his son's wise disposition: Io. Kinn. *Epit. re.* 12.28: ἃ δὲ προσμαρτυρεῖν αὐτῷ μόνου ἂν εἴη τοῦ πατρός, ἀκούσατε δὴ. πολλὰ πολλάκις ἐν οὐ μετρίαῖς ἐμοὶ πονουμένῳ πραγμάτων δυσκολίαις οὗτος τῶν ἄλλων ἀπειρηκότων μέγας ἐν βουλαῖς ὤφθη, ἱκανὸς μὲν χειμῶνα προιδέσθαι γινόμενον, δεξιὸς δὲ ζάλην ἀποκλίνειν καὶ βίαις πνευμάτων ἀντισχεῖν; cf. the description provided by Nicetas Choniates, albeit some time later: *Hist.* 50.19–23 ὁ Μανουὴλ, ἀσμένως παρὰ τῶν ταύτης οἰκητόρων προσδέχεται, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς τὴν πατρῶαν βασιλείαν παρειληφώς, τοῦτο δ' ὅτι καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀσπάσιος ἦν, ἐπεὶ κὰν τῷ οὐπὼ ἀκριβῶς μείρακι τὴν σύνεσιν ἔσωζε τῶν καταγρησάντων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι πλείονα: an increasingly foregrounded staple of Manuel's carefully curated image.

φρόνησιν... ἀρτυροῦσαν ἀρετάς: E. draws a culinary simile with φρόνησις, which is likened to “the salt with which all human virtues are spiced, rendering human endeavours ‘tasty’”: τὴν ἀπάσαν ἀρτυροῦσαν ἀρετάς, καί, ὡς οἶον εἰπεῖν, ἄλας, καὶ αὐτὴν παγκόσμιον δι’ οὗ ἅπασιν ἀνθρωπικοῖς ἔργοις τὸ νόστιμον. Although not a Eustathian innovation, cooking imagery was a favourite trope of E., as some of the elaborate descriptions of food in his letters illustrate. For *opsopoiia*, or cooking of savoury meats, in the letters of E., see Kolovou, *Briefe*, 57*–73*. Possibly modelling his text on Eustathios' clever culinary image, Michael VIII Palaiologos employed the salt and cooking imagery in the *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ περιωνύμῳ βουνῷ τοῦ Αὐξεντίου μονῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ 4.769–794* (ed. A. Dmitrievsky, *Typika*, Kiev, 1895): Ἐν μὲν οὖν ἀρχῇ τῷ πράγματι, ... καὶ ὁ ταύτην ἀναδεξάμενος ἔχει πολυωνυμῆσθαι ἂν προσφυῶς· πότε μὲν πατήρ, ἄλλοτε προεστώς, ἔστιν οὖν ποιμὴν, κυβερνήτης, ὀδηγός, σκοπός, διδάσκαλος, ἄλας, λύχνος, καὶ φῶς προσαγορευόμενος. Ὀφείλει γὰρ πατρικῶν τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσι συνασθενεῖν... ὡς ἄλας ἀρτυρεῖν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τὸ λειπόμενον πνευματικῆς νοστιμότητος.

ἀνθρωπικοῖς ἔργοις... ἀνθρώπου ἔργα: although in both instances the expression “human works” is intended to contrast implicitly with divine acts; cf. Athanasius *De sent. Dion.* (ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, vol. 2.1, Berlin, 1940) 8.2.8: εἰς τὴν περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ πίστιν αὐτοὺς ἀναγάγωσι δεικνύντες, ὅτι τὰ γενόμενα ἔργα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ; the second appears to carry an added sense found in Aristotle's *Nicomachaen Ethics* 1097b.29 (ed. J. Bywater, Oxford, 1894): ἀλλ' ἴσως τὴν μὲν εὐδαιμονίαν τὸ ἄριστον λέγειν ὁμολογούμενον τι φαίνεται, ποθεῖται δ' ἐναργέστερον τί ἐστιν ἔτι λεχθῆναι. τάχα δὴ γένοιτ' ἂν τοῦτ',

εὐληφθεῖν τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. ὡσπερ γὰρ αὐλητῆ καὶ ἀγαλματοποιῶ καὶ παντὶ τεχνίτη, καὶ ὅλως ὧν ἔστιν ἔργον τι καὶ πράξις, ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ δοκεῖ τὰγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸ εὖ, οὕτω δόξειεν ἂν καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, εἴπερ ἔστι τι ἔργον αὐτοῦ.

ἡς προϊσταμένης μὲν τῶν πράξεων: ἡς > sc. τῆς φρονήσεως. πράξεων is complementary gen. with προϊσταμένης, cf. see LSJ s.v. προϊστημι B.II, *to be at the head of, to precede*. Prudence or φρόνησις is our rational faculty at work and gives our actions the stamp of human deliberation; when it is neglected (παρεωραμένης δέ), our actions become something else, and the one carrying them out simply wanders in moral darkness and uncertainty

ὡς παρεγκλίνας τὸ φῶς σκιά τις αἴσσει ἀπολωλεκυῖα τὸ στερέμνιον: one of the more recondite literary allusions in the oration, it combines the memorable Homeric imagery from *Od.* 10.495, where Circe instructs Odysseus to seek the counsel of Teiresias, the only man in Hades whose mind remains “sure-footed” (τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσι) and so exempt from the fate of ghosts “darting about” aimlessly (τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσιν) having lost all soundness of mind (ἀπολωλεκυῖα τὸ στερέμνιον), an allusion to *Od.* 10.521 πολλὰ δὲ γουνοῦσθαι νεκῶν ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα. παρεγκλίνας is masculine nom. in agreement with its antecedent ἐργαζόμενος; the syntax is strained by the switch to the feminine σκιά, which serves as nom. subject of the simile comparing action without purposeful judgement, intention, and reflection with the motion of the shades in Hades.

13

Ταύτης: sc. τῆς φρονήσεως.

δεῆσαν: neuter participle of δέω, “to be in need of,” in an impersonal construction with prolative infinitives πράξαι ... εἰπεῖν.

ἀπέκρυστε ... ἀναφανείς ὁ ἥλιος: the simile of the sun shining so bright as to obscure the faint light of the stars makes clever use of a conventional image inherited from antiquity of the emperor as *sol invictus* or “unconquered sun,” which became an official imperial cult under the emperor Aurelian in the third century and appeared on coins struck under Constantine I, whence it was adopted in Byzantine panegyric. Near the end of the Ἐπιτάφιος, E. will apostrophize the emperor/sun, bemoaning how he has “set”: Ἐδυσ, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ ἥλιε. For the imperial cult of the sun, see now S. Berrens, *Sonnenkult und Kaisertum von den Severern bis zu Constantin I.* (193–337 n. Chr.) [Wiesbaden, 2004]. *sbornik vizantiiskikh tekstov XII-XIII vi-e-kov* / A.I. Papadopulo-Kerameus; ed. phototyp.

praef. K. Treu, 184: Ἄλλ' ὦ ρεῦμα σοφίας... ἐπίστασθε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σοφίαν... πῶς μὲν περὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ὑπὲρ τοὺς παλαί Σέξτους καὶ Πύρρωνα (πλουτεῖ δὲ οἱ τὴν πειθανάγκην ὁ λόγος), ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ τῆς Στοᾶς, καὶ πῶς τὸ παρατυχὸν ἅπαν ποιεῖται λαμπρὰν φιλοσοφίας ὑπόθεσιν, ἂν ψυχῆς ἐπιμνησθῆ, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Φαίδωνος ἀνακινῶν καὶ Καλλίου καὶ ὅσα οἱ περὶ Σωκράτην περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τάγαθου διεξέρχονται.

ἐπιχειρήσεις... κατασκευὴν: ἐπιχείρησις carried both the sense of “operation” applicable in plans of attack or calculated undertaking (in light of references to πρᾶξι and καταπράξασθαι above and below, respectively) and of dialectical reasoning (cf. LSJ, s. v. ἐπιχείρημα II); E. may well have been trading on both, expecting at least some in the audience to hear the reference to Manuel’s skill in persuasive argument (καὶ ἐπιθανολόγει τὸ πρᾶγμα... εἰς πειθῶ τὸν λόγον κατέστρεφεν; cf. LSJ s. v. καταστρέφω IV.2) in a passage underscoring the emperor’s intellectual superiority manifesting itself especially when he had to overturn opinion; similarly, κατασκευὴ could refer to both “preparations” in the sense required for battle or strategy, while also employed in discussions of logic and the formal layout of an argument in rhetoric (cf. LSJ, s. v. κατασκευὴ V and VI; cf. Hermog. *Progymn.* 5 Περὶ ἀνασκευῆς καὶ κατασκευῆς); note that κατασκευασμένα a little further down in the paragraph can mean at once the arguments already devised as well as the actual plans proposed.

Ὡς δὲ ἐπινεύσοι... κατάθοιτο... συγκλεισθείη: the string of optatives introduce an elaborate past conditional sentence designed to mark the repeated or iterative nature of the action described, extending to the end of the paragraph. Cf. Smyth 2340(a).

τὸ θρυλλούμενον... ἀμφοτερόγλωττον: the adjective ἀμφοτερόγλωστος gained considerable currency in the twelfth century, and nowhere more than in E.’s writings, in particular the commentaries to Homeric epic, where E. has recourse to variants of ἀμφοτερόγλωττ-/σσ- to describe the poet’s equivocation, ambiguity, or penchant for setting up antithetical or inconsistent statements; cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.161.2–8 Ὅρα δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἀμφιστομον κἀνταῦθα ῥητορικὴν καὶ τὸ οἶον εἰπεῖν ἐκείνου ἀμφοτερόγλωσσον, followed by an example from Bk. 5 of the *Iliad* where Tlepolemos and Sarpedon give differing accounts of Heracles’ feats in Ilium. Among other things, E.’s application of ἀμφοτερόγλωστος to Homer even in cases where individuals hold to different versions, reveals an understanding of literature common in Byzantium which viewed poetry as a broadly didactic vehicle and all ideas expressed therein as sanctioned by the poet himself. E. betrays his awareness of the association of ἀμφοτερόγλωστος

in accounts of early philosophy when he characterizes such ‘ambivalent speech’ as “dialectic”; cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3.382.15–16 Ταῦτα δὲ διαλεκτικῶς ὡς ἀμφοτερόγλωσσος μεταχειρίζεται ὁ ποιητής, διδάσκων ὡς παντὶ λόγῳ λόγος παλαίει, i.e., made of opposing arguments, which he reminds the audience of the epitaphios was attributed to certain ancients (τὸ θρυλλούμενον ἐν τοῖς πάλαι), i.e., philosophers. His most likely source for this would have been the testimonia about Zeno in works such as Diog. Laert., *Vit.phil.* 9.25.4–5 περὶ τούτου καὶ Μελίσσου Τίμων φησὶ ταῦτα./ ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν, or Plutarch’s *Pericles* 4.5.4–6 δῆκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου πραγματευομένου <μὲν> περὶ φύσιν ὡς Παρμενίδης, ἐλεγκτικὴν δὲ τινα καὶ δι’ ἀντιλογίας εἰς ἀπορίαν κατακλείουσιν ἐξασκήσαντος ἕξιν, ὡς που καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλειάσιος εἶρηκε διὰ τούτων. ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν / Ζήνωνος, πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος. The didactic use of such ‘dialectic’ or ‘ambivalent speech’ appears in Simplicius, *In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 9.139.4 καὶ εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν τὸν Ζήνωνα ὡς ἐφ’ ἑκάτερα γυμναστικῶς ἐπιχειροῦντα (διὸ καὶ ἀμφοτερόγλωσσος λέγεται) καὶ τοιούτους ἐκφέρειν λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀποροῦντα, a possible exemplar for E. here, albeit indirectly. Georgios Tornikes, who succeeded E. as μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων in the 1190’s, exploited the metaphorical link between ἀμφοτερόγλωσσος and the image of the ‘forked tongue’ (ed. M. Loukaki, *Discours annuels en l’honneur du patriarche Georges Xiphilin*, Paris, 2005) 2.9.206–208: καὶ πρό γε τούτων τὴν λαβυρινθώδη συλλογιστικὴν ἀνάλυσιν καὶ δυστέκμαρτον καὶ τὴν ἀμφοτερόγλωττον καὶ ἀντίστροφον τῇ ῥητορικῇ διαλεκτικῇ καὶ δικρόαν τὴν γλωτταν προβεβλημένην ὀφιδῶς, οὐ μικρὰν καὶ ταύτην εἰσφέρουσιν τὴν συντέλειαν εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας εὑρεσιν καὶ διάγνωσιν.

ἐνθα ... οὐκ εὐξύμβλητον: amplifies τὸ θρυλλούμενον above and is therefore still subject to the same negative οὐ, while ἀλλὰ introduces the second, positive, κατὰ which more aptly describes the manner of Manuel’s reasoning. εὐξύμβλητον: an uncommon enough compound (Ion. εὐσύμβλητον, cf. Hdt. *Hist.* 7.57.3), meaning εὐκόλως καὶ καλῶς νοούμενο[v]; E. employs the old Attic form, perhaps following Mich. Psellos *Theol.* (ed. Gautier) 54.68 διολισθαίνει πως ἡ διάνοια, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς τῇ τοῦ λόγου καταδιελόντες τομῇ τὰ ἀντίθετα ταῦτα τμήματα, εὐξύμβλητα πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον ποιήσομεν νοῦν; or he may have met it in the works of Aeschylus or the ancient scholia he mined extensively for his own commentaries: Aesch. *Prom.* 775 ἤδ’ οὐκέτ’ εὐξύμβλητος ἡ χρησμοιδία; *Schol. in Prom. Aesch.* (scholia vetera) 775a. Ὡς μὴ νοήσασα τὸ ῥηθὲν τοῦτο, λέγει ἡ Ἰώ. “αὕτη ἡ χρησμοιδία, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὃν λέγεις, οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶν εὐκόλως καὶ καλῶς νοούμενος”. Ironically enough given the sense of this word, it raises questions about the intelli-

bility of the oration and its possible recasting into even more rarefied language prior to ‘publication’ in the manuscript containing the Ἐπιτάφιος. The revival of long-dormant vocabulary by middle and later Byzantine writers is indicative of the archaizing cultural trend among the *literati*.

Τιμοθέου... ἄδοντας: the quote is attributed to the legendary aulist, or pipe player, of the Macedonian era (not Timotheos the lyre-player and dramatist of the Classical age, cf. *OCD* s. v. Timotheos (1)). His stirring musicianship became proverbial in later Hellenistic times. Lucian wrote a short dedicatory essay in which he figures as the wise mentor to the younger, fame-seeking, musician suitably named Harmonides, whose name the essay carries. It is in this rôle of pedagogue that he appears at this point in the Ἐπιτάφιος; cf. *Luciani Opera* (ed. M. D. Macleod, 1972–87). Timotheos appears again later (Ἐπ. 66) in the role of the acclaimed court musician able to rouse even a seasoned warrior like Alexander the Great to battle-readiness with his thrilling melodies. E. may have drawn the quote from texts similar to Lucian’s, now lost, or may simply have manufactured it himself following the conventions of *prosopopoïia*.

14

αἱ πανταχοῦ... πρόνοιαι πολυειδεῖς: βασιλική πρόνοια was a deeply ideological pairing of Hellenistic origin (cf. Septuag., *Maccab.* ii. 4.6.1) invoked increasingly in late antiquity to characterize and vindicate the extensive arrogation of governing powers by Roman emperors who were credited with having singular abilities to anticipate events and thus take measures accordingly (cf. Cassius Dio, *Exc.* 160.7, ed. U.P. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, vol. 3., Berlin, 1901; repr. 1955). “Imperial foresight” (βασιλική πρόνοια) was formulated on the analogy of “divine providence” (θεοῦ πρόνοια); cf. LSJ s. v. πρόνοια II.2; Lampe s.v. A. Although pagan in origin (Lampe s.v. B.1), the idea proved particularly apt to Byzantine imperial ideology; cf. Synesius, *De regno* 18c 3–7 (ed. N. Terzaghi, *Synesii Cyrenensis opuscula*, Rome, 1944): ἀπολαυόντων οἶκοι καὶ πόλεις καὶ δῆμοι καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἥπειροι προνοίας βασιλικῆς καὶ κηδεμονίας ἔμφορος, ἦν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς στήσας ἀρχέτυπον, δίδωσιν εἰκόνα τῆς προνοίας, καὶ ἐθέλει τὰ τῆδε τετάχθαι κατὰ μίμησιν ὑπερκόσμιον; cf. etiam Nic. Chon. *Or.* 7.58.31: οὕτω δὴ καὶ σύ, φιλανθρωπότατε βασιλεῦ, πᾶσι μεταδίδωσ προνοίας βασιλικῆς. If taken to mean “care for” in a general sense, the statement would amount to little more than a platitude. The point here, however, is more likely that πρόνοια to the different parts of the empire could take

“many forms” (πολυειδεῖς), including but not limited to, military campaigns or other steps taken in anticipation of problems, at the discretion of the emperor’s wisdom and foresight. We may guess at the implied objection addressed here by the ratio of 3:1 in emphasis on intelligence (σύνεσις, φρόνησις, ἀγχίνοια) as against ‘manly audacity’ (ἀνδρίας δραστήριον), i.e., military measures. The point is underscored in the following sentence in which the policy is presented as a temperamental quality or personal virtue of Manuel’s: Ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ σκεπτικῶς ἔχων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις...ταχεῖς μὲν φρονεῖν, οὗ τι δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς. E. praises and, by extension, endorses a policy of giving sufficient forethought before making decisions in matters of great import, i.e., military campaigns, rather than acting precipitously without regard for risk. It may matter less whether Manuel actually exhibited these traits than that E. attributed them to him as paramount virtues of an effective emperor. These become political prescriptions framed by a funerary motif. The idea is then amplified further in the next paragraph where we see an illustration of the trait. Interestingly, later in the oration (Ἐπ. 19) E. does not use the term πρόνοια here in the sense of the controversial policy by the same name of granting large land holdings to foreigners in return for military service, although the latter term derived from the sense in question here; for that policy, see paragraph 18 below.

ἄνθρωπος εἷς...ἐπεμέριξε τμήμασιν: the emperor’s presence was understandably in constant demand throughout the empire since it brought greater protection from invasion or less noticed marauding (sometimes the distinction would have been hard to make), as well as the promise of imperial euergetism and the settlement of local disputes by appeal to the emperor. For relations between the capital and the provinces, see Magdalino, *Empire*, 109–179, 228–315; for specific examples of personal intervention, cf. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, 247–248, 385–386, 388–390. On the subject of provincial politics, see L. Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950–1100* (New York, 2004).

ἀνδρία: the usual spelling of ἀνδρεία in Byzantine manuscripts; cf. *infra* τὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας; cf. etiam Ἐπ. 15 (x2), 18, 24, 39, 66, 68, but ἀνδρεία at Ἐπ. 52; not to be confused with ἀνδρίας at Ἐπ. 56.

τὸ τῆς συνέσεως ἐμπύριον: a metaphor which mixes an intangible quality like comprehension with the concrete image of ἐμπύριος, “fiery”. ἐμπύριος had the added, technical usage in combination with κόσμος to referred to the third, “fiery” sphere of existence (the other two being the “ethereal” or αἰθέριος and the “material” or ὑλαῖος), in accordance with Neoplatonic cosmology as outlined in Proclus and exegetical texts on Neoplatonism; cf. Procl. *Theol. Plat.* 4.39 (ed.

H.D. Saffrey and L.G. Westerink, Proclus. *Théologie platonicienne*, vols. 1-6- Paris, 1968–1997): Διὰ τί τῆς ἀγνώστου τριάδος ἢ μὲν ἐπιβέβηκεν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν κόσμων, ἢ δὲ τοῦ μέσου πλάτους, ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἐσχάτου; ... ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐμπύριος, ὁ δὲ αἰθέριος, ὁ δὲ ὑλαῖος. Although the term retained its cosmological significance, e.g., in Michael Psellos' summary of the Chaldean oracles (D.J. O'Meara, *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora*, vol. 2. Leipzig, 1989), its dual association with heat and the uppermost heavenly boundary lent itself to metaphoric uses akin to our own expression "fiery intellect", a sense akin to that employed here; cf. Euth. Tornikes, *Orationes* 1.4.4 J. (J. Darrouzès, ed. "Les Discours d'Euthyme Tornikès" *Revue des études byzantines* 26 [1968] 49–121): ἀνδρείαν ὑπερθανμάσω καὶ τὸ πρὸς βαρβάρους ἐμβριθὲς καὶ θυμοειδὲς καὶ οἶον ἐμπύριον. E. himself records the metaphoric usage when recommending ways to describe anyone notable for the ardor and energy with which he applies himself: Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.539.22. "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως εἰπεῖν ζαφλεγέας μὲν τοὺς οἶον ἐμπυρίου διὰ τὸ δραστήριον καὶ θερμούς ἢ θερμὸν ἔργον δρώντας.

ὅσον τε ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ φρονήσει, καὶ ὅποσον εἰς ἀγχίνοιαν: the neuter relatives ὅσον ... ὅποσον refer back to the two neuter substantives [τὸ] δραστήριον... [τὸ] ἐμπύριον, either individually (δραστήριον... ὅσον τε ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ φρονήσει / ἐμπύριον... ὅποσον εἰς ἀγχίνοιαν) or, just as plausibly, in combination, so that both δραστήριον and ἐμπύριον are divided between the "other faculties" and the emperor's "shrewdness."

τῇ λοιπῇ φρονήσει: E. seems to divide φρόνησις into the diverse sorts of wisdom and prudence applicable in each circumstance; the "remaining" prudence/wisdom here would be that called for in practical governance (LSJ s. v. φρόνησις, II, cf. e.g. Pl. *Smp.* 209a; Arist. *EN* 1140a24, 1141b23; Isoc. *Or.* 12.204–217)

Πυθαγορικὴ κατάρτυσις... ἀγάπησις: the somewhat obscure expressions, κατάρτυσις and ἀγάπησις, are both technical terms derived from Pythagorean philosophy. This is their only appearance in the works of E., which is in itself noteworthy given his reliance on his own previous orations. Pythagoras was widely held by Greco-Roman culture to be the father of musical harmony and, by extension, the discoverer of the differing musical modes and their effect on people, since the soul and the body were thought to be subject to the same laws of proportion that govern music and the cosmos itself. This, together with the

many legends of Pythagoras' skill and understanding of nature contributed to the influential and beatific portrait of him by the 3rd–4th c. Neoplatonic scholar Iamblichus, from which so much of the opening sentence of this paragraph is adapted. Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica* 20.95 (edd., L. Deubner and U. Klein [Stuttgart, 1975]: ἔπειτα εἰ παρέπεται τις αὐτοῖς ἀγάπησις καὶ σωφροσύνη πρὸς τὰ διδασκόμενα. ἐπεσκόπει γὰρ πῶς ἔχουσι φύσεως πρὸς ἡμέρωσιν, ἐκάλει δὲ τοῦτο κατάρτυσιν. While the NT as well as other Christian writings offered no shortage of approbation for ἀγάπη, E. has recourse instead to the teachings of a pagan philosopher, largely on account of the distinction of Neoplatonism among Byzantine intellectuals, as for the trademark erudition of the rhetor; cf. *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, ed. D.J. O'Meara. 1982. There are over thirty five references to Pythagoras and Pythagorean teaching in the Homeric commentaries; cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.694.23–24 Οὕτω, φασί, καὶ Κλεινίας ὁ Πυθαγόρειος ὅτε εἰς ὄρηγην προήχθη, λύραν ἀρμυόμενος ἐκιθάριζε καὶ ἔλεγεν οὕτω πραῦνεσθαι; cf. *Ibid.* 4.139.3–5 ὁ περὶ Πυθαγόραν ὁμιλος ἀρχὴν ἐλὼν ὠρίζετο λέγων, ὅτι ὁ φίλος ἄλλος ἐστὶν ἐγώ.

εἰρηναίαν γαλήνην... καταπράττεσθαι: not unlike today, medieval rulers claimed that peace was their paramount goal in foreign policy. The reassurance was no doubt attractive to many who had a great deal to lose from war, even though peace was the exception to the rule throughout the long history of the Byzantine empire. The idea of the emperor as “peacemaker” found scriptural sanction in the NT *Matth.* 5,9 Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί· ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθῆσονται. E. had made a similar point about Manuel's peace-making in an oration welcoming the emperor's envoy Ioannes Doukas to Thessalonike; cf. *Or.* 12 (Λόγος Λ) 196.41–46: πόλεμος τε γὰρ ἀδικία εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ ἐκ ταύτης καλά, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἢ ἀδικία πολεμεῖ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ μάχην ἐξεγείρει ἀκήρυκτον· ὁ τοίνυν τοὺς πολέμους παύων εἴη ἂν δίκαιος καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας συγκαταπαύειν κακά· καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὁ κρατὺς ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων κακιῶν ἀνδρίζεται καὶ πᾶσαν στάσιν ἐκ μέσου αἶρει καὶ τὸ εἰρηναῖον ἐφ' ἅπασιν καταπράττεται. For the idea of “Friedenspolitik” at least notionally at the heart of Roman foreign policy bequeathed to Byzantium in which the emperor claimed the mantle of εἰρηνοποιός, see O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938) 44, 230; cf. M. McCormick, *Eternal victory : triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986) 240, 312.

βαρβάρους ἀγριότητα... ἄδεται καταπράττεσθαι: it is tempting to look (or listen) for direct or indirect allusions to specific historical events in such lan-

guage, however, ἀλλόφυλον might refer at once to crusading Franks or Latins, invading Normans, any of the restless Balkan nations, as well as, Turks engaged in a perpetual war of attrition on the empire's eastern frontier. Some form of truce was achieved at various times with each of these groups, either through force of arms or schrewd diplomacy tied to financial and other kinds of political incentives, like dynastic marriages. The treaty with the Seljuk sultan Κιλίς Arslan II in 1161, which brought about an armistice of sorts for some time on the empire's long contested eastern frontier, would have been only one such example of Manuel's foreign policy called to mind by E.'s audience; cf. Kinn. *Epit. re.* 204–208: Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Κλιτζιεσθλὰν ὁ σουλτὰν ἐς Βυζάντιον αὐτόμολος ἦλθε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶ συμφόρων βασιλέως δεησόμενος, πράγμα ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ δαιμονίως ὑπέρογκον καὶ ὅσα ἐμὲ εἰδέναι οὔποτε ἄλλοτε Ῥωμαίοις εὐτυχηθὲν πρότερον... ὁ δὲ ἰκετεύοντα προσηγάμενος ἐν φίλων μοίρα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐποίησατο, εἰρήνην τε τοῦ λοιποῦ σταθερὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων εἶχεν ἀρχήν. Similar examples of “pacification of the foreigners” (κατεσιγάξοτο τὸ ἀλλόφυλον) would have been the treaties with Reynald of Antioch in the winter of 1158–9, or those with Serbian and Hungarian rulers in the period 1161 to 1172; cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 76–78, 78–83, for diplomacy with Κιλίς Arslan II and relations with Hungary and Serbia, respectively.

αἰσθάνομαί τινων ψαλαττόντων ἠρέμα, καὶ ὑποκρουομένων ἀπήχημα γλυκὺ τε καὶ ἑναρμόνιον : E. pretends to be describing a gentle murmuring counterpoint from his audience – disarmingly characterized as a “sweet and harmonious song” – who point out that it was in fact Manuel's bravery which imposed peace among the foreign peoples (ἀνδρία καὶ τὴν εἰρηναίαν γαλήνην ἐν ἔθνεσιν ... καταπράττεσθαι) and not the “Pythagorean training and love” mentioned above. The rhetorical tactic of giving voice to dissenting opinion among the audience allows E. to ascribe both qualities to Manuel while making the more general point about the need to combine the two, intelligence and bravery (Ἀδελφὰ γὰρ ἀληθῶς φρονεῖτον ἀνδρία τε καὶ σύνεσις, καὶ κοινοῦσθον τὸ ἔμπρακτον παρά γε τοῖς ἔμφοσιν). It is not clear what the ‘gentle strumming’ (ψαλαττόντων ἠρέμα) refers to. Might E. be referring to versified, i.e., ‘musical’, *laudationes* for Manuel's triumphs on the battlefield and the peace achieved in victory similar to those composed by Theodore Prodromos? Cf. Theod. Prodr. *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner, poem. XXX; XXXI a; XXXII c; LIV 46sq; LXXIV 22sq. The pretense created by the present tense of perceiving the audience's reaction as he speaks belongs to the oral character of the Ἐπιτάφιος, which preserves a modicum of extemporizing (see the section on orality).

λελουμένος ὠκεανοῦ ἔσπεριου καὶ αὐτὴ φωσφόρος ἐπηύγασεν : E. was not alone in exploiting the Homeric formula, cf. Nic. Eugen. *De Dros. et Char.* (ed. G. Conca, *Nicetas Eugenianus, De Drosillae et Chariclis amoribus*, Amsterdam, 1990) 1.1–3: Νῦν τοῦ φεραυγοῦς ἄστεράρχου φωσφόρου ... / ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ τῶν ῥοῶν λελουμένου.

ἐφ' ὧν: the antecedent of the relative pronoun is omitted cf. Smyth 2529sq. For ἐπί in the sense of 'occasions when' see LSJ, s. v. ἐπί A.II.

τὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς φρονήσεως... ὀρίζεται: E. assures his audience that he can provide specific, individual examples of Manuel exhibiting the twin virtues of "courage" (ἀνδρία) and "intelligence" (σύνεσις) as "making common cause" (κοινοῦσθον) in the manner in which he ruled.

ὕψηλῶν γενῶν... πολυχειρίας δεήσειε: marriages designed to buttress the empire (and the imperial household) through multiple familial ties with foreign potentates (πολυχειρίας), or to preempt the hostility of potential rivals, were a common political practice in Byzantium starting at least as far back as Basil II's reign with the marriage of his younger sister Anna to Vladimir I of Kiev in return for military support, alluded to here with πολυχειρίας δεήσειε. Manuel's own father was betrothed to his mother Eirene (née Piroška), the daughter of king Ladislas I of Hungary, by Alexios I Komnenos in a bid to end hostilities on the Balkan frontier. Both of Manuel's own marriages were to foreign brides: the first, in 1142, to Eirene (née Bertha) of Salzbach, sister-in-law of Conrad III, king of Germany (1138–52), with whom Manuel's father John II sought a common front against Roger II of Sicily; the second marriage, after Manuel was widowed in 1161, was to Maria of Antioch, daughter of Raymond of Poitiers and Constance of Antioch, as part of a bid to cement the empire's historical claim on that city; cf. Paolo Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer: ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII*. Vol. 1, (Roma, 1955). Manuel expanded the practice by "export[ing] imperial princesses" to the courts of Latin kingdoms in a bid to shore up his ties with the rising powers of western Christendom, a policy which may have met with some resistance on the part of his own relatives and which may explain the continued effort by E. in the Ἐπιτάφιος to vindicate the policy. For the marriage policy of Manuel's reign, see Magdalino, *Empire*, 209–217. Both of Manuel's children were betrothed by their father to foreign dynasties: his daughter Maria from his first marriage, after a number of failed engagements, first to Béla III of Hungary and then William II of Sicily, was eventually married to Renier of Montferrat in 1180; while Manuel's son Alexios II was betrothed to Agnes of

France, daughter of Louis VII and Adèle of Champagne. The young girl's arrival in Constantinople was the occasion for an ἐπιβατήριος λόγος or "disembarkation speech" by E. celebrating her advent and future marriage to the imperial scion; cf. *Eust. Or.* 15 (Λόγος Ξ) 250.1–3, *Titulus*: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος εἰκῶς ἐπιβατηρίῳ ἐκφωνηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκ Φραγγίας ἐλεύσει τῆς βασιλικῆς νύμφης εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν. δι' ἧς: sc. τῆς βασιλικῆς φρονήσεως.

αἱ σὺν θεῷ βασίλισσαι: E. makes reference to the two 'empresses' present, Manuel's widow Maria of Antioch, described as 'from the east' (ἐξ ἑώας) and his daughter-in-law Agnes of France (designated as 'empress' since Manuel's son, Alexios II, had been crowned co-emperor in 1171) 'like a star washed by the western seas' (ὡς ἄγχοθὶ που λελουμένος ὠκεανοῦ ἑσπερίου... φωσφόρος). After Manuel's death Maria assumed the monastic habit, adopting the highly symbolic name Ξένη, 'foreigner'; her decision to take vows may perhaps be partially explained as a way to thwart potential suitors seeking the throne during her regency, cf. *Eust. De capt. Thess.* 18.18–28: ἀμέλει καὶ ἐπέτρεψε φθάσας κηδεμόνι τὸν υἱὸν τῇ μητρὶ, ἐρώτων οὔση ὠραία, εἰ καὶ κρύπτεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγεῖλατο ἐκείνη, τὸν τοῦ κάλλους ἥλιον πνευματικῶς νεφώσασα κατὰ περιβολὴν μέλαιναν. Οἱ δὲ ἔρωτες ἐκείνοι πυρσεύσαντες, ὡς ἂν εἰδῆεν αὐτοί, ἀνῆψαν κακὸν κοσμικόν... ἀλλ' ἡ γυνὴ προεῖχεν, οἶα καὶ γυνὴ καὶ μήτηρ, καὶ ἦν τοῦ λοιποῦ σκοπὸς αὐτῆ διὰ τὸ προφαίνεσθαι, καὶ τινες ἔρωτος νόμῳ ἐτοξάζοντο κατ' αὐτῆς λανθάνοντες, εἴ πως μεσιτεύσει τὰ τῆς βολῆς, ὡς ἐώκει, πρὸς βασιλείας ἐπιτυχίαν. E. exploits the rhetorical opportunity for the contrast between the black habit of Maria/Xene and her symbolic representation of light (ἥλιος... ὑπὸ νέφει σκιάζεται), a contrast in which the 'divine sun' of her religious vocation joined to her political regency may be discerned all the more clearly (ἐν ᾧ φανότερον ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος θεὸς διοπτρεύεται).

τῆν τῶν ἑκασταχόθεν... συνάφειαν: after the death of his first wife Bertha-Eireni, Manuel married Maria, youngest daughter of Raymond of Antioch (by means of which he concluded a treaty with Raymond). Manuel's son from that marriage, Alexios II, was betrothed to Agnes of France, daughter of Louis VII of France, in a bid to forge an alliance against the growing influence of Frederick Barbarossa; for a detailed discussion of the political considerations behind the marriages to Maria and the betrothal of Alexios II to Agnes, see Magdalino, *Empire*, (Maria) 72, 201, 243, 472–3, (Agnes) 100–1, 224, 456, 462.

ἐτεχνήσατο... μεγεθύνων... προσφύων... ἐκτενεῖ: Manuel is the only plausible new subject of the sentence.

λελουμένη: the manuscript clearly reads *λελουμένος*, presumably referring back to *ἥλιος θεός*. While not impossible, this strikes me as too interwoven a piece of syntax, even for E. The change of subject in *ἡ δὲ* invites emendation.

17

ἐς τοσοῦτον: sc. *εἴη*; note the old Attic/Ionic *ἐς* in place of the more common *εἰς* which became the exclusive form in the post-classical period, with the exception of texts in the archaizing upper registers which made eclectic use of the dialectical richness of literary Greek.

τοῦτο μὲν... Συγκροῦσαι δὲ: E. stretches *μὲν... δὲ* across two distinct subjects not so much in a bid to correlate or contrast their contents but in order to segue from one part of the oration to another. *μὲν* here refers to the oration itself, while *δὲ* takes up Manuel's foreign policy again. We should perhaps understand this as a compromise between the demand for balanced structures in oratory and the rules governing the use of conjunctions, which E.' careful reading of ancient authors would have no doubt taught him.

ὠκεανὸς... εὐθυπλοεῖν: the phraseology reprises, in more compressed form, E.'s nautical metaphor in *Ἐπ.* 11 above where the emperor's virtues were likened to a vast sea and the funeral oration but one ship unable to chart its boundless waters (*εὐθυπλοῆσαι τοῦ τῶν βασιλικῶν θανμασίων ὠκεανοῦ*).

Μέθοδον στρατηγικήν: E. begins an excursus about Manuel's broader strategy of orchestrating war between the empire's enemies and thereby achieving "bloodless triumphs" (*τὸ μὲν ὑπήκοον φυλάττει ἀναίμακτον ἐπὶ μεγίσταις τροπαίων ἀναστάσει*) and making territorial gains while the empire's enemies incurred losses. No specific conflict is cited, but the mention of Persians and Skyths may well have recalled particular historical events which bore out the overall strategy. The terms are common to manuals of military tactics, cf. *Leo VI Tact.* (ed. G. Dennis, *The Tactica of Leo VI* [CFHB 12], Washington, 2010) 4: *ἀλλὰ ταῖς στρατηγικαῖς μεθόδοις τὴν σωτηρίαν πορίζεσθαι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν φυλάττεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπερχομένων πολεμίων*. Manuel's talent for exploiting the enmity among the empire's foes is cited by Nicetas Choniates as well, who describes Manuel's political cunning in fueling the antagonism between the Turkic rulers of Ikonion and Cappadocia; cf. *Nic. Chon. Hist.* 117.16–118.20: *ὁ δὲ ἐπαρώμενος ἀμφοῖν πανώλειαν ἡγάπα μὴ μόνον μέχρι τοῦ ἐριθεύειν ἀπονεύειν ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀποσχίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄπλα ἄραντας εἰς μοῖραν διαστῆναι ἀντίθετον, ἴν' ἄγων ἡρεμίαν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιχαίρη κακοῖς ὡς ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἀσεβῶν. καὶ πέμπων λάθρα*

ἀγγέλους θάτερον θατέρω ἐνήγγεν εἰς πόλεμον. “Skythians blanketing the ground with Skythians” in the next sentence may be specific but unknown to us or simply a rhetorically expedient generalization intended to underscore the policy of encouraging internecine conflict among the tribes which harried the empire. The most comprehensive study of the broad parameters of Manuel’s foreign policy on each of the empire’s many active fronts, see Magdalino, *Empire*, 27–108.

προσαράσσειν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐκπολεμοῦν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλλοις τὸ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμόφυλον: the two clauses are almost identical in meaning, but while the first clause focuses on “enemies” (πολεμίους) fighting one another, the second underlines foreign peoples (ἀλλοφύλλοις) fighting their own kind. Note the precisely disposed alliteration and assonance across this rhythmically calculated sentence, with its AABB anaphoric structure of πολεμίους... ἐκπολεμοῦν and ἀλλοφύλλοις... ὁμόφυλον; τὸ... ὁμόφυλον is the direct object of ἐκπολεμοῦν, while ἀλλοφύλλοις functions as a dat. of reference (in this case, of disadvantage or *dativus incommodi*).

Ἐνυάλιον... βροτολογιόν: Ἐνυάλιος was an archaic epithet of Ἄρης, the ancient Greek god of War (cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.211, 20.69); ξυνός = κοινός, i.e., common to all, invoked the universal quality of war’s effects. ξυνός Ἐνυάλιος (Hom. *Il.* 18.309) or ξυνός ἀνθρώποις Ἄρης (Archil. 62) had become the educated man’s proverbial phrase for war’s indiscriminating ravages; cf. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter*, 22/6. Likewise, βροτολογιός refers to the god Ares as the personification of war, the “ruin of men”; cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.31, *Od.* 8.115, cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.211.12: ἡ νίκη ἐστὶν ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον, ἀλλ’ ἄλλοτε ἄλλω ἐκ πολέμου προστίθεται, γινομένη ἑτεραλκῆς. “Ἐυνός γὰρ Ἐνυάλιος καὶ τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα», ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις λέγεται. Σὺ δ’ ἄν, ὦ οὗτος, ἀλλοπρόσαλλον ἐρεῖς καὶ ξυνὸν Ἐνυάλιον καὶ τὸν πολύφιλον καὶ κακόφιλον. E.’s point is that Manuel averted war’s tendency to kill men on both sides of a conflict: μηδ’ ἄμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν φθισήνορα, ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι ἐξήεσαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπονενεμῆσθαι τὸν βροτολογιόν.

Οὔτω... Οὔτω... Οὔτω: an unusually conspicuous example of *anaphora*, with the repetition of a word at the beginning of successive clauses or sentences. This rhetorical device schematically underscores the intended equivalence of the events elliptically sketched out here. Rhetoric was indispensable to the formal economy of the oration as part of its political narrative.

Πέρσαι Πέρσαις... Σκύθαι Σκύθαις: *polyptoton*, a popular rhetorical figure whereby the same word is declined into two or more cases, in this case nom./dat... nom./acc. The use of archaizing ethnonyms like Persians and Scythians to

refer to contemporary peoples, like the semi-nomadic tribes of Central Asian origin who had settled on Byzantium's Balkan and eastern frontiers in the 9th and 11th c., such as "Persians" for Turks, and "Scythians" for Pechenegs or Cumans, has been cited as evidence of pretentious erudition prompted by abject imitation of Attic Greek, as well as a historical escapism encouraged by the refusal to acknowledge the world as it actually was, beginning with the names of one's territorial rivals. It is alleged that the net effect of this practice was to further widen the gap between Byzantine political discourse and contemporary reality. For a recent explanation cum rehabilitation of Byzantine "Classicism" in ethnography, see A. Kaldellis, *Ethnography After Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2013) 106–117.

πλεονεξίαν νενοσηκότα, ύγιούντο σωφρονιζόμενα: E. employs a thematic variation of *chiasmus*, a rhetorical figure sometimes illustrated as arranging a series of words or short phrases in an ABBA pattern. In the case the two sides of the *chiasmus* mirror each other negatively "arrogance (A) suffering (B) / health (B) temperance (A). Probably following Hdt. *Hist.* 7.149.17: οὕτω δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, Anna Komnena (*Alex.* XIV 7, 2.93) first invokes πλεονεξία as a political 'malady' to describe the large scale attacks by Westerners and Easterners on Byzantine territory under Alexios I Komnenos. Her example was followed by Io. Skylitzes in his *Synopsis Historiarum*, Const. VII (iter.) 9 (ed. J. Thurn, Berlin, 1973): νοσήσας γὰρ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, a passage copied by Kedrenos for his *Compendium Historiarum* 2.330 (ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1839).

μεθόδοις βασιλικαῖς: as the numerous uses in the present text indicate (cf.), μέθοδος was as indefinite in its designation of the way something was achieved as our own 'method' or 'way', the latter being a direct semantic match for the Greek. Eust. makes repeated use of μέθοδος as a technical term of rhetoric in the commentaries to Homeric epic to refer to the habitual or 'systematic' application of a point of view or a narrative approach, as in 'Homer's method'; cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3.22.16: Καὶ ὅρα πάλιν τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν μέθοδον. Its immediate significance here, and a few lines below (cf. αἱ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μέθοδοι) being that Manuel's policy was the result of 'methodical' calculation or stratagems rather than chance or impulse. For an Old Testament precedent, cf. LXX 2 Macc. 13.18: Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εἰληφῶς γεῦμα τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων εὐτολμίας κατεπείρασεν διὰ μεθόδων τοὺς τόπους.

καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰρηναῖον ἐπαιανίζομεν: the grammar of εἰρηναῖον is unclear. The abstract τὸ εἰρηναῖον was the more common expression, used repeatedly by E. and other authors of the 12th c. signifying 'peaceful existence', which suggests

that the article τὸ may have fallen out in the copying/transcription of the Basel manuscript; cf. *Or.* 12 (Λόγος Λ) 196.19–21: καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὁ κρατὺς ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων κακιῶν ἀνδρίζεται καὶ πᾶσαν στάσιν ἐκ μέσου αἶρει καὶ τὸ εἰρηναῖον ἐφ’ ἅπασι καταπράττεται; cf. *Idem.* 15.258.18–26 Τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ εἰρηναῖον ἀγαθὸν οὕτως ἔξ ὑπογύου τετέλεσται; cf. etiam Euth. Torn. *Or.* (ed. J. Darrouzès, “Les Discours d’Euthyme Tornikès [1200-1205]” *REB* 26, 1968) 1.7.26–31: δι’ ἣν εἰρηναίαν ὑμῖν κατάστασιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπηγγείλατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὸ διηνεκὲς περισφύζειν τὸ εἰρηναῖόν τε καὶ ἀπόλεμον. An alternative solution may be an implied noun with the adjective εἰρηναῖον, either masculine or neuter: cf. Th. Symoc. *Hist.* 6.2.15 τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς ἀγνοούσης τὸν σίδηρον κἀντεῦθεν τὸν εἰρηναῖον καὶ ἀστασίαστον παρεχομένης τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς; Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 11.112.26–29 εἰρηναῖον καὶ ἀστασίαστον εἶη τὸ κράτος σου ἐς αἰεί.

τῆ ὄπλομανία: the verb ὄπλομαίνεω, from which this unique instance of the noun was no doubt derived, appears only 8 times in the Greek corpus of the TLG, none earlier than the Hellenistic period. Neither the verb or noun appears in any of E.’s other works.

αἰσθοιτό: αἰσθομαι appears sometimes in some manuscripts for αἰσθάνομαι (cf. Thuc. 5.26: καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγὴν, καθ’ ἥσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθέσθαι). Its uncommonness and association with classical authors like Thuc., Isocr., and Plato, no doubt recommended it to E.

Δράκων δὲ ὁ νησιωτικός: a number of ancient texts preserved legends of “islands” inhabited by or associated with “dragons/serpents”, including Salamis, Libya (despite the latter not being an island) and Ithaca, cf. Steph. *Ethnica* (Libri Δ-I) 4.126 Δράκοντος νήσος. Λιβύης, ὡς Πολύιστωρ ἐν γ Λιβυκῶν; *Schol. in Lycophr.* 110 νῆσον δράκοντος τὴν Σαλαμίνα λέγει τὴν γὰρ Σαλαμίνα πρῶην δράκων κατεῖχεν. The mention of κρατήρας Αἰτναίους to designate whence the “dragon” set out to “exhale the fire of his fury”, all but confirms that E. is referring to the Norman rulers of Sicily, most likely William I, the so-called ‘the Bad’ (1154–1168), fourth son of Roger II Guiscard (1130–1154), who inherited his father’s ambition to conquer Byzantium. E. credits Manuel with fomenting the revolt against William (τὰ πλείω δὲ οἰκειακοῖς ἐχθροῖς συγκρουόμενος, οὓς αἰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μέθοδοι ἐπανίστων) in Sicily and Apulia, where he dispatched his envoys Michael Palaiologos and John Doukas with a modest force and large quantities of gold in a bid to turn Apulia (1155). For Manuel’s involvement, see J. W. Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army: 1081–1180* (Leiden, 2002) 114. For Byzantium’s enduring, century-long hostilities with the Norman kingdom of Sicily, see Magdalino, *Empire*, 27–66, 83–95.

Προμηθείας... βασιλικῆς: with this E. begins a long, twofold excursus on Manuel's decisions to α) settle captured foreign troops within the empire and β) buy the freedom of some already enslaved in exchange for military service. The first of these proved by far the more controversial, since it may have been adopted on a larger scale and involved much coveted land grants. Magdalino, *Empire*, 443, n. 88, cites panegyrics by Theodore Prodromos (*Hist. Ged.* XXX, 280–321) and the poems of so-called 'Manganeios' celebrating Manuel's capture of large numbers of prisoners from campaigns in the Balkans in 1149 and 1150–1151, many of whom appear to have been resettled within the empire; cf. E. Miller, 'Poèmes historiques de Théodore Prodrome', *Revue archéologique*, 2nd. ser., 25 (1873) 4. E. made panegyric hay of the policy in a number of orations by employing agricultural metaphors, such as the grafting of Roman civilized behaviour onto the wild vine of foreigners as he does here, Ἐπ. 18 ἀφ' ἧς δὲ ἐξεσπίασθησαν, μεταφυτευθέντες εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς γῆν, καὶ καρπὸν ἐκδεδωκότες τροφίμων... [Ἐπ. 19: τῷ ἐκείνων ἀγρίῳ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡμέρον ἐνεκέντρισεν]; cf. the long passage detailing Manuel's treatment of the captives from his most recent campaign, *Or.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 247.93–248.38: note also the designation of "good farmer" in 248.29–31 μεταγγισμὸν <δὲ> τῶν αὐτῆς ἐνοίκων εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ μεταφύτευσιν πρέπουσαν βασιλεῖ τῷ καλῷ γεωργῷ. Cf. P. Wirth, "Die Bevölkerungspolitik der Komnenen- und Laskaridenkaiser", *Byz. Forsch.* 7 (1979) 203–212. E. emphasizes the enlightened, even liberal character of Manuel's policy, noting its advantage for the empire in terms of increase (see note below on the parable of the multiplying of the talents). E. may have been alluding to at least one aspect of the policy which engendered opposition in his description of Pompey's decision to resettle "all [sc. of the captured pirates] he deemed worthy of being saved and of some *providence* (ὅς... ὄσους δεῖν φασιν ἔγνω σωτηρίας ἠξιῶσθαι καὶ προνοίας τινός). Πρόνοια at this time referred to the controversial measure of awarding land grants and the fiscal revenues they generated to both 'Romans' and, increasingly under Manuel, to some foreigners, in return for imperial service. Nicetas Choniates describes Manuel (critically) as abusing a practice invented by his predecessors but used sparingly with enemies, cf. *Hist.* 208.21–209.43, where Nicetas channels the complaint that anybody could be tempted by the land grants to quit his occupation and join the army. The practice proved controversial, as peasants or paroikoi attached to the land found themselves working for "barbarian", i.e., 'foreign', *pro-noia* holders serving in the imperial armies. For the historical arguments regarding the nature of πρόνοια land grants and whether they constitute evidence for a

peculiarly Byzantine form of feudalism, see A. Hohlweg, “Zur Frage der Pronoia in Byzanz,” *BZ* 60 (1969) 228–308; G. Ostrogorsky, “Die Pronoia unter den Komnenen,” *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 41–54. For a succinct summary of the economic aspects of πρόνοια, see A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989) 6–7, 62, 72–73, 256; for the related questions affecting Manuel’s reign, cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 9, 175–176, 221, 231–233.

οὐκ ἔστι γλώτταν εἰπεῖν ἔθνους, ἦν οὐ παρέμιξε τῇ καθ’ ἡμᾶς εἰς χρήσιμον: with the final phrase εἰς χρήσιμον E. appears to anticipate the criticism of the historian Nicetas Choniates, who reproached Manuel for having been “easily swayed and pliable... at the hands of foreign-speaking servants who spoke faulty Greek” (Nic. Chon. *Hist.*, 204.3–5 Εὐκόλος δὲ ὦν καὶ εὐχείρωτος... τοῖς ἀπὸ γενῶν ἑτερογλώττων ὑποβαρβαρίζουσιν ὑπηρέταις), a charge reflecting wider resentment at the influence of foreigners at Manuel’s court. Cf. P. Wirth, “Die Bevolkerungspolitik der Komnenen- und Laskaridenkaiser,” *Byz. Forsch.* 7 (1979) 203–212.

χείρ ἢ μὲν... ἀπογενέσθαι τὸ δυστύχημα: E. paints an almost Hegelian vignette of the mutual resentment of masters and ‘slaves’ yearning to be liberated from one another. This serves as the social backdrop to Manuel’s decision to ‘empty the imperial treasury’ (18.22–23 θησαυροὶ βασιλικοὶ ἐκκενοῦνται) in order to redeem potentially restive ‘barbarian’ soldiers to whom Manuel offered the alternative of a return to a ‘natural’ state of freedom as soldiers risking their life instead of the dishonourable life of a slave, which E. frames in notably Homeric terms (18.5 δουλείαν ἀτίμητον ἤπερ ζῆν πρὸς κλέος ἐλόμενοι). Cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 221, n.129.

ταλάντου... προσεπαύξησης: Matthew 25:14–30 recounts the parable of the talent, in which the servants who multiplied the share of their master’s estate during his absence are rewarded while the servant who ‘buries’ the talent instead of investing it is banished by his master. The received reading of the parable’s moral, invoked here by Eust., favoured the servants who increased their master’s patrimony; the lesson of the parable seems less obvious today since it appears to ignore the charges of the servant who accuses his master of being “hard” and of reaping without having sowed.

παλαιὰ ἱστορία καὶ δούλων πόλιν τινὰ προάγει πρὸς γνῶσιν: the ‘city of slaves’ is invoked repeatedly by Aristotle as a counterfactual; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1283a16–19: εὐλόγως ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τιμῆς οἱ εὐγενεῖς καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πλούσιοι. δεῖ γὰρ ἐλευθέρους τ’ εἶναι καὶ τίμημα φέροντας (οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴη πόλις ἐξ ἀπόρων πάντων, ὥσπερ οὐδ’ ἐκ δούλων). Its origins may have been proverbial, cf.

CPG vol. I, Cent. 1.22.1: Οὐκ ἔστι δούλων πόλις: διὰ τὸ σπάνιον εἴρηται. Its implausibility seems to have assured it a place in the broadly antiquarian reference works of the post-classical period, including the middle Byzantine historical lexicon known as the Suda, which cites as its source the ancient historians Ephoros and Theopompos, thus explaining E.'s crediting παλαιὰ ἱστορία with furnishing knowledge of the 'city of slaves': cf. Sud. *Lex.* Δ 1423: Δούλων πόλις: παροιμία· ἐν Λιβύῃ. Ἐφορος ε'. καὶ ἑτέρα ἱεροδούλων, ἐν ἧ εἰς ἐλευθερός ἐστιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Δουλόπολις, ὡς Σωσικράτης ἐν τῇ α' τῶν Κρητικῶν; cf. Pausanias Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγή Δέλτα 25.2 (H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*, Berlin, 1950): Δούλων πόλις. [παροιμία] ἐν Λιβύῃ, Ἐφορος πέμπτη καὶ ἑτέρα ἱεροδούλων, ἐν ἧ εἰς ἐλευθερός ἐστιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Δουλόπολις, ὡς Σωσικράτης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Κρητικῶν.

οὓς φύσις... ζῆν ὥρισε: as noted in the apparatus, the manuscript has the unlikely ἐλευθέρια, a neuter plural noun designating a festival dedicated to Liberty, held every four years at Plataea in memory of the victory against the Persians in 479 B.C. Assuming the accent was misplaced by the scribe, one may read either a nom. predicate (living = freedom) or the more likely adverbial dat. ἐλευθερίᾳ. The appeal to nature (φύσις), instead of God or Providence, as the guarantor of freedom, is perhaps surprising from a clergyman like E., but the characterization of slavery as contrary to nature had a long pedigree in antiquity, to which a Byzantine author was as likely to defer as he might to divine authority. Slavery appears in various Eustathian texts, often with an ethical dimension regarding the proper treatment of slaves (e.g. Tafel, *Opusc.* 22/51–61, 134/33–37, where cruelty is forbidden and corporal punishment best curtailed). But the objection to slavery is uncompromisingly laid out in a remarkable testament included among E.'s letters (cf. *Ep.* 27), in which it appears he intended to manumit his own slaves, while copies of the will were to be given to them as guarantees to prevent their re-enslavement by anyone claiming them as inheritance. E. prefaces this unique document with a brief anthropological account of slavery as an institution invented by some humans in order to burden others with toil and ensure the permanence of service necessary to a life of indolence and luxury. E. does not broach the venerable moral ambiguity of church teaching on slavery dating back to St. Paul (cf. *Ephesians* 6:5–8; *I Corinthians* 7:21; *Galatians* 3:28) and St. John Chrysostom's homily on St. Paul's letter to Philemon; instead E. categorically condemns slavery as inimical to God's intention (Eust. *Ep.* 27.12–15: ἦν ἂν οὖν ἀρέσκον θεῶ, τὸ τῆς δουλείας εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκαθιστᾶν καὶ τὸ τῆς πλεονεξίας ἀμάρτημα ἐπανισοῦν φυσικῇ ἀδελφότητι); though he stops short of

calling for its abolition as an institution, he describes his decision to manumit the “little souls” (ψυχάρια) in his charge as a matter of conscience (ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐννοούμενος). The contemporary historian Io. Kinnamos attributes similar sentiments regarding the ‘un-naturalness’ of slavery to Manuel’s desire to liberate (most likely through payment) the worrying number of once free but impoverished subjects who had indentured themselves into virtual slavery; cf. Kinn. *Epit. re.* 275–276: ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαραίτητος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀνάγκη πολλά τε κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐκαινοτόμησεν ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ μισθοῦ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδόσθαι πολλοὺς ἀναγκάζει (...) βασιλεὺς δὲ πρόρριζον ἀπὸ μέσης ἐξεσπακέναι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτὸ βουληθεὶς γράμμασι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν οἷς φύσει τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἐπεψήφιστο. ἐλευθέρων γὰρ ἄρχειν Ῥωμαίων, οὐμενοῦν ἀνδραπόδων αὐτὸς ἤθελεν. While manumission appears to have been exceptional in Byzantium, there seems to have been significant controversy surrounding slavery in this period, grounded in both ethical and political, as well as economic, rationales. See Kazhdan, *Studies*, 165–167, nn. 114–117.

βίου δὲ κύκλος ἐπὶ δουλείαν στρέψας: the idea of “life’s circle” by which one may experience a reversal of fortune, in this case, enslavement, was quite ancient, and like the reference to “nature” above, described here without mention of Providence. But no less a theologically-minded author than Gregory of Nyssa used similar language: cf. Greg. Nyss. *In Eccles.* (ed. W. Jaeger [et al.]. Vol.I, Leiden, 1960) 5.287: ἔστι γὰρ τις καθ’ ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀνατολή τε καὶ δύσις. μία ὁδὸς τοῖς πᾶσιν, εἰς ὁ κύκλος τῆς τοῦ βίου πορείας. E. cites a different meaning with respect to the enslaved prisoners, namely, that life takes a turn towards something, for the better or worse, we might say; in this case, naturally free and brave people become enslaved. It is not clear which sense was more common. The misfortune of slavery, a real possibility for so many throughout antiquity and the middle ages, had become encoded in proverbial expressions exploited by E.; cf. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter*, 68/122: δοῦλος ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρου φανείς,

τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν: dual gen.; E. makes sparing use of the dual, often cited in the scholarship as a hallmark of Atticism among Byzantine authors. Cf. Eust. *De emend.* 57.3 ἄμφω; 45.9–10 ἄμφοῖν...τούτοιιν; 130.17 δυοῖν; *Ep.* 6.43–44 ταῖν χεροῖν; *Or.* 47.56 *et passim*.

οἴκοι: locative of οἶκος; used throughout the Παρεκβολαί, only occasionally in E.’s remaining works, cf. *Pro. in Pi.* 9.18; *Or.* 15.252.69, 16.274.59, 16.274.64; 16,280,51; *Ep.* 19.231.

Σπαρτούς ἀναφύντες αὐτόματοι: the Σπαρτοί, or ‘sown-men’, were warriors who ‘sprang from the earth spontaneously’ out of dragon’s teeth sown by a mythological hero. The two most widespread versions involve the mythological figure of Cadmus, founder of Thebes, who removed the teeth from a dragon he had killed and populated the city with the offspring of these autochthonous men (cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 1.30; 7(6).10); another involved the retrieval of the Golden Fleece by Jason, who must meet the challenge set by King Aeëtes, requiring him to sow dragon’s teeth, and kill the armed warriors who spring up from the ground (cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4; Apollonius, *Argonautica* III). Of the two versions, that of Cadmus’ settlement of Thebes appears most apt to E.’s point here regarding the settlement of Σπαρτοί / warriors in the empire: cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.39.11–14: καὶ συγχωρητέον τῷ μύθῳ... ὃς καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ δρυῶν καὶ πετρῶν ἐγέννα καὶ ἐκ γῆς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνεβλάστανεν ὡς τοὺς Σπαρτούς καὶ ἐκ μυρμήκων δὲ μετέβαλλεν.

ἀκοστήσεως: this form of the gen., as though from a noun ἀκοστήσις may well have been a Eustathian variation on the rare ἀκοστή, meaning barley or grain fed to horses and, by extension, referring to their upbringing. The aorist participle ἀκοστήσας (from a verb ἀκοστέω/-άω) was most often used with direct reference to the simile of restless horses in their stable eager for the open plains and rushing streams of *Iliad* 6.506, 15.263: cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.374.16–375.6: Ἄλλοι δὲ ἀκοστήσαι φασι τὸ σχεῖν ἄχος ἐν τῷ ἴστασθαι, ἔνιοι δὲ τὸ λαβεῖν ἄχθος [ἢ μᾶλλον, κατ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ἄχος] τῇ στάσει καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἀπολαύσει (...). Τινὲς δὲ γράφουσιν ἀγοστήσας, ὃ ἐστὶ ῥυπανθεὶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φαντασάμενος τὰς συνήθεις νομᾶς καὶ τὰ πρῶην λουτρά. E. draws on the Homeric simile in order to invoke the ethnographic motif of the untamed barbarian hardened by nature to endure harsh conditions (ὄσα τοὺς βαρβαρικοὺς στρατιώτας πρὸς ἀμάλθακον καρτερίαν ὑγραίνουσιν). The Rousseauian noble savage may not have been developed into as extensive a critique of Byzantine society as Tacitus’ *Germania*, but such uses of ethnography in Byzantium have been only just begun to be systematically examined. See now A. Kaldellis, *Ethnography After Antiquity: Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature* (Pittsburgh, 2013).

πατρίδα ... πάσαν: similar to the Latin *ubi bene ibi patria* (cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* V 108 *patria est ubicumque est bene*), the axiom that one’s homeland was a function of one’s well being had proverbial force in the ancient world and acted as a corrective to the strong pull of local identities. Cf. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter* 67/118. The expression was a variant of the expression *πάσα γῆ πατρίς*, which of-

ferred the promise that anywhere could become a homeland, cf. *CPG* Vol. I, Zenob. 5.74.

Οἱ μὲν... ἐστέλλοντο... εὐρίσκοντες / οἱ δὲ ... ἐπιβαλλόμενοι ... ἐγίνοντο: E. strains the verbal aspect of the participle εὐρίσκοντες by using it as a finite verb logically following in time after ἐστέλλοντο, in order to achieve the chiasmic arrangement of verb-participle / participle-verb= ἐστέλλοντο... εὐρίσκοντες / ἐπιβαλλόμενοι, ... ἐγίνοντο, punctuated by the alliteration of all four words beginning with ε-, with only a brief subordinate clause interrupting the second part of the chiasmic figure. The meaning would not likely have been in doubt. The temporal aspect εὐρίσκοντες, normally absent in a participle, would have been supplied by the listener's mind. Just as interesting, however, are the corresponding senses across the chiasmic division: the first group 'journeyed' (στέλλω, LSJ II) and found perpetual rest for themselves; the second, in constant search for riches, settle in the rich gulf of the Aegean. We thus have finite movement + perpetual action / perpetual action + finite movement. Form lends shape to the content, while the content underscores the significance of the form.

τοῦ πλουτοποιοῦ κόλπου: E. appears to use the expression in the metaphorical sense of the empire's "enriching bosom or embrace," although the seafaring image was consonant with earlier, more literal uses of πλουτοποιοῦς in connection with bodies of water in his commentary to the Hellenistic geographer Dionysius Periegetes to describe the "enriching waters of the river Achelous"; cf. *Comm. in Dion. Perieg.* 431.39: τοῦ Ἀχελώου... τὸ πλουτοποιοῦν; cf. at least two orations addressed to Manuel I Komnenos, *Or.* 11 (Λόγος Κ) 194.27: πλουτοποιοῦ ρέματος ποταμοῦς; *ibid.* *Or.* 14 (λόγος Ν) 248.56–7: τὸ Μαιάνδριον ρέμα πλουτοποιοῦν.

ἀμάλθακος: ἀμάλθακτος was the more common adjective, cited in Byzantine lexis and used mainly by medieval authors, including at least one instance in E.; cf. *Comm. in Dion. Perieg.* 431.43. The alpha-privative with μαλθακός, a common enough word, though not attested, would nevertheless have been immediately intelligible. καρτερία is paired with μαλθακότης in a number of texts describing physical endurance; cf. Nic. Blemm. *De virtute* 15–16 (ed. E. Gielen, *Nicephori Blemmydae De virtute et asceti*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 80, Turnhout, 2016): Ἡ ἀκρασία τῆς ἐγκρατείας ἰδίως ἀντίθετος, καὶ ἡ μαλθακότης τῆς καρτερότητος.

ἔλεος ἐκ βασιλέως: for the reputation of clemency and mercy he tried to cultivate; cf. Eust. *Or.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 287.83–87: ὑπὸ πόδας τῶ βασιλεῖ, οἷς τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνεις εἰς ἔλεον, καὶ γίνεται καὶ τοῦτο καιρία πληγὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ τάσις

αὐτῆ χειρῶν δεσμεῖ τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ πλουτοποιοὺς σκορπισμὸς (ἐσκόρπισας γάρ, ἔδω-
 κας τοῖς πένησι) σκεδάζει βουλάς ἐθνῶν καὶ ἔθνη διασκορπίζει τὰ τοὺς πολέμους
 θέλοντα καὶ κατακαυχᾶται τῆς μάχης ἔλεος.

Οἷς δὲ στρατεῦσθαι ἦν ἐπιθυμεῖν: an example of the prolix style scholars
 sometimes complain about, the impersonal circumlocution with a double infin-
 itive seems unnecessarily convoluted. Part of the explanation may be the need to
 vary the syntax, since both the previous and subsequent sentence employ active
 personal constructions. The somewhat stilted syntax of this sentence demands
 that we dwell on the decision of those who chose the perils of military service
 over servitude.

19

πλείους ἐκ πρὶν ἀρχεκάκων... εἰς χρηστότητα μετεποίησεν: E. reiterates
 the benefits to the empire of Manuel's settlement policy. Cf. *Or.* 14 (Λόγος Ν)
 248.32–38: καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν Ἰταλῶν γῆ πάλαι ποτὲ πολλοὺς δεξαμένη Ἑλληνας μεγάλη
 ἐπωνομάσθη Ἑλλάς, γῆν δὲ ἐκείνην τὴν παρασχεδὸν ἡμῖν οὖσαν καὶ ἑτέραν καὶ ἄλ-
 λην, τὰς πανταχοῦ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐν αἷς τὸ Ἀγαρηνὸν φύλον κατέσπαρται, εἴη ἂν
 εὐεπήβολος ἄνθρωπος ὁ νέαν ἐπωνομάσας Περσίδα ἢ καὶ γῆν Εὐρωπαϊαν Περσῶν.
 οὕτως αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν πεπλήθυνται, οἱ μὲν πλείους ἄκοντες, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκόντες
 μετοικιζόμενοι καὶ ἀποικιζόμενοι.

Μάγνου Πομπηίου καθιστορούμενον: in keeping with the panegyric
 convention of funerary orations for emperors, E. likened Manuel's accomplish-
 ments with those of illustrious historical figures, a variant on the older practice
 of comparing the *laudandus* with mythic figures like Hercules or Theseus (cf.
Men.-Rhet. 421.8–10). Byzantine epitomizers and chroniclers preserved the
 memory of Pompey's mission in 67 B.C. to curtail, if not entirely eradicate piracy
 on the Mediterranean seas. The Pompeian analogy is further supported by
 the fishing metaphor ὄσους... ἠγκίστρευσεν. As part of his swift and remarkably
 successful campaign, Pompey is said to have established a settlement in Dyme
 (modern Kato Achaia), in the eastern Peloponnese, for 'reformed' pirates, even
 renaming the city Πομπηῖόπολιν after himself. The most likely sources in Byzan-
 tium for Pompey would have been Plutarch's *Pompeius* 116–324 (ed. B. Perrin,
 Plutarch's lives, vol. 5. Cambridge, Mass., 1917; repr. 1968), as well as Strabo's *Ge-
 ographica* Bk 14, ch. 5, 8. 4 (ed. A. Meineke, *Strabonis geographica*, 3 vols. Leipzig,
 1877; repr. 1969). Pompey 'the Great', like Alexander 'the Great' later in the ora-
 tion, serves as a foil for Manuel's allegedly greater accomplishments. It is difficult

to imagine praise of an emperor a century earlier framed by such an insistent ancient Greek or Roman context, instead of the more common biblical one of David or Solomon. Twelfth-century Byzantine intellectuals had become better versed in ancient history, and to some extent it contributed to the evolution of Byzantium's own historical and ideological identity, especially in the aftermath of 1204. See P. Magdalino, 'Hellenism and nationalism in Byzantium', in *Tradition and transformation in medieval Byzantium* (London, 1992), as well as R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, "The Fourth Kingdom and the rhetoric of Hellenism," *The Perception of The Past*, ed. P. Magdalino (London, 1992) 117–156.

τοὺς τῆς Ἄγαρ... ὄσοις ἀκραιφνῆς βορῶῶς ἐπιπνεῖ: cf. supra not. ad loc. Ἐπ. 17 Πέρσαι Πέρσαις... Σκύθαι Σκύθας.

οὐδεμία τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης πόλεων ἀνοργίαστος... ἔρωτος: Manuel was repeatedly characterized as the "emperor-lover" bestowing his "charms" on all the cities of the empire (τοῦ καλοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου τὰς φιλητικὰς ἐπαφιέντος ἀπάσαις ἕγγας), while they vied like nervous maidens to learn which he will choose as his favourite. The theme of Ἔρωσ βασιλεύς was at the center of the Byzantine revival of the ancient novel -the term Ἔρωσ βασιλεύς originates in the 12th c. prose novel Ἰσμίνη καὶ Ἰσμινίας- and it appears to have been a favourite theme of the Komnenian court of Manuel, whom E. depicts as being engaged in a virtual parlour game of political romance. For Manuel as benefactor of cities and harbinger of prosperity, cf. Eust. *Or.* 14 (Λόγος Ν) 232.4–10: αἰεὶ μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ ἔνθεος βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' ὅτε καὶ ἐμφανίζεται, πολλαπλασιάζει τὰ ἀγαθὰ· εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται ἢ θυγάτηρ Σιών' ἀποστροφὴν θεῖαν δηλοῖ, πάσχοι ἂν ταῦτόν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐγκατάλειμμα καὶ πόλις, ἦν συχνὰ ἐπιβλέπων ὁ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ὕψιστος εἶτα τὴν θεῖαν ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐτέρωθι τρέψει· καὶ ἀντιστρόφως φάναι, θεός τε μὴ ἐγκαταλείπων πόλιν εἰς ἀγαθὸν αὐτὴν ἐπισκέπτεται καὶ ὁ πρὸς ἐκείνον τυπούμενος βασιλεὺς τοῦτο ποιῶν εἰς εὐετηρίαν ἅπασαν γίνεται. On Manuel's notorious sexual appetite prompting associations with the mythical 'Eros the King', cf. *Mang. Prodr.* 14; for more on the relation of Eros and sexuality and ideology in Komnenian culture, see P. Magdalino, 'Eros the king and the king of *amours* : some observations on Hysmine and Hysminias', *DOP*, 46 (1992), 197–204; see also C. Cupane, "'Ερωσ βασιλεύς : la figura di Eros nel romanzo byzantino d'amore," *Atti dell' Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arte di Palermo*, serie 4, 33/2: 243–297.

<μῆ> στερχθῆναι: the manuscript has καὶ στερχθῆναι, followed by Tafel. But στερχθῆναι (from στέργω) alone would mean that "being cherished was akin to destruction and being wiped off the face of the earth, making nonsense of ἀλλὰ τοῦτο. A solution is to emend to στερηθῆναι, "deprived," which could have been

corrupted or perhaps ‘corrected’ by an overzealous scribe who had just written *στέρξας* above. But *στερέω* normally requires a gen. of the thing one is deprived of, and we should expect something like *ταύτης* (sc. *τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς*), even in a style as elliptical as this; cf. Eust. *Ep.* 43.104–105: *τούτου στερηθεις ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δυσφόρως ἔσχον*. A <μή> before *στερχθῆναι*, would correspond with *στέρξας* in the previous sentence and complete the sense of the whole.

20

σύστημα ... ἀλλόκοτον: the pairing of *σύστημα* and *ἀλλόκοτος* appears unique in all Greek literature and testifies to E.’s willingness to experiment and expand the possible senses of words. E. had previously used *σύστημα* to refer to any organized body of persons sharing interests or an identity, at times close in meaning to our “class” or sociopolitical constituency; cf. Eust. *De capta Thess.* 90.21: *Τὸ μὲν λαϊκὸν σύστημα τῆς πόλεως οὕτω πονούμενον ἦν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὃ πεφύκει, τὸ δὲ τῆς λοιπῆς μερίδος ἐμμεῖτο τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν;* cf. etiam 120.29 *Καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἰκων εἴσω, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν ἅπαν σύστημα ἐπλάζετο, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς*. With *ἀλλόκοτον* τοῖς γε πλείοσι. E. may be making an understated allusion to the mistrust felt by many in the capital towards foreigners as a ‘group’ at the court of Manuel as well as resentment at privileges granted them by the emperor.

ἄνδρα ... δίγλωττον: translators and interpreters must have been indispensable to the functioning of the Byzantine empire, including both state and ecclesiastical diplomacy, command of foreign mercenaries, commerce, to name but a few. Despite this we have few references to “bilingual” persons able to translate, and those we do have tend to involve more learned individuals, usually Italo-Latin speakers from Byzantine territories in Italy, often identified as such by their patronymic, e.g., John Italos. We have only three examples, including this one, of *δίγλωττον* to designate a translator or interpreter, in the tenth century; cf. Sud. *Lex.* Δ 854; cf. etiam Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 1.190.92–94: *καθ’ ἣν δὲ ἡμέραν τῶν ἐπισφαλῶν ἐκείνων ἐπέβαινε τρίβων ἀνήρ τις προσελθὼν αὐτῷ δίγλωττος, τὸ γένος Ῥωμαῖος, τοῦπικλην Μαυρόπουλος*. Claims that one attracted foreigners through one’s reputation became a topos of (self-)congratulation, as Michael Psellos boasted in a letter to the patriarch Michael Keroularios he had students from both West and East, cf. U. Criscuolo, “Michele Psello, Epistola a Michele Cerulario” *Hellenica et Byzantina Neapolitana* 15 (1973; repr. 1990) 21–31, ll. 96–101: *ἀλλὰ Κελτοὺς μὲν καὶ Ἀρραβας ἀλωσίμους ἡμῖν πεποιήκαμεν καὶ καταπεφοιτήκασι*

κατὰ κλέος ἡμέτερον κακ τῆς ἐτέρας ἠπειρου, καὶ ὁ μὲν Νείλος τὴν γῆν ἐπάρδει τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ γλῶττα τὴν ἐκείνων ψυχὴν· κὰν πύθοιο τῶν Περσῶν κὰν τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν, ἐροῦσιν ὡς ἴσασι με καὶ τεθαυμάκασι καὶ τεθήρανται. Cf. Eust. *Or.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 263.71–72: Βαβαὶ τοῦ ποικίλου τῶν στολισμῶν, βαβαὶ τῶν διαφόρων γλῶσσῶν· δοκεῖ μοι πάσας ἐνταῦθα παρεῖναι τὰς τῆς διασποράς.

τῆς πρεσβείας τὸ τελικώτατον: “the ultimate aim of their embassy”; with two notable exceptions dating to the 3rd/4th c., *τελικώτατον* appears to have come into wider circulation only after the eleventh century, where it refers to the ultimate or decisive nature of a thing; cf. *Mich. Pselli Opusc.* (eds. J.M. Duffy et D.J. O’Meara, *Michaelis Pselli Philosophica minora*, Leipzig, 1992) 7.58: *τελικώτατον αἴτιον*. E. is implying, through the subtle extension of the superlative, that whatever the proximate aim (τέλος) of the embassies to the Byzantine capital, the *final* purpose was to see for themselves this ‘second Solomon’.

ἱστορησαι... βασιλέα: E. uses *ἱστορέω* in an almost Herodotean, technical sense to mean not just look upon but to examine for oneself in a bid to report to others. To appreciate the point we must recall the significance attached to physiognomy as indicative of character. And while in a previous oration before Manuel E. declined to dwell on Manuel’s physical features, he nevertheless mentions that they delighted his onlookers; cf. Eust. *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 224.25–29.

ἐρανίσασθαι... ἀκουσμάτων: we can only speculate about what sort of *ἄκουσμα* or “thing heard about Manuel” E. had in mind. It would have been familiar enough to his audience that he saw no need to spell it out. Manuel was celebrated in a variety of forms, both prose and verse. E. may mean that they hoped to procure for themselves copies of such texts, especially some of the many ‘political verses’ (πολιτικός στίχος) of a sing-song quality implied by *ἄκουσμα* quite popular at Manuel’s court. Linked to this is the idea of *ἀκουσμάτων* referring to ‘mirabilia’ –i.e., songs about Manuel’s achievements, which together with their first-hand experience of the emperor would allow the ambassadors to bring back “wonders” (θαῦμα) to those who had sent them on their embassy. For the popularity of playfully panegyric verses at the Komnenian court, see Kazhdan–Erstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, 85; for the formal evolution of *πολιτικός στίχος* and its potential aptness to culture of the Komnenian court, see M. J. Jeffreys, “The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse,” *DOP* 28 (1974) 141–195.

τισι τῶν γυμναστικῶν ἔργων ἰδεῖν ἐπιπρέποντα: Manuel is said to have been the first Byzantine emperor to wed the more traditional ‘athletic’ pursuits of the Byzantine aristocracy, such as hunting and falconing, with Western chivalric displays. His prowess with the lance is described with genuine ekphrastic

verve by Nicetas Choniates in a jousting match pitting the ‘Romans’, some of them Manuel’s own kinsmen, ἀριστίνδην...περὶ τὸ κραδαίνειν δόρατα εὐφρεῖς, against Latin knights “boasting of their ability with the lance”, two of whom end up knocked out of their saddles as a result of a single charge by the Byzantine emperor (Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 108.53–110.91). See L. Jones, H. Maguire “A Description of the Jousts of Manuel I Komnenos,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002) 104–148; see also A. E. Laiou, “Byzantium and the West’ *Byzantium, A World Civilization*, eds. A. E. Laiou – H. Maguire (Washington, 1992).

ἡ μελέτη τοῦ φθάσαι ζήτησιν ἐπικουρίας... ἡ καὶ χρημάτων ἐνδεία: the causal dat.s μελέτη and ἐνδεία, arrayed in chiasitic (*abba*) order, further qualify the impersonal δέει + infinitive.

21

Ἄλλὰ τί μοι πρέσβεις λέγειν... τοὺς ὑπὸ στέμμασιν: E. had previously illustrated Manuel’s fame among foreign rulers by recounting how the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin IV, had visited Constantinople, drawn by reports of Manuel’s renown; cf. Eust. *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 213.82–214: Κεῖσεται μοι μέρος ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἀφηγήσεως καὶ τὸ τοῦ ῥηγὸς μεγάλωνυμον, ὃς ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔδραμεν ἀκοῇ τε καταπεπληγμένος καὶ ἔργοις μακρόθεν τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιοθαύμαστον ἐπεγνωκώς, οἷς εὐηργέτητο... ἤλθε καὶ εἶδε καὶ ἐνεφορήθη καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ τῶν ὀμιλιῶν νέκταρος, τῆς ἐν διαλέξεσιν ἀμβροσίας, τῆς λοιπῆς βασιλικῆς γλυκύτητος. At different times various foreign rulers visited the Byzantine court, including (in the order cited above), the Seljuk sultan Kılıç Arslan II in 1161, described here in typical archaizing fashion as ‘ethnic leader of the Persians’; Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem; Conrad III, king of Germany, referred to here as ὁ ἐξ Ἀλαμανῶν, while in keeping with Byzantine usage, Ludwig VII, king of France is described as ὁ τῆς γερμανικῆς ἀπάσης ὑπερηστάμενος γῆς. The last two were received in the Byzantine capital during the Second Crusade, which E. makes no mention of. In his translation, Tafel takes τοὺς ὑπὸ στέμμασιν in apposition to πρέσβεις and translates “wozu von Gesandten und ihrem Geweihten Schmucke reden”. But the subsequent references to κορυφαίας ἀρχᾶς... ὁ κατὰ Πέρσας ἐθνάρχης, καὶ ὁ τῶν Παλαιστηνῶν ὑπερκαθήμενος ῥήξ. Λοιπὸς δὲ ὁ ἐξ Ἀλαμανῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας, καὶ ὁ τῆς γερμανικῆς ἀπάσης ὑπερηστάμενος γῆς, strongly support reading πρέσβεις as predicative. The audience would have been guided to this conclusion by the orator’s intonation.

ἔργον ἕτερον... πορισόμενοι συμβολὴν ἰκανήν: this sounds like a highly abridged and thinly veiled reference to the “substantial material support” or “contribution” (συμβολὴν ἰκανήν) sought by the crusaders from the Byzantine emperor as they mustered near Constantinople on the way to the Holy Land. That this went on repeatedly for some time may explain the use of the iterative optative γένοιεντ’. It is unlikely that the audience would not have perceived this as a patent euphemism for what was a kind of tribute paid to crusader leaders in order to encourage them to move swiftly across to the Asian side lest the crusading armies begin looting and pillaging the Byzantine hinterland. But in good panegyric fashion, E. turns what had been an imposition on the Byzantine emperor (still hinted at in the purposive future participle πορισόμενοι) into a measure of his fame and status as a virtual patron of these foreign lords. E. had previously listed the many petitions brought before Manuel by “envoys”: *Eust. Or.* 11 (Λόγος Κ) 185.34–186.39: πρεσβείαι ὡς ἐκάστοτε, ἄλλαι μὲν ἐκπεμπόμεναι, ἕτεραι δὲ εἰσδεχόμεναι, θεσμοθεσιῶν μελέται, κρίσεων εὐθετισμοί, στρατιωτῶν ἐκλογισμοί, ἀκουσμάτων παλαίσματα, ὧν τὰ πλείω ἔξωθεν καὶ ἐκ βαρβάρων, ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ πλείους αἱ μέριμναι, οἰκονομιῶν τύποι, πρακτέων ἐπικρίσεις, ὄχλοι δεομένων, καὶ οὗτοι μυριότροποι, καὶ ὅποια τὰ καθέκαστα ἀπερίληπτοι καὶ μέτρον ὑπερεκπίπτοντες.

θαυμαστώσαντες ἐκείνην ὁδόν· ὀκνῶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν εὐμέθοδον ἔφοδον: E. would appear to be describing the arrival in 1147 of the crusading armies of Louis VII of France and the German king, Conrad III. The active participle from θαυμαστώ is hard to construe precisely; it likely means something close to “[they] made the journey a thing to marvel at.” Tafel’s “welche jenen wunderlichen Zug nach unserem Land anstellen” fails to explain the transitive sense of θαυμαστώσαντες. Most translations of such parallels as Psalms 4.4 ἐθαυμάστωσεν κύριος τὸν ὄσιον αὐτοῦ, offer little guidance; cf. θαυμάστωσις in *Eust. Opusc.* 47.55: ὁδόν... εὐμέθοδον ἔφοδον combines assonance and a device of repetition known as *homoioteleuton*, a series of similar sounding endings, which produce unexpected ties between words of distinct meaning. Here the words *road-journey*, *plan-strategy*, and *campaign-crusade* are an almost sarcastic comment on the failure of the crusade led by Ludwig VII and Conrad III. For the idea of εὐμέθοδον ἔφοδον; cf. Nic. Chon. *Or.* 14, 136.12: μέθοδος εὐμέθοδος καὶ εὐμήχανος πρὸς τὴν κατ’ ἀντιπάλων ἔφοδον.

ὁ κατὰ Πέρσας ἐθνάρχης: the Sultan of Ikonion (modern Konya) was leader of the breakaway Sultanate of Rum, a Seljuk state in central Anatolia, ruled for most of Manuel’s reign by ‘Izz al-Din Kılıç Arslan II (1156–1192). The ethnonym

Πέρσας is not entirely due to archaizing language since Persian was the official, though probably not common, language of the Sultanate court, as well as of its literature. For Kılıç Arslan's stay as a guest of Manuel in the capital, see Kinn. *Epit. re.* 204.3–208.3; cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 118.29–122.30.

ὁ τῶν Παλαιστινηῶν ὑπερκαθήμενος ῥήξ: Amalrich, king of Jerusalem (1163–1174), married Maria Komnena, a distant niece of Manuel I. He would eventually form a close military alliance with Manuel in order to launch an unsuccessful invasion of Egypt; cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 73–75. Kinnamos, *Epit. re.* 280.10, mentions the visit, as he does a number of historical events in the Ἐπιτάφιος, suggesting that E. may at the very least have consulted Kinnamos' record to recapitulate Manuel's achievements: Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ Παλαιστίνης ῥήξ ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον ἦλθε περὶ ὧν ἔχρηζε βασιλέως δεησόμενος. τυχῶν δὲ ὧν ἐδεῖτο ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ δουλείαν ἐπὶ τούτοις βασιλεῖ διωμολόγηκεν.

Τὸν γὰρ Παιόνα ... καὶ συχνοὺς τοιοῦτους: E. lists the nations on Byzantium's northern frontiers who alternated as virtual vassals or invaders: Hungarians, Bosnians and Slavs, respectively, Paionians at this time would have likely meant Magyar 'Hungarians'; 'Gepids' were most likely tribes living in what is present-day 'Bosnia'; Skythians stood for Petchenegs, Russians, and other peoples from across the Danube. Cf. Eust. *Or.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 263.72–74: καὶ τὸν μὲν Σκύθην ἔχω μαθῶν καὶ οὐ μὲ ξενίζει τῇ θέα, Παιονες δὲ καὶ Δαλμάται καὶ πᾶν, ὅσον τούτοις πρόσοικον,

Καὶ ἢ πάντα ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ τούτων τινά: sc. ἐστὶν or ἦν. The statement appears to qualify the earlier conclusion about the motives of the visitors, acknowledging that these may have combined or been distinct in each case. Whether this was E.'s scholasticism speaking or some distinction important to the court is unclear. E. had already listed θάμβος and φόβος as the two principal reasons why foreign rulers wished an audience with the Byzantine emperor. Now he will proceed to explain each: awe of Manuel inspired by what they had learned about him; fear lest they fall out of favour; and a third motive, so far unmentioned, namely, the knowledge that should "evil befall them one day from some quarter" (εἴ τι που κακὸν ἐκείνοις ἐπήρητητό ποθεν), it would not be possible to be rid of it without help from the emperor. Tafel² (n.33) argues that contemporary sources in Greek, as well as Latin and Arabic, confirm that by reason of Manuel's keenness to play a mediating rôle (to Byzantium's advantage, naturally), the Byzantine capital served as a diplomatic point of exchange between Europe and Asia, and that E. was not indulging in empty flattery

μήποτε συμβαίη ἄλλως: the fear clause takes as its point of reference the implicit opposite of the previous clause, whereby their visit to the emperor meant they were in his good graces. So while they desired to retain the emperor's favour, "they harboured a fear lest it ever turned out otherwise."

2.2

φήμη ... φιλακροάμονας: E. appears to have enjoyed collecting proverbial language and making frequent use of it, though almost always in a manner that makes it seem apt. "Winged fame" was so familiar an expression that we actually meet it less often than one might expect; the combination with ἄνετος is E.'s own, though he had made passing references to φήμη περωτή before: cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.153.14–16: καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πολλοῖς πέμπων ὁμοίως τὴν Ἴριν, εἴτε τις περωτὴν αὐτὴν δαίμονα θέλει νοεῖν εἴτε τὴν ἐν ἀέρι φαινομένην εἴτε τὴν φήμην; cf. etiam *Or.* 8 (Λόγος Η) 141.16–17: καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ σόφισμα τῷ Ἄννωνι φήμη τις περωτὴ καὶ τρόπον ἄλλον λόγοι πεπερόεντες.

οἷς ἔμαθον περιτετυχηκότες ἐκβαίνουσι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν: οἷς stands in the dat. instead of acc. as the result of attraction as the object of περιτυγχάνω, which takes a dat. (LSJ, s. v. περιτυγχάνω).

Ὡς ἐληλυθότες ἐκεῖνοι... ἀπήεσαν διαπρύσιοι κήρυκες: the TLG has only one instance of the formulaic expression διαπρύσιος κήρυξ before the fourth century; cf. *Thess. De virt. herb.* 2.1 (ed. H.-V. Friedrich, *Thessalos von Tralles*, Meisenheim am Glan, 1968) and one of διαπρυσίως κηρύττω, on which the popularity of the expression in Byzantium is more likely based: *Diod. Sic. Bibl. Hist.* 11.38.6 ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἱστορίας δικαία μαρτυρία τετήρηκε τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην, κηρύττουσα διαπρυσίως εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα. cf. *Greg. Naz. In theoph. (Orat. 38) PG* 36 321c: Νοῦς μὲν οὖν ἤδη καὶ αἴσθησις, οὕτως ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διακριθέντα, τῶν ἰδίων ὄρων ἐντὸς εἰστήκεισαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ Λόγου μεγαλειονὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἔφερον, σιγῶντες ἐπαινέται τῆς μεγαλουργίας, καὶ διαπρύσιοι κήρυκες. The marked increase in use of such 'off-the-rack' phrases in Byzantium is not easily explained by the size of literary record of the middle ages. It may be the expression was too common to have entered the genres of literature preserved by antiquity. The expression therefore started out life in a lower literary register and steadily rose through the linguistic ranks to end up in court poetry: *Theod. Prod. Carmina* 1.37–39 δεῖ δεῖ γὰρ κήρυκος ἡμῖν ῥήτορος εὐρυφώνου / μεθ' ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος, φωνῆ διαπρυσίω / κηρύσσοντος καὶ λέγοντος. «Ὡ ἄνδρες, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι».

τοῦ οὕτως ἀνθρώπου: the Basel manuscript has οὕτως ἀνθρώπου, in all likelihood an error on the part of the scribe for τοῦ ὄντως ἀνθρώπου (vid. appar. ad loc.) since at least one form of the cursive “nu” (ν) used by E. can resemble an “upsilon” (υ). See the letter tables of E.’s script in M. Formentin, “La grafia di Eustazio di Tessalonica,” *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 37/1 (1983) 19–50. Assuming one wanted to remain unwaveringly faithful to the palaeographical dictate of *lectio difficilior*, one might try to read οὕτως ἀνθρώπου as equivalent to τοιοῦτου ἀνθρώπου, although no examples of this appear in either medieval or earlier Greek texts so far in the TLG. In contrast the expression ὄντως ἄνθρωπος had a long pedigree, especially in certain religious texts, cf. Greg. Nyss. *De perf. Christ. ad Olymp. mon.* PG 8.1: καὶ ὡσπερ εἶ τις διακρίνοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντως ἀνθρώπου τὸν ὁμωνύμως ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνας λεγόμενον. E. had used the expression in an earlier oration addressed to Michael Hagiotheodorites: *Or.* 8 (Λόγος Η) 141.27: ὅτι θεοῦ δῶρον αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρᾶγμα θειότατον, ὅτι ψυχῆς κόσμος κάλλος τὸ ὄντως ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἀληθοῦς· ἀναγωγὸς εἰς θεόν.

23

Μεγέθους μὲν γὰρ: γὰρ offers an explanation of the previous statement, which editorially practical division into paragraphs can obscure. For the grammar of Μεγέθους... ἐπέβη cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπιβαίνω A. I. 2. The claim that Manuel was so tall that “anyone exceeding him in height would be reckoned a giant” (εἶ τις ὑπερναβαίη, ἐγγραφῆσεται ὡς εἰς γίγαντα) is the kind of exaggeration permitted in the hyperbolic register of encomiastic rhetoric. The surviving accounts do in fact describe Manuel as tall, at least as a youth. Both Kinnamos (*Epit. re.* 206.2: βασιλεὺς μεγέθει σώματος ἀναλογωτάτου τὸν πάντα πληρῶν) and Nicetas Choniates mention Manuel’s height, noting that even as a youth he was “tall for his age”, even though “he stooped more than a little” (*Hist.* 51.76: εὐμήκης ὦν τὴν ἡλικίαν... κἂν ἐπένευέ τι τοῦ ἰθυτενοῦς μέτριον).

ὁστέωσιν ἀδρὰν καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν λεοντώδη: E. uses the simile of the lion-like emperor five times in the oration, as he had before; cf. *Or.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 275.6–8: ὡ τῆς λεοντοθύμου ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τάσεως καὶ τῆς ἐφ’ οὕτω μακρᾷ πολιορκίᾳ ἐνστάσεως. The association of lions and kings was widespread in both antiquity and the middle ages, in both language and images, despite the absence of lions in Europe for more than ten thousand years. This suggests that the political association of the lion was created at a much earlier, pre-Hellenic or Indo-European phase.

οὐδὲ τὴν κόμην πρὸς τρυφερότητα ἤσκητο: an absence of inordinate concern for one's hair style was a long-standing topos of panegyric and of character portraits of virtuous male aristocrats. The inference to be drawn is that the topos spoke to a reality of men who took great care with their grooming, as the satirical author Lucian, quite popular in twelfth-century Byzantium, illustrates by analogy with notorious ancient dandies: *Luc. Rhet. praec.* 11 (ed. A.M. Harmon, Lucian, vol. 4. Cambridge, Mass., 1925 [repr. 1961]): ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ πάνσοφόν τινα καὶ πάγκαλον ἄνδρα, διασεσαλευμένον τὸ βάδισμα, ἐπικεκλασμένον τὸν αὐχένα, γυναικεῖον τὸ βλέμμα, μελιχρὸν τὸ φώνημα, μύρων ἀποπνέοντα, τῷ δακτύλῳ ἄκρω τὴν κεφαλὴν κνόμενον, ὀλίγας μὲν ἔτι, οὐλας δὲ καὶ ὑακινθίνας τὰς τρίχας εὐθετίζοντα, πάναβρόν τινα Σαρδανάπαλλον ἢ Κινύραν ἢ αὐτὸν Ἀγάθωνα, τὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ἐπέραστον ἐκείνον ποιητήν. E. shows familiarity with this topos in both encomium and blame: *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.602.20–25 Ἰστέον δὲ καί, ὅτι πολλοχοῦ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπαινον καὶ ψόγον σοφιστικῶς πορίζεσθαι, εἶγε καὶ ἡ κόμη σεμνύνει μὲν τοὺς, ὡς ἐρρέθη, κερηκομόωντας Ἕλληνας, εἰς ὕβριν δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπανθεῖ. κομᾶν μὲν γὰρ οὐ γυναικεῖον οὐδ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπαφρόδιτον, ὅτι μηδὲ λέων χαιτήν τρέφων πρὸς μόνον κάλλος εὐθετίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἐπαύξει τὸ φοβερόν. κόμην δὲ ἔχειν καὶ εὐκομον εἶναι γυναικικώτερόν ἐστι.

εἰς κεφαλὴν κόσμου τημελῶν ἑαυτόν: a slight play on the dual senses of κεφαλῆ, as the emperor's own head (i.e., his hair) and his rôle as 'head' of the world.

ὡς εἶναι : adverbial = "with the result that".

τοῖς ἀκρωτηρίοις ἐπεντρανίσαντά τινα: the compound ἐπεντρανίζω appears side by side with the simpler form, ἐντρανίζω, among authors of the twelfth century; cf. LBG s.v. ἐπεντρανίζω, "(genau) betrachten, ansehen: τινί/τί" ("to scrutinize carefully") construed with the dat. of the person or thing seen or scrutinized, in this case, τοῖς ἀκρωτηρίοις

τὰ κατὰ φυσικοὺς γνῶμονας: the 'experts' or γνῶμονες on the physical constitution in question were the so-called φυσιογνώμονες of antiquity who observed human form and drew inferences from external physical features of the body about the internal disposition of character. Aristotle was credited with being the father of this psycho-physical science, and a work of the 3rd cent. B.C. titled *Physiognomonica* was (probably falsely) attributed to him. Two further works on physiognomy, known from translations into Latin and Arabic, by Posidonius (c.135–c.51 BC) and another by the popular sophist Polemo of Laodicea (c. AD 88–144) circulated widely in late antiquity and probably survived in some form in Byzantium. The Suda preserves at least the memory of this once impor-

tant discipline: Sud. *Lex.* Δ 556.6: οἱ φυσιογνώμονες ἐκ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ιδέας τεκμαίρονται τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς διαθέσεις. For the extant physiognomic works see, *Scriptores physiognomonici graeci et latini*, 2 vols. [1893]; cf. J. Schmidt, RE 20 [1941], ‘Physiognomik’; E. C. Evans, *Physiognomics in the Ancient World* (1969). No doubt owing to his wide reading, E. shows awareness of physiognomic findings: *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* I.124,31 εἶναι δὲ τὰ τῶν πανούργων καὶ συνετῶν στήθη λάσια δηλοῦσιν οἱ Φυσιογνώμονες.

τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπον ἡσχόλητο τὰ τῆς φύσεως: the sense of this sentence depends largely on the meaning of the grammatical subject τὰ τῆς φύσεως, an expression which a number of canonical ancient texts contrasted with τὰ τοῦ νόμου (cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 483a4: ἐὰν μὲν τις κατὰ νόμον λέγῃ, κατὰ φύσιν ὑπερωτῶν, ἐὰν δὲ τὰ τῆς φύσεως, τὰ τοῦ νόμου). E. seems to use the expression as equivalent to the simple φύσις; the middle ἀσχολοῦμαι is usually intransitive. At the heart of E.’s point here is the reference to τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπον, which served as shorthand for the those parts of human existence addressed by Christian teaching (cf. Didym. Caecus. *Fragm. in Psalm.* 808: τῆς ἀνθρώπου προσηγορίας ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύει πρὸς δεῖξιν τοῦ τὸν ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν θεοῦ γεγενημένον). Although E. was sensitive to hypocrisy and dissembling, he does not intend here anything like “the real man” in our sense of the authentic or genuine person contrasted with the public persona. However, in his account of the Occupation of Thessalonike he describes of Andronikos’ turning inward to compensate for his wickedness and injustice: Eust. *De capta Thess.* 52.31: Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἴσως μέτριος τὴν κακίαν, εἴπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐλθὼν ἀδικήματος ἔληξε καὶ ἐστράφη πρὸς τὸν ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπον.

24

ὄψιν... ὅποια κοσμοίη ἂν ἠρωϊκὴν στρυφνότητα: κοσμῶ is deliberately incongruous with στρυφνότης. Joined to ἠρωϊκός the countenance or mien E. describes is that of the battle-hardened severity of expression on Manuel’s face. Although the single other instance of the phrase, Psellos’ use of it suggests it was in circulation. Cf. Mich. Psell. *Encom. in matr.* (ed. U. Criscuolo, Naples, 1989) 1674: πρὸς ἦν δὴ καὶ ἐπεπύγει τοῖς ὄμμασιν. ἐώκει δὲ ὑπερμεγέθει τινί, στρυφνὸς τὴν ὄψιν καὶ σκυθρωπὸς τὴν ὄφρυν καὶ τὴν ἀσκητικὴν ἀκριβῶς ἀποπνέων ‘ζωὴν’.

θηλυπρεπὴς λευκότης: the ancient *topos* fair or “white” skin was deemed unbecoming a ‘manly’ warrior-king whose campaigning under the sun ‘darkened’ his complexion. E. had commented on the origins of the *topos*: cf. Eust.

Comm. ad Hom. Il. 1.720.6–15: Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἡ παραβολὴ λευκὸν φύσει τὸν Μενέλαον ἱστορεῖ. εἰ δὲ καὶ θηλυπρεπὲς ἐν ἥρωσιν ἢ λευκότης, διὸ τὸν Τρωϊκὸν Κύκνον Θεόκριτος τοιοῦτον ὄντα θῆλυν ἀπὸ χροιάς ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθά φασιν οἱ παλαιοί, ὅτι κἂν ἄλλως εὐπαθὲς τὸ λευκόν, ἰσχυρότερα δὲ τὰ μελάγχροα τῶν σωματῶν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι χαρακτηρ ἀνδρίας ἦν λευκὸς χρῶς καὶ κόμη ξανθή, ὁποῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι ἱστορεῖ ὁ ποιητής. ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἐν σώμασι λευκὸν οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ἦν, καὶ ἐν ῥητορικοῖς δηλοῦται Λεξικοῖς, ὧν ἐν θατέρῳ μὲν κεῖται, ὅτι λευκοὶ οἱ δειλοὶ καὶ λευκώπιοι οἱ αὐτοί, ἐν δὲ ἐτέρῳ, τῷ τοῦ Αἰλίου Διονυσίου δηλαδῆ, τὸ “οὐδὲν λευκῶν ἀνδρῶν ὄφελος.

μιγνυμένη: while the gender of the participle derives from λευκότης in the preceding clause, it is the emperor's whole complexion which is the implied subject.

ἤλοις: the dat. is perhaps best explained by ἐκέκρατο in the main clause. κεράννυμι usually requires a dat. of one of the objects ‘mixed’, the other here being λευκότης.

σκιατραφίαν: the manuscript appears to read σκιατραφίαν, a nonsense form. Might the scribe have meant to write σκιοατραφία from σκιοίος or been thinking of σκιαρός? σκιατραφία is nevertheless well enough attested in this period, including in E., to permit emending the text; cf. Eust. *Or.* 11 (Λόγος K) 192.71–72: Οὐ καλὸν οὕτε σκιατραφεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀργούς. For a possible precedent to σκιοατραφίαν, cf. Hesych. *Lex.* Σ (1049): σκιοιά· σκοτεινά. τινὲς κολόροβοι.

ἀνδρίας: = ἀνδρείας, gen. sing. of the feminine ἀνδρεία, often written ἀνδρία in Byzantine Mss., though ἀνδρία is attested in antiquity where the metre requires it, e.g. Eur. *HF*475 where two Ms. witnesses have μέγα φρονῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρία (for which Elmsley conjectured εὐανδρία).

Κεκραμένη γὰρ δὴ Χάρισιν: sc. ὄψις, cf. *supra*.

καὶ λειμῶνα συνεκρότου ἀξιοθέατον: the language here alludes to the ekphrastic imagery and poetic vernacular of the Byzantine novel, itself an aesthetic idiom going back to that crucible of later Byzantine literary sensibility, the Second Sophistic: cf. e.g. Eust. *Macr. De Hysm. et Hysm.* 4.125: ἢ γὰρ τοι περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον χάρις αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ λειμῶνος κάλλος ἀντήριζεν. For an example of the older parallels, from which persuasive arguments about intertextuality have been made; cf. Ach. Tat. *Leuc. et Clit.* (ed. E. Vilborg, *Achilles Tatius. Leucippe and*

Clitophon, Stockholm, 1955) 1.19,2.2.: τοιοῦτος ἦν Λευκίππης ἐπὶ τῶν προσώπων ὁ λειμών. For an exemplary approach to the mechanism of intertextuality in the novels, see I. Nilsson, *Erotic pathos, rhetorical pleasure : narrative technique and mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolites' Hysmine & Hysminias* (Uppsala, 2001) 261–286. A century earlier reference to a ‘meadow’ in literature might well have alluded to the ‘spiritual meadow’ most familiar to us in the work of John Moschos, rather than one which appealed so directly to the senses (ἐξ οὗ δρέπεσθαι ἡδονὴν ὄσσην ἐξῆν τοῖς φιλοθεάμοισι). But as Kazhdan and Epstein have argued, literary sensibility, as a corollary to social and spiritual identity, underwent important changes in the 12th century; see Kazhdan–Epstein, *Change in Byzantine*, 197–230.

ἀνθολογία ... αὐτὸν ἠγαλλε: while all emperors were described as handsome and endowed with every manner of attractive feature, Manuel’s panegyrists too such care with his physical image that we may reasonably infer that his looks were important to him and to his supporters. Eust. *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 223.9–224.15: “Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις, ἄριστε βασιλεῦ, ἀμφὶ σὲ φιλοτίμως ἡσχόληται καὶ ὅσον αὐτῆς τὸ περὶ σὲ φιλοτέχνημα, ἔσται μοι καλλιγραφῆσαι καιρὸς ἕτερος. οὐ γὰρ δὴ που τὸ ἀπόδημον βαρβαρώσει τὰ κατ’ ἐμέ, ὡς πάντη ἐπιλιπεῖν τὰ τοῦ λόγου χρώματα, δι’ ὧν ἔχοιμι ἂν καταγράψασθαι τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, τὸ τῆς θέας γαλήνιον, τὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ λάμπον καὶ ἠρωϊκόν, τὴν ὄλην εὐρυθμίαν τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀκροπόλεως, ἣν ὁ ὕψιστος θεὸς ἐπύργωσεν ἡμῖν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν.

26

ἀθέτως εἶχε πρὸς τι: LSJ s.v. ἄθετος II, following Hesychius, A 1569.1 (ed. K. Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vols. 1–2) lists ἀθέτως εἶχειν as being synonymous in some cases with ἀθέσμως, or “lawlessly”; in this context, we might recall the political definition “despotically” (cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 150 Ζεὺς ἀθέτως κρατύνει). We have a closer parallel in Plutarch (2.715b) joined to πρὸς τι, meaning unsuitable or inappropriate. The only other near-contemporary example is from Gregory Antiochus’ *Laudatio patriarchae Basilii Camateri*, 757 (ed. M. Loukaki, *Grégoire Antiochos Éloge du patriarche Basile Kamatèros*, Paris, 1996). It is not likely E. would have gone so far as to broach the possibility of unlawfulness or despotism (pejoratively understood) regarding Manuel’s behaviour. It is rather the tacitly affirmed obligation to restraint enjoined upon the ruler’s all too human instincts, which E. invokes in the expression ἀθέτως εἶχε. It is perhaps instructive that the natural element chosen to illustrate the emperor’s temper should be the sea: τὴν ἐντὸς ὑποκυμαῖνον θάλασσαν, whose sudden (and unprovoked) destruc-

tive tempests made seafaring one of the more dangerous pursuits of mediaeval life around the Mediterranean. The image of anger latent beneath the waves (LSJ does not record this clearly post-classical definition) may be found in an oration by one of E.'s former students and future eulogist, Michael Choniates, himself writing in praise of his own and E.' patron, the patriarch Micheal Anchialos and his mastery of his temper (ed. S.P. Lampros, *Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, Athens, 1879–1880; repr. 1968) *I Or.* 3.86: Θυμὸν γὰρ ἐπιπειθῆ τῷ λόγῳ σοφῶς ὑπέξευξε καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἄχολος τὸ παρ' ἅπαν ἔστι παρ' ὅσον τῷ θυμῷ μόνον εἶ ποτε ὑποκυμαίνων οἰδαίνεται.

τὴν ἐντὸς ὑποκυμαίνον θάλασσαν...θυμοδακῆς τι: with this and the subsequent two paragraphs begins an extended rhetorical meditation on the emperor's temper and disposition. E. combines *θάλασσα* with *ὑποκείμενος* in a tense image of a restrained tempest; cf. Arist. *Metaph.* 1043a25 τί ἐστὶ γαλήνη; ὁμαλότης θαλάττης. Like many similes and metaphors in his works, E. likely adapted this one from his wide reading in ancient literature and commentary on Homeric epic. Cf. *Schol. in Hom. Od.* (libri γ—δ) versis 402c3 τῆ ἐπιφανείᾳ τοῦ ὕδατος / τῆ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑποκυμαινούσης / κινήσει τῶν ὑδάτων.

καὶ ἐχρῆν τῇ ψυχῇ... παραστήναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι: the sense of *δορυφόρος* as it relates to *ψυχή* and *θυμός* is somewhat elusive. In a number of elliptical passages, including two from E.' own compendious commentaries, *λόγος* as the faculty of reason appears to act as a bodyguard (*δορυφόρος*) to the soul, defending it, it seems, from its own intemperance in the face of provocation. Cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.222.1–3: Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ προσδεῖται καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ θυμικοῦ διὰ τι συγγενὲς ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ φρόνησις, καθὰ καὶ δορυφόρων οἱ βασιλεῖς. Cf. Phil. Jud. *De conf. ling.* (ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 2. Berlin, 1897; repr. 1962) II 98.7: τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντων πάντες οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ ὑπέρμαχοι ψυχῆς συμφρονήσουσι λογισμοί.

27

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἰλαρὸν...τοῖς οὐκ ἀμβλυποῦσιν ἐξέλαμπε: in keeping with the general claim of the passages dedicated to rationalizing the emperor's disposition, this one, too, mitigates Manuel's seeming irritability by suggesting it was superficial. A keen observer might notice his more cheerful temper just below that surface.

τὸ δὲ θυμούμενον τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχρωζε...κατασιγάζων τὸ θυμικόν: in one of the rhetorically most accomplished passages of the *Ἐπιτάφιος*, E. expands

on Manuel's absolute control over his temper (θυμός). Not given to outbursts of anger "like those easily inflamed by rage" (κατὰ τοὺς εἰς ὀργὴν πυρίνους), he had to force himself to dissimulate being angry (βιαζόμενος... διαζωγραφῶν εἰς θυμούμενον) whenever the need arose. He therefore created a false image of his true nature (παρατυπῶν τὸ ἔμφυτον ζωγράφημα) he set aside his milder self (τὸν μὲν πρᾶον ἀποτιθέμενος) in order to teach his subjects a lesson. A. Stone is almost certainly right to infer an attempt by E. to offer a benign explanation for Manuel's explosive temper. See Stone, "Epitaphios," 243. The need for emperors to check their anger (θυμός) and exercise self-control (αὐτοκράτεια) was an enduring motif of imperial oratory, renewed by the very real fear of the consequences of an undisciplined temper. An anonymous βασιλικὸς λόγος addressed to Manuel's grandfather, Alexios I, speaks to the need for an emperor to retain his self-possession and suppress excessive anger. See R. Browning, "An Anonymous *basilikos logos* Addressed to Alexios I Comnenus," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 31–50, 38–42.

καταπέττοντα: the sense, if not the form of the implied verb, seems clear. The emperor's good disposition, τὸ βασιλικὸν ἰλαρὸν, raises up the despondent man. It could be argued that καταπίπτοντα or καταπεπτωκότα (LSJ s.v. καταπίπτω) would be expected in that case, since καταπέττοντα (probably derived from καταπέσσω) does not give the required sense, unless E. had an intransitive, absolute use in mind, instead of the more usual transitive metaphorical meaning *to bear or suffer* some hardship; *Or.* 9 (Λόγος θ) 153.11: καιρὸς τοῦ γογγύζειν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ καταπέττειν ἔσω τὴν λύπην καὶ μὴ λαλεῖν ἄκαρπα; cf. *Sud. Lex.* K 703.1: Καταπεσῶν: ἀντὶ τοῦ φοβούμενος.

28

Ἐπαινῶ τὸν τοιοῦτον θυμόν: E. distinguishes between undisciplined anger and a politically useful display of ire which would not be inconsistent with σωφροσύνη, the ruler's indispensable self-restraint.

ὁ διορθωτῆς νόμος: strictly speaking, the grammatical subject, νόμος, has no predicate and produces a syntactical anomaly as the subject of the relative clause, οἱ αὐτοκρατοῦντες, become the grammatical protagonists of the remainder of the sentence. νόμος standing in virtual apposition to θυμόν might not have confused listeners the same way it can disorient readers who cannot rely on the orator's mediating voice to designate relations between words, clauses, and larger verbal units by means of emphasis and shift in tone.

Καιρὸς δὴ τις καὶ ἀστεῖσασθαι: ἀστεῖζομαι, to engage in witty or eloquent conversation (see LSJ s.v. ἀστεῖζομαι) was at once a form of recreation and a mark of status, since the wit and rhetorical fluency in question required the studied ease of the well educated and leisured classes. The enduring association between city life and such sophistication may still be seen in the notion of being “urbane.” Manuel is described as combining purposeful eloquence with good natured humour and wit. For the vocabulary of ἀστειότης, cf. Sud. *Lex.* A 4235: Ἀστεῖος: εὐσύνετος, εὐπρόσωπος, χαρίεις, καλὸς, γελοιώδης, καὶ Ἀστείου, ἀστεῖζομένους, πολιτευομένους. εὐφημότερον ἀστεῖζεσθαι, τὸ ὠραῖζεσθαι, γελωτοποιεῖν, ἅτινα σκώπτειν. καὶ Ἀστείως, πρεπόντως, φρονίμως. The real contrast was not between well-schooled urbanity and inarticulate provincialism but that between the scouling and somber mien required of an emperor who instills apprehension in those who come before him (Οὐ γὰρ δυστράπελος διὰ βίου παντὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐδεὶς) and the amiable and good-humoured man able to charm those around him with “sweetness of his speech” and the affability of his behaviour. On ἀστειότης as a sociocultural ideal, see F. Bernard, “Asteiotes and the ideal of the urbane intellectual in eleventh-century Byzantium”, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 47 (2013) 129–142; see also K. Beyer, M. Grünbart, *Urbanitas und ἀστειότης. Kulturelle Ausdrucksformen von Status (10.–15. Jahrhundert). Einführung in die Tagungsthematik, Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 45 (2011).

φιλία δὲ οὐδεμία τὸ ἀστεῖον ἀπείπατο καθάπερ οὐδὲ ὁμιλία ἢ πολιτευτική : *For no friendship rejects wit and charm, just as political association does not;* the adjective πολιτευτικός is not listed in LSJ and besides one mention in the Sud. *Lex.* N 384.8 and another in the late scholia to the preface of some plays of Aristophanes (ed. W.J.W. Koster, *Scholia in Aristophanem: Scholia in Vespas, Pacem, Aves et Lysistratam* [Scholia in Aristophanem 2.1] Groningen, 1978). The only other author known to have used the term is Mich. Chon. *Ep.* 129, 209.20–23: Τίς γὰρ σοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφώτερος, διὰ τοσῶνδε βασιλειῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ τυραννίδος ἐλληλυθότος πολιτευτικῶς καὶ πείρα μακρᾶ τὴν ἀρίστην ἄρμονίαν τῆς μοναρχίας ἀκριβωσαμένου καὶ τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν πολιτείας τὰ κράτιστα. Once more the appearance of a rare but otherwise comprehensible word prompts questions about the emergence of a literary vernacular in the twelfth century in which long dormant words are reawakened and new ones are created to meet both conceptual and compositional needs closely entwined in the rhetorical precepts imbibed at school; social and political historians can only be intrigued by the analogy drawn here by E. between φιλία, whose significance to Byzantine men of

letters and nobility scholars have only recently begun to explore, and whatever form of political association, *ὀμιλία ἢ πολιτευτική*, attached to the emperor.

Καιρὸς δὴ τις καὶ ... Καιρὸς δὴ τις καὶ: a conspicuous and extended example of *anaphora*: repetition of the same word(s) at the beginning of successive clauses or sentences. Like other rhetorical devices involving repetition on a small or larger scale across a few words or clauses, such *alliteration*, *pareomion*, *homoioteleuton*, or *anadiplosis* and *epanalipsis*, *anaphora* is at once rudimentary and yet enduringly effective, in as much as it harnesses elementary sensory experience to semantic and conceptual aims. In the passage in question, the exact parallel of *anaphora* underscores the disparity between Manuel and Timon; for if the notorious misanthrope could enjoy the company of friends, then surely the emperor could converse amiably also.

ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ... ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ: one might normally be tempted to bracket off the second ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ as an instance of dittography on the part of the copyist, although such mistaken repetitions of letters, words, or phrases are usually prompted by identical or similar words preceding them, which is not the case here. Instead, E. seems to be engaging in a kind of exegetic repetition characteristic of more discursive prose, lending the funeral oration an air of improvisation.

ἐκμυελίζων τὸ νόημα: the metaphoric use of ἐκμυελίζω in the sense of to “draw out the meaning or essence of something like the marrow from a bone” appears unique to this Byzantine text. cf. Eust. *Comm. in Dion. Perieg.* 85–89 (ed. K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, vol. 2. Paris, 1861; repr. 1965): “Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ μυελὸν ὡσπερ σοφιστικὸν σοι τοῦτον παρατιθέαμεν, ὁστῶδες ἅπαν ποιητικῆς σκληρότητος ὁστρακίσαντες, ὡς ἂν τοῦτόν γε τὸν τρόπον τῷ ποιητικῷ ἐνάμιλλοι φαινόμεθα Χείρωνι, ὃς μυελοῖς ἐξέτρεφε τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος. Audiences or readers may have been familiar with the sense of word from LXX *Num.* 24.8 ἔδεται ἔθνη ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ / καὶ τὰ πάχη αὐτῶν ἐκμυελιῖ. The only instance I have found the word used in a positive sense of “get the full extent of something” is Michael Attaliates, *Hist.* (ed. I. Pérez Martín, Madrid, 2002) 2.50–51: ἄρδην ἀπάντων ζημί-ας ἀπροόπτους καὶ λοιπάδας μεμηχανημένας κατεσοφίσατο καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν ὀπωσοῦν εὐπορούντων ἐκμυελίζων ἐντεῦθεν.

βαθείαις δὲ θεωρίαις ... σεμνύνονται: for the relevant sense of ἐξωτερικός here as “that of outsiders”, i.e., non-Christians, contrasted with those of the Apostles (cf. *Epist. ad Cor.* I.12 τί γάρ μοι τοὺς ἔξω κρίνειν; οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε;).

εἶ γε καὶ Τίμων ἐφιλιάζετο: a notorious Athenian misanthrope, Timon appears to have lived in the time of Pericles, cf. *Prosopographia Attica* (ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin, 1903). Aristophanes is the first to refer to him (*Aves*, 1549; *Lys.* 809 sq.; he became known to Shakespeare by way of Plutarch's *Antonius* 70.1–8 and Lucian's dialogue by the same name). It is perhaps futile to guess at the source of the reference. A legendary figure like Timon could well have enjoyed a lengthy *Nachleben* independent of any specific text by repeated invocation. It is interesting to see how E. adapts the figure of Τίμων to quite distinct contexts and genres, as in the essay concerning inherent conflicts in matters of friendship, where Timon serves as a cautionary example about the risks of mishandling one's friendships; cf. Eust. *Or.* 3 (Λόγος Γ) 54.5–6: μὴ καὶ βίον κίνδυνος εἶη ζῆν Τίμωνος, ὅς εἰ μὲν οὐδὲ γοῦν ἐνὸς πειραθεὶς ἐν ἀκεραίῳ φίλου, τὸ ἀνθρωπικὸν ἦθος ἀπείπατο.

ἤρτυε... βαθείαις δὲ θεωρίαις: the reference to 'salting one's speech' is an allusion to Paul's *Epist. ad Coloss.* 4.6.2 in which he instructs them to add salt to their speech, since "it is necessary for you to know how to address each man individually": ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἄλατι ἤρτυμένος, εἰδέναι πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι. The biblical allusion serves as a further illustration of the inclusiveness described above, with salt being the all purpose spice of rhetorical 'savouriness' which reaches every palate, and βαθείαις δὲ θεωρίαις reserved for those with the 'acquired taste' for such deep understanding. It also demonstrates both the skill of the orator and the taste of his audience for meaningful wordplay through combinations of 'sweet' (ἡδύς) and savoury (ἄλατι).

30

Ἴνα γὰρ... θεατρίσω: E. makes implicit reference to the mandate of Greek authors to render the contents of their text vivid and their audience "spectators"; cf. LSJ s.v. θεάομαι. This was usually achieved by means of *ekphrasis*, *enargeia*, or similarly visual and therefore 'dramaturgical' effects of language. The economy of the Ἐπιτάφιος afforded little opportunity for such devices, but did not prevent its author from conjuring an image of the oration as a procession of Manuel's virtues before their eyes. For a survey of the various senses attached to θέατρον, see *Theatron: rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. M. Grünbart (Berlin, 2007). For the imagery of a triumphal procession, see M. McCormick, *Eternal victory: triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West* (Cambridge; New York, 1986).

τι καινὸν μὲν εἰς ἀκοήν: used to refer to “new,” “strange,” or “unusual” things, καινὸν restricted to ἀκοήν may have referred to either the unconventional nature of Manuel’s argument or its uncommon formulation. It was not an unequivocal term of praise in most pursuits, especially in matters of doctrine or ideology. Still E. clearly intended it as an accomplishment of the emperor, reflecting perhaps a broader affinity for καινότης as forms of innovation and novelty, especially in matters of authorship and oratory, as the mention a little further down of the Athenian predilection for τὸ φιλόκαινον may demonstrate; cf. Corp. Herm. *Περὶ εὐρέσεως* 3.5.104–109: καὶ πάλιν ‘δεῖ καινοτομεῖν’, ἢ λύσις ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ‘καλὸν γὰρ τὸ καινοτομεῖν καὶ ὁ βίος αἰεὶ καινοτομεῖται τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βελτίων γίνεται’. εἶτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ‘δεῖ καινοτομεῖν Ἀθηναίους· ὡς νεωτεροποιοὶ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπαινούμεθα’. E. thus invokes a venerable precedent for the sort of rhetorical innovation we have come to associate with Komnenian literary culture.

Ἐγὼ ... οὔτε ἀμφιλαφῆς τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ... ψιλὸς μαθήσεως: there would not have been much doubt that E. was paying Manuel’s rhetorical and intellectual ability the ultimate compliment, for the exaggerated modesty of οὔτε ἀμφιλαφῆς τὴν γνῶσιν could not but have reminded the audience that E. enjoyed a reputation as the foremost scholar of his day as well as that of a highly successful orator. Praise of Manuel’s skill in composing speeches -by no means a requisite of encomium- thus carried added weight.

πολυβενθής: the Homeric allusion in the use of this adjective is fairly explicit, as ὡς εἰπεῖν makes clear. E. cites the word a number of times in the *Παρεκβολαί* (cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.200.17; *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.172.36), though in keeping with epic usage (ex. gr. *Il.* 1.432, *Od.* 4.406), it always refers to the depth of actual bodies of water. Metaphoric use of the term shows E. and his audience were able to exploit the potential of such literary vocabulary in new contexts. A few years later E. reused the adjective in his account of the siege and capture of Thessalonike by the Normans in a pejorative sense, without alluding to its literary provenance; cf. *De capt. Thess.* 74.35: σιγῆς διὰ τὸ ἐχεμυθεῖν τὰ πλείω, ἄλλως δὲ κατὰ τοὺς λοχῶντας πνίγων τὴν λαλιὰν ἀνθρωπος, ἐπέχων καὶ τὰ ἐς πονηρίαν ἀδιόρατος καὶ τό γε κρυψίνουον πολυβενθής.

τι ξενίζον καὶ ἀρτιφανῆς ἐμοίγ’: E. devotes considerable space in his commentaries on the Homeric epics to ξενίζον, in relation to both the form and content of the text, noting that when the poet introduces something ‘alien’ and unexpected to the aesthetics of the poem (cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.*, I.11,18: ἐμεθώδευσε δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦτο ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὸ καινοπρεπὲς καὶ τῷ ἀνελλπίστῳ ξενίζον). Similar-

ly, when something strange or unusual from the point of view of the audience or the characters appears in the story itself (cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.*, I.239,39: εἰ δὲ τὸ ἔλαιον ᾧ χρῆται ἡ βασιλικὴ νεᾶνις ἔχει τι ξενίζον, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποφήνασθαι). The key perhaps to the point of this phrase is the seemingly inconspicuous ἐμοίγ', which in fact strengthens ξενίζον καὶ ἀρτιφανές, since the measure being invoked is not the common experience of novelty and originality in rhetoric, but E.' expert experience. This virtual symbiosis between 'celebrant' and 'celebrated', or 'praiser' and 'praisee', runs through much of twelfth century panegyric oratory; a study of it might therefore yield interesting insights into the novel authorial identity emerging at this time.

31

τὸ...τορὸν καὶ τρανέστατον: E. refers here, as he had done in previous orations in praise of Manuel, to his skill in delivery or recitation, as opposed to his skill in composition described in the previous paragraph. τὸρὸν καὶ τρανέστατον refer to qualities of voice, reflecting the importance of vocal ability in an enduringly oral society. Sound becomes the handmaiden to sense: τὴν ἀπηχητικὴν προφορὰν συνεπικοσοῦσαν καὶ αὐτὴν τὸ νοούμενον, an analogous duality to the one set out earlier in Ἐπ. 29 between τοῦ προφαινομένου and τὸ ἔνδον φιλοσοφούμενον. E. had had occasion to comment on the etymology and uses of τὸρὸν in the *Παρεκβολαί*, where he first combines τὸρὸν καὶ τρανές (*Comm. ad Hom. Il.* I.279,9). The significance attached to voice and delivery of speeches recalls Philostratus': Ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τῶν Πολέμωνος λόγων θερμὴ καὶ ἐναγώνιος καὶ τὸρὸν ἠχοῦσα, ὥσπερ ἡ Ὀλυμπιακὴ σάλπιγξ, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ Δημοσθενικὸν (*Flavii Philostrati opera*, ed. C.L. Kayser, vol. 2 [Leipzig, 1871; repr. Hildesheim, 1964] Kap.1 [Olearius, p.542,6]).

ἐξύμνηται...καὶ βιβλίους ἔγκειται: this was not the first time E. had praised Manuel's ability as a rhetor: cf. the long excursus devoted to Manuel's rhetorical skill in *Or.* 13 (Λόγος Μ) 226.97–228.49. The imperial virtue in question was, presumably, the skilled combination of well-delivered speech matched to good sense, at once praised by people and documented in "books." E. is referring here either to encomia of Manuel in which his oratorical skills and eloquence come in for praise or, more interestingly, to texts in Manuel's own name, whose euphony was patently discernable. βιβλίους could in principle also mean historical accounts which refer to Manuel's eloquence, though this strikes me as less plausible. The repeated references here to Manuel's resourcefulness as a

rhetor –πολὺ τὸ ἐν λόγοις τῷ βασιλεῖ πόριμον– testify to the significance attached to the identity of ‘sophist’ in the middle Byzantine period, as well as to the need for instruction and practice, which seems to be the point of οὐ πείρα καὶ μόνη διδάσκαλος further down. Byzantine panegyric tradition offered precedents; Psellos had declared Konstantinos Monomachos’ another Demosthenes, cf. *Or.* 1 (ed. G.T. Dennis, 1994). The inevitable hyperbole of funeral oratory notwithstanding, we should not dismiss outright reports that Manuel was an accomplished enough speaker. Nicetas Choniates, who was not inclined to be charitable to Manuel’s reputation, confirms as much, cf. *Hist.* 210.72–73 Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιγαροῦν οὗτος εὐγλωττίαν εὐτυχηκῶς καὶ λόγου ἔμφυτον χάριν πεπλουτηκῶς.

32

τῆς ἱστορίας πολυπραγμοσύνη: the expression was not common in either Late Antiquity or the Byzantine middle ages and shows either E.’s first-hand knowledge of Polybius or familiarity with historical project bearing Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos’ name: Polyb. *Hist.* 5.75.6.5 (apud. Const. VII Porph. *De sent.*, 129.29) καὶ ταῦτα δυνάμενοι μετ’ εὐσχήμονος ἀναπαύσεως ἅμα καὶ διαγωγῆς ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης περιποιεῖσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην ἐμπειρίαν.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς μνήμης... κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἀγγείοις σύστομον: compared to memory as indellible writing in a book (Τὰ δὲ τῆς μνήμης βιβλὸς ἦν ἀναπάλειπτος), the elaborate similes of tubes and vessels with tapering spouts to illustrate how different may retain what they learn seems fairly original. I have not found this imagery elsewhere and the language suggests that E. tried to undergird the comparison with alliterative diction: εἰσορῆ τε ἀπόνω ὑποκειμένου καὶ ἐκροῆ... τὸ δυσδιέξοδον διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ στεγανόν. Attempts to explain the functioning of memory are rare in Byzantine literature, which had inherited a host of *topoi* regarding the role of memory from classical literature. No less interesting is the rôle assigned to the re-creative imagination as enabling recollection (φαντασίας ἀνακινούσης ἐκαιουργεῖτο τῇ μνήμῃ). E. appears to follow Aristotelean teaching on this count, cf. Arist. *De memor. et reminisc.* 450a22–25: τίνος μὲν οὖν τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶ μνήμη, φανερόν, ὅτι οὐπὲρ καὶ ἡ φαντασία· καὶ ἐστὶ μνημονευτὰ καθ’ αὐτὰ μὲν ὧν ἐστὶ φαντασία, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ ὅσα μὴ ἄνευ φαντασίας.

ἀναζωγράφησις: all told, as a noun the word appears only here in E.’s surviving corpus. A. Stone’s crediting its provenance to Diogenes Laertius (“Funeral Oration,” 364) seems to me unnecessarily restrictive. The link, moreover, with memory and φαντασία was established in Platonic and neo-Platonic commen-

tary, cf. Albinus, *Epit. doctr. Platonicae sive Διδασκαλικός* 4.5: “Όταν δὲ τὰ δοξα-
σθέντα ἐξ αἰσθήσεως καὶ μνήμης ἀναπλάσασα ἡ ψυχὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀποβλέπη εἰς ταῦ-
τα ὡσπερ εἰς ἐκεῖνα, ἀφ’ ὧν ἐγένετο, ἀναζωγράφησιν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὁ Πλάτων καλεῖ,
ἔσθ’ ὅτε δὲ καὶ φαντασίαν. We still lack a study of memory in Byzantium and the
post-classical world more generally so as to chart any evolution in its perception.

33

ἐτέρα τις παρ’ αὐτῷ μνήμη: although nominally about memory, this para-
graph broaches a subject evidently close to E.’s heart as an orator. Manuel is com-
mended by the veteran orator E. for not departing in any significant way from
what he had dictated in the transcribed version of his speech, so that those oth-
erwise ignorant of its contents (τοῖς οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἠγνοηκόσι) might have the ben-
efit of its more or less verbatim text. When the ‘published’ version of his text
entrusted to parchment was in turn recited to others, they were found to be vir-
tually identical (ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐκλαληθεὶς οὐδὲν ἑτεροιοῦμενος). Most notable here
is the injunction that such ought to be the standard practice, joined to an obser-
vation that it is all too rare in E.’s day for orators to do this (Τοῦτο χρῆ μὲν, ὡσάν
εἴποι τις, ἐφ’ ἅπαντος λόγου γίνεσθαι (γίνεται δ’ ἐπὶ πάντων οὐχ οὔτω)· σπάνιον δὲ
καὶ ἐν ὀλιγίστοις τὸ ἀγαθόν. Νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑκατέροις τῷ τε εἰς ὄχλον
ἐκλαλουμένῳ λόγῳ πρὸς ἄνετον χῦμα, καὶ τῷ βίβλοις ἑαυτὸν ἀφιέντι ἐγκατακλείε-
σθαι). With this observation, E. confounds much that we assume about the re-
cital of texts in Byzantium through by means of reading before an audience. Sur-
prisingly, E. expects orators to speak without the aid of the transcribed text, as
his favourable comparison of Manuel’s spoken and written speeches implies.
Moreover, he does not appear to fault contemporary orators for relying on a
written version so much as for the discrepancy between their oration and their
published text.

τῷ μὲν προσφάτῳ διεκφεύγειν: a strengthened form of ἐκφεύγω, διεκφεύ-
γω with an acc. object (τὸ...τεράστιον) must mean something along the lines of
“his recollection went beyond the sheer magnitude of what he had to remem-
ber,” (LSJ s.v. ἐκφεύγω, 3.b). The correlative dat.s τῷ μὲν προσφάτῳ and τῷ δὲ καθ’
εἰρμὸν συνεχεῖ are dat.s of specification or reference (Jannaris 1271–1272), whose
use increased in the post-classical and medieval period.

δεῖ...εἰδέναι τοιούτους ὄντας: E. returns to this point in a parenthetical
statement in Έπ. 39 where he catalogues the emperor’s abilities: οὐ γὰρ ζῶοις μὲν

τοῖς ἑτέροις δοτέον αισθάνεσθαι τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καλῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ λογικοὺς καὶ λογίους στερητέον τοῦ τοιοῦτου πλεονεκτήματος.

ἀνελιχθεῖς ... δι' ἀναγνώσεως: the participle ἀνελιχθεῖς shifts the grammatical subject of the sentence from Manuel to his transcribed text. Its antecedent is the “book” or τόμος to which Manuel had transferred “the offspring of his mind” (τὸν δὲ μνηυθέντα τόκον προήγεν ἐσπαργανωμένον ὡσπερ τῷ τόμῳ). The insistently paratactic syntax of the oration (see the Introduction, “The Style Which Shows”) preempts the subordinate relative clause we might expect in genuinely Atticizing prose. But sense would have easily compensated for syntax in this case.

Λήθη ... οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο: the second aorist optative with ἂν expresses a likelihood so strong in the speaker’s opinion that it amounts to a statement of fact. See Smyth 1824–1834. E. makes liberal use of the optative, as often as not conforming to the familiar “rules” of Attic. Cf. T. Hedberg, *Eustathios als Attizist*, 147–153; A. Stone, “Moods and Tenses,” 126–135.

εὐφροῦς μνήμης εἰρμῶς: a prodigious memory was of little use if it did not preserve the coherence of an argument. E. drew on established conceptions regarding the nature and function of memory, as the following parallels indicate: Philo Jud. *De mut. nom.* (ed. P. Wendland, Berlin, 1898; repr. De Gruyter, 1962) 99.1: καρπὸς δὲ ψυχῆς ἄριστος ἢ μνήμη—· συγγενὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον οὕτως [τῷ] ἑτέρῳ, ὡς εὐφρεῖ τὸ μεμνήσθαι; cf. etiam Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, eds. B. Laourda, L.G. Westerink (Leipzig, 1983–1988) ep. 284.815: Ἄλλ’ ὁ με καθ’ εἰρμὸν ῥηθῆναι δέον ἢ τῶν παραδειγμάτων μνήμη παρελθεῖν ὑπηγάγετο, τοῦτο μηδὲ νῦν ἐχέτω λήθη.

ἀκούεσθαι τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ νοῦν ἀναλεξάμενος: the infinitive ἀκούεσθαι supplements the participle in what amounts to an adverbial construction.

ἀπρόσκοπα: the manuscript has ἀπρόκοπα, which is the harder reading since its sense would mean “lack of progress” or something correspondingly negative; cf. LBG s. v. ἀπρόκοπος *nicht fortschreitend*, PaulAl 65,16 *nicht befördert, ohne Beförderung*, ἁ. ἀναγνώστης Basil. ep. CCXVII, vol. II 212,69,3. The manuscript reading might be saved if we understand it as a rare adjective derived from the equally rare προκοπιάω; cf. (LSJ s. v., “labour, make effort previously, ex.gr. IG-Rom.3.739v191 tantamount to “effortlessly.” However this would require E.’s listeners to supply an alternate sense to a word they already knew. This might be an example of a case which tests the limits of *lectio difficilior*. ἀπρόσκοπα is palaeographically plausible, since a single -σ- would not have been easily missed by the scribe, as well as contextually more coherent, as E. emphasizes Manuel’s un-

ing memory which freed him from the need to consult the text a second time “by looking at it” (LSJ s. v. ἀπρόσκοπος [B]). A strong case might also be made for ἀπρόσκοπος, “without stumbling” (LSJ s. v. ἀπρόσκοπος) for which there is some Eustathian precedent (*Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3.454.5–6 Ἀκόλουθον δὲ τῷ θέειν καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλῆως, ἐπεὶ κυρίως ἀσφαλῆως θέειν λέγεται τις, ὅτε ἀπροσκόπτως τρέχει). Such a reading would require two consecutive errors on the scribe’s part. Tafel mistakenly prints ἀπρόσκυπα, which does not exist in Greek.

34

οὐ λέγω... περὶ τε τῶν θείων καὶ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ: the priamel-like catalogue of genres is intended to create the impression that Manuel read widely, if not prodigiously given the little time he could spare from governing. E. grants pride of place to the religious or theological works, a fact reflected in Manuel’s own purported writings. Nearly all the genres listed, from geography to military tactics, are of what might be termed a “practical nature”, including those on natural philosophy and ethics (in all likelihood commentaries on Aristotle). No mention is made of literature, i.e., poetry, novels, and other forms of *belles lettres* which saw a great flowering in Manuel’s time. This may be explained by the emphasis on those pursuits which were likely to be of benefit to the emperor’s subjects. The inclusion of such a list nevertheless underlines the need for a ruler to be well informed on a variety of subjects. The list allows us to reasonably infer that such works, deemed indispensable to good government, probably made up the core of the palace library collection. Cf. N. G. Wilson, “The Libraries of the Byzantine World”. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 8.1 (1967) 53–80.

35

Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἔρις... ἐφέλκεσθαι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλότριον: E. bestows praise commensurate with Manuel’s efforts at converting mostly Muslim subjects. The most conspicuous recent example would have been the former Turkish prisoners resettled in the environs of Thessalonike and Thrace after the successful campaigns near the river Maiandros, cf. *Or.* 14 (Λόγος Ν) 231.87–232.93: ὡς ἀγγέλου θεοῦ... καταρτίζεις ἀποστολικῶς ἐξ ἔθνων καὶ ἐξ ἀλλοφύλων εἰς λαὸν μετάρων θεοῦ περιούσιον ὑποτάσσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξ ἀλόγων μεταπλάττεις νοερῶς εἰς ὄντως λογικοὺς διδασκαλικῶς μεταποιῶν εἰς ἀναγέννησιν τῷ θείῳ βαπτίσματι καὶ προφητικὸν μακαρισμὸν καρποῦμενος. E. describes Manuel’s motive as a desire to see their

souls aligned with their status as Byzantine subjects (Λογισμὸς γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλικός, μὴ χρῆναι σωμάτων μὲν ἐγκρατῶς ἔχειν τὸν ἄρχοντα, ψυχῶν δὲ μὴ ἐς δέον περιγίνεσθαι). The effort to make it doctrinally easier for Muslims to convert to Christianity without maligning their earlier faith may not have been completely innocent of politics given the volatility of the eastern frontier. Manuel proved determined to remove the *anathema* enjoined by the Orthodox catechism for converts requiring them to explicitly renounce the god of Mohammed, a proposal which elicited vehement opposition from the ecclesiastical hierarchy, not least from E. himself, by then archbishop of Thessalonike, whom Nicetas Choniates depicts delivering an impassioned speech against the emperor's doctrinal position and eliciting a contrite apology from Manuel, cf. *Hist.* 216.25–218.51; see H. G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen, 1980) 170–171. On the accommodation of Muslims in by Byzantine Christianity, see now G. L. Hanson, “Manuel I Komnenos and the ‘God of Muhammad’: A Study in Byzantine Ecclesiastical Politics,” *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. J. Tolan (London, 2003) 55–85.

τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς διδασκάλοις... ἐλείπετο: Manuel proves himself so effective in his Christianizing efforts that the “teachers to the nations,” responsible for instructing aspiring converts in the faith, are described as being left with little to do. For the various διδάσκαλοι, see Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 66–86; Browning, *Studies*, X (1962) 167–201, (1963) 11–40. Somewhat surprisingly, E. refers to converts hearing Manuel's own voice, preaching as it were, as well as to those who were persuaded by treatises explicitly attributed to him: πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀποστολιμαῖα τὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ ἐπεστρέφοντο... ἐπιπέμπων δὲ τὴν οἰκειάν αὐτὸς φωνὴν ἐνσεσημασμένην βιβλίοις. Whether E. is here referring to religious treatises in Manuel's own name or works commissioned by him and circulated under his auspices, is not clear; cf. K. Bonis, Ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐστάθιος καὶ οἱ δύο “τόμοι” τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Α Κομνηνοῦ (1143/80) ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὴν χριστιανικὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν μεθισταμένων μωαμεθανῶν, *ΕΕΒΣ* 19 (1939) 162–169. E. depicts Manuel as a kind of imperial John the Baptist (ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς σωτήριος Ἰορδάνης). Even in an oration devoted to the memory of the emperor, E. nevertheless pays tribute to the “apostles,” in all probability monks who set out to evangelize non-Christian lands, some of whom died abroad (τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ μεταταξάμενοι). The commercial metaphor applied to missionaries “quitting the trade while purchasing souls, having split the profits with the emperor” is rather creative and may well be due to the expansions of trade and economy in the twelfth century:

ψυχὰς ὀνάμενοι τῆς ἐμπορίας κατέπαυσαν, συνεπιμερισάμενοι τὰ τοῦ κέρδους τῷ αὐτοκράτορι.

ἡ ἱερὰ κολυμβήθρα: it is not clear whether E. is referring to an actual baptismal font or is making figural use of the image to symbolize conversion generally. In light of the responsibility for instructing converts in the tenets of Orthodox Christianity being assigned to the ἔθνικοι διδάσκαλοι attached to Hagia Sophia, and the emperor's own involvement in reforming the catechetical requirements, it is not implausible that at least some baptisms were performed at the main imperial church itself in a bid to showcase the emperor's success in proselytizing. If it is not a general allusion to baptism, ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς σωτήριος Ἰορδάνης might refer to actual baptismal font(s). Cf. R. F. Taft, "*Quaestiones disputatae: The Skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia and the Entrances of the Liturgy. Revisited I,*" *Oriens Christianus* 81 (1997) 1–35, 7.

τὸ τῆς ἐσύστερον κλήσεως: Manuel took the name of the evangelist Matthew upon his deathbed as a tonsured monk, prompting E. to suggest a measure of divine inspiration in Manuel's choice and his previous 'apostolic' work (κατὰ τι θεῖον διὰ ταῦτα ... τὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀποστολικὸν προσήρμοσται). cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 288.

τὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας... τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκείνων: we know little about such missionary work, not least because their successes seem not to have made much impression, *pace* E.'s praise of their efforts during Manuel's reign. The most notorious example is of the mission of Sts. Constantine and Methodios, or Cyril and Methodius, whose evangelizing of the Slavs was hardly noted in Byzantine sources. See I. Ševčenko, *Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium*, *HUKSt* 12–13 (1988–89) 7–27; cf. C. Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen," in *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte, II, 1. Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters* (Munich 1978) 279–359. Although its overall thesis has lost ground, much valuable information may still be found in D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York, 1971) 83–97, 103f, 136–53, 173–201.

διδάγμασιν: construed as a dat. with διακονεῖσθαι in the sense of "ministering to the teachings [of Christianity]." See LSJ s.v. διακονέω.

λύκος ἔωος... ὑλάκτησεν: it is somewhat frustrating for the modern historian to come upon so extensive an allusion to so ardent a religious polemicist, one "from the east" no less, and not be able to identify the individual. More impor-

tantly, one should like to know more about the channels of exchange which would have made such theological debate possible. The description of the man as ἀλλότριός τις ἀνὴρ, σοφὸς μὲν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ suggests a non-Christian, since heretical beliefs were not commonly considered “one’s own doctrine.” The only rival faith recognized by Orthodox Byzantines at this time would have been Islam, almost surely the implication of κακὸν Ἀσσύριον, γλωσσαλγία Βαβυλωνία in the paragraph’s opening. It became established practice for Byzantine theologians, including some later emperors, to sharpen their skill in formal disputation and establish their religious bona fides by debating the merits of Islam, much as Christian theologians continued to rail against Jews.

κακὸν Ἀσσύριον: the acc. should probably be construed as the direct object of an implied verb, as in [τὸν] κακὸν Ἀσσύριον [λέγω].

τρόπου δίχα εἰπεῖν: lit. “to speak without figures of speech” (cf. LSJ s.v. τρόπος, V). An example of how the punctuation of the manuscript can be misunderstood. The upper dot suggests to modern readers that there is a significant pause after εἰπεῖν, when in fact it introduces the non-figurative ἀλλότριός τις ἀνὴρ... οὐδὲ ἐπέγνω.

οὐδὲ ἐπέγνω: an alert listener might hear an echo of ἀνέγνως, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔγνως, the alleged reply of the bishops (sometimes attributed to Basil of Caesaria) to Julian’s letter informing them that he had “read, understood, and condemned” Christian teaching (ἀνέγνων, ἔγνων, κατέγνων). The anecdote is reported in Sozomen’s *Ecclesiastical History*, V.18.208. The comparison with Julian is all but explicit a little further down in the reference to “writing a book like that of an apostate” συνέχεε καὶ βιβλίον οἷον συνθέμενος ἀποστασίου.

ῶν: sc. τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα

τοιούτοις ἐπινυστάζειν: ἐπινυστάζω, to fall asleep over, is construed with the dat. in a variation of the *constructio praegnans* (Smyth, 1659a) in which the preposition, in this case part of the compound ἐπι- anticipates the rest of what follows the action of the verb: cf. “to fall asleep *on* the job.”

προβληματισάμενος ἑαυτῶ: προβληματίζω appears to be a late coinage, perhaps only gaining much currency among authors of E.’s generation (cf. LBG s.v. προβληματίζω). It has the sense of “raise questions” or “prompt a debate about”, akin perhaps to the modern “problematize.” Although E. often uses the middle voice where an active would suffice grammatically, here the middle participle underscores that he deliberated very intently with himself, with the dat. reflexive pronoun making his personal deliberation more explicit.

εὐρυφαρέτρας: a good example of a *high style* literary allusion, in this case to Pindaric poetry (Pind. Pyth. 9.26 κίχῃ νιν λέοντί ποτ' εὐρυφαρέτρας), no doubt appreciated by the cognoscenti but almost equally intelligible to a more modestly educated listener who had forgotten his Pindar lessons, or indeed had never read any Pindar.

ναὶ μὴν καὶ ψαλμικῶς: sc. εἰπεῖν, i.e., to quote the Psalms.

καὶ νῦν τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν ἐκεῖνο βέλος... φέρεται: the present tense joined to νῦν suggests that E. was perhaps referring to an existing text (Cf. Ἐπ. 37 below, τὸ βασιλικὸν κἀνταῦθα πόνημα), possibly illustrated so as to appeal to φιλοκάλοις... φιλοθεάμοσι.

37

οἱ φθάσαντες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἀγῶνες: whereas the previous paragraph dealt with external threats to the faith, E. turns here to internal religious controversies which elicited impassioned opinion within the ranks of both the political and ecclesiastical élite. The most acrimonious such theological quarrel of the later twelfth century, prompted in part by imperial intervention in doctrinal interpretation, was that concerning Christ's statement in John 14:28, ὁ πατὴρ μείζων μου ἐστίν. Manuel seems to have sympathized with those, including the patriarchs Lukas Chrysoberges and Michael III, who agreed with western theologians that Christ can only have been referring to his human nature, and he convened a synod on 2 March 1166 in order to decide the issue. What may have inflamed an otherwise overly subtle theological dispute was the decision to impose harsh penalties on dissenters by having their property confiscated and in some cases even exiling them. For the political significance of the controversy, see Magdalino, *Empire*, 279ff. E. depicts Manuel as having been on the traditional Orthodox side and against those who would have restricted the salvific power of the trinity to God, depriving the son of the father's power.

τό γε εἰς αὐτὰς ἦκον: it is difficult to translate this parenthetical qualification in the text without being sure of the antecedent to αὐτὰς. The only grammatically plausible antecedent would be the "tongues" of θεομάχων γλωσσῶν above, reiterated in ἰδιάζουσαι and μονάζουσαι. E. thus makes the point that those who tried to restrict the participation of Christ and the Holy Spirit in salvation did so within the relevant limits. For this sense attached to the participle see LSJ s.v. ἦκω II.2.

μηδὲν ὄν καὶ αὐτοῖς τούτου μετόν: αὐτοῖς refers to the Son and the Holy Spirit, which the misguided interpreters of the Gospels preclude from having a share, i.e., participating, in salvation. For the grammar see LSJ s.v. μέτειμι II. Like so much phrasing in the oration, the two participles ὄν... μετόν are deliberately set alongside so as to combine the acoustic effect of alliteration with the subtle doctrinal semantics.

τὸ βασιλικὸν... πόνημα: this need not imply a work by the emperor; ἡ ἱερὰ βιβλος probably refers to an imperially commissioned bible bestowed as a gift to Hagia Sophia (τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἀνάκτορον). The emperor's patronage serves as a sign of his "wisdom" (τὴν βασιλικὴν μηνύον σοφίαν).

38

αὐτοφθόνος: a coinage of uncertain origin, it appears in late Byzantine redactions of christian poetry collections, and here in Eustathios, not coincidentally in connection with a statement about christian dogma. As with most αὐτο- compounds, the sense of the reflexive depends on the second half (LSJ s.v. αὐτός V), as a variation on "of oneself, of one's own accord, independently." Here it should mean something like unprovoked or entirely "self-generated" malice and envy, so as to preempt any allegation that the issuing of the statement of faith provoked the dissent which followed. The use of the rare term may reflect E.'s attempt to include the controversy (see next note) without assigning blame in a case where his loyalties were divided between the dissenting majority and his long-time patron, Manuel.

εἶρητο ἔπος ... δογματικόν: this is the Novel of 1166, known as the 'Conciliar Edict' on the doctrinally vexing verse in John 14:28, the Father is greater than I (ὁ πατὴρ μείζων μου ἔστιν). According to contemporary accounts, Manuel made his support of the edict's resolution of the matter known by posting a deluxe version of the text in Hagia Sophia, with red lettering on white marble plaques (ἰδοὺ γέγραπται καὶ ταῦτα... πρὸς αἴσθησιν), as well as despatching copies to all the ecclesiastical sees of the empire. Magdalino, *Empire*, 287–288, notes Manuel's unprecedented involvement in securing a synodal decision consonant with his own view of the Christological controversy, as well as the measures taken to suppress vocal dissent among recalcitrant clergy. For the edict itself, see the edition and commentary by C. Mango, "The Conciliar Edict of 1166," *DOP* 17 (1963) 317–330.

οὕτω... ἐν τοῖς θείοις δόγμασιν: the syntax here is difficult. οὕτω... ὡς is followed by an infinitive βαλεῖν (in what would normally be a natural) result clause; the subsequent infinitives ἐθέλειν... ἐκκαίεσθαι form the apodosis answering to the protasis εἰ... ἐξάνηφθη, which I have rendered as an adverb, since English “if...” doesn’t convey the required sense.

πνευματικὴν ἐξήσκειτο διαλεκτικὴν: Manuel appears to have styled himself something of a theological dialectician. He engaged in public debates with both Byzantine and foreign clergymen, including on at least one occasion, a learned Muslim theologian. See Magdalino, *Empire*, 279–281, 287–289. For an illustration of what such debates might entail, vividly rendered as dialogue, see *Nicetae Choniatae Thesauri Orthodoxae Fidei*, PG 140, cols. 137–148. Although Manuel’s interest in doctrinal matters may have been at least partly prompted by the need to rehabilitate his earlier image of self-indulgence and moral slackness, the evidence suggests that he sincerely sought the mantle of ἐπιστημονάρχης (see next note), even priding himself on his skill in abstruse theological debate; cf. Kinn. *Epit. re.* 253: κἀν γὰρ καὶ παιδείας ἄγευστος λογικῆς ἦν, ἀλλὰ φύσεως ὀξύτητι καὶ μεγαλείῳ νοήσεως πάντων καθάπαξ ἐκράτει τῶν ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνοις γεγενημένων ἀνθρώπων... κἀν τι διερμηνεῦσαι προθυμηθεῖη, σὺν ἐξαισίᾳ τινὶ προμηθείᾳ καὶ σαφηνείᾳ καὶ φράσεως ἀπλότητι τοῦτο διεξήει... ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως δεξιότητι φύσεως, ὅπερ ἐλέγομεν, πολλοὺς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐς γνώμην μετετίθει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ; cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 210.76–78: ἀμέλει καὶ κατασχηματιζόμενος πολλάκις τὸν ἀποροῦντα γραφικὰς εἰσῆγε ζητήσεις καὶ περὶ τῶν λύσεων τουτωνὶ διεπυθάνετο ξυναγείρων ὅσον ἔχαιρε λογιότητι.

πῦρ... ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ: the phrasing is reminiscent of Il. 20.195–196: ἀλλ’ οὐ νῦν ἐρέεσθαι ὄμοιαι, ὡς ἐνὶ θυμῷ / βάλλεται; cf. Pi. *O.* 13.16: πολλὰ δ’ ἐν καρδίαις ἀνδρῶν ἔβαλον / Ὀραιοὶ πολυάνθεμοι ἀρχαῖα σοφίσμαθ’.

τὸν οὕτω σοφὸν αὐτοκράτορα... τεχνουῶσθαι τὰ ἐπιστημονικά: a justification for Manuel’s confident entry into matters of faith and reasoning more generally as an imperial obligation and a sign of necessary competence akin to other forms of knowledge required to govern, such as combat: ὥσπερ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ συμπλοκὴν ὁ τὴν ἀνδριανὴν δεξιώτατος, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἐν λογομαχίαις ὁ τῆς σοφίας τρόφιμος. Not coincidentally, ἐπιστήμη is mentioned three times in this passage, evoking Manuel’s claim to the mantle of ἐπιστημονάρχης or “chief expert in knowledge.” Most of the historical documents chronicling Manuel’s rôle in the various theological controversies adopt a markedly panegyric stance towards the emperor’s contribution; cf. Magdalino, *Empire*, 280, 288. Manuel’s repeated

interventions in doctrinal matters no doubt struck many among the clergy as presumptuous. E. thus stresses not so much Manuel's correct doctrine here as his obligation as emperor to think himself competent to participate in such debates by appeal to Aristotelean-inspired natural philosophy: ζώοις μὲν τοῖς ἐτέροις δοτέον αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καλῶν; cf. Arist. *De sensu et sens.* 436b9; cf. etiam Plot. *Enn.* 1.4.2.2.

ὄποῦ δίκη: the simile involving the acid juice of the fig-tree, used for curdling milk, therefore "binding things together," is unusual. E. may have gotten the idea from the Homeric simile *Il.* 5.902: ὡς δ' ὄτ' ὄπος γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν / ὑγρὸν ἔόν. Cf. *Emped.* 33 (eds. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1, 6th edn., Berlin, 1951): ὡς δ' ὄτ' ὄπος γάλα λευκὸν ἐγόμεψεν καὶ ἔδησε, with the attached scholion: κατ' Ἐμπεδοκλέα (τοιαύτην γὰρ ἢ φιλία βούλεται ποιεῖν ἐνότητα καὶ σύμπηξιν) ἢ δὲ πολυφιλία δίστησι καὶ ἀποσπᾶι καὶ ἀποστρέφει, τῷ μετακαλεῖν καὶ μεταφέρειν ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἄλλον οὐκ ἔωσα κρᾶσιν οὐδὲ κόλλησιν εὐνοίας ἐν τῇ συνηθείαι περιχυθείσῃ καὶ παγείσῃ γενέσθαι.

τὸ ... πάθος: the Basel Codex, followed by Tafel, has πάρος, which is hard to defend. Reinsch proposed πάθος, on the model of Plat. *Gorg.* 513c5: πέπονθα δὲ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν πάθος; cf. etiam Heliod. *Aeth.* 3.16.2: πάσχων οἶμαι τὸ τῶν πολλῶν πάθος.

40

ὑψοῦ... ἄρσει: the adverbial use of ὑψοῦ derives from the otherwise rare locative case, see Smyth 342. For the present metaphoric use, see LSJ s.v. ὑψοῦ II, cf. ex. gr. ἐξάρας με ὑ. having praised me highly, Hdt. 9.79; ὑ. αἶρειν θυμὸν Soph. *OT* 914.

τὰ περὶ γῆν... εἶχεν αὐτόν: E. changes subject, St. Paul becomes the object (αὐτόν) of τὰ περὶ γῆν... ταπεινὰ, and the implicit subject of the acc. participles βαίνοντα... στηρίζοντα. The phrase τῇ πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον ἐγγύτητι is best construed adverbially, although, strictly speaking, it is a dat. of means or instrument.

τὸν ὁμοιον τρόπον: for the adverbial use of acc., see Smyth 1606, 1608.

συνδιῴκνεῖτο ... τοῖς: sc. φιλοσοφίμασιν or something correspondingly similar but more apt to the rare compound. The only other instance of συνδιῴκνεομαι currently in the TLG, though with a slightly different meaning, also comes from E.; *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.262.5 Τὸ δὲ «ἐποντο» οὐ στάσιμον τὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἔργον δηλοῖ, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν τρυγόντων κινήσει συνδιῴκνούμενον. ὅσα περὶ γῆς καὶ κατ' ἄν-

θρωπον: explained by Φύσεως... βάθη, καὶ αἰτιολογήσαι γένεσιν, καὶ ἀνακαλύψαι μυστήρια πλάσεως.

Ἀσκληπιαδῶν λεπτότης: in the plural, the “sons of Asclepius” referred to physicians, whose diagnoses and treatments were thought to have proceeded from broad scientific knowledge, including the principles of natural philosophy, as the comparison with τις λοιπή ἐπιστήμη τοῦ φυσικεύεσθαι indicates; see LSJ s.v. φυσικεύομαι. By λεπτότης or “subtlety” E. is referring here to the discerning scrutiny of Manuel in identifying medical conditions, equal to that he displayed when contemplating doctrinal matters. On the potential of funeral oratory to yield information about the perception of scientific knowledge in Byzantium, see Sideras, *Grabreden*, 86, n.267.

41

κατ’ ὄψιν... κατοπτεύειν: E.’s fondness for acoustic effects may be seen in the occasional concentration of assonance and alliteration underscoring the semantic patterns he wishes to emphasize: cf. ex. gr. ὄψιν... κατοπτεύειν... διώπτειν... ἰδῶν / φύσεως... φύσιν / γνώμονι... γνωματευθεῖς / λαληθέν... ἐκλαλεῖν / ἔνδοθὲν ποθεν / ἐμβριθῆ (καὶ ἦν τοιοῦτος ὁ νοηθεῖς), ἀλλὰ εὐήθη / τῷ παντὶ πλέον τὸν ἐπιπόλαιον. While alliteration or assonance may be on occasion be incidental, especially in a language with so small a root vocabulary as Greek, it is unlikely to be a function of chance in an oration whose every word was carefully selected for effect.

φύσεως γνώμονι: for the requisite of γνώμων as the measure or sign of something, see LSJ, s.v. II.5. E. trades here on the proximity of the expression to the ancient science of φύσιογνωμονία, the technique of observing and drawing inferences about a person’s character or other significant information from physical features of the body. The practice of physiognomy drew on both medicine and astrology, two areas of specialized knowledge in which Manuel styled himself an expert. For the ancient inheritance of physiognomic knowledge, see E. C. Evans, *Physiognomics in the Ancient World* (Philadelphia, 1969). Although a number of medieval manuscripts preserved treatises on aspects of physiognomy, including those of Adamantios (4th cent., but attributed to Aristotle; cf. A. Touwaide, *A Census of Greek Medical Manuscripts: From Byzantium to the Renaissance*, New York, 2016), there is no study of physiognomic science in Byzantium.

οὐκ ἦν στοχάζεσθαι ἀλλ’: for this use of ἀλλὰ amounting to “however” or “nevertheless”, see Smyth, 2784.

τὸν ἐπιπόλαιον: the discrepancy between the outward or “surface” appearance (τοῖς ἐπιπολήεις) and the inner or “deep” reality (τὰ ἐν βάθει) is a recurring motif in E.’s work. Seen from a different perspective, the “superficial man” (τὸν ἐπιπόλαιον ἄνθρωπον) is synonymous with unsophisticated person, contrasted with the man of depth, i.e., the man of reflection, learning, and penetrating intelligence, a spatial metaphor inherited from antiquity and still in currency. Cf. Eust. *Or.* 9 (Λόγος I) 155.19–24: εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν κατὰ τῆς ἀνὰ χεῖρα γραφῆς ὑποπτεύεται ῥηθέν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐπιεικέστερον, ἀλλ’ οὐ πάνυ χυδῆν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιπόλαιον ἄνθρωπον ὁ περὶ νησιείας ἡμῖν λόγος ἐκφωνηθήσεται, ὡς εἶναι πάντη πάντως δυσήκοος, ἀλλὰ (παραφρονῶν τυχὸν λέγω), καθάπερ ἂν τις τὸ τοιοῦτον μεταχειρίσῃται οὐ πάντη παιδείας ἄγευστος; cf. *De capta Thess.* 144.5–7: Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἐπιπόλαιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν βαθὺς εὐτραπελεύεσθαι, ὅσα γε πειράσασθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοὺς δεινοὺς γνωματεύειν ἦθη τῶν οἷς ἂν περιτύχῃσι. While the difference between the inward reality and outward appearance referred to here is innocent, since E.’s former teacher did not himself know he was ill, the inconsistency between inner and outward man could be construed in moral or ethical terms, as E. notes with respect to Manuel’s ability to “see through” surface appearances: διώπτευε τὸν κρυψίνουον, τῷ παντὶ πλέον τὸν ἐπιπόλαιον, τοὺς τῶν λοιπῶν ἡθῶν ὁμοίως. Dissimulation is the subject of a fascinating essay by E. titled (On Hypocrisy); see E.C. Bourbouhakis, “All the world’s a stage and the pious merely players: the Περὶ ὑποκρισίας of Eustathios” (forthcoming).

42

Εἶδέ: the Basel Codex has οἶδε, which may be defended as “he knew... [that] my teacher of rhetoric was suffering from a festering disease.” But the emphasis on sight in the subsequent clauses (καὶ ἡ ὄψις ἐμήνυεν... τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ἀπρόοπτον ἦν τὸ σημαινόμενον· ὁ δὲ, νοερωτέραις ἐπιβολαῖς ὄψεως) invites the slight emendation for what may have been a corruption to itacism.

Εἶδέ... ὑπουλόν τινα νόσον: by all accounts, Manuel prided himself on his medical expertise, which unlike some intellectuals of his day, he was not above applying himself first-hand, even performing minor surgery and, as E. observes, devising new cures capable, in obviously hyperbolic terms which conflate Manuel’s acquired medical talents with his near divine resemblance to his namesake, Christ or *Emanuel*, of “raising the dead” (ἀνίστα τῆς θανατηφόρου νόσου τὸν κάμνοντα). The court historian Kinnamos notes Manuel’s proficiency in medicine, going so far as to describe it as better than that of most physicians,

which would not have been hard to achieve in this period. Cf. Kinn. *Epit.* re. 130, 190. He also memorably describes how Manuel set the broken arm of Baldwin III after a hunting accident in 1159, an incident confirmed in the memoirs of William of Tyre (p.848). Similarly, Conrad III described how Manuel tended to his illness during the Second Crusade (ed. Jaffé, *Monumenta corbeiensia*, 356). Magdalino, *Empire*, 361–366; 451, n.127 notes how the poems attributed to the authorial persona of ‘Manganeios’ Prodromos allude to Manuel’s interest in medicine. While medical knowledge had long been considered the natural province of the well-rounded learned man, no emperor before Manuel had displayed such a flair for the therapeutic arts. See V. Grumel, “La profession médicale à Byzance à l’époque des Comnènes”, *REB* 7 (1949) 42–46; cf. O. Temkin, “Byzantine Medicine: Tradition and Empiricism,” *DOP* 16 (1962) 97–115.

ἐξεῦρε καὶ πιστὰ φάρμακα ... Προμηθεῖ σεμνολόγημα: besides fire, Prometheus was held to have taught humanity the pharmacological arts. Cf. Aesch. *Prom.*: 252–253 θνητούς γ’ ἔπαυσα μὴ προδέρκεσθαι μόρον / τὸ ποῖον εὐρῶν τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου; idem 478–483: τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, εἴ τις ἐς νόσον πέσοι / οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξιμ’ οὐδέν, οὔτε βρώσιμον / οὐ χριστόν, οὐδὲ πιστόν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων / χρεία κατεσκελλόντο, πρὶν γ’ ἐγὼ σφισιν ἔδειξα κράσεις ἠπίων ἀκεσμάτων / αἷς τὰς ἀπάσας ἐξαμύνονται νόσους.

τὸν ἐμὸν... καθηγητήν: the identity of this professor of rhetoric cannot be firmly established but the added qualification “when he presided over the sophists” (ὅτε τῶν σοφιστευόντων προήδρευε) makes very likely that the καθηγητής in question was Nicholas Kataphloron, who had served as both διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἀποστόλου and οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος, the last of which he held simultaneously with the chair of rhetoric, or μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων, which would have seen him “preside over the sophists”, a post which E. himself would eventually occupy. He appears to have died prematurely, in 1160, which would match well with the prognostication that ἡ ὄψις ἐμήνυεν οὐ μακρὰν ζωὴν τῷ ἀνδρὶ... προέφη τὴν οὐ μετὰ μακρὸν ἔξοδον τοῦ ἀνδρός. Scholarship on E.’s relation to the man has debated whether he was a family relation, or simply a mentor. I am inclined to the latter conclusion, not least to judge from this passage where (assuming Kataphloron is the professor in question) E. makes no reference to any relation besides that of “teacher.” For a summary of the question, see Kazhdan, *Studies*, 117–119, 200, 218. For Nicholas Kataphloron, see M. Loukaki, “Τυμβωρύχοι καὶ σκυλευτές νεκρῶν: Οἱ ἀπόψεις τοῦ Νικολάου Καταφλώρον γιὰ τὴν ρητορικὴ καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορες στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη τοῦ 12ου αἰῶνα,” *Σύμμεικτα* 14 (2001) 143–166. It is not clear whether E. is referring to the same former instructor in one of

his letters, *Ep.* 30.129–133: ἄσπασαι ἀφ’ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀξίωσον μεμνήσθαι ἡμῶν... τὸν δεσπότην μου, τὸν δεῖνα μαῖστορα. Kολουου (*Briefe*, 143–144) dates the letter to the early 1180’s when none of the serving patriarchs are known to have occupied the chair of μαῖστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων.

φάρμακα... δωρεὰν τοῖς χρήζουσιν: it remarkable to get so much detailed information about the precise distribution mechanism for drugs to those who could not afford them (χορηγοῦσι δὲ δημόσιοι ταμίαι δόσιν ἄφθονον αὐτὰ καὶ εἰς δωρεὰν τοῖς χρήζουσιν) a subject at best tangential to Manuel’s own accomplishments, since E. does not attribute the institution to Manuel, he only reminds his audience of the imperial sponsorship of the practice which earned such drugs the moniker “royal” (οἷς δὲ βασιλικοῖς ἐστὶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρὸς τε τῶν χρωμένων, πρὸς τε τῶν χορηγούντων). For a survey of Byzantine pharmacology J. Scarborough, *Early Byzantine Pharmacology*, *DOP* 38 (1984) 213–232; more recently, D. Bennett, *Medicine and Pharmacy in Byzantine Hospitals: A study of the extant formularies* (Abingdon, UK, 2016).

43

ὁ δὲ ἐντὸς αὐτοκράτωρ: I transliterate *autokrator* in order to underline how E. plays on the dual sense of the word αὐτοκράτωρ, employing at once the political title and the more literal sense “master of oneself,” i.e., in control of his mind and body.

ὁμοίῳ πάθει προστετηκότα: for the required passive sense of the perfect participle, see LSJ s.v. προστήκομαι. E.’s implicitly iterative participial construction suggests Manuel was suffering from some kind of commonly contracted disease for which he routinely prescribed a cure.

Εἰ δὲ οὕτω... τις θαυμάσειεν: a rare periodic construction in the oration, underlining the riddle of the fickleness of the disease. The sentence illustrates E.’s and, presumably his peers’, ability to compose in a more ‘classicizing’ periodic style. This further supports the argument that the syntax of the funeral oration, and many a text of its kind, was deliberate rather than the default style of Byzantine authors of E.’s ability. See Horrocks, *Greek*, 151f., 169–178; cf. the trends in usage proposed by S. Wahlgren, “Case, Style, and Competence in Byzantine Greek,” *The Language of Byzantine Literature*, ed. M. Hinterberger (Turnhout, 2014) 170–175. There remains much work to be done on this subject.

Μακρὰ τις κυβερνήσας... ἔξαπόλωλε: possibly an allusion to Odysseus’ steersman, Baius, reputed to have drowned overboard. A variation on the events

in *Od.* 12.410–414, the story is mentioned in *Lyc.* 694, *Sil.* 8.539, *Steph. Byz.* 2.19, *Strabo* 5.4.6, and *Servius ad Aen.* 6.107, 9.707. It probably served as the exemplar for the death of Aeneas' helmsman Palinurus in *Aeneid*, 5.857–858, where it is said *unum pro multis dabitur caput*, reminiscent of Manuel's sacrifice in this passage of the oration. The topos of the emperor as steering the ship of state through the stormy seas lent itself to dramatic variations, cf. ex. gr. *Euth. Torn. Or.* (ed. J. Darrouzès, "Les Discours d'Euthyme Tornikès," *REB* 26 [1968]) 1.11.1–4: Οὐτῶ τὸ σκάφος ἐκ κυμάτων ἀνοιδούντων ἐπανεσώσω, θεοκυβέρνητε καὶ περιδέξει βασιλεῦ, καὶ τὸν ἐμῆλόντα τούτῳ λαὸν Θεοῦ τε καὶ σοῦ περιούσιον ἐκ θαλάσσης μέσης καὶ τῶν κυμάτων ἀνείλκυσα. Τί τούτου παραδοξότερον; Τί τούτου θαυμασιώτερον; Τί δὲ γενναιότερόν τε καὶ καταπληκτικώτερον.

Ἀσκληπιάδης... οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ πεσεῖται θανάτῳ: that 'sons of Asclepius', i.e., physicians, too, must die, recalls Asklepios' own paradoxical death in myth, where his demise is attributed to divine anger for having brought the dead back to life (cf. *Apollod. Bibliotheca* 3.121), a fitting likeness to Manuel's own healing of the near-dead at the end of par. 42 (τὰ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς θανάτοις τε καὶ ἦν εἰπεῖν προσφυές, ὡς μικροῦ ἐρωτῶν, καὶ ποῦ θάπτεται, ἀνίστα τῆς θανατηφόρου νόσου τὸν κάμνοντα).

44

σμιχροτάτων... κατασμικρύνεσθαι: the conspicuous repetition of words beginning with or containing *σμικρ-*, four times in this one passage, helps generate an anaphoric sense compounded by the alliterative effect. Given other examples of similarly alliterative effects in the oration, it is unlikely that the string *σμιχροτάτων... σμικρολογ... σμικροπρεπ... κατασμικρυν* here was coincidental to the theme. It is more likely that E. intended to underline the scripturally unwarranted limits or "shrinking" of the divine at issue in the doctrinal dispute over Christ's substance.

τὴν τῆς προνοίας σειράν: E. recapitulates the position of Clement of Alexandria against Celsus and other natural philosophers, whose cosmology held that the world was divided into a heavenly sphere which began in the topmost part of the heavens and reached as far as the moon (μέχρι καὶ εἰς σελήνην), beneath which was another sphere, which included the earth, a conceptions sometimes credited to Aristotle in the middle ages, effectively restricting the activity of the gods to the upper sphere of the heavens. Cf. *Clem. Alex. Protr.* (ed. C. Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le protreptique*, 2nd edn. [Sources chrétiennes

2. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1949]) 5.66.4: Οὐδὲν δὲ οἶμαι χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου μνησθῆναι· καὶ ὁ γε τῆς αἰρέσεως πατήρ, τῶν ὄλων οὐ νοήσας τὸν πατέρα, τὸν καλούμενον «ὑπατον» ψυχὴν εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς οἴεται· τουτέστι τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ψυχὴν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνων αὐτὸς αὐτῷ περιπίρεται. Ὁ γάρ τοι μέχρι τῆς σελήνης αὐτῆς διορίζων τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἔπειτα τὸν κόσμον θεὸν ἡγούμενος περιτρέπεται, τὸν ἄμοιρον τοῦ θεοῦ θεὸν δογματίζων; it is joined here to the image of the world suspended from heaven by a golden chain, as found in Hom. *Il.* 8.19 *σειρῆν χρυσεῖην ἐξ οὐρανόθεν κρεμάσαντες* and presented as an extension of Providence.

κάθοδον: for the sense alluded to here, see Lampe s.v. *κάθοδος* 2.a, referring to the incarnation. Cf. Clem. *Strom.* 5.14: τὴν εἰς σάρκα κάθοδον τοῦ κυρίου. Cf. *infra* Ἐπ. 45, *καταβαίνων... συγκαταβαίνων τρόπον ἔνθεον*.

45

Τούτου γινόμενος... τοῦ ὑποδείγματος: a post-classical usage, γίγνομαι (or γίνομαι after the Hellenistic age) construed with the gen. could mean, among other things, “become one of” and, by extension of this sense “to follow the example of”; cf. Genn. Schol. *Contra simon.* 240.1–2 (eds. M. Jugie et al., *Oeuvres complètes de Georges [Gennadius] Scholarios*, vol. 3, Paris, 1930): ἔση δὲ σέβων τὸ θεῖον μετ’ εὐλαβείας, καὶ ἄλλοις παράδειγμα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τούτου γινόμενος.

τοῖς λογάσι... ἐπεδίδου: μεγαλείους τῶν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι λόγων makes this a difficult clause to interpret. I take τῶν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι λόγων as a partitive gen. restricting μεγαλείους to something like “stately discussions about government”. The meaning may be arrived at by observing the contrast with the following clause in οὐ μόνον... ἀλλὰ καὶ. Cf. Theophyl. *Λόγος εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κῦριν Ἀλέξιον τὸν Κομνηνόν* 215.15–18: Ἐμελλον δὲ ἄρα, ὡσπερ τῶν πράξεών σου χρηστὰ ἀπελαύσαμεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι λόγων οὐ μικρὸν ὄνασθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ γὰρ τὸ μέρος ἀγαθὸν νομιζόμεθα ὅτι τοῖς σοῖς ἐπαίνοις τὴν γλῶτταν ἀπεκληρώσαμεν τήμερον.

τοῖς... πυθμενιζόμενοις: a hapax, πυθμενίζομαι was either modelled on the rare contract infinitive πυθμενεῖν attested in some mss., 117P of Iamblichus’ *In Nicom. arithm. introd. liber* (ed. H. Pistelli, Leipzig, 1894); or, like it, derived from the noun πυθμήν. The required meaning accords best with the sense of “rooted or based in” (cf. LSJ s.v. πυθμήν).

καταβαίνων... συγκαταβαίνων τρόπον ἔνθεον: for the joint senses of “descend” and “condescend” alluding to Christ’s incarnation, see Lampe s.v. *συγ-*

καταβαίνω 3.b. Even by the standards of Manuel's effusive panegyrists, the repeated likeness with Christ tested the boundary between rhetorical deification and blasphemy. No subsequent Byzantine emperor would be praised in quite such terms again.

ὡς οἶον ἀναχαιτιζόμενον... ἀνεσειράζετο: does E. think the two are the same? cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.537.1–2 παράσειρος λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς ὕστερον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ σειραῖος, ὡς δηλοῖ Σοφοκλῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς σειρᾶς. ὅθεν καὶ ἀνασειράζειν ἵππον τὸ ἀναχαιτίζειν; cf. etiam *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 2.249.37–38: δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἀνακόπτειν παρὰ τοῖς ὕστερον καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνασειράζειν ἐπὶ ἵππων λέγεται, ὁμοίον τι ὄν τῷ ἀναχαιτίζειν.

46

τὸ βασιλικὸν... νόμιμον εἰσοικίζεται: one would be hard-pressed to find a more succinct rationale for Roman autocratic and imperial rule in Byzantium. For a discussion of this passage, see the introduction, under "Paraenesis." Such passages have not been well integrated into the standard accounts of Byzantine political theory, cf. D.M. Nicol, "Byzantine political thought," *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450* (Cambridge, 2008) 49–80; cf. etiam E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium. From Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus. Passages from Byzantine Writers and Documents. Translated with an Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, 1957).

ὄσοις τό τε ζῆν κληροῦται: sc. ὁμιλίαις, those interactions "to which it was allotted to be conducted live," i.e., directly with the emperor himself, as opposed to correspondence. For the language of "living" vs. "lifeless" letters, cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 276a8–9: Τὸν τοῦ εἰδότος λόγον λέγεις ζῶντα καὶ ἔμψυχον, οὗ ὁ γεγραμμένος εἶδωλον ἄν τι λέγοιτο δικαίως.

47

οὐ πάνυ φιλῶ... προσαρμόσαι τῷ λόγῳ: cf. Ἐπ. 13. E. had employed the venerable *topos* of likening the emperor to the sun on previous occasions, at times even elaborating it to great rhetorical effect; cf. Eust. *Or.* 14 (Λόγος Ν) 230.52–56: ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης κύριος, ὁ γλυκὺς ἥλιος, οὐπὲρ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀκτίνων κορέσασθαι τὸν ὑγιῆ βλέποντα· ἥλιος μὲν γὰρ ἀνίσχων εὗρεν ἔθνος ἀχθόμενον, ὡς αἱ ἱστορῖαι κεκράγασι, καὶ ἐπαρώνται τῷ κοσμικῷ φωστῆρι ἐκεῖνο τὸ βάρβαρον (καυστικός γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλον φρύγει καὶ διοχλεῖ), ἥλιος δὲ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς

φωσφορήσει, ἡδὺ ἐπιλάμπει. The feigned renunciation of the *topos* here allowed him to claim independence from conventional imagery while still exploiting its familiar associations with light, warmth, and a primordial sense of life-giving. Before the oration ends, E. will revert to his customary practice: cf. Ἐπ. 71 Ἔδυσ, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ ἥλιε. For further examples of the sun *topos* in E.'s oratory, see *Or.* 102.92, 174.54, 225.62, 230.49, 248.63, 262.29, 281.2, 286.55. The likening of the emperor to the sun drew on earlier imagery of the cult of *Sol Invictus* developed in Roman times and formally brought to an end under Constantine I; cf. S. Berrens, *Sonnenkult und Kaisertum von den Severern bis zu Constantin I.* 193–337 n. Chr. (Wiesbaden, 2004).

48

τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀφωρισμένων: cf. Ἐπ. 1, οἱ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἄνδρες; Ἐπ. 52, τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ἐπιθυμίας ἄνδρες.

ἐπεσκεύαζεν... πάντα ἐποίει: the absence of any single notable building or monumental site associated with Manuel compels E. to emphasize his role as renovator and repairer of existing structures. For a survey of Komnenian, and specifically Manuel's own, contribution to the upkeep of Constantinople's religious foundations and other sites, see Magdalino, *Empire*, 117–123. For individual structures, see under "Constantinople" in the index, *Ibid.*, *Empire*, 541. E. stresses that Manuel's support of renovations and repairs was not limited to the capital, a perennial complaint of provincial officials who sought state financing for repairs to their own infrastructure. see now M. Mihaljević, *Constantinopolitan Architecture of the Komnenian Era (1080–1180) and its impact in the Balkans*, Volumes I-II. Ph.D. (Ph.D. Princeton University, 2010) 79–124. For the deliberate acoustic effects of assonance and alliteration, see the section on orality in the introduction.

ἔχασκε... εἰς κενόν, ὃ φασι, χαίνειν: E. employs two related expressions, both of ancient pedigree. The first is modelled on Hom. *Il.* 4.182: τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρέϊα χθών by which nature seeks to swallow, i.e., destroy, something (cf. LSJ s.v. χάσκω); the second was a proverbial phrase derived from fables in which an animal is left mouth agape waiting to satisfy some desire which is ultimately thwarted by events, as in *Ar. Fr.* 337: λύκος ἔχανε the wolf opened his mouth in vain and was used proverbially of futile expectations. In this case, time itself is put in the role of the frustrated, greedy animal. To illustrate Byzantine usage of the expression, Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter* 112/37, cites Eust. *Opusc.* 8, 42; 124, 40; as well as this passage from the Ἐπιτάφιος: "In der Grabrede auf Manuel Komne-

nos: Opusc. 207, 53 schildert er die Zeit als ein gefräßiges Tier, das alles zugrunde richtet, auch die Kirchengebäude. In der Zeit des Kaisers Manuel Komnenos dagegen gelang es ihr nicht, eine Kirche zugrunde zu richten. Der Kaiser, den er preist, renovierte vielmehr sogar die Kirchen, sodaß die alles aufzehrende Zeit.”

49

Σεισμοί ποτε ἀναταράττοντες: much of the territory ruled by the Byzantine empire was and remains prone to earthquakes. A number of sizable quakes are recorded during Manuel’s reign, including in 1156, 1157, and 1170. Earthquake-damaged cities, towns, or buildings afforded an opportunity for showcasing imperial *euergetism*, a link established by a long tradition of oratory first petitioning, then celebrating Roman emperors for their patronage. E. had previously praised Manuel’s efforts to reconstruct all that an earthquake had brought down; cf. *Or.* 17 (Λόγος Π) 291.87–292.92. This made it possible for emperors with no significant building programmes to nevertheless be portrayed, as E. does here, as “raising corpses [=buildings] from the dead” (ἀνίστα τὰ ἱερὰ πτώματα) and for imperial munificence in carrying out necessary repairs (τῇ βασιλικῇ μεγαλοδωρεᾷ, τὸ ἐνδέον ἀναπληρῶσαι τῆς οἰκοδομῆς), so that it justified “the emperor naturally acquir[ing] the attribute of founder of the buildings” (Ἐπ. 50), an idea further amplified in Eust. *De emend.* 35.8: κρεῖττον ἦν ἢ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν θεμέλια ὀρυγῆναι τοιαύταις οἰκοδομαῖς ἢ ἀλλὰ τελεσφορηθεῖσας ἐκ μέσου γενέσθαι ἀρπυῖαις καὶ σεισμοῖς καὶ θείῳ πυρί. Political pragmatism was thus joined to a rhetorical trope with a long pedigree. Aelius Aristides, a model of imperial panegyric throughout the Byzantine era, composed at least two orations well known to Byzantine orators, one seeking imperial support for the rebuilding of quake-ravaged Rhodes in 142 and a second for Smyrna in 177 A.D. (*Or.* XXV, XIX, ed. B. Keil, *Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia*, Berolini, 1898). Cf. Strabo *Geogr.* 13.4.8.14–15: ἡ πόλις...νεωστὶ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἀπέβαλε πολλὴν τῆς κατοικίας. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου πρόνοια τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἡγεμόνος καὶ ταύτην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συχνὰς ἀνέλαβε ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις, ὅσαι περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐκοινώνησαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάθους; cf. etiam Tacit. *Ann.* 2.47: *Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo inprovisior graviorque pestis fuit... nam centies sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant in quinquennium remisit.*

μεγαλοδωρεᾷ: both post-classical, *μεγαλοδωρεά* alternates with *μεγαλοδωρία*. This is the only instance of either in E.

καιρικοῖς: the manuscript has κ- followed by a generic ligature ending in a dat. pl. Tafel interpreted this as κανονικοῖς, which is hard to construe as the indirect object of ἀντεπεξήγητο (*Diccionario Griego-Español* s.v. ἀντεπεξάγω 2, tr. *conducir a su vez contra, llevar contra* αὐτοῖς τὴν στρατιάν I.AI 6.170, τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν I.AI 8.382 *contrastar con, oponer* c. ac. y dat. ἀντεπεξάγει πάλιν αὐτὴν (πίστιν) τῷ νόμῳ Chrys.M.60.458). καιρικοῖς continues the motif of Manuel as a bulwark against the ravages of time; cf. Ἐπ. 48: ἀταξίας ἀρμοστής καιρικῆς, ἐπισκευαστής; cf. etiam supra Ἐπ. 49: Καιροὶ τινες.

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καλλονὴν θεῖαν: the expression is surprisingly rare, first appearing among surviving texts in the 2nd/1st c. pseudepigrapha of the *Liber Jubilaeorum* (ed. A.-M. Denis, *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca*, Leiden, 1970) frag. e*: ἐκ τῆς τῶν κτισμάτων ἀναχθεῖς/καλλονῆς θεῖας ἐλλάμψεως/ἠξιώθη. It appears infrequently through late antiquity and the middle ages, though never of a church. E. may well have coined the expression independently after using καλλονή in various contexts; cf. *De capta Thess.* 6.7–8: Ἀπήγαγε μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν τέλεον, ὡς μηδὲ λείψανον ἐναπομεῖναι παλαιᾶς καλλονῆς.

τὸ πάλαι κτητορικόν: Tafel² suggested emending to κτιστορικόν both here and in *Ad stylit. Thess.* 196.20, where the ms. also reads τὸ πάλαι κτητορικόν, presumably on the grounds that while κτήτωρ / κτήσις relates to ownership, E. should be referring here to the “original construction” for which κτίστωρ / κτίστις would be more apt. But κτίστορ- does not appear in connection with church or monastic building, whereas κτητορικ- is well attested in charters or *Typika* when referring to “founders” and of the documents themselves as “founding charters”; cf. Τυπικὸν τῆς μονῆς τῆς Βεβαίας Ἑλπίδος (ed. H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues, Mémoires*, 8, Brussels, 1921) 4.1–2: Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴωθεν ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις κατ' ἔτος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀγίου τῆς μονῆς ἑορτὴν τὰ κτητορικὰ τελεῖσθαι μνημόσυνα; cf. etiam Dem. Chomat. Πον. διάφ. (ed. G. Prinzing, *Πονήματα διάφορα [CFHB 38]* Berlin, 2002) 79: αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν τῆς ὑποταγῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς τύπον ἐπανελέσθαι καὶ διάγειν ἐν τῇ μονῇ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν μοναχῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν περιλήψιν τοῦ διαληφθέντος κτητορικοῦ τυπικοῦ. The line between founding, i.e. “building,” and “owning” was blurry in many cases where the original patrons continued to exercise influence over the administration of monasteries.

τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ κτησαμένῳ: Tafel² is probably on firmer ground here when he proposes κτισαμένῳ, since E. is arguably referring to the actual construction (κτίσις) here and not its “ownership/founding” (κτησις). I have reluctantly adopted the emendation, though the usual *itacism* seems to me insufficient to explain a possible error. Having just written κτητορικὸν a few lines earlier, the scribe may still have had the word in mind; more importantly, however, E. himself may have also had the word in mind when he composed, rendering the emendation unnecessary.

ἀπαλείφων: the manuscript clearly shows ἐπαλείφων, a difficult reading to defend when construed with the gen.: τοῦνομα τῆς μνημονικῆς δέλτου. The reference to Time in ὁ χρόνος suggests the more apt idea of erosion in ἀπαλείφω “to rub away, erase”; cf. Man. Holob. *Or.* (ed. M. Treu, *Manuelis Holoboli orationes*, Potsdam 1907) 2.88.2–4: χρόνος οἷς ἐξ ὅτου μακρὸς τὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπαλειφθέντα μνήμης πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνεται σήμερον ὄνομά.

πλήθος... θείων ναῶν... καὶ μεγίστας δαπάνης: while Manuel built very little from scratch, he does seem to have expended substantial funds on renovations to existing buildings, both religious foundations and infrastructure, like city walls, town fortifications, and the water supply of Constantinople, which he was petitioned to do by E. himself in a δέησις; cf. *Or.* 17 (Λόγος Π) Titulus: δέησις εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Μανουήλ τὸν Κομνηνὸν ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτε αὐτὴν αὐχμὸς ἐπέειξεν. Among Manuel’s more significant subsidies was the financing of the ornate mosaic decorations of the Church of the Nativity in addition to other sites in the Holy Land. See A. Weyl Carr, “The Mural Paintings of Abu Ghosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land”, *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Oxford, 1982) 215–244. E.’s praise of Manuel’s patronage of shrines and divine temples may well have been intended to offer a defence against the charge that he had abused the treasury and squandered money on “monasteries and temples, cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 204.83–89 ἦν δὲ τὰ συλλεγόμενα χρήματα οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀποθήκαις ἀποτιθέμενα ἢ μυχῶ γῆς ἐγκατορυττόμενα, ὅσον ἀμφοτέραις ἀποκενούμενα καὶ ἀφειδῶς παρεχόμενα καὶ μοναῖς μὲν καὶ τεμένεσι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλασσουμένοις, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ταῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν μεταγχιζόμενα πανσπερμιαίς καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς Λατινικαῖς ἐκρέοντα ὀμηγύρεσι. φιλοδωρίας γὰρ μεταδιώκων ἐπίδειξιν ἀσώτως ἐσκόρπιζε καὶ ἀνήλισκεν ἅπερ ἀμφοτέραις ξυνέλεγε τοὺς ἄκρως κερματιστὰς φροντιστὰς τῶν κοινῶν ἐφιστῶν.

ἀνιστᾶ φροντιστήριον: the monastery in question, perhaps Manuel's only original foundation, was dedicated to the archangel Michael, cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 206.70–72 Ἴδρύσατο δὲ φροντιστήριον ἱερὸν περὶ πού τοῦ Πόντου στόμα, εἰς τόπον τινὰ Κατασκέπην λεγόμενον, εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ. The chapel housing the Komnenian imperial tombs, including Manuel's sarcophagus, was dedicated to the archangel Michael. When E. comes to mention the founding monasteries in his lengthy treatise on the reform of monasticism, he makes no mention of Manuel's patronage. Cf. G. L. F. Tafel, *Betrachtungen über den Mönchsstand, eine Stimme des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1847) 9 n.3, 10. n.1.

ἐργάζεσθαι... λυχνίαν: for the phraseology here, cf. *LXX* Prov. 31.18.1 ἐγέυσατο ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶν τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀποσβέννυται ὄλην τὴν νύκτα ὁ λύχνος αὐτῆς; cf. etiam Athan. *Vita Antonii* (ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, *Athanase d'Alexandrie, Vie d'Antoine [Sources chrétiennes 400]* Paris, 2004) 36.3–4: ἀνδρεία τε καὶ ἀγάπη εἰς τὸν θεόν, θαρσεῖτε καὶ εὐχεσθε. Ἡ γὰρ χαρὰ καὶ ἡ κατάστασις τῆς ψυχῆς δείκνυσι τοῦ παρόντος τὴν ἀγιότητα.

τοῖς Ναζιραίοις θέσθαι σκηνώματα: E. emphasizes, and probably exaggerates, Manuel's support of monasteries, perhaps to compensate for the backlash created by his πρόσταγμα abolishing the tax exemption for monastic foundations in Thrace and Macedonia, intended to prevent their use as virtual tax havens for wealthy landowning families. For the imperial decree, see F. Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, II, von 1025–1204. ed. P. Wirth (München, 1995) Nr. 1523.

Ναζιραίοις: for the origins of this term used to refer to monks, see Greg. Naz. *Fun. Or. in laud. Bas. Magn.* (ed. F. Boulenger, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée* [Paris, 1908]) 28.3: Κινεῖται οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὅσον ἔκκριτον καὶ σοφώτερον, εἴπερ σοφώτεροι τῶν πολλῶν, οἱ κόσμου χωρίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τῷ Θεῷ τὸν βίον καθιερώσαντες· λέγω δὲ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ναζιραίους καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μάλιστα ἐσπουδακότας. Most Byzantine authors make sparing use of the term. E. himself only employs it on three other occasions, despite making frequent reference to monks in his writings.

τῶν πόλεων... τῶν μὲν ἔγερσις ἐκ τοῦ πάλαι κείσθαι: cf. Eust. *Or.* 17 (Λόγος Π) 290.33–38: πᾶσαι μὲν ἄλλαι πόλεις, ἃς οὐδὲ εὐχερὲς καθυποβαλεῖν ἀριθμῶ, ὅσαι τε παλαιὸς ἀφ’ οὗ χρόνος τὸν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς κύκλον κοσμοῦσι καὶ ὅσας (πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως μέτρῳ ληπταί) τὸ σὸν ἔνθεον κράτος τὰς μὲν πάλαι κατενεχθείσας εἰς γόνυ ἀνήγειρε, τὰς δὲ ὀνόματι μόνῳ γνωριζόμενας, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ παντὶ κατὰ γῆς δεδουκυίας εἰς φῶς ἤγαγε καὶ τὸν πρώην κόσμον ἀπέδωκε.

Τιβεριῶ ... ἀγαθόν: the likeliest source in Greek for Tiberius’ euergetism, an emperor otherwise better known for his parsimoniousness with respect to imperial benefactions, was Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.4.8: ἀναληφθεῖσα δ’ ἀξιολόγως ὕστερον διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας ἢ πόλις καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς λειπομένη τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, νεωστί ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἀπέβαλε πολλὴν τῆς κατοικίας. ἢ δὲ τοῦ Τιβερίου πρόνοια τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἡγεμόνος καὶ ταύτην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συχνὰς ἀνέλαβε ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις. For the Roman pedigree of the emperor’s image as ἐνεργέτης, see O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken*, 2 Aufl. (Darmstadt, 1956) 229f.

τοὺς πολεμίους εἶργε τῆς ἐκδρομῆς: E. is referring here to κάστρα, or fortifications, either built or reinforced during Manuel’s reign in bid to shore up the often porous and shifting frontier with the Seljuks. For the costly programme of fortification building and repairs undertaken first by John II, then continued by Manuel, see C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications* (Pretoria, 1986) 56–59, 71–73, 145–150. Cf. J. W. Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army* (Leiden; Boston, 2002) 185, 204.

Οὐχ ἤττον... καινόν: some variant of “novelty, innovation, originality, unconventionality” appears ten times in the course of the oration, making Manuel out to be consistently exceptional, inventive, and novel: Ἐπ. 19 Τὸ δὲ καινότερον; Ἐπ. 30 ἐξελάλει τι καινόν; Ἐπ. 30 τὸ φιλόκαινον; Ἐπ. 30 τὰ καινότερα; Ἐπ. 32 ἐκαινουργεῖτο... ἐκαινούργει; Ἐπ. 33 καινοπρεπής; Ἐπ. 42 τοῖς καινοῖς; Ἐπ. 63 καινόν τι. While any single instance of “newness” or “novelty” may not be indicative of something larger, this many invocations of an otherwise ambiguous idea which historically tended to elicit apprehension more than admiration, bears consideration as an extension of the broader ethos of the twelfth century and may have linked cultural and political appetites for novelty.

ἐαυτὸν ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν... καὶ παραφορεῖν: nothing is beneath Manuel's direct involvement. He is depicted as having had a direct hand in every aspect of planning, construction, and decoration. He is described as enabling the builders by “helping and lending a hand to the builders, and carrying out whatever task was required” (καὶ διακονεῖν καὶ χειρουργεῖν τοῖς πολιζουσι καὶ παραφορεῖν ὅσον χρήσιμον).

πολέμιος ὄμιλος... εἰς στοιβάς: cf. Eust. *De capta Thess.* 112.25–27 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πληρώσαντες τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφῶν πυλῶν ἀρξάμενοι, ἐθέριζον τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ συχνὰ ταῦτα δράγματα ῥίπτοντες σωροὺς ἐστοίβαζον, ἐξ ὧν Ἄιδης φιλεῖ σιτούμενος.

χάλκεον ὕπνον: refers to the Iliadic metaphor of *bronze sleep*, or death brought about by bronze weapons, *Il.* 11.241: ὧς ὁ μὲν αὐθι πεσῶν κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον.

εἴκασεν: the manuscript has the aorist with ἄν, denoting a past potential construction, in accordance with Classical grammar (cf. Smyth 1784); cf. Kolovou, *Briefe, Index graecitatis*: “indicativus aoristi cum ἄν particula,” 151. Tafel suggested emending to the optative εἰκάσειεν, implying that E. intended a future potential.

νηὸς ἰστὸν ἐεικοσόροιο... ἐχώρει: E. alludes to the great length of timber found inside the cyclop's cave –likened in size to the mast of a twenty-oared ship– with which Odysseus and his men will blind the one-eyed giant. See *Od.* 319–322:

Κύκλωπος γὰρ ἔκειτο μέγα ῥόπαλον παρὰ σηκῶ,
χλωρὸν ἐλαίνεον· τὸ μὲν ἔκταμεν, ὄφρα φοροίη
αὐανθέν. τὸ μὲν ἄμμες εἴσκομεν εἰσορόωντες
ὅσσον θ' ἰστὸν νηὸς ἐεικοσόροιο μελαίνης

The grammatical antecedent of τοιοῦτον is ἰστὸν, though the sense refers back to the “heavy spear” (βριθὺ δόρυ) which the imperial hand “raised and hurled” (ἡ βασιλικὴ παλάμη ἀνεῖχέ τε καὶ ἐχώρει). For this sense of χωρέω applied to weapons, see Xen. *Anab.* 4.2.28: τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων.

χάλικες... λίθοι προσκόμματος: E. is surely employing the image metonymically, taking advantage of the opportunity to depict Manuel as carrying the building materials himself: χάλικες ἐν χερσὶν ἀδροῖ καὶ ἀνδραχθεῖς.

Μεθ' ἡμέραν: for this use of μετὰ with an acc. ἡμέρα meaning “by day” and not “after”, see LSJ s.v. C.II.2.

ἄπνους: the image of remaining sleepless had scriptural precedent in the person of David, who is described in the Psalms as swearing that he will not allow

himself to sleep until he finds a place and shelter for the Lord. *Psalms* 131.2–6: ὡς ὤμοσεν τῷ κυρίῳ / ... εἰ δώσω ὕπνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου / καὶ τοῖς βλεφάροις μου νυσταγμὸν / καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν τοῖς κροτάφοις μου / ἕως οὗ εὕρω τόπον τῷ κυρίῳ. The image gained currency in celebrations of the emperor's indefatigable pursuit of the empire's welfare, as in Th. Prodr. *Carm. Hist.* XVI 38–39: οὐκ ἔδωκας ἀνάπαυσιν τοῖς σοῖς κροτάφοις ἔτι / οὐ τοῖς βλεφάροις νυσταγμὸν κατὰ τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν; cf. etiam XXX 96/7.

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φερεπονίαν ὀνομάζειν: for all his determination to fashion an oration different in style, E. nevertheless drew on a shared stock of panegyric motifs. Cf. Theod. Prodr. *Carm. Hist.* XXX 91–94: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν καὶ τὴν φερεπονίαν καὶ τὴν ἀκάματον ἰσχὺν τῆς καρτερομελείας, ὡς ἄρχειν ὕπνου καὶ τροφῆς ὡσπερ ὑποχειρίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀμάχων παθημάτων; cf. etiam Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3.38.5–6: Καὶ ὅτι τὸ «σχέτλιος» οὐχ' ὕβριστικὴ λέξις, ἀλλὰ καρτερίας, ὃ ἐστὶ φερεπονίας, σημαντικὴ, ἵνα δηλοῖ τὸν ἀνασχέσθαι καὶ τλῆναι δυνάμενον. A further example of how philology could dovetail with panegyric, and works as distinct in aim and method as the Παρεκβολαί and the Ἐπιτάφιος could share a common ideological vocabulary.

While it is easy to dismiss all references to Manuel's remarkable capacity for enduring the rigours of campaigning and his physical resilience as nothing more than panegyric clichés, it is worth noting that even a historian as critical of Manuel's personal conduct as Nicetas Choniates concedes the emperor's stamina. Cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 206.57–60: Καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόρους γὰρ ἀντεῖχε μάλα, καιροῦ καλοῦντος μοχθεῖν, καὶ ψυχὸς ἔστεγε καὶ πνίγιος ἔφερε καὶ πρὸς ὕπνον ἀπεμάχετο, καὶ ταῖς τρυφαῖς δὲ προσανεῖχε πολέμων ἄγων σχολὴν καὶ ἐνησμένιζε ταῖς ἀνέσεσιν.

ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐποχὴν: the Basel Codex clearly shows ἐποχὴν, which is apt to the sense here; Tafel read συνοχὴν.

βασιλεὺς κἀνταῦθα ὦν... εἴκειν τοῖς χεῖροσι: an old and abiding motif about rule, that the ruler must first demonstrate full control over himself. Cf. Io. Argyr. *Βασιλικὸς ἢ περὶ βασιλείας* (ed. S.P. Lampros, *Αργυροπούλεια*, Athens, 1910) 39: Σωφροσύνην μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἀσπάζεται κοιμῶν ὡς μηδενὶ δῆπου τῶν φαινομένων ἡδέων ἠτᾶσθαι. ἄτοπον γὰρ τοῖς ὅλοις νενόμικεν, εἰ δὲν ἀήττητον ἐχρῆν εἶναι δικαίως, οὗτος ὡσπερ ἀνδράποδον ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδέων ἀγοιτό τε καὶ φέροισι, καὶ δὲν ἐλεύθερον ἔδει καὶ πάντων κρατοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, τοῦτον ἠτᾶσθαι τοῖς χεῖροσι

καὶ ἂν εἴκειν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν ἐθέλοι λόγῳ κελεύοντι Ἀνδρείας δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περίεστιν, ὡς ἄνευ ταύτης μηδὲ βασιλείαν οἶεσθαι εἶναι μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ξυνεστάναι.

οἱ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἄδιψοι: Athen. *Deipnosoph.* VIII 345e (ed. S.P. Peppink, *Athenaei dipnosophistarum epitome*, Vols. 2.1–2.2, Leiden, 1939) preserves a fragment of the Aristotelian philosopher Klearchos in which he recounts the story of a mythical king who bred ‘thirstless’ children to measure the sands of the Libyan desert, a task invoked by Greek writers in antiquity to illustrate futility: οὐκ ἄγνω δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰχθυοφάγους παῖδας, ὧν Κλέαρχος μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ περὶ θινῶν, φάσκων Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα παῖδας θρέψαι ἰχθυοφάγους, τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου βουλόμενον εὐρεῖν· καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἀδίψους ἀσκήσαι τοὺς ἐρευνησομένους τὰς ἐν Λιβύῃ ψάμμους, ὧν ὀλίγοι διεσώθησαν.

λιμὸν... φιλοσοφῶν: E. exploits Stoic teaching regarding physical forbearance, a theme introduced by the reference to ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐποχὴν, ὃ δὴ ἔστιν ἐγκράτεια in the opening to this paragraph, to underscore Manuel’s labours by noting that such lessons are unsuited to one who toils: ἐργατικῷ δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀπροσάρμοστον. I am not aware of any diachronic study of Stoicism in Byzantium, despite its historically close association with Neoplatonic philosophy, widely commented on by Byzantine intellectuals. Cf. J. Sellars, *Stoicism* (New York, 2006) 29, 135f., 137.

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οὔτε... ἐπισάττοι ἂν... οὔτ’ αὐτὸς εἶχε: the potential optative ἐπισάττοι ἂν may be explained as referring to what may be hypothesized of τις ἀνδρίας in the previous sentence, whereas the imperfect indicative εἶχε describes Manuel’s eating habits. The parallel οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος... οὔτ’ αὐτὸς joined to different syntax exploits the appeal of symmetry while trading on contrasts and variation.

τὴν καθάπαξ σφιγχνεῖσαν λόγῳ συστέλλοντι: sc. γαστέρα, carried over from the opening of the paragraph, some distance from this clause but probably inferred by the audience as being subject to the “moderating reason” (λόγῳ συστέλλοντι) of the abstemious emperor. The language matches that of ancient medical literature. Cf. Hippocr. *De artic.* (ed. É. Littré, *Oeuvres complètes d’Hippocrate*, vol. 4, Paris, 1844; repr. Amsterdam, 1962) τῆ τε γὰρ διαίτη ξυμφέρει ξυνεστάλλθαι, ἀτρεμεῖν τε τῷ σώματι ὡς μάλιστα; cf. etiam Gal. *De nat. facult.* (ed. G. Helmreich et al., *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, vol. 3, Leipzig, 1893; repr. Amsterdam, 1967): ἐνίοτε μὲν γὰρ ἐλάχιστα προσενηνεγμένων οὐ γίνονται

περιστελλομένης ἀκριβῶς αὐτοῖς τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ σφιγγούσης πανταχόθεν. For the sense of λόγῳ here, see LSJ s.v. λόγος, IV.2.

κοιλιοδαίμονας: an uncommon word, the earliest witness to which are Eupolis' *Fragm.* 172 (ed. T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1880) and Athen. *Deipnosoph.* 3.52 (ed. G. Kaibel, *Athenaei Naucraticae deipnosophistarum libri xv*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1890; repr. 1966). Despite its rarity, the obvious compound would have been transparent even to those without knowledge of the word's literary pedigree.

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Στρωμνή...τραχύτητα: cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 198,24–26 εἰ δέ που καὶ χρείας ἱκανούσης ἐδεῖτο διαναπαύεσθαι, γήϊνον εἶχε τὴν καθέδραν καὶ κάρφη ὑποβεβλημένη καὶ φορυτὸς ὑποκείμενος ἐκείνῳ τὴν στρωμνὴν ἐσχεδίαζεν.

στρώμασι...ἀμεσολάβητος: the required sense is clearly that of “not having between,” and not the ancient sense derived from wrestling competition of “not seized by the middle, i.e., undefeated,” cf. LSJ s.v. ἀμεσολάβητος, cf. Evagr. *De octo spirit. malit.* PG 79.1153: Ἀκτήμων μοναχὸς, ἀθλητὴς ἀμεσολάβητος. The Byzantine sense derives from a post-classical coinage, “to interrupt” or “come between” (see LBG s.v. μεσολαμβάνω). E. also employed it in an older, more common sense of “uninterrupted” or “continuous,” also construed with the dat.; cf. Eust. *Or.* 14 (Λόγος N) 236.60–61: Καὶ οὐκ ἐνεκόπη τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸ καλόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συνεχῆς διήκει καὶ ἀμεσολάβητον χρόνῳ τέμνοντι πρόεισι. For the ideological significance of the Komnenian soldierly image, see A. Kazhdan, “The Aristocracy and the Imperial Ideal,” *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford, 1984) 43–57; cf. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, 110–116.

Τῷ δὲ...ὑπνος οὐχ ὑπήκουε: the image of the indefatigable emperor, vigilant deep into the night, must have been a reassuring commonplace; cf. Greg. Ant. *Monod.* 198.1–6: τιθεῖς νυκτὶ καὶ ὑπνῷ μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν μεσοῦμενον, οὕτω τε διὰ παντὸς ἀνυστάκτως ἔχων καὶ μακρὸν ἀγρυπνῶν τὰ νῦν ἐκάθευδες καὶ μακρότερον· τὸ γάρ τοι σφόδρα τοῦ ἀκοιμήτου καὶ τὸ σφόδρα σοι τοῦ ὑπνου πάντως ἐπήνεγκεν ἀνέγερτον, οἴμοι, καταδορθόντι καὶ ἀδιύπνιστον. Surrender to sleep and the attendant loss of autonomy seemed incompatible with the idea of absolute sovereignty. It is not clear when a minimal reliance on sleep became a hallmark of temperance and tenacity joined to achievement (still believed by some). For the practical ethics behind this premise, Byzantine tradition could draw on state-

ments like the following in the Aristotelian corpus: Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1219a: ἔτι ἔστω ψυχῆς ἔργον τὸ ζῆν ποιεῖν, τοῦ δὲ χρήσις καὶ ἐγρήγορις· ὁ γὰρ ὕπνος ἀργία τις καὶ ἡσυχία. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνάγκη ἔν καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἔργον ἂν εἴη τῆς ἀρετῆς ζωὴ σπουδαία.

Socrates famously goes on with his normal day after a long night of revelry in the Symposium as everyone else sleeps off the party; cf. Pl. *Symp.* 223d τὸν οὖν Σωκράτη, κατακοιμίσαντ' ἐκείνους, ἀναστάντα ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἔ ὥσπερ εἰώθει ἔπεσθαι, καὶ ἐλθόντα εἰς Λύκειον, ἀπονιψάμενον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοτε τὴν ἄλλην ἡμέραν διατρίβειν, καὶ οὕτω διατρίψαντα εἰς ἑσπέραν οἴκοι ἀναπαύεσθαι.

θάνατον οἶον... τῶν αἰσθήσεων: the view of sleep as a state resembling death, and *vice versa*, had good literary pedigree; cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.671–672: πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι / ὕπνω καὶ θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν, οἳ ρά μιν ὤκα; cf. Plut. *Cons. ad Apoll.* 107e μικρὰ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήρια · προμύησις γὰρ ὄντως ἐστὶ τοῦ θανάτου ὁ ὕπνος.

58

γλυκὺς ... κάλαμος: E. appears to be referring to a sweetened, probably nonalcoholic, drink mixed with cane sugar. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, E' 131–132, likens it to the *σερμπέτι* or *sorbetto*, for which the colloquial term in E.'s day was *σαχαρόθερμον*, cf. *Ptochoprod.* (ed. Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromus: Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar*, Köln, 1991) IV 576. The sweetness of the “reed” was so well established in Byzantium that E. could punningly praise the *γλυκότης* of someone's writing by referring to the ‘reed’ (=pen); cf. *Or.* 8 (Λόγος Η) 148.59–61: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν κάλαμον ἐπιποθῶ, δι' οὗ ἡ τῆς εὐεργεσίας γλυκύτης σταλάσσειται· καλὸς μὲν σοὶ καὶ ἄλλως οὗτος ὁ κάλαμος, ὅτε διαπράττεται τὰς γραφάς.

στύφων χυλός: this was a drink made by running water through the refuse grapes after the wine had been extracted, producing a kind of sour wine; cf. see LSJ s.v. ὄμφαξ.

ὄξυς ὁ κρίθινος: sc. οἶνος, or “barley wine” was the Greek name for beer; ex. gr., Aesch. *Frag.* 97 (apud Athen. *Deipnosoph.* 10.67: τὸν δὲ κρίθινον οἶνον καὶ ‘βρῦτον’ τινὲς καλοῦσιν ... μνημονεύει τοῦ πάματος Αἰσχύλος ἐν Λυκούργω). Cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* (ex Athen. *Deipnosoph.* 1.61) 1.350.18–21: λέγει γὰρ ἐν τούτοις καὶ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀπ' οἴνου μεθυσθέντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον φέρονται, οἱ δὲ τὸν κρίθινον πεπωκότες ἐξυπτιάζονται τὴν κεφαλὴν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος καρρηβαρικός, ὁ δὲ κρίθινος καρωτικός.

ἀσκητὰς ἄνδρας...οἰνοχοοῦντες κέρασμα: E. seems to be referring to the practice adopted by some monks of drinking a kind of sour wine which might quench their appetite for wine without causing them to crave more; cf. Mich. Chon. *Or.* 89.11–17: Καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀθαλάττωτος καὶ ἀπειρόπλους ἀνὴρ πόντον οἴνοπα πέφρικεν ὡς οὗτος τὸ ποτὸν μετ’ ἄχνης οἴνωποῦ κεραννύμενον, ὥστε εἰ καὶ μὴ νέκταρ ὄλον ἐστίν, ὁποῖον ἑαυτοῖς οἱ τῆς ἐρημίας κινῶσι καὶ ὄντως μάκαρες ἀσκηταί, οἱ οὐ σίτον ἔδουσιν οὐδ’ αἶθοπα οἶνον πίνουσιν, τὸ ἀμβρόσιον τούτου κέρασμα τὸ τοῖς κατ’ ἐμὲ βροτοῖς ἄποτον ὅμως εἰρήσθω.

59

Στάσιν δὲ ὀρθίαν, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐρρέθη: cf. *supra* μηδὲ τῷ παντὶ τοῦ μεγέθους κατακλίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καθῆσθαι ὀρθούμενον.

παράμιλλος ἦν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐκεῖνῳ δικαίῳ: E. is likely referring here to Paul, who writes in the epistle to the Ephesians, 3.14: Τοῦτου χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. See *apparatus font.* ad loc.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν...ὑψωμα εὐκλείας οὐράνιον: E. adroitly arranges the two paradoxes here first into a chiasmic structure: “bowing before God (A) ... standing up to (B) enemies / from on high (B) ...humbling himself (A), followed by an additional paradoxical pairing of “receiving from the one who humbled himself as far as the earth a heavenly height of good repute.”

60

Τὸ δὲ βαδιστικόν: a further sign of the emperor’s humility, E. stresses Manuel’s readiness to share the travails of his troops by walking instead of riding a horse, as one might expect of a man born in the purple. One may compare E.’s satirizing remarks in his treatise calling for reform of monasticism, *De emend.* 26.18–23: καὶ οἱ μηδέποτε παραιτούμενοι πεζῇ τρίβειν τὴν γῆν ἀπέπαντο αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ παντελὲς ἢ τιμῶντές που τὴν μητέρα οὕτως καὶ καταπατεῖν αὐτὴν ὀκνοῦντες ἢ σοφίζόμενοι τὸ ὑπέργειον, ὥστε καὶ θᾶττον ἂν Πέρσης ὁ παρὰ τῷ καλῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἀνάσχοιτο ποσὶν εἰς βάδιον χρῆσασθαι εἴτε κένταυρος ἀπολέξεται τὸν ἵππον ἢ περ αὐτοὶ προτραπήσονται εἰς ὁδὸν τὴν διὰ ποδῶν οἰκείων. A willingness and capacity to go on foot was distinct from one’s gait, cf. Alex. Aphr. *In Arist. comm.* (ed. M. Wallies, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis topicorum libros octo commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 2.2]* Berlin, 1891) 137: καίτοι ἢ βάδις οὐ κατηγορεῖται κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ βαδιστικὸν κατηγορεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἴδιον.

κατὰ τὸ πάλαι Περσικὸν ὑψηλόφρον: in the *Cyropaedia* Xenophon describes Cyrus' wish to create a cavalry by decreeing that no Persian noble should go on foot but must always ride a horse, leading to the impression among some that the Persians are actually centaurs (4.3.22–23); cf. *Anab.* 8.8.19: Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν ἦν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῖς μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι πεζῇ πορευομένοις, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔνεκα ἢ τοῦ ὡς ἵππικωτάτους γίγνεσθαι. Both were texts well known at this period. See I. Pérez Martín, “The Reception of Xenophon in Byzantium: The Macedonian Period,” *GRBS* 53 (2013) 812–855.

61

νωθρευόμενος... Χριστὸν ἑαυτῷ κἀνταῦθα προίστων εἰς ἀρχέτυπον μιμήσεως: whether E. is characterizing a policy of tolerance towards those who had fallen out of favour, giving them an opportunity to return to the fold of their own volition, or is compensating for Manuel's being quick to punish, we cannot be sure.

It almost does not matter since the emperor serves to illustrate an important principle of governance implicitly urged on the court, especially at a time when some were bound to fall afoul of the any regime. The lesson had significant precedent in scripture; cf. Septuag. *Prov.* 14.29: μακρόθυμος ἀνὴρ πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει, ὁ δὲ ὀλιγόψυχος ἰσχυρῶς ἄφρων.; 16.32 κρείσσων ἀνὴρ μακρόθυμος ἰσχυροῦ, ὁ δὲ κρατῶν ὀργῆς κρείσσων καταλαμβανομένου πόλιν.

62

κινδύνοις ἑαυτὸν παρενετίθει... διδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἕως καὶ εἰς θάνατον: almost certainly an allusion to the battle of Myriokephalon, fought in mid-September of 1176, which brought to an ignominious end Manuel's most ambitious campaign to recapture the lands of central Anatolia conquered by the Seljuks. Nicetas Choniates has a despondent Manuel himself draw the comparison with the disastrous defeat of Romanos IV at Manzikert a century earlier (Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 187–191). The sources, including Choniates' younger brother and former student of E., Michael, describe Manuel's humiliating defeat (Mich. Chon. *Ep.* 284.18–25). E. arguably had this devastating campaign in mind when he decided to insert the episode early in the oration with John II admonishing a young Manuel for exposing himself to risk heedless of the consequences. E. presents him here as ready to sacrifice himself—rather than in search of heroic glory—in order

to give his troops an opportunity to save themselves (διδούς ἑαυτὸν ἕως καὶ εἰς θάνατον κατηλλάτετο τοῖς λοιποῖς τὸ σώζεσθαι).

διαδοχῆς, ἣν θεὸς παραδόξως αὐτῷ διέθετο: should we consider the fact that E. noted Manuel's unexpected assumption of the throne given his rank in the succession as a sign that it was not forgotten, possibly even exploited in the service of Manuel's "image"? Kinnamos (*Epit. re.* 1.10) and Nicetas Choniates (*Hist.* 3.10) both report that John II decided on his deathbed to bequeath the throne to his youngest son, Manuel, rather than to his older brother Isaac, traditionally next in line for the throne. The "paradox" E. refers to here was sufficient to prompt Manuel to have his brother kept under house arrest upon first coming to power lest he or any supporters decide to mount a challenge. E.'s point here underscores the additional claim that Manuel continually demonstrated his worthiness to sit on the throne, exhibiting skills which made him at once a master strategist, excellent knight, footsoldier, in single combat, on the front line, and a most effective besieger: στρατηγῶν στρατηγός... Ἰππότην μέντοι ἄριστον... καὶ πεζομάχον, καὶ μονομάχον ῥώμην πνέοντα, καὶ πρόμαχον, καὶ πολιορκητὴν δεινότατον. E. had lavished similar praise on Manuel when he was alive, not least for taking the field single-handedly; cf. *Or.* 16 (Λόγος Ο) 267.15–17: ὁ ἐμὸς μεγαλοουργὸς καὶ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς καὶ στρατηγεῖ καὶ ἀνδρίζεται καὶ μόνος πολιορκεῖ τὴν σπουδαίαν ἐκείνην πόλιν καὶ πάντα μετὰ θάρσους ἐμφορονος.

ἐν διαδήματι ἀγλαΐσμασι: cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 198,19 κατὰ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἡγαπᾶτο μᾶλλον καὶ ἡγάτο ἢ ὅτε διαδήματι ἐταινιοῦτο.

63

τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους: sc. ὁδόν

Οὗτ' ἄν... ἀδυσώπητος ἔμενε πρὸς γε τοῦ συγκλήτου λάχους: it is not immediately clear how this observation, itself a further example of an ideal urged by the orator, fits in with the subject of this passage, namely, Manuel's ostensible prudence in the conduct of war and quelling of potential rebellions. E. praises Manuel for "leading from behind" the lines as commander of the empire's (admittedly limited) military resources. E.'s point about the "vote of the senate and the others" (τοῦ συγκλήτου λάχους καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ) most likely refers less to actual voting than to the counsel of the court to the emperor to reconsider his campaigning plans. E. takes care to phrase his praise in a manner which a future 'commander in chief' might find practicable as part of the broader paraenetic subtext of the oration.

στρατοῦ ἀτασθαλία...τὸ βασιλικὸν δὲ ἔργον ἀναίτιον: when all credit for the empire's military triumphs redounded directly to the emperor, it was imperative to ward off blame for the inevitable defeats. E. lists the possible treachery on the part of allies as well as ἀτασθαλία, presumptuousness or recklessness, on the part of the army, (more likely its commanders). It is worth noting that this was exactly what Manuel's father had cautioned against in the impetuous young prince at the outset of the oration and one suspects that E. was deflecting criticism for losses suffered as a result of Manuel's strategic or tactical failures. Cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.584.7: Τὸ δὲ «ἀτασθαλίας ὤλεσα λαόν» ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ «ἦφι βίηφι πιθήσας ὤλεσε λαόν».

64

Κίλικες ...καὶ Ἀρμένια φύλα...γένος Ἀσσύριον: “Kilikians” and “Armenians” probably refers to the areas of southeastern Asia Minor consisting of two districts: *Cilicia Pedias*, a fertile plain bounded by the Taurus, Antitaurus and Mediterranean; and *Cilicia Tracheia*, the rugged southern Taurus mountains stretching west to Pamphylia settled by Armenians fleeing Seljuk conquest of historic Armenia in the eleventh century. It was reconquered by John II Komnenos in 1137 though Manuel had to reassert Byzantine suzerainty over parts of it again in 1159. It was definitively lost to the Armenians after 1176. The Armenians who served in the Byzantine army from this region did so as allies and not subjects of the emperor. See H. Hellenkemper, F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Vienna 1986); for Manuel's campaigns in Kilikia, see Magdalino, *Empire*, 66–68; for the region more generally under Komnenian rule, see the index in Magdalino under “Cilicia.” Κίλικες and Ἀρμένια φύλα are both contemporary names, in contrast γένος Ἀσσύριον was less an ethnic designation than a generic label for any non-Christian group inhabiting lands to the east or south east of of Byzantine territory.

Σκυθικὴν δὲ ἀγριότητα...πατήρ ἡμερώσατο: the reference is probably to the Pechenegs, “Alexios I Komnenos crushed the Pechenegs at Mt. Lebounion in 1091 and John II struck the final blow in 1122. A special feast celebrating the victory over the Pechenegs was established in Byzantium, cf. Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 27–29; Kinn. *Epit. re.* 1.3; see also Magdalino, *Empire*, 174.

πολυαριστεῦς: a Eustathian coinage, fairly intelligible to almost any Greek speaker.

Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ τοῦτο πάθος... Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦτο μεγαλοῦργημα: two seemingly contrasted allusions to campaigns by “Alexander,” one flawed (πάθος), the other a great success (μεγαλοῦργημα). The references to Σκυθικὴν... ἀγριότητα and Ἴστρος immediately preceding the first mention of Ἀλεξάνδρου led Tafel², not. ad loc., to deem the text of the manuscript corrupt and to suggest Δαρείου in its place, on the premise that E. is referring here to Darius’ aborted campaign against the Skythians in Hdt. 4.83–142. The point would then be that unlike the Komnenian emperors, Darius’ quick victory was followed by a quick retreat from the Balkans, never to return (πεφηνγόςτος ἀμεταστρεπτι). A further contrast then follows with Alexander the Great’s achievement during his campaigns on the Indus (Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦτο μεγαλοῦργημα), when he repeatedly assaulted the fortress at Aornos, finally capturing it for good (εἶλεν ἐγκρατῶς), just as Manuel and his father before him had maintained their supremacy over the “savage Skythians.” While this amounts to a plausible justification for emending the text, Tafel offered no explanation for how Ἀλεξάνδρου might have taken the place of Δαρείου. The second mention of a name might be explained by dittography, especially where the words immediately preceding or following are similar, as they are here (Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ τοῦτο... Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦτο). In this case, however, it would require *proleptic* dittography on the part of a scribe since he would have had to insert Ἀλεξάνδρου *before* he met it in the exemplar. The alternative is that E. meant to write Δαρείου but in anticipating the contrast with Alexander, wrote Ἀλεξάνδρου twice, and the scribe simply copied it faithfully, as he was trained to do. There is a third option, the best one, in my view: E. drew a contrast between two different campaigns waged by Alexander as described by Arrian in the *Anabasis of Alexander*, a favourite source of E. both for his orations and in the Homeric commentaries. The first reference is to Alexander’s campaign in the Balkans (*Anab.* 1.3–5), the second the sustained assault on the fortress of Aornos on the Indus river (*Anab.* 4.28–30). The former included a crossing of the Istros and a series of victories over local tribes (cf. E.’s κατισχύσαντος μόγις τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι περαίας), followed by a decision on Alexander’s part to bring his men back to camp safely before heading southwest to quell further revolts in Thessaly after striking peace treaties with most of the Balkan tribes. Arrian’s account does not quite bear out the flight E. describes in πεφηνγόςτος ἀμεταστρεπτι, but such distortions of the source material were common and it is a plausible enough adaptation to warrant keeping the reading of the manuscript.

Ἔχει δὲ ἡ συγγραφή: the only contemporary historical work we know of covering some significant part of this period to have circulated prior to Manuel's death is Ioannes Kinnamos' *Epitome*, which may well be the συγγραφή E. has in mind here, since it covered the better part of Manuel's reign down to 1176. Kinnamos accompanied Manuel on many a campaign as an imperial secretary, which would have allowed him to make a detailed inventory of "cities" razed and those absorbed into the fold (Ἀριθμὸν δὲ τούτοις ἐπιστήσαι, συγγραφικῆς ἔργον λεπτολογίας). It is worth recalling that we have what appears to have been an abridged version of Kinnamos' history. E. makes more than one reference to historical writing in the oration, suggesting he had consulted it before; cf. Ἐπ. 48: Καὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρετῆς τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον, αἱ συγγραφαὶ λαλεῖτωσαν.

Εἶδον ἡμέραι δύο ... Ἀλέξανδρον: the Greek is all but impossible to render into idiomatic English. The attribution of perception to time is akin to such English formulations as "*the Middle Ages knew no genuine legislation by the State.*"

οἷα ... διέθετο: the adverbial use of here is an extension of the neut. sg. οἶον used as an adverb; cf. Hom. *Od.* 1.32 οἶον δὴ νῦν θεοῦ βροτοὶ αἰτιώωνται; cf. *Il.* 5.601; cf. etiam Eust. *Or.* 2 (Λόγος Β) 39.15–16: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς οἷα τις ἀδάμας τοῖς ἀέθλοις ἐπαποδύεται.

τοσοῦτοις ἀνδράσι βασιλείαν ἐζημίωκεν: for ζημίω in the sense of levy a fine in kind (dat.) upon someone (acc.), see LSJ s.v. c. dat. rei; cf. Hdt. 6.21: ἐζημίωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆμα κακὰ χιλίησι δραχμῆσι.

Τυρταίου ῥητορεία ... Τιμοθέου πρὸς μέλος ἄρμοσις: the ability of Tyrtaios and Timotheos to rouse men to war had become legendary well before the Byzantine era, as the anecdotes regarding each in Athen. *Deipnosoph.* 14.630 and Dio Chrys. *Περὶ Βασιλείας*, respectively, indicate. Tyrtaios, a seventh-century BC lyric poet from Sparta, composed elegiac verses exhorting Spartans to fight bravely. See C. Prato, *Tyrtaeus* (Rome, 1968). Timotheos, a celebrated aulos player from Thebes, accompanied Alexander the Great on his campaigns. After his death, anecdotes circulated about the overpowering effect of his music on Alexander (the subject of John Dryden's poem *Alexander's Feast*, later set to music by Handel). Timotheos' name became synonymous with the power of music to excite emotions and make men lose their wits. He was sometimes confused with Timotheus of Miletus, a famous lyre player, singer, and dithyrambic poet of the

fifth century. See Janssen, “Timotheus,” *Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 6a 2 (1937) 1331–7. Judging from the recurring references to both Tyrtaios and Timotheos in Byzantine historical texts, their ability to arouse emotion had become near proverbial, making the identification of a specific source unnecessary; cf. Nic. Bryen. *Hist.* 2.27: τὸν δ’ εὐθύς ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὰ ὄπλα ἐκίνησε μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς φασι, πάλαι ἢ Τιμοθέου αὐλησις; Anna Comn. *Alex.* 9.5 ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς μεμαθηκῶς οὐκέτ’ ἀνεκτῶς εἶχεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθύς αὐθις ἐξωπλίσατο μὴ πάνυ τι μῆδὲ τοῦ αὐλητοῦ Τιμοθέου πρὸς τοῦτο δεόμενος καθάπερ Ἀλέξανδρος; Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 485.26–486.29: Οὕτω φροισιασάμενοι καὶ δεξιῶς χορδολογήσαντες τὸ τοῦ λόγου βάρβιτον ἐπήνεγκαν τὸν κολοφῶνα τῆς ὑποθέσεως, οἷόν τι μέλισμα ἐξιστῶν τὸν βασιλέα φρενὸς καὶ μεταφέρον εἰς μανιώδη ἀλλοίωσιν, ὡς οὐδ’ Ἀλέξανδρον πάλαι πρὸς ὄπλισιν τὰ Τιμοθέου ἐνεθέαζον κρούματα. The digest version in the *Suda* probably represents well what was known about the two; cf. *Sud. Lex.* Τ 1205: Τυρταῖος, Ἀρχεμβρότου, Λάκων ἢ Μιλήσιος, ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ αὐλητῆς· ὃν λόγος τοῖς μέλεσι χρησάμενον παροτρῦναι Λακεδαιμονίους πολεμοῦντας Μεσσηνίους καὶ ταύτη ἐπικρατεστέρους ποιῆσαι. ἔστι δὲ παλαιάτατος, σύγχρονος τοῖς ἑπτὰ κληθεῖσι σοφοῖς, ἢ καὶ παλαίτερος. ἤκμαζε γοῦν κατὰ τὴν λε’ Ὀλυμπιάδα. ἔγραψε πολιτείαν Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ὑποθήκας δι’ ἐλεγγείας, καὶ μέλη πολεμιστήρια, βιβλία ε’; cf. *Sud. Lex.* Ο 573: Τιμόθεος ὁ αὐλητῆς ἠῦλει ποτὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων τὸν ὀρθιον νόμον καλούμενον καὶ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐξέπληττεν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῖς μέλεσιν, ὡς μεταξὺ καὶ ἀκούσαντα ἀῖξαι ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. τὸν δὲ φάναι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα χρῆ εἶναι τὰ βασιλικά αὐλήματα.

ὄσον... καὶ τὸ λοιπόν: perhaps an apt example of the στρυφνότης vouchsafed by the heading to the Ἐπιτάφιος, the prolepsis of –ὄσον γὰρ τῆς γῆς joined to the parenthetical –ἦν δὲ τὸ ἅπαν τοῦ οἰκουμένου τμήματος αὐτῆς are probably harder to read than they would have been to follow aloud.

67

ἑαυτὸν τε σώζων... εἰς λιμένα σωτήριον: almost certainly an allusion to the infamous battle near Myriokephalon in 1176, where the rout into which Manuel led his forces was partly eclipsed by the (probably deliberate) account of his own heroism. It is, however, possible, that Manuel did in fact show exceptional bravery on that occasion; Nic. Choniates, no credulous admirer of Manuel’s, depicts him as genuinely valiant in the face of unfavourable odds. For the effect of the defeat at Myriokephalon on panegyrics about Manuel’s “crusading” policy, including those of E., see Magdalino, *Empire*, 463–464; for the military tactics and

possible causes of the defeat, see J. Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars* (Stroud, 2001) 142–143, 198f; cf. J. W. Birkenmeier, *The Development of the Komnenian Army: 1081–1180* (Boston: 2002) 23–24, 131–153.

68

στοιχειακῆς κράσεως: στοιχεῖα were the natural elements or components of existence, first used in this sense by Pl. *Thaet.* 201e: τὰ πρῶτα οἰόνπερὶ στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς τε συγκείμεθα καὶ τᾶλλα. The adjectival στοιχειακ- is a later usage and does not necessarily refer back to Empedoclean physics or other ancient theories of matter. LSJ s.v. στοιχειακός illustrates the term with examples from Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 4.144.21–145.1: Τὸ δὲ «ἕκ τε θεῶν ἕκ τ' ἀνθρώπων» παγκόσμιον τὴν ἔριν δηλοῖ, κατὰ ἀνθρώπους δηλαδή καὶ κατὰ τὰς στοιχειακὰς ποιότητας. E. is referring to the physical elements which constitute a healthy body. Cf. Eust. *De emend.* 10.7: Ἔστι δὴ τάγμα τι καὶ τὸ μοναχικόν... φύλακες ἀνθρωπίνων οὐ μόνον ψυχῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σωμάτων, οἷς ὑγιάζουσιν ἀπαλλάττοντες ἀμαρτιῶν, αἱ καὶ τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν πολλάκις εὐάρμοστον στοιχειακὴν ἁρμονίαν παραλύουσιν.

εὐθηνόμενου εἰς εὐεξίαν: a seeming circumlocution, acting as a euphemism for Manuel's physical deterioration during these campaigns. εὐθηνέω and εὐεξία are often found in close proximity in both lexica and other, more technical texts, suggesting the phrasing here borders on the formulaic. Hesych. *Lex.* E 6849 (ed. K. Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vols. 1–2, Copenhagen, 1953) εὐηπελία· εὐθηνία. εὐεξία Callim. *h. Cer.* 136 r.

ἡ τοῦ Κλαυδίου γραῦς πόλις: Claudiopolis, on the border with Bythinia, modern Bolu; cf. Eust., *Opuscula*, 32,60; 35, 66; cf. etiam Eust. *Ad stylist. quend. Thessalon.* 196,19–196,30 Τὰ ἔναγχος λέγω τρόπαια, τὰ περὶ τὴν πάλαι ποτε ὑμνουμένην πόλιν, ἣν ὁ τῆς ἰστορίας Κλαύδιος ἑαυτῷ ἐπωνόμασεν.

69

εἰς διάνοιαν ἀνασκάλλοντες: an uncommon verb, ἀνασκάλλω makes few appearances before the twelfth century, notably as the passive of ἀνασκαλεύω in a comic fragment attributed to Plato (Sym. fr. 3, *Fragmenta comicorum Graecorum*, ed. A. Meineke, vol. 2.2, Berlin, 1840; repr. Berlin, 1970). E., who may have revived use of the verb, construes it with either εἰς, in the sense “to bring to mind” (ex. gr., Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3 page 662 line 15–16: Καὶ σημειῶσαι ὡς καὶ πάλιν εἰς νοῦν ἀνασκάλλει συνήθως τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα) or with a dat., although both instances

involving *διάνοια* have it in the dat., shifting slightly the sense and demonstrating the plasticity of the grammar to suit the context (ex.gr., Eust., *Or.* 6 [Λόγος Ζ] 81.9–10: ἡγωνίων ἀνασκάλλοντες τῇ διανοίᾳ, εἴ ποῦ τι καινὸν ἐφευρηκότες παράθροιντό σοι πρὸς νόησιν; Eust. *Serm.* 7.722: ἀνασκάλλωμεν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν εὐκταίαν ταύτην κυριώνυμον, καθ' ἣν σκοπὸς ἡμῖν καιρίος αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν παμβασιλέα σωτήρα ἐνοικίσασθαι ἐς ψυχὴν). Nicetas Choniates, the only other contemporary author to use the verb, always construes it transitively with a direct object (ex. gr., *Hist.* 2.26–28: ἦδεσαν ἂν καὶ ἐξηγοῦντο τοῖς φιλακροάμοσι, τὰ τῆς μνήμης ἐμπυρεύοντες καὶ τὰς τῶν πράξεων ῥυσσὰς ἀνασκάλλοντες).

τὸν τάφον περιϊστάμενοι: for the physical setting of the funeral oration and what we may infer about the ceremonial context of the occasion, see the Introduction, “At the tomb: the occasional context of the text.” In Ἐπ. 72, E. apostrophizes Manuel’s tomb, thereby further embedding the performance of the oration in the actual physical and material setting, beyond simply the wider ceremonial context: Ὁ τάφος, τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπάνθισμα κρύψας ὃ τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως πλάτος συστείλας, ὃ συγκλείσας τὸν ἀεικίνητον; cf. etiam Ἐπ. 73: ὁ τάφος οὗτος... Ὁ λίθος οὗτος τάφου.

καλυπτῆρα: a common word for “covering” (LSJ s.v. *καλυπτῆρ*), it naturally, if belatedly, acquired the additional sense of a slab for covering a tomb, cf. ex.gr. Diod. Sic. *Bibl.* 18.26 (ed. K.T. Fischer et al., *Diodori bibliotheca historica*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1906; repr. 1964): ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς θήκης ἐπετέθειτο καλυπτῆρ χρυσοῦς, ἀρμόζων ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιλαμβάνων τὴν ἀνωτάτω περιφέρειαν.

βρυχηθῶ... μέλλοντος: should we understand the young lion cub’s capacity to “roar” in βρυχηθῶ... βασιλικῶ, or the regency’s, while Alexios II “grows strong claws”?

σταθεραῖς ἐπαγγελίαις would appear to refer to the assurance of constancy in the governance of the empire. σταθεραῖς has been attracted into the case of ἐπαγγελίαις, much as “steadfast indications” means “indications of steadfastness.” Cf. Theoph. Symoc. *Epist.* 75 (ed. G. Zanetto, *Theophylacti Simocatae epistulae*, Leipzig, 1985): ἐγὼ τὴν σωφροσύνην λοιπὸν ἀνήδονον οὖσαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς μᾶλλον προσδέξομαι—τὸ γὰρ σταθερὸν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

ἡ κοινωνός σοι... βασιλείας: *κοινωνός* is used in a double sense, at once that of “partner... of life”, i.e., wife, and in the more technical political sense of “co-emperor,” ex. gr., Nic. Chon. *Hist.* 551.45–47: ἐπὶ τοιαῖσδε τοίνυν τοῦ βασιλείου ὕψους

καταστροφαῖς τὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν πριάμενος εἴσοδον συνεδρίας ἤξιωται πατρικῆς καὶ βασιλείας προσέληπται κοινωνός. Manuel married Maria, daughter of Raymond of Antioch, in 1161, after the death of his first wife, Eirene (*née* Bertha of Salzburg). She has been eclipsed in the scholarly literature by the dashing, confidently assertive image of Manuel. Her actions during the ill-fated regency show her trying desperately to ensure the throne for her son. As a foreigner in the capital she could not call on the support of any family but her husband's, the very clan from which the greatest threats to the regency stemmed. *Menander-Rhetor* makes special provisions for addressing the widow in a funeral oration; cf. *Men.-Rhet.* II, Περὶ Ἐπιταφίου, 421.19–24: ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐξάρας πρότερον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γυναικός, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς φαῦλον καὶ εὐτελὲς διαλέγεσθαι δοκῆς πρόσωπον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ φέρει ψόγον ὁ λόγος ἄνευ τινὸς προκατασκευῆς λεγόμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναικὸς ἀναγκαίως προκαταλήψη τὸν ἀκροατὴν τῇ ἀρετῇ τῆς γυναικός.

Ἀρεϊκὸν ἀτένισμα: a later variant of the more classical ἀτένισις, ἀτένισμός is attested a handful of times in Byzantine texts (see LBG s.v. ἀτένισμός). The neuter variant, like the masculine, was originally modelled on the perfect middle – σμαι but expanded in Κοινή.

71

ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ ἦλιε... (Ἐπ. 73) Ὡ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ: Sideras (*Grabreden*, 52–53) maintains that funeral orations (*Grabreden*) are nominally addressed to the deceased, which would make the audience in attendance incidental witnesses, as it were, overhearing the speech. This may have reflected an early form of the lament as a direct address to the dead, such as we meet in Greek tragedy, itself possibly reflecting older practices of propitiating the dead. See J. Goody, *Death, property and the Ancestors: a study of the mortuary customs of the LoDagaa of West Africa* (Stanford, 1962). Whatever its anthropological origins, the apostrophe seems to have lent an added dramatic and pathetic inflection to the oration, as E. appears to vainly keep trying to elicit a response from the deceased (ὦ κάλλιστε... ἄριστε... ἤδιστε). See L. Koenen, “Die Laudatio Funeris des Augustus für Agrippa auf einem neuen Papyrus (P.Colon.inv.nr. 4701),” *ZPE* 5 (1970) 217–83, 245–246; J. Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede: in ihrer Tradition* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1974) 27, 31, 34.

ἡ σὴ σελήνη... φωσφορήσοι: Manuel's widow, his second wife Maria, daughter of Raymond of Poitiers, the crusader appointed Duke of Antioch, is

μακροὺς καμάτους παύσαντα: E. had previously directed public pleas to the emperor to pause from his tireless labours on behalf of the *οικουμένη*, framing them as solicitude for the emperor's well being; cf. *Or.* 11 (Λόγος Κ) 189.48 Αἰδεῖται μὲν τὸ στάσιμον ὃ εἰς ἐργασίαν σπουδαίαν ἀεικίνητος, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις οἶδε καὶ κάματος. Kazhdan saw in E.'s entreaties a thinly veiled attempt to dissuade Manuel from further costly campaigning which was taking its toll on the empire's resources, as well as risking the life of an emperor who was frequently inclined joined the battle himself. See Kazhdan, *Studies*, 157.

ιδρώτας ἀποψήσασθαι: E. made recurring use of the image of the emperor perspiring on behalf of the empire, drawing at times on the Hesiodic verses in *Op. et di.* 289–290: τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ιδρώτα θεοὶ προπάροισεν ἔθηκον / ἀθάνατοι. Cf. *Eust. Or.* 11 (Λόγος Κ) 183.46–48: καὶ ὧν δὲ ἔναγχος ἐπανήκες ἐστεμμένος νίκαις, ἄς οὐκ ἂν εἴη σεμνῦναι, ὡς ἡ ἀξία θεσμοθετεῖ, καὶ ταύταις οὐκ εὐκατεργάστοις, ἀλλ' ὧν αἵματα κεῖται προπάροισεν, καθὰ καὶ ιδρώτες τῆς ἀρετῆς; cf. *Or.* (Λόγος Λ) 12.201.10, 16 (Λόγος Ο) 288.31. The motif was carried over from imperial panegyric to eulogy; cf. *Greg. Ant. Mon.* 201.7.

παντάρβην...λίθον: refers to brilliant and precious stones, like rubies or emeralds, said to be drawn from the rivers of India, cf. *Ctes. Frag.* 57.2. The stone was most familiar to Byzantine readers from the fantastical invocations of Παντάρβη in the eighth book of Heliod. *Aethiopica*, where Chariclea mentions an heirloom ring set with a “stone known as Pandarbe,” cf. *Aeth.* 8.11.8: λίθω δὲ τῇ καλουμένη παντάρβη. Its brilliance, paralleling that of the emperor as sun, was further expanded in another author familiar to Byzantine rhetors, cf. *Philostr. Vita Apoll.* 3.46: τῆς λίθου... τὴν παντάρβην· ὄνομα γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦτο. νύκτωρ μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν ἀναφαίνει, καθάπερ τὸ πῦρ, ἔστι γὰρ πυρσὴ καὶ ἀκτινώδης, εἰ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὀρῶτο, βάλλει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μαρμαρυγαῖς μυρίαίς. τὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ φῶς πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἀρήτου ἰσχύος. In the twelfth century the expression appears to have also been synonymous with the resilience of precious stones, cf. *Konst. Manass. Carm. morale* (ed. E. Miller, “Poème moral de Constantin Manassès,” *Annuaire de l' Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* 9 [1875] 30–75) 654: νικᾷς καὶ τὸν Ἰππόλυτον, νικᾷς τὸν ἐξ Ἰθάκης, νικᾷς καὶ τὸν ἀδάμαντα καὶ τὸν παντάρβην λίθον; cf. etiam *Mich. Chon. Or.* 1.5.109: οὐδὲ τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας προσθήσομεν, ὧν τὰ σώματα ἢ νηστεία νεοττοτροφήσασα ὡς παντάρβη λίθος ἄψαυστα πυρι

διετήρησεν. It is not clear where Io. Tzetzes drew the information that the stone was magnetic, cf. Tzetz. *Chiliad*. (ed. P.L.M. Leone, *Ioannis Tzetzae historiae*, Naples, 1968) 68.642–644: Παντάρβη λίθος οὔσα τις τοὺς λίθους ἐπισπάται... ὡς ἡ μαγνήτις σίδηρον εἴωθεν ἐπισπᾶσθαι.

74

ἐφιεμένην: the clear reading of the manuscript, with the suspension for the acc. fem. -ην following the ligature for -μεν- and an accute over the penultimate syllable. However this makes for difficulty of interpretation: are we to understand φυγὴν ἐφιεμένην ἀεὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν as “flight which always aimed at those in front,” with the participle transposed to qualify φυγὴν instead of τοῦτον, the more expected reading? This might imply that Manuel always charged into the frontline troops, putting them to flight, instead of perhaps attacking the flanks, as was common in attempts to break the formation of the enemy lines. Such a reading might encourage a more interventionist editor to emend the text here to ἐφιέμενον, on the presumption that the scribe mistakenly altered the participle to match φυγὴν. The required sense of ἐφίημι with an objective gen. is paralleled by Plut. *Pompeius* (ed. B. Perrin, *Plutarch’s Lives*, vol. 5, Cambridge, MA, 1917; repr. 1968) 71.4–5: ὑπαντιάζουσι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ παριστάμενοι καθ’ ἵππων, ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὑψηλοῖς ἐχρώντο τοῖς ὕσσοις, ἐφιέμενοι τῶν προσώπων. A variant of this interpretation, albeit less probable, is that the gen. τῶν ἔμπροσθεν is subjective, yielding the equivalent of “flight always sought by those in the front.” Despite its difficulty, I have maintained the reading of the Basel Codex since it yields sufficient, if somewhat unconventionally construed, meaning.

βελῶν: the manuscript has βουλῶν, which is almost certainly a mistake. Did the copyist mishear βελῶν, as I think, or οὐλῶν, as Tafel² proposed? Both βέλος and οὐλή appear with τραῦμα in accounts of war wounds and healing in the *Παρεκβολαί*: for βέλος/τραῦμα cf. Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 3.338.12, 4.91.8; οὐλή/τραῦμα cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.204.24, 1.719.19, 4.279.5. Further parallels testify to either possibility: Theod. *Hist. Eccl.* (ed. L. Parmentier and F. Scheidweiler, *Theodoret. Kirchengeschichte*, 2nd edn. Berlin, 1954) 288: τὸν μακρὸν ἐκείνον καὶ χαλεπὸν ἀπολήψεσθε πόλεμον. τῶν γὰρ λίαν ἀτοπωτάτων ἄρτι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀπαλλαγέντας βελῶν; cf. Xen. *Memorab.* (ed. E.C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. 2, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1921; repr. 1971) 3.4.1: τὰς οὐλὰς τῶν τραυμάτων.

δρυοτομούσης: as though from a verb δρυοτομέω < (δρυο-) τέμνω. With the exception of Plato, *Leg.* 678d2 and *Pol.* 288d8, all subsequent uses of a participle are post-classical, infrequent, and rarely metaphorical.

75

ύπνοι τόν μακρόν μέν, μακαρίως δέ αὔθις ἐγέρσιμον: death as extended sleep was an ancient image. It became especially apt in Christian discourse with its promise of resurrection, tantamount to ‘waking up.’ The image was additionally poignant when joined to the image of the sleepless emperor standing vigil over the defence and proper governance of the realm, Ἐπ. 54 διακαρτερῶν ἄυπνος. Cf. Nic. Greg. *Hist. Rom.* 1.466: ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ νύκτας ὅλας ἐγρηγορῶς τε καὶ ἄγρυπνος διαμένων, ὡς μὴ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πραγμάτων κλαπῆ τὸ συμφέρον. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐν τάφῳ τὸν μακρόν ὕπνον ὑπνώττει. After the final defeat of the Byzantines in 1453, a folk legend took root that Constantine XI, whose corpse was never identified, had in fact fallen into a long slumber from which he would one day awake and redeem his subjects. See D. M. Nicol, *The immortal Emperor: the life and legend of Constantine Palaiologos, last emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge, 1992) 98, 101–15. For the varied depictions of death among the ruling classes, see D. R. Reinsch, “Der Tod des Kaisers. Beobachtungen zu literarischen Darstellungen des Sterbens byzantinischer Herrscher,” *Rechtshistorisches Journal* 13 (1994) 247–70.

ἐπαληθεῦσαι ... αἰρεῖται: E. alludes to the aphorism put in the mouth of John II near the start of the oration cautioning the young prince to be wary of war: Ἐπ. 7 μηδένα φαῦλον ἄνδρα πόλεμον αἰρέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αἰεῖ; see commentary ad loc.

76

μήπω ἔδει τὸν τηλικούτον: Manuel was born on November 28, 1118, which would have made him sixty-two years old at the time of this death. With an average life expectancy for Byzantines calculated at approximately thirty-five years, anyone who reached sixty years of age would have been thought “old.” See A.-M. Talbot, “Old Age in Byzantium,” *BZ* 77 (1984) 267–78, esp. 268. Yet Manuel appears to have remained physically vigorous well into his fifties, thus warranting the impression that he had been taken before his time.

πρός τε τῆς... κλήσεως: such carefully balanced clauses marked by the anaphora of *πρός τε τῆς... πρὸς τε τῆς* and the rhyming *φύσεως... κλήσεως*, followed by the complementary *τὸ σῶμα μὲν... τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ*, show that E. catered to an appetite for jingle-like rhetorical devices. No Byzantine rhetor, no matter how accomplished, was ever above employing such rudiments of public speaking as the appeal of symmetry joined to sound.

Μάχη... ἐλήλατο: an uncommon formulation, cf. Io. Chrys. *In Genes.*, PG 53.274: *καὶ πᾶν εἶδος μάχης καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐλαύνεσθαι, ἵνα μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ γαλήνης ἐξῆ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πνευματικῶν κατόρθωσιν ἐπέιγῃσθαι.*

Θῆρας... τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τοῦτο σεμνόν: on Manuel's passion for hunting, see Kinn. *Epit. re.* 127: *ἐξῆλθε μὲν πρὸς θήραν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐννευχος, ὡσπερ εἰώθει τὰ πολλά, κοιτασάμενος. ἡ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ γενναϊότης καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτους ἐξῆγε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγρίους ἀνθώπιζε τῶν συῶν πεζῆ τὰ πλεῖστα σὺν ἀκοντίω ξυμπλεκόμενον. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὡς καὶ τεθωράκιστο τὰ πρῶτα καὶ σχεδόν τι ἐκάστοτε πρὸς τοῖς ὄπλοις ἦν. Cf. here ὑποκοριζόμενος μάχην ὡς ἐν γυμνάσματι.*

Enthusiasm for hunting as an aristocratic passtime substituting for battle peaked under the Komnenoi, when special ekphraseis on hunting were commissioned for patrons (ex.gr., *Τοῦ Μανασσῆ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἔκφρασις κυνηγεσίου γεράνων*, ed. E. Kurtz, "Ἑτερα δύο ἀνέκδοτα πονήματα Κωνσταντίνου Μανασσῆ," *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 12 (1906): 79–88. Deer and boars were the noblest hunts, the latter not least because of its danger. Ph. Koukoules, *Kynegetika ek tes epoches ton Komnenon kai ton Palaiologon*, *EEBS* 9 (1932) 3–33.

νόσος μὲν ἡσυχάζειν προὔτρεπετο: cf. Eust. *Or.* 9 (Λόγος Θ) 167.33–40: *βασιλέων καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀνδρειότατε... τί δὴ ποτε ἄλλο φοβερόν καὶ καταπονοῦν ἀνθρωπίνην ἰσχὺν περιγενήσεται σου, εἰ μήτε νόσος ἀνδρίζεται κατὰ σοῦ μήτε χειμῶνος βαρύτης μήτε τι ἕτερον τῶν ὅσα καταπονεῖν οἶδε καὶ ἐκφοβεῖν καὶ τὸν πᾶν καρτερόθυμον; νοσεῖς, καὶ τοῦτο δεινότερα καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν φέρειν ἔχοι τις.*

τοῖς ἅπασιν εὐκταῖον... τὸ πάντῃ τέλειον: despite his reputation for rhetorical opacity, scholars have also identified a refreshing streak of naturalism in E., seen in humane observations like this about staving off senility in old age, a condition dreaded especially by those who live by their wits. E. dwells on the subject repeatedly in the next paragraphs in a manner which suggests that dementia or the potential loss of one's senses towards the end of life was a genuinely worrying

eventuality, cf. Έπ. 78: Κεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐμπνέοντα καὶ σιωπῇ κατάσχετον καὶ οὐδὲ φρονεῖν εἰδότα, τοῦτο θνήσκειν ἂν ῥηθείη ἀληθῶς. Elsewhere E. writes: Εἰ δὲ καὶ θάνατος, ἀλλ' οὗτος οὐδὲν τι τοῦ νοεροῦ παρακερδήσας... οὔτε μὴν κατακλείσας τὸ φρονοῦν εἰς ἄπρακτον καὶ τῷ οἰκοδεσποτοῦντι λογισμῷ ἐπιβουλεύσάμενος. For E.'s naturalism in descriptions of the human condition, see Kazhdan–Erstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, 216f.

τὰ ἀπὸ κηπαίας λεγόμενα: the expression ἀπὸ κηπαίας is obscure. It seems to refer to “the garden door,” or κηπαία θύρα, akin perhaps to our “servants’ entrance,” ex. gr., Zeno *Frag.* (ed. J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1905) 5: “οὐ λανθάνεις, ὦ Ζήνων, ταῖς κηπαίαις παρεισρέων θύραις”; Jul. Poll. *Onom.* 1.76 αὐλειος θύρα, κηπαία θύρα, ἀμφίθυρος, ἦν Ὅμηρος (X 126, 132, 333) «ὄρσοθύρην» καλεῖ. A more proverbial use is suggested by Galen. *De nat. facult.* (eds. G. Helmreich et al. *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, vol. 3, Leipzig, 1893; repr. Amsterdam, 1967) 2.98: εἰ δ' ἐκ πολλῶν σύγκειται, τῇ κηπαίᾳ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην ἀπεχωρήσαμεν. It seems less probable that the expression is linked to Septuag. *Susan.* 18: καὶ ἐποίησαν καθὼς εἶπεν καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τὰς θύρας τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ ἐξήλθαν κατὰ τὰς πλαγίας θύρας ἐνέγκαι τὰ προστεταγμένα αὐταῖς; cf. cf. Hippol. *Comm. in Dan.* (ed. M. Lefèvre, *Hippolyte. Commentaire sur Daniel* [Sources chrétiennes 14] Paris, 1947) 1.17–18.3: «καὶ ἐξῆλθον κατὰ τὰς πλαγίας θύρας», προμηνύουσαι ὅτι ὁ βουλόμενος τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ὕδατος μεταλαβεῖν ἀποτάξασθαι μὲν ὀφείλει τῇ πλατεῖᾳ θύρᾳ, διὰ δὲ τῆς «στενῆς καὶ τεθλιμμένης» εἰσελθεῖν. Koukoules, *θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου Τὰ Λαογραφικά* (Athens, 1950), documents well E.'s keen interest in the colloquial language of his day, reflecting perhaps a broader taste seen in the emergence of so-called vernacular or demotic verse in the mid- to late twelfth century.

ὄνομάσοι: the syntax here is challenging. Tafel² suggested the text be emended to θαυμάσοι, misapprehending the syntax in my view by not reading ἀπὸ κλίνης βασιλικῆς as the predicate of ὄνομάσοι, which is contrasted with τὰ ἀπὸ κηπαίας λεγόμενα. E. frequently places a comma after ἂν where the grammar requires us to read the following words as part of the same clause, ex. gr., Έπ. 70 οὐκ ἂν, ἔχοι μὴ οὐκ εἰς τὸ πᾶν κατευστοχεῖν τοῦ κοινωφελοῦς; cf. etiam Έπ. 68 Καὶ τοῖνυν ἦνυσται προσβολῇ πρώτη ὃ τις οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔλαβεν ἂν, πτώσις τῶν θαρρήσαντων τὸ τῆς μάχης ἀντιπρόσωπον. I have translated the passage beginning from δημηγορῶν ἐμβριθῶς as follows: *declaiming solemnly things which one who wanted to make the point more aptly with proverbs rather than employ garden variety expressions might designate as “from the imperial bedchamber.”*

θαρρῶ: Tafel either mistakenly read or emended to θυμῶ without a note in the list of corrections in the preface to the *Opuscula* (xiv). The manuscript clearly reads θαρρῶ. Tafel may have assumed that καὶ θυμῶ at least grammatically complemented ἐμβαθύνων λεπτῶ λογισμῶ, though it does little for the sense of the passage. θαρρῶ gives voice to E.'s feigned presumption in surmising that Manuel's subtle theological analysis at that point was "disembodied," that is, the work of a mind all but free of its declining corporeality.

χρυσᾶς ἐπιτιθεῖς κορωνίδας: letters or decrees issued in the emperor's name were signed by the emperor in red ink and secured with the imperial golden seal (Lat. *bullā aurea*), cf. σφραγίζων, ἐπισφραγίζων in the next line. The expression became synonymous with the idea of successful culmination, based perhaps on literary models like Hom. *Il.* 4.111: πᾶν δ' εὖ λειήνας χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κορώνην. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter*, 75/141, cites this passage to illustrate the proverbial quality of the expression; cf. Mich. Chon. *Ep.* 29.18–19: ἀφορμὴ τοῦ ἐπιθεῖναι κορωνίδα χρυσέαν τοῖς καλοῖς ἀγωνίσμασιν.

78

χρυσὸς μὲν... ὡσεὶ οὐδέν. Ἐπικρίνεται δὲ...: a prose adaptation of the poetic focusing device known as a *priamel* involving a paratactic comparison achieved by enumerating things conventionally deemed of great value, only to dismiss them as nothing when compared with the true object of desire: "some people like x, others y, but I say the best thing is...." Antiquity furnished well known models in the opening lines to poems by Sappho (fr. 16) and by Pindar (Olympian 1). E. and the better-read members of his audience would have known at least the Pindaric example. For a survey of the *priamel* in antiquity and its significance, see W. H. Race, *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius* (Leiden, 1982); cf. the still useful study by U. Schmid, *Die Priamel der Werte im griechischen von Homer bis Paulus* (Wiesbaden, 1964).

ρίπας δὲ ὑποστορεσθῆναι: Tafel² recommends emending to ῥύπος (heterocl. neut. of ῥύπος masc.); but ῥίψ, used of wicker-work or straw mats, makes perfectly good sense here and anticipates στρωμνὴν ἐσχάτην in the next sentence. Manuel had renounced the elevated soft mattress (τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ τρυφερὰν στιβάδα) for the bed of reeds, such as he had slept on many times while campaigning (ὁ πολλάκις ὁμοία πεπονθώς), cf. ex. gr., cf. supra Ἐπ. 57: Στρωμνὴ δὲ αὐτῶ πρὸς γῆς τραχύτητα, στρώμασι μαλακοῖς ἀμεσολάβητος οὕτω τι λελόγιστο φίλον.

Cf. *Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.213.26–27: καὶ ψιαθῶδες δέ τι καθ' ὁμοιότητα πλέγμα, αἰρίπτες; cf. *idem* 1.291.7: εὐλυγίστους καὶ εὐμεταφόρους ῥίπας.

79

τὸ ἱερὸν... σκῆνωμα: for the metaphorical sense of σκῆνωμα to mean the “covering” or “tabernacle” of the soul (τὸ σκῆνωμα τῆς ψυχῆς), i.e., the body of the deceased, see LSJ s.v. σκῆνος II; cf. Eust. *Or.* 6 (Λόγος ζ) 93.44–46 καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ σκηνώσαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐσχηκώς, ὅτε καὶ ψάλλειν τις εἶχε τὸ τοῦ Δαυΐδ, ὡς ἄρα ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκῆνωμα αὐτοῦ. In par. 52 E. uses σκηνώματα in the sense of buildings housing monks. The range of the term may be seen in Io. Damasc. *Exp. fid.* (ed. Kotter) 84: ὡς ἁγιασθὲν τῇ ἀφῆ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος... τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτοῦ σκηνώματα, ἅτινά εἰσιν ἡ φάτνη, τὸ σπήλαιον, ὁ Γολγοθᾶς ὁ σωτήριος, ὁ ζωοποιὸς τάφος, ἡ Σιών τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἀκρόπολις, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

τοῦ θεμελίου ὑποσπασθέντος, καὶ αὐτοὶ συγκατέπιπτον: E. recycled, as it were, the language of the Ἐπιτάφιος in his account of the siege and occupation of Thessalonike by the Norman armies of William II in 1185; cf. Eust. *De capt. Thess.* 18.13–15: πεσόντι τῷ Κομνηνῷ βασιλεῖ Μανουῆλ συγκαταπεσεῖν καὶ εἶτι ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ὄρθιον καὶ ὡς οἶα ἡλίου ἐκείνου ἐπιλιπόντος ἀμαυρὰν γενέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς.

πηλοποιῖαν πλάττων: E. is referring to God's creation of man “out of clay,” although the expression has no exact correspondance in Biblical Greek. Cf. Sept. *Gen.* 2.7 καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. Cf. Aster. *Comm.* in Ps. 21.10 (ed. M. Richard, *Asterii sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt* Oslo, 1956): Τὴν ἕκτην... τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σου κίνησιν λόγῳ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀσφαλιζόμενος καὶ τὸν χοῦν καὶ τὸν πηλὸν τοῦ σώματος πλάττων καὶ ρυθμίζων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς.

βαλβίδων... δρόμου: the language is that of the hippodrome. Employed mostly in the plural in this sense, the βαλβίδες (LSJ s.v. βαλβίς) were the posts to which was attached the rope marking the starting line of the race course; hence, the beginning of something, in this case, Manuel's reign. The expression ἐκ/ἀπὸ βαλβίδος was the Byzantine equivalent of a sports metaphor or simile, commonly employed by historians in the twelfth century: Nic. Bryenn. *Hist.* (ed. P. Gautier, *Nicéphore Bryennios ; introduction, texte, traduction et notes*, Bruxelles, 1975) 3.9: δὸς ἐνδείξονται καὶ ταῦτα εἰς πόλιν ἄνδρας φέρουσαν ἀγαθοῦς καὶ ἐκ πρώτης, ὄφασι, βαλβίδος ἐμφυλίῳ αἵματι τὰς χεῖρας μιανοῦσιν.

εἰς ὅσον ἐπεμέτρει καιρός: E. closes with the same motif as he began, namely, the limitation of time, thereby betraying the orator's preoccupation with judgments about his ability. Had he had but time, he assures his audience, he could have done justice to his subject: Εἰπεῖν γάρ, εἰς ὅσον καὶ δύναμις, οὐκ ἂν ἀληθὲς ἀπελεγθεῖ μοι, ἔνδαψιλευσαμένῳ καὶ χρόνον εὐκότα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀδείας καλόν.

Ἀπέστω δὲ νέμεσις: a rare closing to a Byzantine oration, with few parallels, cf. Nic. Eugen. *Monod. in Th. Prodr.* (ed. I. Petit, "Monodie de Nicéas Eugéni-anos sur Théodore Prodrome," *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 9, 1902) 462: εἰδὸτα λέγων τὰμὰ καὶ τάχα οὐδενός με τούτων ἀμουςότερον οἱ κατακούσαντες λέγουσι. καὶ ἀπείη μοι Νέμεσις μηδ' ἐμπελάσοι Ἀδράστεια); cf. etiam S. Eustratiades (ed.), "Τυπικὸν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος," *Ἑλληνικά* 1 (1928) Proem. 169: ἢ γοῦν διὰ τοῦτο δίκαιος ἂν εἶην τὰ τῇ μονῇ συντείνοντα διορίσασθαι, ἢ, ἀλλ' ἀπέστω νέμεσις, διὰ τὸ μικρὰν οὕμενον τινα συνεισφορὰν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ τούτῳ ἔργῳ κάμῃ συνεισενεγκεῖν. The few ancient examples of the apotropaic formula more commonly use the alternate name for Νέμεσις, Ἀδράστεια, cf. ex. gr., Luc. *Symp.* 23: ἀλλὰ οἶδα ὅθεν μοι αὐτὰ ... Ζηνοθέμιδος καὶ Λαβυρίνθου, ὧν—ἀπείη δὲ ἡ Ἀδράστεια—συλλογισμῶ ἐνὶ ἀποφράξαι ἂν μοι τάχιστα δοκῶ τὰ στόματα.

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