

Renaat Meesters, Raf Praet, Floris Bernard, Kristoffel Demoen

## Makarios' cycle of epigrams on the Psalms Bodleian Baroccianus 194

**Abstract:** This article provides the *editio princeps* of a cycle of eight dodecasyllabic poems on the Psalms preserved in Bodleian Baroccianus 194 (15th century). Four of these poems are also present in other manuscripts and enjoyed a certain degree of popularity as book epigrams. The four others are found in this manuscript only. The cycle contains an acrostic: MAKAPIOY. This Makarios is likely to have compiled the cycle and to have composed the otherwise unknown poems. The Psalms themselves are not included in the manuscript. Only two short commentaries on the Psalms precede and follow the cycle. This implies that at least the four known book epigrams lost their original function as poems referring deictically to the Psalms. A verse prayer to the Trinity that was preserved on the same folio is edited in an appendix.

---

**Adresse:** Renaat Meesters, Raf Praet, Floris Bernard, Kristoffel Demoen, Department of Literature – Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, Blandijnberg 2, 9000 Gent, BELGIUM; renaat.meesters@ugent.be, r.g.l.praet@rug.nl, bernardf@ceu.edu, kristoffel.demoen@ugent.be

From childhood, the Byzantines were imbued with the psalms, central texts in Byzantine education.<sup>1</sup> The place of the psalms in Byzantine mindset and culture

---

This article is written within the framework of the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (DBBE), see [www.dbbe.ugent.be](http://www.dbbe.ugent.be). We wish to express our sincere thanks to our colleagues Rachele Ricceri, Dimitrios Skrekas, Maria Tomadaki, Matthew O'Farrell and the anonymous reviewers for their astute remarks and suggestions for improving this article.

1 G. CAVALLO, *Lire à Byzance. Séminaires Byzantins* 1. Paris 2006, 28, 33, 39, 41, 108–109; G.R. PAPPALÀ, *Toward a history of Byzantine psalters, ca. 850–1350 AD*. Plovdiv 2014, 49–50, 61, 67; G.R. PAPPALÀ, *Psalms and personal piety in Byzantium*, in P. Magdalino / R. Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Washington DC 2010, 77–105; N. KALOGERAS, *Locating young students in Byzantine churches*, in I. Tanaseanu-Döbler / M. Döbler (eds.), *Religious education in pre-modern Europe*. Leiden / Boston 2012: 165–166; N. KALOGERAS, *Education envisioned or the miracle of learning in Byzantium*. *Byzantinoslavica* 64 (2006) 111–124.

is clear when we consider the material evidence of medieval reading culture: the manuscripts. Psalters abound in every epoch of Byzantine history. The text of the psalms was often bundled together with the Book of Odes and the Gospels to form the core of sacred texts for the Byzantine reader. Moreover, their omnipresence in Byzantine book culture is not confined to biblical or liturgical manuscripts proper. Texts related to the psalms, such as commentaries, explanations of the titles, or poems, appear in all kinds of codices. In this article we will present a case in point. The Bodleianus Baroccianus 194 (15th century) contains a cycle of eight poems on the psalms (f. 48r–48v). We first provide an edition, a translation, and brief philological comments on the individual poems, four of which were previously unedited. In the second section, we discuss the series as a whole, paying attention to its structure and the principles of its compilation, as these shed further light on how Byzantine manuscript producers assembled texts and identified their own role. In the appendix, we edit a previously unknown metrical prayer to the Trinity from the same folio.

## Description of the manuscript

The Bodl. Barocc. 194 (180 folios) was written on paper in the 15th century.<sup>2</sup> It is a miscellaneous codex, which was conceived as one book from the start and written throughout by the same hand. Starting with the Life of Aesop (f. 1r–8r) it also contains, *inter alia*, Manuel Moschopoulos' *Erotemata Grammatica* (f. 16r–31r) and several works of John Tzetzes (f. 67v–86r, 91r–95r, 97r–102v). Apart from these, the manuscript contains several commentaries, treatises on various subjects, and rhetorical exercises.<sup>3</sup> This may, together with the presence of the *Erotemata Grammatica*, suggest that the manuscript had an educational purpose.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> H.O. COXE, Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues. I. Greek manuscripts. Oxford 1969, 330–336. An integral digital reproduction of the manuscript is now found online: <http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/digitized-items-greek-manuscripts>.

<sup>3</sup> An interesting parallel is the *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8*. Just as the Bodl. Barocc. 194 it is written by one scribe, contains a wide diversity of texts and is dated to the 15th century. NYSTRÖM suggests the term 'multitext book' for this kind of codex. Cf. E. NYSTRÖM, *Containing Multitudes. Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in Perspective*. Uppsala 2009, 21–22, 177.

<sup>4</sup> The connection between miscellaneous codices and education has been suggested by a.o. R. BLACK, *The school miscellany in medieval and Renaissance Italy*, in E. Crisci / O. Pecere (eds.), *Il Codice miscellaneo: Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale Cassino 14–17 maggio 2003. Segno e testo 2* (2004) 213–244. NYSTRÖM, however, warns that this connection is by no means a general rule. In the *Upsaliensis Graecus 8*, for example, there are no indications of an educational function. Cf. NYSTRÖM, *Containing Multitudes* (as footnote 3 above) 176.

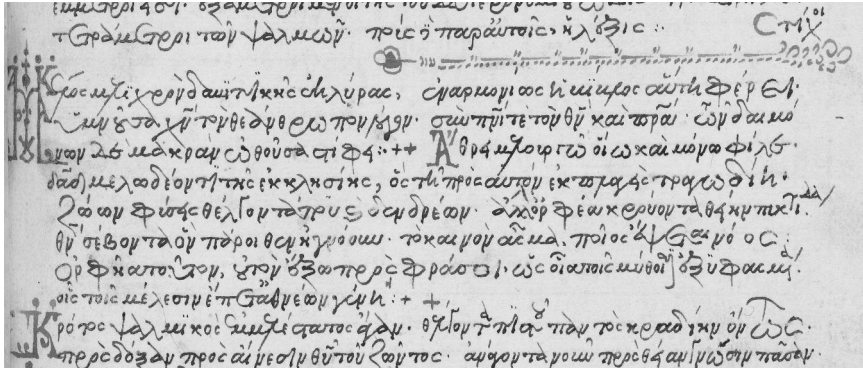


Fig. 1. Bodl. Barocc. 194, f. 48r

The series of poems on the psalms is to be found between a short treatise on the division of the psalms (f. 48r) by Epiphanius of Salamis (inc. πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ψαλμῶν βίβλον εἰς πέντε διαιροῦσιν Ἑβραῖοι βιβλία), a text of only three lines (inc. δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι καὶ οἱ παρ' ἑβραίοις στίχοι) ascribed in the margin to a certain Didymos,<sup>5</sup> and Euthymios Zigabenos' commentary on the psalms and the Song of Songs (f. 49r–60r) (inc. πατὴρ τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου). The poems are copied at the end of a quaternion (the sixth), after the three lines ascribed to Didymos. After the last line of the poems, almost the entire page at f. 48v is left blank, and the commentary of Zigabenos begins at the new quaternion (f. 49r). The scribe has attempted to present the text as a poem: he generally wrote two verses on a line, separated by punctuation marks and some blank space (cf. fig. 1). Script and colour are the same as those of the preceding and following texts. There is a clear separation, however. The word Στίχοι, announcing the epigrams, is written at the end of the last line of Epiphanius' treatise, and is underlined in an ornamented way.

The first letter of poem 1 is a remarkable monogram reading Μακαρίου (cf. fig. 1). The initial letters of the following poems are adorned with ornamental curls and dots, visually resembling those of the monogram. Together they form the acrostic **ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ**, repeating the attribution made by the monogram.

5 These lines are also found, with some variant readings, as parts of other texts: as part of a commentary on verse 1 of Psalm 118, Seniores Alexandrini, *Fragment 7, line 1–4* (ed. J.B. PITRA, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata II*. Tusculum 1884); again as part of a commentary on Psalm 118, but this time on verse 2, Origenes, *Fragmenta in Psalmos 1–150 [Dub.]*, Psalm 118, v. 2, line 17–21 (ed. PITRA); again as part of a commentary on Psalm 118, v. 1, *Catena Palestinensis*, Bibl. v. 1–2, sect. a, line 25–28 (ed. M. HARL, *La chaîne Palestinienne sur le Psaume 118 [Origène, Eusèbe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret]*. SC, 189. Paris 1972).

Remarkably, the name Makarios appears again as a monogram on f. 105v. Here, it is used as the initial of a treatise on metrics that is totally unrelated to the psalms. The second monogram has the same structure as the first one, and it is presented in an even more ornamental way. Both monograms appear to be written by the same hand. The elaborated lower part of the monogram on f. 105v resembles the decoration of the majuscule iota on f. 48r. These decorations seem to be a trademark of the scribe: similar ornamented majuscules can be found on ff. 8r–9v, ff. 34r–35v, f. 38v, f. 40v, f. 49r, f. 116r, ff. 117v–118r, f. 121v, f. 162r. We will return to the possible identity of this Makarios and the function of monogram and acrostic in our discussion of the cycle.

The standard catalogue (and only existing description) of the manuscript by COXE does not mention that we are dealing with a cycle of eight epigrams.<sup>6</sup> COXE merely writes: “Versus iambici circiter quinquaginta in librum Psalmorum”. He draws attention neither to the acrostic nor to the monogram. VASSIS, who based his own description on COXE’s work, only gives the incipit of the first epigram, Μέλος μελιχρόν Δαβιτικῆς ἐκ λύρας, as if it were one continuous poem of some 50 verses.<sup>7</sup>

## Occurrence of the poems in other manuscripts

To our knowledge, poems 3, 5, 6 and 8 have never been edited and are not preserved in other manuscripts. We give here a survey of the manuscripts containing one or more of the four other poems, and of the previous editions. Some manuscript catalogues give a transcription of the whole text, whereas others give an incipit or only mention the presence of the poem.<sup>8</sup> The sources that provide a full text are marked by Ed., while sources merely referring to these poems are indicated with Cf. The incipits are taken from VASSIS, we also give the permalink of the type of the poems in the DBBE.

<sup>6</sup> COXE, Greek manuscripts (as footnote 2 above) 331.

<sup>7</sup> I. VASSIS, *Initia carminum byzantinorum. Supplementa Byzantina*, 8. Berlin 2005, 453.

<sup>8</sup> PΑRPULOV’s book (as footnote 1 above) has been an important source for this survey, as well as, of course, VASSIS, *Initia* (as footnote 7 above).

## List of the manuscripts

- A<sub>1</sub>**: Athens, Ethnike Bibliotheke tes Hellados, 7 (s. XI)
- A<sub>2</sub>**: Athens, Ethnike Bibliotheke tes Hellados, 16 (s. XIV)
- A<sub>3</sub>**: Athens, Ethnike Bibliotheke tes Hellados, 2531 (a. 1281)
- B<sub>1</sub>**: Athos, Mone Dionysiou, 65 (s. XII)
- B<sub>2</sub>**: Athos, Mone Xenophontos, 5 (a. 1303)
- J<sub>1</sub>**: Jerusalem, Patriarchike bibliotheke, Timiou Staurou 1 (s. XIV–XV)
- J<sub>2</sub>**: Jerusalem, Patriarchike bibliotheke, Panagiou Taphou 45 (s. XIV)
- J<sub>3</sub>**: Jerusalem, Patriarchike bibliotheke, Panagiou Taphou 53 (a. 1053)
- M<sub>1</sub>**: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 60 sup. (s. XIII)
- M<sub>2</sub>**: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 15 sup. (s. XI)
- M<sub>3</sub>**: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 106 sup. (a. 966)
- M<sub>4</sub>**: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Crux 24 sup. (s. X)
- N<sub>1</sub>**: Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Musej (GIM), Sinod. gr. 358 (s. XI ex.)
- N<sub>2</sub>**: Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Musej (GIM), Sinod. gr. 194 (a. 1044?)
- O<sub>1</sub>**: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 194 (s. XV)
- O<sub>2</sub>**: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 223 (s. XV)
- O<sub>3</sub>**: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 160 (s. XV)
- O<sub>4</sub>**: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. 2. 3 (s. XIV)
- P<sub>1</sub>**: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 252 (s. XVI)

- Q<sub>1</sub>**: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 12 (a. 1419)
- Q<sub>2</sub>**: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2743 (s. XVI)
- R<sub>1</sub>**: Mytilene, Lesbos, Mone tou Leimonos, 220 (a. 1527)
- S<sub>1</sub>**: Sofija, Naučen Centър za Slavjano-Vizantijski Proučvanija “Ivan Dujčev”, D. gr. 389 (s. XIV)
- T<sub>1</sub>**: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 22 (manu s. XII–XIII)
- T<sub>2</sub>**: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 27 (a. 1452)
- T<sub>3</sub>**: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, gr. 1633 (s. XVI)
- T<sub>4</sub>**: Sinai, Mone tes Hagias Aikaterines, ΜΓ 19 (s. X)
- U<sub>1</sub>**: Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria, S. Salv. 117 (a. 1116)
- V<sub>1</sub>**: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. gr. 2 (s. XVI)
- V<sub>2</sub>**: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. gr. 398 (s. XI)
- V<sub>3</sub>**: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. gr. 367 (ca. 1317–20)
- V<sub>4</sub>**: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 752 (a. 1058)
- V<sub>5</sub>**: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1866 (s. XIV)
- W<sub>1</sub>**: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, theol. gr. 159 (manu s. XVI)
- X<sub>1</sub>**: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. app. I. 32 (a. 1075)
- X<sub>2</sub>**: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. app. I. 41 (s. XVI)

## Witnesses and editions of poems 1, 2, 4 and 7

**Poem 1:** Μέλος μελιχρὸν Δαβιτικῆς ἐκ λύρας ([www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/1975](http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/1975))

**O<sub>1</sub>:** f. 48r. Cf. COXE, Greek manuscripts (as footnote 2 above) 331.

**O<sub>4</sub>:** f. 2v. Ed. PARPULOV (as footnote 1 above) 232.

**S<sub>1</sub>:** f. 1v. Ed. *ibid.* 232.

**Poem 2:** Δαυὶδ μελωδέοντι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ([www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/23](http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/23))

Critical editions: E. FOLLIERI, *L'ordine* (as footnote 9 below) 466, based on **M<sub>2</sub>**, **N<sub>1</sub>** and **V<sub>1</sub>** and PARPULOV, *Toward a history* (as footnote 1 above) 221, based on **A<sub>1</sub>**, **B<sub>1</sub>**, **M<sub>1</sub>**, **N<sub>1</sub>**, **O<sub>4</sub>**, **Q<sub>1</sub>**, **U<sub>1</sub>**.

**A<sub>1</sub>:** f. 254v.

**B<sub>1</sub>:** f. 10r.

**J<sub>1</sub>:** f. 18v. Cf. A. I. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-KERAMEUS, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκεμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, III. Saint-Petersburg 1897, 3.

**M<sub>1</sub>:** f. 1r. Cf. MARTINI/BASSI, *Catalogus* (as footnote 11 below) 531.

**M<sub>2</sub>:** f. 6r. Cf. *ibid.* 605. Ed. FOLLIERI, *L'ordine* (as footnote 9 below) 465.

**N<sub>1</sub>:** f. 32v. Cf. A. VLADIMIR, Систематическое описание рукописей Московской Синодальной (Патриаршей) библиотеки I: Рукописи греческие. Moscow 1894, 47.

**O<sub>1</sub>:** f. 48r.

**O<sub>2</sub>:** f. 21r. Cf. FOLLIERI, *L'ordine* (as footnote 9 below) 464; G. KARO / I. LIETZMANN, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*. Göttingen 1902, 36.

**O<sub>4</sub>:** f. 2v.

**Q<sub>1</sub>:** f. Br.

**S<sub>1</sub>**: f. 1v. Cf. P ARPULOV, Toward a history (as footnote 1 above) 65 note 1.

**U<sub>1</sub>**: f. 237r.

**V<sub>1</sub>**: f. 33r. Cf. F. DE' CAVALIERI, Codices Graeci Chisiani et Borgiani. Rome 1927, 114.

**W<sub>1</sub>**: f. 1v. Cf. H. HUNGER / O. KRESTEN / CH. HANNICK, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Teil 3/2. Codices Theologici 101–200. Vienna 1984, 239.

**Poem 4**: ἄκουε Δαυίδ, τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν Ὀρφέως ([www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/7](http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/7))

Critical edition: FOLLIERI, Un carme giambico (as footnote 12 below) 101–116, based on **M<sub>3</sub>**, **P<sub>1</sub>** and **V<sub>2</sub>** and P ARPULOV, Toward a history (as footnote 1 above) 216, based on **B<sub>1</sub>**, **B<sub>2</sub>**, **J<sub>2</sub>**, **M<sub>1</sub>**, **M<sub>2</sub>**, **M<sub>3</sub>**, **N<sub>1</sub>**, **N<sub>2</sub>**, **Q<sub>1</sub>**, **T<sub>1</sub>**, **U<sub>1</sub>**, **V<sub>2</sub>**, **X<sub>1</sub>**.

**B<sub>1</sub>**: f. 10r.

**B<sub>2</sub>**: f.196v.

**J<sub>1</sub>**: f. 18v. Cf. P APADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη III (as above) 3.

**J<sub>2</sub>**: f. 12r–v.

**M<sub>1</sub>**: f. 1r. Cf. MARTINI/BASSI, Catalogus (as footnote 11 below) 531.

**M<sub>2</sub>**: f. 6r. Cf. *ibid.* 605.

**M<sub>3</sub>**: f. 5r. Cf. *ibid.* 136; K. LAKE / S. LAKE, Dated Greek minuscule manuscripts to the year 1200. III Manuscripts in the monasteries of Mount Athos and in Milan. Boston, Mass. 1935, 17.

**N<sub>1</sub>**: f. 32v.

**N<sub>2</sub>**: f. 6v.

**P<sub>1</sub>**: f. 1r. Cf. K. HAJDÚ, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Band 4. Codices graeci Monacenses 181–265. Wiesbaden 2012, 341. Ed. HARDT, Catalogus (as footnote 11 below) 49.



**O<sub>1</sub>**: f. 48r.

**O<sub>3</sub>**: f. 1r. Cf. COXE, Greek manuscripts (as footnote 2 above) 275.

**O<sub>4</sub>**: f. 2v. Cf. PARPULOV, Toward a history (as footnote 1 above) 65 note 1.

**Q<sub>1</sub>**: f. Br.

**S<sub>1</sub>**: f. 1v. Cf. PARPULOV, Toward a history (as footnote 1 above) 65 note 1.

**T<sub>1</sub>**: f. 2v.

**T<sub>2</sub>**: f. 495r. Ed. BENEŠEVIĆ, Catalogus I (as footnote 11 below) 22.

**T<sub>3</sub>**: f. 1r. Ed. *ibid.* 113.

**U<sub>1</sub>**: f. 237r.

**V<sub>2</sub>**: f. 37v.

**X<sub>1</sub>**: f. 20v.

**X<sub>2</sub>**: f. 2r. Ed. CASTELLANI, Catalogus (as footnote 11 below) 120.

**Poem 7**: Δαυιτική πέφυκε δέλτος ἁσμάτων ([www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2646](http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2646))

Critical edition: PARPULOV, Toward a history (as footnote 1 above) 219, based on **A<sub>1</sub>**, **A<sub>2</sub>**, **J<sub>2</sub>**, **M<sub>1</sub>**, **M<sub>4</sub>**, **O<sub>4</sub>**, **Q<sub>1</sub>** and **V<sub>5</sub>**.

**A<sub>1</sub>**: f. 254v.

**A<sub>2</sub>**: f. 6r.

**A<sub>3</sub>**: f. 298r. Ed. PH. EUANGELATOU-NOTARA, Συλλογή χρονολογημένων σημειωμάτων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων. 13ος αἰώνας. Athens 1984, 111; ΕΑΔΕΜ, Ἑλληνες γραφεῖς τοῦ 13<sup>ου</sup> αἰ. Δίπτυχα Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μελετῶν, 3. Athens 1982–1983, 238; I. SAJDAK, Ioannis Geometrae Carmen. *Eos* 24 (1919–1920), 44; P.N. PAPAGEORGIOS, Αἱ Σέρραι καὶ τὰ προάστεια, τὰ περὶ τὰς Σέρρας καὶ ἡ μονὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου. *BZ* 3 (1894) 320.

**J<sub>1</sub>**: f. 18v. Cf. PΑΡΑΔΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ-KΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη III (as above) 3.

**J<sub>2</sub>**: f. 12r.

**J<sub>3</sub>**: f. 13r–v. Ed. Cf. PΑΡΑΔΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ-KΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἧτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκεμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, I. Saint-Petersburg 1891, 131.

**M<sub>1</sub>**: f. 1r. Cf. MARTINI/BASSI, Catalogus (as footnote 11 below) 531.

**M<sub>4</sub>**: f. 193r. Ed. *ibid.* 878.

**O<sub>1</sub>**: f. 48v.

**O<sub>4</sub>**: f. 2v.

**Q<sub>1</sub>**: f. Br.

**Q<sub>2</sub>**: f. 207v. Ed. SAJDAK, Ioannis Geometrae Carmen (as above) 43; A. LUDWICH, Ein neuer Beitrag zur Charakteristik des Jakob Diassorinos. *BZ* 1 (1892) 298; LUDWICH, Apollinari Metaphrasis (as footnote 14 below) 24 note 2.

**R<sub>1</sub>**: f. 67v. Ed. A. I. PΑΡΑΔΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ-KΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῆς νήσου Λέσβου ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων. Constantinople 1884, 111.

**T<sub>4</sub>**: f. 32v (fragment). Ed. P. G. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΡΟΥΛΟΣ / M. K. CHAIRETE / N. T. ZIAS, Τὰ νέα εὐρήματα τοῦ Σινᾶ. Athens 1998, 145 with fig. 58.

**V<sub>3</sub>**: f. 139r. Ed. C. N. CONSTANTINIDES / R. BROWNING, Dated Greek manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1570. Washington DC / Nicosia 1993, 155; S. P. LAMPROS, Τὰ ὑπ' ἀριθμὸν ΠΙΖ' καὶ ΠΓ' κατάλοιπα. *NE* 16 (1922) 30–59.

**V<sub>4</sub>**: f. 17r. Ed. I. ΚΑΛΑΒΡΕΖΟΥ / N. ΤΡΑΗΟΥΛΙΑ / S. SABAR, Critique of the Emperor in the Vatican Psalter gr. 752. *DOP* 47 (1993) 196.

**V<sub>5</sub>**: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1866 (s. XIV): f. 76r.

## Principles of the edition

Since this article aims to illustrate the ways in which poems are assembled and adapted in this particular manuscript, our edition reflects the peculiarities of the text as it appears in the Baroccianus. It is not intended as a critical edition of the individual poems based on a complete collation of all known manuscripts. We have limited ourselves to minimal corrections, so as to ensure readability. Punctuation, accentuation, and orthography are adapted to standard philological practice. We have abstained from correcting grammatical errors. The critical apparatus includes our corrections of the text of the manuscript ( $O_1$ ), as well as a selection of significant variant readings from other manuscripts, taken from the existing editions mentioned above and from our own consultation of  $S_1$  and  $O_4$ . The text is followed by a translation which tries to be faithful to the Greek, retaining its occasional obscurity or awkwardness.

## Edition and translation

Στίχοι / Verses

1. Μέλος μελιχρὸν δαβιτικῆς ἐκ λύρας  
ἐναρμονίως ἢ βίβλος αὕτη φέρει, |  
ὕμνουσα Χριστὸν τὸν θεάνθρωπον Λόγον  
σὺν Πνεύματι τε τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα,  
5 τῶν δαιμόνων δὲ μακρὰν ὠθοῦσα στίφη.

Tit. Ἐτεροι, κυροῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Βλεμίδου  $S_1$  Ἐτ(εροι) τοῦ κυρ(οῦ) Νικηφόρου  $O_4$  | 2 ἐν ἀρμονίαις  $S_1$  ἐναρμόνιος  $O_4$  4 ἐπὶ Πνεύματι  $S_1$  | 5 στίφει  $O_1$

The sweet melody of David's lyre  
is harmoniously written in this book,  
which praises Christ, the Word human and divine,  
with the Spirit, and also God the Father,  
pushing the crowd of demons far away.

2. Ἄθρει μελουργῶ οἶψ καὶ μόνψ φίλε |  
Δαβιδ μελωδέοντι τῆς ἐκκλησίης,  
ὅς τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκπλαγεῖς τραγωδίῃ |  
ζύων φύσεις θέλγοντά που καὶ δενδρέων

- 5 ἄλλ' Ὀρφέα κρούοντα θεῖην πυκτίδα |  
 Θεὸν σέβοντα ὃν πάροιθεν ἠγνόουν  
 τὸ καινὸν ἄσμα ποῖος ἔψεται νόος |  
 Ὀρφῆα τοῦτον, οὐ τὸν ἔξω προσφράσει  
 ὡς οἶα τοῖς μύθοισιν ἐξυφασμένα |  
 10 οἷς τοῖς μέλεσιν ἔπετ' ἐθνέων γένη.

Tit. Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸ Ψαλτήριον  $N_i$  | 1 add. v.  $O_i$  | 2 ἐκκλησίας  $M_2 N_i O_4 V_i W_i$  | 3 τῆς  $V_i$  τραγωδία  $A_i B_i M_i N_i$  | 4 π(ως) καὶ  $B_i$  | 5 ἄλλ'  $O_i$  θεῖαν  $A_i B_i M_i N_i Q_i V_2$  | 6 δ' ὃν  $A_i B_i M_i M_2 Q_i$  | 7 τὸ om.  $A_i Q_i N_i$  κλεινὸν  $M_2$  ἔψεται  $O_i$  | 8 om. versus  $U_i$  Ὀρφῆα  $A_i B_i M_i N_i$  Ὀρφῆς  $Q_i$  πρὸς φράσοι  $O_i O_4$  προσφράσοι  $S_i N_i$  προσφράσο  $U_i$  | 9 μύθοισιν  $V_i$  μύσοις  $A_i$  ἐξυφασμένους  $O_4$  | 10 ὅς  $U_i$  ἦς τοῖς  $N_i V_i$  μέλεσιν  $Follieri$  ἔπετ'  $O_i$  ἔσπετ'  $B_i M_i$  ἐπιτ'  $V_i$  ἔπετα  $A_i$  ἔπετ'  $U_i$  ἀθνέων  $O_i$  θνέτων  $A_i$  ἔπετεθνέων  $O_4$  γένος  $B_i M_i M_2$  γένει  $A_i Q_i$

This poem is utterly mangled: in this form, it precludes any meaningful translation. For a discussion see the short philological comments.

3. Κρότος ψαλμικὸς ἐμμελέστατος ἄγαν·  
 θέλγοντα πιστοῦ παντὸς κραδίην ὄντως |  
 πρὸς δόξαν πρὸς αἴνεσιν Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος,  
 ἀνάγοντα νοῦν πρὸς θεῖαν γνῶσιν πᾶσαν, |  
 5 πᾶσαν καθηδύνοντα αἴσθησιν μᾶλλον  
 ἢ τῶν ληρωδῶν Ὀρφῆος καὶ Πινδάρου. |

5 καθ' ἠδύνοντα  $O_i$  | 6 ληρωδῶν  $O_i$

The sound of psalms is the pinnacle of harmony,  
 truly charming the heart of every believer  
 towards the honour and praise of the living God,  
 leading the mind to all divine knowledge,  
 delighting all the senses more  
 than do foolish Orpheus and Pindar.

4. Ἄκουε Δαβίδ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν Ὀρφῆως·  
 φόρμιγγα κινεῖ μυστικῆς μελωδίας, |  
 σιγᾶν δὲ ποιεῖ τῶν παθῶν τὰ θηρία  
 ὅτε σφαλεῖσα τοῦ πρέποντος ἢ φύσις |  
 5 πρὸς θηριώδεις ἐκτραπῆ δυσμορφίας.

1 παρ' ἡμῖν συλλόγου  $Q_i$  Ὀρφέος  $O_i S_i$  | 2 κίνει  $T_2$  κινεῖν  $B_2$  | 3 ποιεῖν  $B_2$  ποιεῖτω  $V_2$  | 4 ὅταν  $B_1 J_2 M_1$   
 $M_2 M_3 N_1 N_2 T_1 X_i$  ὅτ' ἂν  $X_2$  σφαλίσα  $O_i$  σφαλή σοι  $B_i$  | 5 ἐκτρέπει  $B_i V_2$  δυσσημίας  $N_i P_1 Q_i T_3 X_2$

Listen to David, our own Orpheus.  
 He strikes the lyre of his mystical melody  
 and silences the wild beasts of our passions  
 when nature, deviating from what is fitting,  
 lapses into beastly ugliness.

5. Ῥεῦμα πνευματόχευτον ἐντεῦθεν ῥέει·  
 ἡδυγαληνὸν ἀφθαρτὸν τε καὶ θεῖον, |  
 φυτοῖς ἀρδεύων καὶ ποτίζων καὶ τρέφων,  
 εὐσκιοφύλλοις καὶ καρπίμοις εὖ μάλα, |  
 5 ἀεὶ φύλλοις ἄνθεσιν ἐνδεδυμένοις,  
 καὶ καρποῖς ὁμοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν διδοῦσι. |

2 ἡδυγαλινὸν  $O_i$  | 4 εὐσκιοφύλλοις  $O_i$  μᾶλα  $O_i$

An inspired flood flows from here,  
 calm and sweet, immortal and divine.  
 It irrigates, waters and feeds the plants  
 which have overshadowing leaves and bear fruit in abundance,  
 which are always adorned with leaves and flowers  
 and which at once yield their fruit in season.

6. Ἴσθι τοῦτ' ἄνθρωπε ὄργανον θεῖον  
 καλλικέλαδον τῶν Σειρηνείων μᾶλλον, |  
 νοῦν πρὸς ὕψος ἔλκοντα καὶ θεωρίαν,  
 ἄφατον τερπνὴν μυστικὴν εὐοδίαν, |  
 5 προλήψεις παθῶν ἀποσοβῶν, διώκων,  
 ἔνθου, ἀπαθέστατον ὑφ' ἡδονῆς δεικνύων. |

2 καλλικέλαδον  $O_i$  σειρηνίων  $O_i$  | 6 ἡφ'  $O_i$

Know, O man, that this is a divine instrument  
 more beautiful-sounding than the Sirens.  
 It draws the mind to sublimity and to contemplation,  
 an ineffable, delightful and mystical journey.  
 It repels and drives away all preoccupations of the passions.  
 It makes the mind divine and utterly unaffected by sensual pleasure.

7. Ὄντως πέφυκε δέλτος ἁσμάτων αὐτῆ·  
 φέρουσα τῷ γράψαντι φέρτατον κλέος, |  
 θεόγραφον χάριν καὶ τῷ κεκτημένῳ,  
 καὶ μανθάνουσιν εὐκλεῆ τὴν καρδίαν, |  
 5 καὶ τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἐνθεεστάτους νόας,  
 ψάλλουσι δ' ἄσμα Πνεύματος χορηγίαν. |

Tit. Εἰς Δαυίδ·  $J_2$  | 1 Δαυιτικὴ πέφυκα δέλτος ἁσμάτων  $A_1 A_2 J_3 M_1 M_4 O_4 Q_1 S_1 V_3 V_4 V_5$  Λογικὴ νῦν πέφυκα δέλτος ἁσμάτων  $J_2$  Δαβιτικῶν πέφυκα  $Q_2 T_4$  Δαβιτικῆ πέφηκε  $A_3$  βίβλος ἁσμάτων  $R_1$  | 2 τοῖς μέλπουσι  $Q_2 R_1$  | 3 χάριν δὲ τῷ  $O_4 S_1$  χάριν τε τῷ γράψαντι καὶ κεκτημένῳ  $Q_2 R_1$  θεόγραφτον ῥ' ἦν  $A_3$  θεόδοτον χάριν  $T_4$  | 4 λύσιν ὀφλημάτων τὲ τοῖς μελετῶσι  $Q_1$  σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν τοῖς ἐκμανθάνουσιν  $T_4$  | vv. 5–6 om.  $Q_1 T_4$

Truly this is the book of songs.  
 It brings the highest glory to the scribe,  
 God-written grace to the owner,  
 an honourable heart to those who learn from it,  
 a most pious mind to the viewers,  
 and the assistance of the Spirit to the singers of its song.

8. Ὑπερμαχῶν οὖν καὶ βοηθῶν ἐνθένδε  
 ἐξ ὀρωμένων ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀοράτων |  
 τοὺς ἐξ ὅλης ἄδοντας καρδίας ὕμνους  
 τούτους πρὸς Θεὸν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· |  
 5 διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅστις σωθῆναι θέλων  
 ὕμνει συνετῶς τῷ σαρκωθέντι Λόγῳ, |  
 σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.  
 ἀμήν.

1 βοηθῶν  $O_1$  | 2 ὀρωμένων  $O_1$  | 3 ἐξόλης  $O_1$

Thus from this time aiding and protecting  
 from visible and invisible enemies  
 those who wholeheartedly sing these hymns  
 to the Lord day by day,  
 therefore you too, who want to be saved,  
 praise the incarnate Word wisely,  
 with the Father and the Spirit, for all eternity.  
 Amen.

## Short philological comments

1. Note the awkward syntax of verse 4: the strange position of the word  $\tau\epsilon$  and the apposition  $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ . Regarding prosody, although this poem attempts to adhere to classicizing rules, it has several false quantities in the *dichrona*. It also has one overt error (v. 2  $\beta\acute{\iota}\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ).

In  $O_4$  and  $S_1$  the epigram is attributed to Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197–ca. 1269), the well-known teacher and writer in the empire of Nicaea, who also wrote a commentary on the psalms (PG 142.1321).

2. This popular poem – it is preserved in at least nine further manuscripts, yet without the first verse of  $O_1$  – poses several unsolvable syntactical problems. Follieri argues that the order of the verses is mixed up.<sup>9</sup> She advances the convincing hypothesis that in an older manuscript, now lost, the verses were written in two columns, which a scribe inadvertently copied vertically instead of following the horizontal reading direction. This erroneous copy became the prototype for all preserved versions of the epigram. This is the reconstructed text of Follieri with a translation:<sup>10</sup>

	Δαυὶδ μελωδέοντι τῆς ἐκκλησίας	= $O_1$ 2
	τὸ καινὸν ᾄσμα ποῖος ἔψεται νόος	7
	ὃς τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκπλαγεῖς τραγωδίῃ	3
	Ὅρφηα τοῦτον οὐ τὸν ἔξω προσφράσει,	8
5	ζώων φύσεις θέλγοντα ποῦ καὶ δενδρέων	4
	ὡς οἷα τοῖς μύθοισιν ἐξυφασμένα,	9
	ἀλλ' Ὅρφέα κρούοντα θεῖην πηκτίδα,	5
	ἧς τοῖς μέλεσσιν ἔσπετ' ἐθνέων γένη,	10
	θεὸν σέβοντα δ' ὃν πάροιθεν ἠγνόουν;	6

What mind will follow David,  
 who sings the new song of the church?  
 A mind that, astonished by his song,  
 will call him Orpheus, not the heathen one  
 5 who enchants the natures of animals and trees,  
 (O what concoctions from myth!),  
 but an Orpheus who plays a divine lyre.

<sup>9</sup> E. FOLLIERI, L'ordine dei versi in alcuni epigrammi Bizantini, *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 465–466.

<sup>10</sup> FOLLIERI, L'ordine (as footnote 9 above) 466.

The gentiles will follow the songs of this lyre  
and they will worship God, whom they formerly did not know.

This poem has several Ionic forms (v. 2 ἐκκλησίης, v. 3 τραγωδίη, v. 5 θείων) and a typically Homeric form (v. 8 Ὀρφῆα). These give the poem a distinctly epic flavour, although the Homeric morphology is not maintained throughout the poem (cf. v. 5 Ὀρφέα, for metrical reasons).

The first verse in our manuscript (Ἄθρει μελουργῶ...) is obviously added to make the poem fit within the acrostic. It is probably not a coincidence that it is the only verse with a grammatical anomaly (ἄθρέω with the dative case), a hiatus and an overt prosodical error (οἴω). By contrast, the nine ‘original’ verses show impeccable prosody. In the version of O<sub>1</sub>, however, v. 10 has two overt errors (μέλεσιν ἔπετ’). The faulty prosody of these two words is most probably due to the defective manuscript transmission, and was not present in the original version of the poem, which Follieri plausibly reconstructed as μέλεσσιν ἔσπετ’.

3. The participles θέλγοντα, ἀνάγοντα and καθηδύνοντα do not accord with the noun which appears to govern them, notably the subject of the sentence, κρότος. The awkward syntax goes hand in hand with the use of fillers (ἄγαν, ὄντως, repetition of πᾶσαν) and the complete neglect of prosody, even in the penultimate position (ζῶντος, πᾶσαν and μᾶλλον at the end of the verse).

4. As in the second poem, David is called “our” Orpheus. At verse 3, the words τῶν παθῶν τὰ θήρια constitute a metaphorical reference to the myth of Orpheus. Whereas this pagan hero beguiled wild animals (see, again, poem 2), the Christian David tames the animals which here stand as metaphors for human passions.

This poem is widespread and ascribed to a certain Ignatios in M<sub>3</sub>, one of the oldest extant manuscripts containing these verses. On f. 5r the lemma reads: Ἰαμβοὶ εἰς τὸν δα<β>ιδ ἰγνατίου.<sup>11</sup> Follieri suggested that Ignatios was Ignatios the Deacon, but Lauxtermann is more cautious.<sup>12</sup>

---

**11** In this manuscript Ignatios is also named as the author of another book epigram with the incipit Ὡσπερ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν Σαοὺλ τὸ συμπίγνον. Cf. E. MARTINI / D. BASSI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*. Milan 1906, 136. These two epigrams occur together in a number of further manuscripts: M<sub>1</sub> cf. MARTINI/BASSI 531–532; W. BEKE, *La spiritualité chez les démocrates-chrétiens de l’Orient médiéval*. Leopoldsburg 1945, 47–54, 58–99; P<sub>1</sub> cf. I. HARDT, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*. T. 3. Munich 1806, 49; X<sub>2</sub> cf. C. CASTELLANI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum qui in bibliothecam D. Marci*



5. Ἐντεῦθεν in verse 1 can be taken as referring to the psalter. Verses 5 and 6 contain a clear allusion to Psalm 1:3 (τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ / καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρηήσεται).<sup>13</sup>

Once again we observe several syntactical and metrical anomalies. The participles in masculine gender (ἀρδεύων, ποτίζων and τρέφων) do not accord with the noun that governs them (ῥεύμα), and they seem to have a direct object in the dative case (φυτοῖς). The use of ἄνθξις (v. 5) and ὁμοῦ (v. 6) in long positions and the verse endings θεῖον and διδοῦσι are but the most blatant indications of the prosodic incompetence of the author of this poem.

The word πνευματόχευτον at verse 1 is a *hapax legomenon*.

6. This poem is characterized by a lack of respect for the metrical conventions, clumsy asyndeta and once more a defective syntax (ὄργανον ... ἔλκοντα ... ἀποσοβῶν, διώκων ...). The use of the preposition ὑφ' at verse 6 is remarkable. Perhaps it was, as a personal agent, elicited by the passive sense of the word ἀπαθέστατον. This verse also counts 14 syllables, the only one in the entire cycle to break the 12-syllable pattern.

7. The first verse of this very common poem (known from 17 mss., yet with variable length) has been adapted to the demands of the acrostic. Tellingly, it is the only verse of the poem which is not metrically flawless: see the overt error at the verse end (αὔτη).

The list-like character of the poem accounts for its fluidity: it takes on widely divergent forms in different manuscripts. For instance, the manuscripts M<sub>4</sub>, Q<sub>2</sub>

---

Venetiarum inde ab Anno MDCCXL ad haec usque tempora inlati sunt. Venice 1895, 120; T<sub>3</sub> cf. V. BENEŠEVIĆ, *Catalogus codicum manuscritorum graecorum qui in monasterio sanctae Catharinae in monte Sina asservantur III* 1. Hildesheim 1965, 113. Poem 4 is also found along with other epigrams, e.g. in manuscripts T<sub>2</sub> cf. V. BENEŠEVIĆ, *Catalogus codicum manuscritorum graecorum qui in monasterio sanctae Catharinae in monte Sina asservantur I*. Saint-Petersburg 1911, 22; V<sub>2</sub> cf. PAPPULOV, *Towards a history* (as footnote 1 above) 216 note 1; M<sub>2</sub> cf. MARTINI/BASSI (as above) 605. See also FOLLIERI, *L'ordine* (as footnote 9 above) 106 and PITRA, *Analecta* (as footnote 5 above) 440.

**12** E. Follieri, *Un carme giambico in onore di Davide*. *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9 (1957) 107; M. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*. WBS 24/1. Vienna 2003, 205 note 21.

**13** The poem is also reminiscent of Theodoros Prodromos' garden poem, describing his garden with similar features (e.g. water running through, flowers, blossoming trees and fruits). For an edition and discussion, see N. ZAGKLAS, *Theodoros Prodromos: the neglected poems and epigrams*. PhD Wien 2014, 395–402; I. NILSSON, *Nature controlled by artistry. The poetics of the literary garden in Byzantium*, in H. Bodin / R. Hedlund, *Byzantine gardens and beyond*. Uppsala 2013, 20–24.

and R<sub>1</sub> only give the first three verses of the epigram and therefore focus only on the production of the manuscript.<sup>14</sup> A<sub>3</sub>, a psalter from 1281, further elaborates on the role of the scribe in verses 4 to 5.<sup>15</sup> Other manuscripts have a version of the poem with only four verses, the last of which exhibits considerable variations: Q<sub>1</sub> λύσιν ὀφλημάτων τὲ τοῖς μελετῶσι, and T<sub>4</sub> σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν τοῖς ἐκμανθάνουσιν, a line of thirteen syllables.

8. At first sight the word οὖν comes as a surprise in the first verse of a poem. However, it can be explained by its concluding function within the cycle as a whole. It links the poem to the previous one. This explains the pending participles (ὑπερμαχῶν and βοηθῶν) as a continuation of the idea of poem 7: those who recite the psalms every day will be saved. The prosody of this last poem is sloppy: ε and ο are both used three times in a long position.

## Makarios

The genitive Μακαρίου appears in several places: in the acrostic of this cycle (f. 48r), in the monogram that initiates it, and, at another, seemingly random location elsewhere in the manuscript (f. 105v). What does ‘of Makarios’ mean? Does it mean that a certain Makarios identifies himself as the author of the cycle? Does he want to assert his ownership, or production, of the manuscript? An answer to this question is made more difficult because the manuscript contains no regular colophon that might identify its scribe and/or patron.

Does Makarios refer to a historical person? After all, it is surely no coincidence that the very first word of the Greek text of the psalms is μακάριος (blessed). Naturally, every Byzantine would be aware of this connection; moreover, poem 5 contains a clear allusion to the text of the first psalm. In this respect, ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ may be more than just a given name. It could reflect or prefigure the spiritual progression of anyone who reads or transcribes the psalms, and thus becomes blessed. This progression appears repeatedly in the epigrams:

**14** After the first three verses, Q<sub>2</sub> continues with a poem of seven verses with the incipit θείου νοητούς ἀνθρακας πυρὸς φέρω. Cf. A. LUDWICH, *Apolinarii metaphrasis Psalmorum*. Leipzig 1912, 24 note 2.

**15** (δέ)χου τό τεύχος ἀρετῆ τῆς ἐνθέοις | χειρὶ γραφέντι ἀμαρτωλῶ π(α)π(ᾶ) τό Υἰάλέα. Remarkably, the last line appears to be written in prose, and we could assume that the scribe, Hyaleas, unwittingly passes from poetry to prose in this colophon. For Hyaleas see M. VOGEL / V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*. Leipzig 1909, 416.

poem 6 in particular emphasizes that the psalms lead the human mind to sublime spiritual strength.

Against this hypothesis one should note that the monogram appears elsewhere in the manuscript, in a context unrelated to the psalms. Monograms were usually used in Byzantine manuscripts to mark someone's involvement with the manuscript: they might have been used by the scribe, the patron, or often, the owner. The second occurrence of the monogram indicates that the claim of 'Makarios' extends over the entire manuscript. Since the monograms seem to be made by the same hand as the main texts, it is reasonable to suppose that the scribe was identifying himself at these points.

The acrostic also functions as a personal claim. Other acrostics in Byzantine book epigrams suggest that they can fulfil different functions. For example, in *Par. gr.* 922, a theological miscellany written for the empress Eudokia Makrembolitissa, the dedicatory epigram contains an acrostic with a phrase dedicating this manuscript to Eudokia, its patroness.<sup>16</sup> In the *Florilegium Marcianum*, a certain John, the compiler of this miscellaneous manuscript, inserted a book epigram on his own manuscript, with the acrostic IQANNOY: here, the acrostic, also a genitive of a personal name, refers to the compiler of the manuscript.<sup>17</sup> It is plausible that the Makarios cycle in O<sub>1</sub> presents a similar case. If we consider both monograms and acrostic, it seems reasonable to assume that a person named Makarios identified himself, albeit obliquely, as the scribe of the entire manuscript, and as the person responsible for the cycle; as its 'author', or perhaps more correctly, as its 'compiler'.

## A recycled cycle

Paolo Odorico has demonstrated how the 'writing' of poems in Byzantine manuscripts amounts to a practice of com-position: manuscript producers assembled existing material into new forms, and were not shy of attaching their name to the final product.<sup>18</sup> Reading, selecting and writing were closely interwoven practices,

<sup>16</sup> W. HÖRANDNER, Visuelle Poesie in Byzanz. Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme. *JÖB* 40 (1990) 18–20.

<sup>17</sup> P. ODORICO, Il prato e l'ape. Il sapere sentenzioso del monaco Giovanni. *WBS*, 17. Vienna 1986, 17–18; 119.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. P. ODORICO, Poésies à la marge, réflexions personnelles? in F. Bernard / K. Demoen (eds.), Poetry and its contexts in eleventh-century Byzantium. Farnham / Burlington 2012, 207–224. See also P. ODORICO, La cultura della syllogè. *BZ* 83 (1990) 1–21; CAVALLLO, Lire (as footnote 1 above) 67–82.

and an appropriation of texts by a person does not necessarily mean that this person presented himself as their ‘original’ author.<sup>19</sup> Instead of trying to ascertain this ‘original author’, it is more important to investigate the different processes of compilation, ‘composition’, and appropriation.

In order to better understand the principles that governed the compilation of these eight poems, we can divide them into two groups. The first, group A, consists of poems 1, 2, 4 and 7 (known from several manuscripts). Poems 3, 5, 6 and 8 are here labelled group B (only found in O<sub>1</sub>). As shown in our philological comments, this division coincides with a marked contrast in literary quality. The treatment of metre and prosody in particular can give an indication of the education of a poem’s author. The prosody of the poems in group A remains close to the classicizing rules. Overt errors, that is, errors that are directly visible, are rare: one in poem 1 (v. 2: βίβλος) and two in poem 2 (v. 10: μέλεσιν ἔπετ’), in this last case due to a defective manuscript tradition. There are some more overt errors in the opening lines of poems 2 and 7, but these are precisely the places where our compiler made adaptations to the standard text. The treatment of dichrona generally accords with standard ‘learned’ metrical practice in the middle and late Byzantine period; that is, transgressions are allowed as long as they occur in words that could not otherwise be fitted into the prosodical structure. However, we do find the unforced error Πνεύματι in poem 1 v. 4. Hiatuses are generally avoided. The poems of group B, by contrast, completely neglect prosody and allow hiatus frequently.

The two groups are also distinguished by the degree in which they comply with grammatical standards. Apart from the peculiar status of the second poem, all poems of group A are grammatically flawless. By contrast, all poems of group B exhibit major syntactical anomalies: as noted above, participles do not accord, in case and/or gender, with the noun which governs them, or seem totally unrelated syntactically. These grammatical deviations cannot be explained *metri causa*.

Therefore, we can assume that our compiler copied four poems from one or more manuscripts, while intervening in their text in order to achieve an acrostic. His lack of metrical skills is shown by overt prosodical errors in precisely these places, whereas such errors are absent in the original versions. He also ‘composed’ four more poems himself. Their low metrical and grammatical standards correspond with the interventions made in the case of the first group; they were probably composed *ad hoc* for this particular manuscript.

---

<sup>19</sup> Cf. S. PAPAIOANNOU, Voice, signature, mask: the Byzantine author, in A. Pizzone (ed.), *The author in middle Byzantine literature*. BA, 28. Boston/Berlin 2014, 33.

The compiler of the cycle clearly had a plan in mind. The entire cycle of poems is conceived as a logical and coherent structure, even apart from the acrostic. The final two poems have the character of a colophon. Poem 7 refers to the scribe, the owner and the users of the book, who recite the psalms. Poem 8 concludes the cycle with a typical invocation of the Trinity, as in the very first poem, and with the word ἀμήν.

The poetic compilation of 'Makarios' can be placed in a long tradition. The four pre-existing poems frequently appear together in older manuscripts. In two 14th-century manuscripts,  $S_1$  and  $O_4$ , all four are part of an extended cycle of psalter poems at the beginning of the manuscript.

Interestingly, in  $S_1$  the poems are, just as is the case in  $O_1$ , preceded (on f. 1r) by the commentary by Epiphanius of Salamis and by the short text (inc. δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν), which is here also ascribed to Didymos. In  $O_4$  (f. 2v), the cycle of epigrams is entitled ἐπιγραφαὶ γραμμῶν τοῦ Ζιγαδινού. This last name is a variant for Zigabenos.<sup>20</sup> It seems to be no coincidence that Epiphanius of Salamis and Euthymios Zigabenos appear again in these manuscripts preserving all four known poems that are also in  $O_1$ .

$M_1$ , a 13th-century psalter, has three of our poems (2, 4, and 7) appearing in sequence, as part of a cycle of six poems on the psalter. The poems appear on f. 1r and are, interestingly, accompanied by several notes on the Psalms on f. 1v, amongst them parts of the commentary by Euthymios Zigabenos and that of Nikophoros Blemmydes.<sup>21</sup>

Parpulov refers to the collection of book epigrams in  $S_1$  as "a small anthology of such pieces, from which, evidently, one could choose according to taste".<sup>22</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that 'Makarios' used a manuscript similar to  $S_1$ ,  $O_4$  or  $M_1$  as his model, and has indeed chosen according to his taste. He was clearly not alone in adapting the text of these poems. Poem 4, the poem with the most extensive transmission history, appears to have been recycled and reworked in 'new' poems several times, most notably by a certain Arsenios.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See Ζιγαδινού referring to Zigabenus on v. 2 of the poem with inc. Εὐθυμίου πόνημα καὶ μονοτρόπου. Cf. *PG* 130.20; VASSIS, *Initia* (as footnote 7 above).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. MARTINI/BASSI, *Catalogus* (as footnote 11 above) 532.

<sup>22</sup> G. R. PAPPULOV, *Toward a history of Byzantine psalters Volume one. A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Humanities in Candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy*. Chicago, Illinois 2004, 23.

<sup>23</sup> For the discussion on Arsenios see LAUXTERMANN, *Poetry* (as footnote 12 above) 205. Interestingly, poem 4 (ascribed to a certain Ignatios in  $M_3$ , see above) itself reused some verses from older poems. Its final verses are almost identical to Pisides' *De Vanitate Vitae*, v. 139–141.

All this leads us to the following possible scenario. A certain Makarios intended to ‘compose’ a cycle of poems related to the psalter. He wanted to imprint on this cycle the acrostic ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ, thereby appropriating the whole series, and, perhaps, emphasizing the spiritual meaning of the psalter as embodied by its very first word. To this end, he recycled and adapted existing texts, combining them with verses of his own making into a new poetic composition.

## The shifting function of book epigrams

The process of assembling older epigrams implies that they are moved from one context to another. Most notably, some of our poems contain deictic elements or other references to an extra-textual reality, in this case, the material book with the main text of the psalms. Thus, in poem 1 v. 2, ἡ βίβλος αὕτη refers to the book the reader is presumed to see. It is equated with the “melody from David’s lyre”, which cannot refer to anything other than the psalter itself.

This is obvious for the poems of group A, since they were originally intended to accompany psalters, which indeed they do in earlier manuscripts; but the verses added by our compiler also contain references to a physical book. Thus, in the first verse of poem 7 δέλτος αὕτη (this book) is said to also contain songs, obviously referring to the psalms. In poem 5 v. 1, the word ἐντεῦθεν refers to a source of wisdom, which might, but need not, point to a psalter. In poem 6 v. 1, τουτί refers to the divine instrument, suggesting a metonymical relationship to the psalter. In poem 8, the words ὕμνους τούτους point unequivocally to the psalms.

Hence, all epigrams can clearly be considered ‘book epigrams’, since they take the book with the psalms as their subject. Poem 7 especially, which occurs as a colophon in many other books, is closely intertwined with the acts of producing and reading the book. However, it is important to remember that our manuscript is not a psalter. It only contains two texts that are related to the psalter, the commentaries on the psalms by Euthymios Zigabenos, immediately following the cycle, and the short treatise by Epiphanius on the division of the psalms, immediately before it. Perhaps Makarios intended his cycle as a kind of commentary on the psalms, just like the preceding and following texts in his manuscript. The epigrams have lost their original function of book epigram and become part of a series of texts related to the psalms. If this is the case, he saw no contradiction in adding epigrams ‘on’ the psalms in a manuscript that did not contain psalms. The commentaries that appear next to this cycle would conjure up the psalms in the mind of the Byzantine reader. Similarly, it has been suggested that deictic elements in epigrams on images, even if they

do not actually accompany these images, would still have made sense to the Byzantine reader, as the iconography is so standardized that the reader of the epigram could fall back on a mental image of the scene depicted.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, several of our epigrams also occur in manuscripts that do not offer the psalm texts themselves, but rather texts related to the psalms. This phenomenon seems to have evolved over time. Up to the 13th century, the majority of the manuscripts where the poems of the cycle appear do have a text of the psalms, with or without some form of commentary.<sup>25</sup> After the 13th century, a significant number of manuscripts transmit the epigrams despite not containing a text of the psalms themselves.<sup>26</sup> It seems that the bond between book epigrams and the main text on which they depended gradually became looser. The cycle in the manuscript O<sub>1</sub> might be regarded as an example of this evolution.

## Appendix – a verse prayer to the Trinity – Bodl. Barocc. 194 f. 48r

At the top of the folio preserving the Makarios cycle, just above the title of Ephanius' treatise, the scribe has written an invocation to the Trinity. Its three dodecasyllables are written next to each other on a single line, but the verses are separated by punctuation marks. The prayer is written in the same hand as the commentaries and the epigrams on the psalms.

Ἡ τῆς Τριάδος χάρις ἡ ζωοπλόκος<sup>27</sup>  
τέλειον ἀνάδειξον ἡμῶν τὸν πόνον  
ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ παντός ἐστι καὶ τέλος.

**24** A. RHOBY, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken, in W. Hörandner / A. RhoBY / A. Paul (eds.), Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung I. *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung*, 15. Vienna 2009, 53, 68.

**25** I.e. the manuscripts M<sub>4</sub> (9th–10th century), T<sub>4</sub>, P<sub>1</sub>, M<sub>3</sub> (10th century), N<sub>1</sub>, X<sub>1</sub>, V<sub>4</sub>, J<sub>3</sub> (11th century), V<sub>2</sub> (11th–12th century), T<sub>1</sub> (12th–13th century), J<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>3</sub> (13th century). The manuscripts M<sub>2</sub> (11th century) and B<sub>1</sub> (12th century) have only a commentary on the psalms and texts that are not related to the psalms.

**26** I.e. the manuscripts V<sub>3</sub>, V<sub>5</sub> (14th century), O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>2</sub> (15th century), W<sub>1</sub> (16th century) and O<sub>4</sub> (14th–16th century). The manuscripts with a text of the psalms are A<sub>2</sub> (14th century), J<sub>1</sub> (14th–15th century), Q<sub>1</sub>, T<sub>2</sub> (15th century), R<sub>1</sub>, T<sub>3</sub>, V<sub>1</sub> and X<sub>2</sub> (16th century).

**27** The word ζωοπλόκος appears to be a *hapax legomenon*.

Grace of the Trinity, weaver of life,  
 show our toil to be finished,  
 for in you all things have their beginning and their end.

Although to our knowledge, this is the only occurrence of this poem, it is clearly part of a broad tradition.<sup>28</sup> It is a typical example of a colophon verse referring to the religious dimension the scribe assigned to his toil.<sup>29</sup>

---

**28** For other examples of colophon verses invoking the Holy Trinity, see, incipit: ἡ δέλτος αὐτῆ τοῦ διδασκάλου πάντων. Cf. D. HARLFINGER / D.R. REINSCH / J.A.M. SONDERKAMP / G. PRATO, *Specimina Sinaitica. Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai*, 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Berlin 1983, 61. Incipit: τῆς τῶν τριβάλων κραλαίνης ἔργον τόδε and θεο]ῦ τὸ δῶρον κ(αὶ) θεοκτίστου πόνος. Cf. PH. EUANGELATOU-NOTARA, *Σημειώματα ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων ὡς πηγὴ διὰ τὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπὸ τοῦ 9ου αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1204*. Athens 1982, 220. Incipit: Πρὸς τῆς τριάδος τῆς πάντα ποιησάσης. Cf. MARTINI/BASSI, *Catalogus* (as footnote 11 above) 464.

**29** The manuscript contains yet some other scribal verses of a more popular formulaic type. F. 16r: Χ(ριστ)ὲ δίδου πονέοντι τετὴν πολυόλβον ἀρρωγήν. The verse is repeated on f. 116r, before a treatise on syntax. Cf. COXE, *Greek manuscripts* (as footnote 2 above) 334. F. 66r: Ἰ(ησο)ῦ ἡγοῦ τῶν ἐμ(ῶν) πονημ(ά)τ(ων).