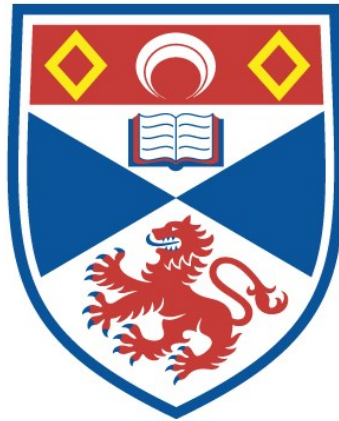


LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY STUDIES IN THE  
"EPITOME HISTORION" OF JOHN ZONARAS

Iordanis Grigoriadis

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



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**LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY STUDIES IN  
THE *EPITOME HISTORION* OF JOHN  
ZONARAS**



**A thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
by Iordanis Grigoriadis  
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## ABSTRACT

John Zonaras, a high-ranking judge, subsequently a monk in the twelfth-century Byzantine empire, is well known as author of a universal history that stretches from the Creation to his own time and a collection of canon law. His history is regularly used as a historical source, not only for recent and contemporary events but also as the medium through which information from lost early historians (in particular Cassius Dio) is preserved, while his work on canon law shows an uncommon knowledge of the practices of the Byzantine Church. The language of these works, however, has not yet received detailed study. It is the intention of this thesis to remedy this deficiency, thereby attempting to identify and highlight the most important literary features of Zonaras' writings.

The Introduction covers a survey of the intellectual currents in the twelfth century, to be followed by a biography of Zonaras and the description of the island of St. Glyceria, the place of his retirement, as it appeared during our visit in summer 1993. Part one studies the *prooimion* of Zonaras in relation to the *prooimia* of other eleventh and twelfth-century Byzantine historians. Part two entails a comparative study of Zonaras' history with the work of contemporary historians and non-historians and discusses the subject of the homogeneity of his language. Part three deals with specific linguistic features of Zonaras' style such as wordplay, humour and irony, the use of proverbs, linguistic borrowings from contemporaries, etc. The discussion ends with a Conclusion and an Appendix on the so-called Lexicon Tittmannianum, a major work of lexicography of disputed authenticity which we argue is probably a genuine work of Zonaras. From the studies in this thesis, it emerges that Zonaras' language reveals the talent of an author who has been unjustly neglected and certainly deserves further attention and exploitation for the benefit of both historians and linguists.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe the idea and instigation of pursuing a doctorate to my dear friend Michael, whose presence and support in this life cannot be appreciated as much as I would wish to in a note of this nature. Apart from motivation there was clearly a need for time and money. The authorities of the Greek Ministry of Education kindly granted me with a three-year leave of absence while the Greek Orthodox Diocese of Toronto (Canada) as well as the Student Awards Agency for Scotland have afforded me with financial support, the former during my initial year and the latter during my third year of studies. I was awarded further funds by the University of St. Andrews and by my Department for which I am grateful.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Antiqu.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> , (Epitome), ed. B. Niese, Marburg, 1887-96
B.Z.	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
C.F.H.B.	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
<i>Chiliades</i>	<i>Ioannis Tzetzae, Historiarum Variarum Chiliades</i> , ed. Th. Kiessling, Hildesheim, 1963
C.P.G.	<i>Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum</i> , ed. E. L. Leutsh, 2 vols., Göttingen, 1851
<i>de Bello Jud.</i>	<i>de Bello judaico</i> , ed. B. Niese, 2 vols., Berlin, 1955
D.O.P.	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
E.B.M.M.	Ἑταιρεία Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μελετῶν
E. M. Σ.	Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν
<i>Epitome</i>	John Zonaras, <i>Epitome historiarum</i> , ed. M. Pinder and Th. Büttner-Wobst, 3 vols., CSHB, Bonn, 1841-97
Eustathius (M. Van der Valk)	<i>Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes</i> , ed. M. Van der Valk, 4 vols., Leiden, 1971-1987

- Koukoules Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, 6 vols., Athens, 1955
- Lexicon Tittmannianum *Johannis Zonarae Lexicon*, ed. J. Tittmann, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1808; repr. Amsterdam, 1967
- Not. et extr.* *Notices et extraits de manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi*
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-8; repr. Brussels, 1963
- PG *Patrologia graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne
- RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- RP G. A. Ralles and A. Potles, Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, 6 vols., Athens, 1852-9; repr. 1966
- Suda* *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1928-1938
- Tzetzes *Io. Tzetzae Commentarii in Aristophanem* (L. M. Positano, H. Halwerda, W. J. W. Koster, eds.), 3 vols., Groningen/Amsterdam, 1964

Photograph of the island of St. Glyceria taken in the summer of 1993.

## INTRODUCTION

### a) A brief survey of twelfth-century literature

As the eleventh century turned toward its last decades, literacy and, generally speaking, education flourished in Byzantium while at the same time this period was marked by a quest for new linguistic expressions. The former years bequeathed to the subsequent literary production not only characteristic guidelines, but also great models. Michael Psellus' personality - a versatile talent - with refined linguistic tendencies, influenced the shaping of the style of his pupils and that of his literary successors. Hence, Byzantine *literati* pursue a certain mannerism of phrase and seek to impress their audience and/or demonstrate their wide learning.

Of the three elements in the Byzantine Trivium, rhetoric was by far the most important, and never more so than in the twelfth century. More than an academic discipline, rhetoric was a mentality which governed all forms of communication. It was, to use Paul Magdalino's words, "the art of finding the right form of words for the occasion".<sup>1</sup> Rhetoric was probably responsible for the pre-occupation of twelfth-century writers with mild humour, figures of speech, puns, riddles, allegories and the very long composite epithets which are so well attested in their works. It is, however, sad that many of the rhetorical features of Byzantine literature have appeared to modern readers particularly redundant and artificial, although recently scholars are more keen to accept that in talented hands *mimesis* could become a powerful vehicle of expression. The codification of rhetoric

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<sup>1</sup> R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, *The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism, The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino, London, 1992, 119.



with repeated forms and rules was, evidently, not purely servile but an intrinsic part of Byzantine culture.

Moreover, rhetoric in the twelfth century was seen as an art of verbal "illusionism" and it comes as no surprise that the occasions when rhetorical speeches were delivered were known as "theatres". Margaret Mullett has argued that the revival of rhetoric in the eleventh century explained the new life for orality in the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> She has pointed out that orality still played an important role in Byzantium in many ways: it became a form of entertainment after the demise of the ancient theatre, and it was necessary for the individual who sought to acquire publicity and honour in the literary *kykloi* of Constantinople.

This issue of orality has shed new light on our understanding of twelfth-century literature. Instead of assuming that all literary activity was stimulated and caused solely by studious patrons, the initiative for writing can now be credited to individual writers who were encouraged to present their work orally in the *theatra*. Eloquence (and therefore orality) had both a practical as well as a functional purpose. As far as practicality is concerned, knowledge of the rules of rhetoric was essential for an administrative career: rhetorical performances always had an established place in state and church ceremonial. As for its functional purpose, eloquence in the twelfth century became a competitive virtue, absolutely important for the individual who wished to "make themselves known" to the literary audiences of the capital. Mullett is right in reminding us that while books were available in later Byzantium, their prices were prohibitive for an average person's income: bestselling authors could not so easily

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<sup>2</sup> M. Mullett, "Aristocracy and patronage in the literary circles of Comnenian Constantinople", in M. Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine aristocracy: IX to XII centuries*, 173-201. B. A. R. International Series, no. S 221 (1984), Oxford. esp. 174-79.

emerge from anonymity to the full blaze of publicity as, in some cases, today. On the other hand imperial patrons like Irene Ducaena, Anna Comnena or the Sebastokratorissa Irene cannot be regarded as the literary inspiration of the *bulk* of the twelfth-century literature. Some royal ladies may have commissioned the composition of Greek romances for their own pleasure, but it is hardly conceivable that an aspiring composer would rely entirely on personal patronage for his career: royals, with few exceptions, were simply not educated enough to value and sponsor all the sophisticated literature which survives.<sup>3</sup> Subtle satirical allusions, clever riddles, poems thick with quotations for one's listeners to identify, complicated wordplay, all these presuppose a group of people who could at least understand and appreciate rhetoric and who, sometimes, fought back using similar literary *kompsa* in their attempt to prevail. There had to be *an audience*, not necessarily always gathered in court-rooms, which was sensitive to the techniques of verbal ornament, a society of "passive" *literati* who were at the same time also "active"; a number of perhaps no more than 100 people who were eager (and gifted) "to listen" to what one had to tell them, to one's attempts to "enchant" them. This group of people sometimes would act as a reading public; at other times, however, these same people would act as hearers at an audience. Amusement, competition, demonstration of a composer's skill were all practised in oral *epideixeis* which included verse reading in the vernacular, encomiastic orations, even, possibly, short chronicle recitations.

Rhetoric and orality were, then, clearly important in Byzantium and particularly so in our period. But what kind of literature did the

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<sup>3</sup> Thus Alexius I Comnenus was not exactly famous for his patronage of the arts and literature. Indeed he was dismissive of rhetorical culture: cf. M. Angold, *Alexios I Komnenos: an afterword*, (M. Mullett and D. Smythe eds., forthcoming), 416.

twelfth century produce and what were its major characteristics? In the following pages we will discuss four main literary features: the versatility of the authors, the revival of old genres, the experimentation with the vernacular and the use of *politikos stichos*, and the new trends in historiography and chronicle writing.

a) **The versatility of the authors:**

The twelfth century saw a vast production of literature composed in various genres. The importance of the authors as individuals is again paramount here. The Byzantines liked to experiment in different fields of literature and aspired to succeed in all of them. To give an obvious example from an earlier period, patriarch Photius (858-67; 877-86) was a scholar, politician and ecclesiastical writer in whose works theological problems are treated alongside secular questions. A number of twelfth-century authors would often pose as widely learned, as πολυῖστορες who (after the fashion encouraged by Psellus) would function as poets, rhetoricians, annotators, philosophers and linguists and who, in this way, offered their diverse contribution to the literary production of their age.

Our discussion will be limited here to a few but typical examples: John Tzetzes (born ca. 1110, died between 1180 and 1185) is the characteristic figure of a self-assertive scholar who highlights his poverty and personal misfortunes. He composed rhetorical speeches and poems with a moral. He also composed voluminous commentaries on Homer (*Allegories to the Iliad and Odyssey*), Hesiod, tragedians, Aristophanes, Lykophron and Oppian. His major work is unique in genre: it consists of a collection of letters accompanied by poetic *scholia* entitled *The Histories* (or *Chiliades*). This last work is an extended piece in verse and serves as a body of notes to his letters.

Theodore Prodromus (born ca. 1100, died ca. 1170) was one of the most eminent men of letters in the twelfth century. The connection of his name with the well-known begging and whimpering poems (which we will discuss later on) did him injustice in that his work is often identified with the Ptochoprodromic literature to the exclusion of his other literary activity. He composed grammatical and philosophical works, prose panegyrics, monodies, letters, and in the genre of erotic romance he contributed his *Rodanthe and Dosicles*; he also produced theological poems, epigrams and a hagiographical text, the Life of St. Meletius. Prodromus wrote parodies, making fun of the shortcomings and vices of everyday life (two of his satires: "κατὰ φιλοπόρνου γραός" and "κατὰ μακρυγενείου γέροντος" mock the peculiarities of old age). In a more serious vein he also composed an allegorical description of the 12 months, and philosophical and theological works.

One of the strongest figures of the twelfth century, both in philology and in social activity was Eustathius Cataflorus, archbishop of Thessalonika (born ca. 1115, died 1195/6). He was church official, scholar and writer. His philological writings (commentaries on Homer, Pindar, Aristophanes, Dionysius Periegetes and John the Damascene) were basically the product of his period as a teacher. His account (*On the Capture of Thessalonike*) dates from the time of his office as a prelate. Eustathius also wrote sermons and panegyrics (to Manuel I Comnenus) and a collection of 74 letters. His works are full of references to popular customs and expressions and, generally, elements of the everyday life. Eustathius' ideas were clearly humanistic: he considered the Christian monastic as " τῷ ὄντι φιλόσοφον" and demanded that monks care for their education, since

illiterate men cannot philosophise, and urged them to attend the libraries and the valuable manuscripts of their monasteries.

Another important figure of the twelfth century is Nicholas of Methone, theologian, bishop of Methone (born early 12th C., died ca. 1165). He served as a counsellor on ecclesiastical issues to the emperor Manuel I Comnenus and composed a lengthy work (of 198 chapters) entitled "an exposition of the introduction to theology by the platonic philosopher Proclus, so that those who read it should not be carried away by what appears in it as compelling evidence and be made to take offence against the true faith".<sup>4</sup> This work is the biggest testimony of the attention which the last major neoplatonic philosopher received in the Byzantine philosophical literature. This becomes clear also from the writings of Psellus and Italus, and from the polemic of Theodore Prodromus and others. Nicholas of Methone assumed the systematic refutation of Proclus' ideas whom he calls a "pioneer in the doctrines of false wisdom".

The above list of authors naturally leaves a whole host of twelfth-century writers undiscussed, but it does point to the issue of versatility which characterises their work. It appears that grammarians and linguists could function as philosophers; clerics as historians and panegyrists. This in itself points to two thoughts: the first is that authors should be treated as personalities rather than representatives of a certain genre. Thus by identifying Prodromus with Ptochoprodromus (i.e. as the composer of poverty literature and no more), by labelling Zonaras and Manasses as chroniclers etc., we are in danger of adopting a one-sided view of these writers and ignoring or even doubting their versatility. Secondly, if personalities have

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<sup>4</sup> The title in Greek reads: ἀνάπτυξις τῆς θεολογικῆς στοιχειώσεως Πρόκλου Πλατωνικοῦ φιλοσόφου, πρὸς τὸ μὴ συναρπάζεσθαι τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ὑπὸ τῆς ὑποφανομένης αὐτῆ πειθανάγκης καὶ σκανδαλίζεσθαι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως.

many interests, it follows that their interests, education, personal style and so on are reflected in their work, which again means that genres are enriched by the peculiarities of the individuals who practise them. Genres are, then, "flexible" and anything but "eternally stable" and as such they can embrace works of literature which differ a great deal. In this sense genres can be far more liberating than constricting.<sup>5</sup>

b) **The revival of old genres:**

Certain genres seem to disappear temporarily in the twelfth century: hymnography, for instance, declined, perhaps because after John Mauropous' hymnographical work in the eleventh century there was little room for additional material to be included in the church services (*akolouthiai*). Besides, although several holy men lived under the Comneni, few Lives are known to have been written in the twelfth/early thirteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, after a long silence, the Byzantines in the twelfth century dealt with romance. According to our present knowledge, those who represent this genre are: Eustathius Macrembolites, Theodore Prodromus, Nicetas Eugenianus and Constantine Manasses. The work by the first author (*Hysmine and Hysminias*) is a prose fiction, while the other three, *Rodanthe and Dosicles* by Prodromus, *Drosilla and Charicles* by Eugenianus and *Aristandrus and Callithea* by Manasses are written in verse. Of these last metrical romances, those by Nicetas Eugenianus and Prodromus are in iambs whereas Manasses composed both his romance and his chronicle in political verse. All four twelfth-century romances are written in classicizing Greek.

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<sup>5</sup> See also M. Mullett, "The Madness of Genre", *D.O.P.*, 233-43.

<sup>6</sup> See P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century", in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel, London, 1981, 31-66; see also D. Tsougarakis, *The Life of Leontios, Patriarch of Jerusalem*, Leiden, 1993, esp.1-28.

The medieval Greek romances are closely related, in context and structure, with those pioneer works which were produced during the Second Sophistic by Achilles Tatius and Longus. These older romances had apparently been the object of study on the part of the Byzantines even before the twelfth century. Patriarch Photius e. g. in his *Bibliotheca* (*opus* 94) analyses and assesses a romance by Iamblichus. It seems that the genre did not, as far as we know, flourish in the centuries that intervened.

Several reasons have been proposed for this absence, varying from agnosticism, to a possible influence exercised by the western medieval romances. Some have attributed this re-emergence of the ancient fictional genre of romance to the humanistic ideas of the Comnenian era which treated Greek antiquity without prejudices. Others talked of "sensitive" female patrons who commissioned works of light entertainment for their court. Whatever the reason, it is helpful to consider the possibility that the origins of a taste for romance can actually be sought within Byzantium itself, within the desire for experimentation of the particular writers who composed such works. Variety, versatility, even nostalgia for a golden past and a resolution to construct an antique literary environment may be accountable for the revival of the Greek romances.<sup>7</sup>

These novels were once thought, in accordance with Krumbacher's views and those of his circle, to be full of convention, as works which had nothing in common with reality and did not reflect their age.<sup>8</sup> It is to Roderick Beaton's credit that the novels in question have recently come in for much re-evaluation. Beaton in his study of the medieval Greek romance showed that the Byzantine texts "are

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<sup>7</sup> See P. Magdalino, *The Rhetoric of Hellenism*, 148-49.

<sup>8</sup> See E. Tsolakidis, *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἑλληνικὴν φιλολογοῦσαν*, Thessalonike, 1973, 103.

attempts not just to revive past literature by allusion and imitation, but to recapture, in that fictional world they create, the world of the past in which that literature took shape".<sup>9</sup>

Alongside romance in the twelfth century another fictional genre which had not been practised since late antiquity made its appearance, namely satire. The *Timarion* (or *περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παθημάτων*) is a satirical dialogue in the style of Lucian's *Necryomanteia*: Timarion is conversing with Cydion to whom he narrates (in a comical way) his adventures in Hades. He mentions names which are notably familiar from contemporary literature or politics such as Theodore of Smyrna, Romanus IV Diogenes, John Italus and Michael Psellus. Margaret Alexiou is the scholar who has produced a stylistic analysis of the *Timarion* which was intended as a bitter satire against twelfth-century society. As she explained, the anonymous author aimed his criticisms at religion, philosophy, rhetoric, law and medicine.<sup>10</sup> Corruption and gluttony are also castigated. The dialogue begins with a detailed description of the fair in Thessalonika and with an elaborate eulogy of a member of the Ducas-Palaiologus family, which has been interpreted by Alexiou as a piece of irony in disguise. Paul Magdalino, who has included the *Timarion* in his study of the rhetoric of Hellenism, added regarding this dialogue that "even more clearly than in the novels, the literary perspective is ancient while the human perspective is Byzantine, with the preposterous fiction of the former giving greater licence to the latter".<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> R. Beaton, *The medieval Greek romance*, Cambridge, 1989, 51-54.

<sup>10</sup> See M. Alexiou, "Literary subversion and the aristocracy in twelfth-century Byzantium: a stylistic analysis of the *Timarion* (ch. 6-10)". *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 8 (1982-3), 29-45, esp. 31.

<sup>11</sup> See R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, *The Rhetoric of Hellenism*, 153.



Satire is employed also in the four Prodromic poems whose poet addressed to members of the Comnenian imperial family not so much to complain about his personal tragedies and adventures as to amuse his audience by presenting a social picture of his time. Alexiou has challenged some traditional assumptions about the authorship and style of the Prodromic poems: she argued that Theodore Prodromus qualifies as the composer of this literature, which was produced by an author who was a skilled writer and who had a direct knowledge of Aristophanes and other comic poets.<sup>12</sup> In fact she has shown that through comic stereotypes, both ancient and contemporary, the author successfully alludes to gastronomy, sexual activity and, at a deeper level, even to ceremonial documents and to religious and liturgical texts (such as the Lord's Prayer).

With parody and satire is, perhaps, connected yet another verse piece of the twelfth century attributed by the heading to the *protecdicus* Andronicus, a church official. The 165 verses which constitute the poem tell the story of a woman who had committed murder and cannibalism, and came before the tribunal of the patriarchate to confess. Ruth Macrides has undertaken an analysis of the structure, language and imagery of the text and argued that the poem "is a combination of rhetorical and legal language and forms, a tragic lament and a record of a case at one and the same time".<sup>13</sup> Macrides wonders whether the work was a satire of the procedure of confession at the patriarchate, in the form of a parody of a *semeioma*

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<sup>12</sup> See M. Alexiou, "The poverty of evcriture and the craft of writing: towards a reappraisal of the Prodromic poems". *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 10 (1986), 1-40; esp. 20. For a recent different view which doubts the authorship of Prodromus see H. Eideneier (ed.) *Ptochoprodromos: Einführung, Kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar* [Neograeca Medii Aevi], "Romiosini", Köln, 1991, 31-33.

<sup>13</sup> See R. Macrides, "Poetic Justice in the Patriarchate. Murder and Cannibalism in the Provinces", *Cupido legum*, ed. L. Burgmann, M. Th. Fogen, A. Schminck, Frankfurt, 1985 137-68, here 155.

(i.e. a record of the proceedings and verdict on a case, issued by civil and ecclesiastical courts).

It appears that the revived genre of satire and parody in the twelfth century had some remarkable properties: it exploited scenes from everyday life, human vices and weaknesses, contemporary politics, medicine, law and education. In the narrower sense of a humorous imitation of a serious work, parody touched even parts of the liturgy, the hymns etc, a practice which is repeated even now in the orthodox world.<sup>14</sup> This does not mean that satires such as the *Timarion* were cordially welcome by official orthodoxy. A century later, the *megas logothetes* Constantine Acropolites rages against *Timarion* because its author mocks Christianity and inadmissibly mixes secular mythology with christian theology.<sup>15</sup> Yet the "satirical spirit" was present in the circles, or the *theatra* of Constantinople: witty, sometimes provoking, certainly amusing those who longed for it. Indeed amusement, the central element of all well-disposed humour, and perhaps also the desire to parade one's wit were two important components of twelfth-century Byzantine satire.

### c) The experimentation with the vernacular/use of political verse

The written language of the Byzantine *litterati* was from the start primarily attached to Atticism so that, through the centralization of the Byzantine state, Constantinople became the centre of literary antiquarianism and of classicizing education. Parallel to the Attic style there flourished the vernacular, oral language which, again due to the existence of a powerful central capital, was gradually fashioned into a

<sup>14</sup> We refer to the parody of liturgical texts found today in theatrical plays or in Television programmes in Greece.

<sup>15</sup> See M. Treu, "Ein Kritiker des Timarion", *B. Z.* 1 (1892), 361-65; reprinted in Romano, Naples, 1974, 43-45. Acropolites would eagerly burn the text to protect Christians from its pernicious influence. He also accuses the author of hypocrisy (ἐν προσχήματι χριστιανισμοῦ).

uniform, spoken register. Of this oral Constantinopolitan vernacular only a few samples survive such as, for example, some satirical popular verses (dating from the sixth down to the eleventh century) and also several texts in a simpler style such as the chronicle of Malalas (sixth century), certain Lives of saints and other works with elements from the vernacular like the literature commissioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (tenth century), Maurice's *Strategicon* (seventh century) and others. Since the eleventh century and especially during the twelfth century demotic texts were produced in increasing numbers, and the vernacular is hence used with clearly literary intentions. It has rightly been observed that these texts of "demotic literature" constitute the roots of Modern Greek literature. This discussion brings us to the issue of *diglossia* which has troubled Modern Greek scholarship so much but, as Linos Politis acutely observed, the Byzantines were *not* aware of this phenomenon as a problem.<sup>16</sup> It is useful to remember here that especially in the twelfth century the Byzantines were more concerned with the "level" of their work (i.e. erudition, rhetorical standard, breadth of learning, impact) than they were about the *form* of language they employed. There came a time when they decided to use the vernacular, not necessarily as a "livelier" or "progressive" language as some Modern Greek scholars thought, but as an alternative to the traditional form used up to that time.<sup>17</sup> Both vernacular and classicizing Byzantine literature

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<sup>16</sup> See L. Politis, *Ιστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας*, Athens, 1980<sup>3</sup>, 12; for the issue of *diglossia* see also E. Kriaras, *Diglossie des derniers siècles de Byzance: Naissance de la littérature néo-hellénique*, Oxford, 1966 (Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Main Papers IX); reprinted and translated into Greek in *Μεσαιωνικά Μελετήματα· Γραμματεία καὶ Γλῶσσα*, vol. II, Thessalonike, 1988, 449-77.

<sup>17</sup> For a brief survey of Modern Greek Byzantine scholarship in the 20th century see A. Kominis, "La Filologia Bizantina in Grecia e a Cipro nel XX Secolo", in *Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neoellenici*, Rome, VII (1993), 705-22.

coexisted harmoniously and both forms deserve our attention and study.

During the twelfth century, therefore, vernacular Greek was introduced into literature: it is the language of the poems of the poor Prodromus, of Glycas' *Verses written while Held Imprisoned* and, possibly, of a version of the "protoromance" *Digenes Akritas*. Especially regarding the prodromic poems Hans Eideneier has suggested that they were written in a fictitious language used by oral epic poetry, the "Koine der Dichtersänger" as he prefers to call it.<sup>18</sup> Despite Eideneier's reasoning we would be more eager to accept Alexiou's views and argue that the "low style" of these poems was not composed by some semi-literate, anonymous bards but it was the skilful work of a learned poet who managed to structure his narrative according to the level of education of his narrators. We cannot be certain as to what exactly made the Byzantines experiment with Greek vernacular. There is no evidence that contact with the west had more than a superficial impact at that time. Kazhdan is absolutely right when he observes that "this literature, which aimed largely at entertainment, owes more to relaxation of linguistic rigor by the educated than to literary ambitions of the less educated".<sup>19</sup> It remains our conviction that the attempts with the vernacular were practised from above rather than from below.<sup>20</sup> Both "high" and "low" literature in the twelfth century use ancient and contemporary stereotypes and display a rich, subtle and original level of

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<sup>18</sup> H. Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromos*, 24-25.

<sup>19</sup> A. Kazhdan (ed.,) *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. III, Oxford, 1991 under "vernacular".

<sup>20</sup> We agree with Robert Browning when he says that there is no question in the twelfth century of a "breakthrough" of popular culture into writing: R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (revised edn), 1983, 72-3..

intertextuality which suggests a deep affinity and close proximity between them.

Moreover, the experiments in the writing of the Greek vernacular were all written in the political verse, a 15-syllable metre, based on word-accents, without reference to ancient patterns of long and short syllables. It is the meter of the four poems of the Ptochoprodromic corpus, the *Poem from Prison* by Michael Glykas, the text of the *Spaneas* poem etc. Michael Jeffreys who has long ago dealt with *politikos stichos* in a convincing way believes that it originated from the Latinate trochaic fifteen-syllable verse (*versus quadratus*).<sup>21</sup> Whatever its origins, in the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the verse was apparently regarded as the most appropriate medium for court poetry addressed to the emperor's family, because of its use, at least during the mid-twelfth century, as the verse of the demes in the court ceremonial. Jeffreys singled out three poles by which political verse poems seem to be attracted- the vernacular, the educational and the religious. What is interesting is that there is a relation between fifteen-syllables and memory. Mnemonics are obviously more effective if expressed in a simple, familiar rhythm which would stimulate the memories of young pupils and be suitable for entertainment. This last characteristic of the political verse would also be compatible with recitations in the Byzantine *theatra* where the audience would enjoy the amusing, rhythmical repetition of verses. The other important point to remember is that the political verse is a controllable verse and capable of a great variety of forms; in the hands of clumsy poets it could become tiring and redundant, but it does possess a depth and musical qualities worthy of exploitation.

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<sup>21</sup> See M. Jeffreys, "The nature and origins of the political verse". *D. O. P.* 28 (1974), 141-95; reprinted in E. and M. Jeffreys 1983a.

d) **New trends in Historiography and Chronicle-writing**

As a manifestation of the twelfth-century revival of interest in the past, a great number of historical works was composed in the period: five classicizing histories and five chronicles. A powerful literary figure who wrote in the reign of Manuel I Comnenus was Anna Comnena, daughter of Alexius I. Her history, the *Alexiad*, covers in 15 books the period between 1069 and 1118. She narrates the history of Alexius' reign, the raids of the Normans in the Balkans and those of the Turks in Asia Minor. Anna reports not only political but also cultural events; her work betrays her erudition, classical education, knowledge of the Scriptures and, not least, her humanistic ideas. Although Anna's chronology is not always consistent and the facts sometimes distorted, the *Alexiad* is an important source, especially for the history of Alexius' wars and international relations. Nicephorus Bryennius, Anna's husband, composed, at the urging of the empress Irene, his history which stretches from 1070 to 1079. It is more of a family chronicle which, despite its occasional partiality, contains useful historical material due to the position of the author. John Cinnamus continued the work of Anna in his history which covers the period between 1118 and 1176. Cinnamus is distinguished for his simple phraseology and warm patriotism. Nicetas Choniates who, as Ruth Macrides observed,<sup>22</sup> was (along with the chronicler Zonaras) the twelfth-century voice most critical of imperial power, narrates the events of the years 1118-1206 including the fall of Constantinople to the Franks. Finally Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonika, gives us the events between 1160 and 1190 and remains a most useful source for the capture of Thessalonika by the Normans in 1185.

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<sup>22</sup> See R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, *The Rhetoric of Hellenism*, 139.

Meanwhile the genre of chronicle writing flourished in the twelfth century, from which five chronicles have survived. The chronicle of John Scylitzes, who is writing in Alexius' I reign at the beginning of the century, covers the period 811-1079. According to Scylitzes previous writers had failed to be accurate, having merely listed rulers and otherwise nothing. Scylitzes decided to remedy this deficiency by writing with clarity and accuracy. George Cedrenus composed a chronicle stretching from the Creation to the reign of Isaac I Comnenus (1057). The narration of events, especially between 811 and 1057, copy the work of Scylitzes almost word for word. The chronicle of Cedrenus, however, should be judged on its own merits as having preserved information from other sources and attained a style which is not completely inelegant. Constantine Manasses wrote his chronicle in political verse at the urging of Irene, sister-in law of Manuel I, narrating history from the Creation to the death of Botaneiates (1081). According to Ruth Macrides, Manasses "saw events and people as ruled by an unstable, irregular force: -the wheel of fortune turns round and round, rolling over mortals and making things topsy-turvy-".<sup>23</sup> John Zonaras, a reliable historical source whose work we be examining stylistically in this thesis , wrote a world chronicle containing history from the Creation to the death of Alexius I (1118). Within the same time margins moves the chronicle of Michael Glycas, which introduced theological and other digressions in its narrative. Glycas' account is based on revealing the natural causes of things and God's care and providence in everything.

The stylistic innovations that evolved from the eleventh century, especially through Psellus' *Chronographia*, culminated in shaping the structure of the histories and chronicles which followed:

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<sup>23</sup> See R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, *The Rhetoric of Hellenism*, 124.

historians were influenced so that Anna Comnena and Bryennius composed history in the form of an epic. Choniates' history was, like Psellus' work, enlivened with complex portraits of his contemporaries.<sup>24</sup> Chroniclers have abandoned the annalistic format for recording events. One could argue that there is no such thing as a typical chronicle and authors have proved that there is more to chronicles than the Bible and the history of Rome. Moreover events were versified, as in Manasses' *Synopsis chronice*, or they were intermingled with didactic or theological discourses, as in Glycas' chronicle. What we see is a tendency on the part of the historian to "intervene" personally in his narrative, to be critical about the present state of affairs of the empire and perhaps pessimistic like Zonaras and Choniates, or appreciative like Cinnamus. The historians and chroniclers of this period are educated individuals, versed in classical literature which provided for them a literary treasure in the service of a sophisticated rhetoric. They borrowed from this treasure rare words, synonyms, periphrases, antonyms, formulas, orations, etc with which they clothed their text, and they have been so successful with their experimentations that they managed to destroy the barriers between genres.

Before we move on to Zonaras we will discuss the generic context of the world chronicle and see what one can expect of it or how it is expected to be different from a history. Let us start with the term chronicle (χρονογραφία). According to the word itself, the chronographer aims at the recording of χρόνος, or to be more precise, of the events which took place over a certain period of time. A chronicle is, then, the result of such an endeavour. There is little doubt that the

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<sup>24</sup> See A.Kazhdan and A. W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the eleventh and twelfth Centuries*, London, 204-5; esp. 224-29.



Byzantine chronicler records the historical events of the past; in fact he is interested almost *exclusively* in the past, both ancient and recent. According to Byzantinists, chronicle writers report as a rule (only that, like all rules, this one, too, has its own remarkable exceptions) events from the Creation of the world until their own time, in contrast to classicizing historians who cover a particular period in which they themselves have lived or which is very near their personal experience.

We see, so far, that the chronicler narrates the events ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου or from the presence of Adam on earth. There is, however, an important point here which needs our attention: every lengthy composition stretching over so many years of history should be based on a well established and safe chronological system, so that historical events be related easily both to past times and to present time.<sup>25</sup> At one point in Byzantium, possibly during the ninth century, theorists came to the conclusion that the Creation must have taken place in the year 5.508 B. C. The important thing to remember is that the Byzantines were interested in the world history of *a* people not of all peoples indiscriminately.<sup>26</sup> They were not interested, for example, in the history of the Egyptians or the Indians or even of classical Greece. The chronographer would start his narration in accordance with the rules of the genre with the Creation and in agreement with the *Old Testament* (*Genesis* 1, 1). He would then go on with Adam and Eve, Seth etc and concentrate on the Flood of Noah which is a central point in his history. After a short digression about the kingdom of the Assyrians, the chronicle continues with lengthy

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<sup>25</sup> For this issue see A. Markopoulos, *Η Θέση του Χρονογράφου στη Βυζαντινή Κοινωνία. Νοοτροπία-Τεχνοτροπία*, Athens, 1993, esp. 12-25. Our discussion is based on his arguments.

<sup>26</sup> In other words they were interested in the people of their empire.

references to Abraham, Moses and David, having always as a guide the books of the *Old Testament*. Homer is avoided as a source for the Trojan war and, instead, some Hellenistic poet is used like Dictys of Crete, as in the chronicle of Malalas. In connection with the fall of Troy there is reference to the foundation of Rome by Aeneas, an event which has great significance. After the death of Solomon there comes the demise of the state of Israel (Nebuchadnezzar, etc). It is usually then that Alexander the Great appears in history, to be followed by the account of the Hellenistic kingdoms and that of Republican Rome.

Christ's appearance on earth coincides with the rule of Rome by Augustus. There is, however, yet another factor which is not in the least negligible: Augustus' reign is the fourth in succession according to Daniel's prophecy. It is evident that in Byzantine chronography there is an attempt to harmonize the Christian spirit with Roman history. From this point the chronicler focuses on the Roman emperors. The age of Constantine the Great and the prevalence of Christianity in the Roman empire become the milestones of his narrative. The report of events moves hence through the Byzantine emperors until that particular point in time at which the composer decided to end his work.

This is roughly the fabric for judging the past found in the Byzantine chronicles. The concepts for such a historical system originated, apparently, in the Hellenistic period. During that important time for Byzantium the Hellenized Jewish confessors were busy extolling the Jewish religion and arguing that their religion was much more ancient than that of the Greeks or that of their Roman conquerors. The *Jewish Antiquities* by Flavius Josephus occupies a distinguished place here following , with some liberty, the Bible and Jewish history until Nero. The Christian writers quickly used the

Jewish historical/apologetic model after they had enriched it with many new elements, mainly christological and teleological. Sextus Julius Africanus (2-3 c. A. D.) and Eusebius (3-4 c. A. D.) are two leading figures who in this sphere influenced their successors with their work. Thus, the model for chronicle writing was gradually established in Byzantium.

Nowadays scholars think that this peculiar way of writing serves certain purposes: the chronographer is basically concerned to prove, through his work, that Byzantium, as the heir to the Roman empire, is Daniel's fourth kingdom, a leading state which has embraced the world's past. Krumbacher thought that the Byzantine chroniclers were mainly pious monks who wrote histories with a religious flavour and in low style and addressed them to equally pious laymen. Historians were their very opposites, men of great learning who composed in high style the account of a certain period. This train of thought naturally leads to a polarization: on the one hand we have the chronicle writers with their "popular" style of writing, peculiar structure of narrative and own public, and on the other hand the historians with their own specifications of genre and their distinct readership. Yet scholarship today no longer accepts such an absolute division.<sup>27</sup> To start with, many chroniclers, if not the majority, were *not* monks. As Markopoulos observes, Byzantium did not accommodate communities organized in the fashion of the German Fulda or the French Cluny in which the monastic *Annales* were

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<sup>27</sup> Relevant are the studies by B. Croke which recently have been reprinted under the title *Christian Chronicles and Byzantine History, 5th-6th Centuries*, London, Variorum, 1992; esp. I, III and IV; also useful is the collection of studies by C. Papaioannou, *Η αποθέωση της Ιστορίας*, Athens, 1992, 67-87. See also A. Vasilikopoulou-Ioannidou, *Η Βυζαντινή Ιστοριογραφία (324-1204). Σύντομη Επισκόπηση*, Athens, (undated); T. Lougges, *Η Ιδεολογία της Βυζαντινής Ιστοριογραφίας*, Athens, 1993.

composed.<sup>28</sup> The Byzantine chronographer has little in common with the "type" of monk who simply records events in the monastic *codices* and with no further literary ambitions like, in most cases, his western counterparts. Besides, it is one thing to take the vows early in life and shape this into a life-style like, to take an example from modern literature, Adso de Melk, Umberto Eco's hero, who recorded diligently the researches of his Franciscan master, and another thing to join a monastic community at a mature age which is an interesting Byzantine peculiarity. We have two worlds here which are poles apart.

If we examine several indicative sections from the works of a Byzantine historian and of a chronicler we will discover that their histories are conditioned by similar attitudes, although naturally each work bears the unique stamp of its author. The difference in style is a matter of conscious choice. Normally the historian would write in highly rhetorical style while the chronicler would choose a lower style with many elements from the language of the *New Testament*. But every rule has its exceptions, so that we have chroniclers writing in elevated style or historians of obvious learning who composed their work in a simpler register. This discussion leads us to the conclusion that chronography is not a kind of lower-class historiography, but simply a different historical genre, which communes with traditional history-writing very often and in many ways "sails" parallel to it.<sup>29</sup> It would make more sense to talk about certain preferences or ambitions on part of the authors, which then take the form of historiography or chronicle-writing as they compose their material. The Byzantines

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<sup>28</sup> See A. Markopoulos, *op. cit.*, 19-20.

<sup>29</sup> For what it is worth, in Latin historiography there has been a blurring of distinctions between the "accurate" and "elite" Tacitus and the more "gossipy" and "populist" Suetonius with regard to their accounts of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

apparently did not have, like we do, a problem of terminology; suffice is to remember that the historian Michael Psellus decided to call his history *Chronographia*, although it does not follow the standard model for chronicles and is regarded by scholars as a "proper" history.

We turn now to our prosopography of Zonaras: he was a high-ranking judge who wrote his chronicle, the *Epitome historion*, probably some time during the reign of Manuel I. By that time he had become a monk and had retired to the small island of St. Glyceria in the sea of Marmara. Formally, he is a monastic writer, but a monastic who had lived long as a layman and who had occupied high administrative posts during this service. His monastic identity did not prevent him from keeping his strong personality, from scrutinizing his sources as a historian and from presenting a clear political judgement, often critical of the imperial power. Zonaras certainly was not a kind of half-literate man who took refuge in a monastery to lead a contemplative life away from the "sinful" world. He was the *intellectual* whom life had led, probably unwillingly, to a monastic centre and who, like a wise man, made the best of what he found there. He kept his sense of humour, his contact with friends, his square logic. Psellus was forced *to pass* some time in the monastery of *Theotokos* on the Bithynian mount Olympus, but this experience did not make him a "monkish" writer. Anna Comnena had *to end* her life in the monastery of *Cecharitomene*, but she is not remembered as a nun.

Zonaras is also a writer in exile. Although he is very laconic about himself, he nevertheless employs some, at least, of the vocabulary and approaches of exile writing: he was left without his φίλτατοι, which could mean that death deprived him of his family or

of his most dear fellows.<sup>30</sup> As Mullett observes, monastic writers often, despite their resolution to "withdraw", express their sorrow for their separation from the world of literary friendship.<sup>31</sup> Zonaras also complains about his isolation on a small island in the middle of nowhere (έσχατιά) on which *he* condemned himself (so he claims but we need not take this literally) to a banishment for life (ἀειφυγία). He misses Constantinople (deprivation of office or of the Byzantine capital being another exile topic), and is suffering from the lack of books which are so rare in his monastery.<sup>32</sup>

Zonaras has occupied the attention of modern scholarship mainly as a history writer. Plenty of work has been done on his use and adaptation of his sources, especially Dio Cassius and Psellus, but also on how contemporary or later sources used *him* in their histories.<sup>33</sup> Despite receiving credit for his critical use of sources, his work was judged by Hunger, who followed Krumbacher, as no more than "a monk's chronicle". It is indeed fortunate that recently scholars have produced arguments to show that Zonaras was not a "lesser" author and have tried to demonstrate the originality of his

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<sup>30</sup> About the family of Zonaras see A. Kazdan, *Social'nyi sostav gospodstvujuscego Klassa Vizantii v XI-XII vv*, Moscow, 1974, 93 where the author mentions nine members of the family; 132-33, n.55 Zonaras is mentioned as belonging to the families of political aristocracy like the Camateroi, Xifilinoi and Macrembolites; 135, n.70 and 192, 206, 208 the family of Zonaras is mentioned as one of the intellectuals of the opposition. See also Kazhdan-Epstein, *op. cit.* 65. For more information about Zonaras see our chapter on his biography.

<sup>31</sup> See M. Mullett, "Originality in the Byzantine Letter: The Case of Exile", in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music*, A. R. Littlewood (ed.) 39-58, esp.41.

<sup>32</sup> *Epitome*, I, 4. 7-8.6; II, 297.9-22.

<sup>33</sup> For the use of Psellus by Zonaras see the old work of O. Lampsidis, "'Ο Μιχαήλ Ψελλός ως πηγή τῆς Ἐπιτομῆς τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ζωναρά", *Ε. Ε. Β. Σ.* 23 (1949), 170-188; for his use of Dio see K. Ziegler, *Realencyclopädie*, 19 (1972), 2nd series, cols. 718-23; for Zonaras' use of other sources see M. Di Maio, "Smoke in the Wind: Zonaras' Use of Philostorgius, Zosimus, John of Antioch and John of Rhodes", *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 230-55; for the use of Zonaras by Glycas see S. Mavromati-Katsougiannopoulou, 'Η Χρονογραφία του Μιχαήλ Γλυκά και οι πηγές της (100 B.C.-1118 A.D.), Thessaloniki, 1984 (doctoral thesis).

historical perspective and political critique.<sup>34</sup> Good work has also been done in relation to Zonaras as a canonist. Spyros Trojanos, Paul Magdalino, Ruth Macrides, Peter Pieler, among others, have published important articles which have shed light on our understanding of the hermeneutical work of the twelfth-century canonists. Zonaras the canonist appears not so different from Zonaras the historian: he is someone who has a deep respect for old laws and customs. He is moreover judged to be the first *exegetes* to have promoted "Kanonistik" to a true science.<sup>35</sup> There is, however, a field of Zonaras' literary activity which has been practically neglected, namely lexicography. This deficiency is probably due to two reasons: a) disbelief in Zonaras' authorship in connection with the Lexicon Tittmannianum and b) lack of study and appreciation of the Lexicon itself. This situation will hopefully change when scholars agree to launch a philological assessment of Zonaras' works and admit his merits as a linguist.

This discussion has led us to the heart of our introduction. The importance of the research about twelfth-century literature which has been carried so far and to which we referred earlier cannot be exaggerated. If it were not for Roderick Beaton and others we would perhaps still consider the medieval Greek romances as sketchy

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<sup>34</sup> For negative views see K. Krumbacher (*Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des ostromischen Reiches* (527-1453), Munich<sup>2</sup>, 1897, 374 and Ziegler (under "Zonaras Ioannes" in *Realencyclopädie* II 10 A (1972), 730. For positive views see R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, *The Rhetoric of Hellenism*, 117-56; P. Magdalino, "Aspects of twelfth century Byzantine *Kaiserkritik*", *Speculum*, 58 (1983), 326-46.

<sup>35</sup> See S. Trojanos, "Ιατρική Επιστήμη και Γιατροί στο ερμηνευτικό έργο των Κανονολόγων του 12ου αιώνα", in *Byzantium in the 12th Century*, edited by N. Oiconomides, Athens, 1991, 465-481; P. Magdalino, "Enlightenment and Repression in twelfth-century Byzantium. The evidence of the Canonists", *op. cit.*, 357-373; R. Macrides, "Perception of the Past in the twelfth-century Canonists", *op. cit.*, 589-599; P. Pieler, "Johannes Zonaras als Kanonist", *op. cit.*, 601-620.

romantic plots meant for simple women. If it were not for Margaret Alexiou and Michael Jeffreys, the style and the affinity between "high" and "low" register in the twelfth century would not have been admitted. If it were not for Paul Magdalino and Ruth Macrides, Zonaras would probably still rank as a second-class "monkish" chronicler and no more. All this research was indeed both necessary and extremely useful, in many cases it proved to be exhaustive and comprehensive, often looking more closely into the structure of texts and their vocabulary and revealing the mysteries of allegory, satirical allusions and poetic grandeur.

Yet all this, although very useful, is just not enough! It seems to us that, as far as Byzantine literature is concerned, we need to get to the *bottom* of things and not simply deal with the tip of the iceberg. All the above researchers have launched their approaches in an attempt to discover the origins of the texts they have dealt with, their development within a genre and, at best, they produced a stylistic analysis (or an analysis of historical context) either in part or on the whole of their material. They have managed to present fine pictures of several *parts* of the building, but parts can never be the whole. It is time we realized that in twelfth-century Byzantine literature we are not dealing with isolated pieces of writing, but with works which belong to their *authors*. It would, therefore, be better if, instead of tackling this romance or that poem, we started a systematic approach of a composer. If we begin with the authors it would then be easier to explain some, at least, of the peculiarities or the oddities we now find in the texts, bearing in mind that authors can be versatile and can purposely manipulate their narrative perspectives. So far no-one has embarked on a detailed investigation of any writer's vocabulary or syntax, though people have worked on levels of style or prose-rhythm.



There is one notable exception however: Alexander Kazhdan has studied the style of Nicetas Choniates and has shown that though the historian sticks to cliché and stereotype using conventional images, he then presents the image in a new and strange light, "startling the reader with his unconventional interpretation". Kazhdan has come to interesting conclusions regarding the impact which colours have, as moral or ethical symbols, on the Byzantine reader. He examined how Choniates resorts to trivial images such as a ship on a tempestuous sea usually to convey a negative picture which reflects his interpretation of historical events, in contrast with Nicephorus Gregoras who uses the image in a more "optimistic" light. Kazhdan's work is not exhaustive, but it is correctly orientated.<sup>36</sup>

What is needed is a different, "penetrating" and "decomposing" approach to all texts belonging to a writer. Just as it is important for a craftsman to be able to dismantle his object in order to understand how its basic parts work before he reassembles them, likewise it is necessary for the scholar to "cut through" his material, track down its components (be they phrases, quotations, metaphors, etc.) in order to appreciate a text and, by extension, a writer. This is the method we will attempt to use on Zonaras' chronicle. It is a method which will hopefully yield important conclusions about his style, about his use of figures of speech, the impact of his vocabulary, his literary contributions to material from other sources, the level of his rhetorical training. Our aim is to show that he is an author with a great literary talent, someone whose "mediocre" style, as it has been sometimes referred to, is in fact much more rhetorical, sophisticated and skilful than traditionally accepted.

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<sup>36</sup> See A. Kazhdan, *Studies on Byzantine Literature*, VII, 256-286. Kazhdan has produced a complete concordance of Nicetas Choniates which DO decided unfortunately not to publish.

To present a systematic literary study of any work is a difficult task especially when previous similar attempts are scanty. Our method will be based on a series of approaches which will tackle several, in our opinion vital, aspects of Zonaras' style: we will start with a parallel examination of a number of chunks from Zonaras' text which we will then compare with pieces of text from the work of contemporary historians. All texts will share a common topic such as the presentation of an imperial portrait, the description of a battle or the literary treatment of imperial policies. We chose our texts from *contemporary* historical literature because this is where the similarities or differences between Zonaras' language and that of affiliated writers can be best attested. Our study will expand on an investigation of the linguistic affinity of Zonaras' chronicle with the works of writers other than historians who again belong to the same period, as this approach is likely to yield a more complete picture of where Zonaras stands stylistically. We will also attempt to find, analyse and highlight some key-tools of rhetorical composition in the *Epitome historion*: how much is Zonaras as a writer aware of and how often does he resort to wordplay, use of proverbs, humour and allegory? Whenever possible we will compare Zonaras' performance with that of contemporary writers in order to demonstrate his literary efficiency or, in many cases, superiority. Needless to say our approach cannot reach a great depth of investigation but it would have achieved its purpose if it succeeded in making Zonaras' talent in writing a little more conspicuous to his readers.

#### **b) Zonaras and his Works**

Zonaras' biographer is struck by the, relatively, little information we have regarding details of his life. We know that he

must have been alive during the first half of the twelfth century<sup>37</sup> and that at some point in his career he held the offices of Μέγας δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης which is, rather arbitrarily and quite wrongly for this period, taken to signify the rank of a commanding officer of the life-guard brigade<sup>38</sup> and that of πρωτοασκηκῆτις which beyond any shadow of doubt refers to the office of a director of the imperial law-bureau. He certainly became a monk, possibly during the reign of John II Comnenus, though exactly when it is hard to decide, and had retired to a monastery which, according to some manuscripts of ecclesiastical writings, bore the name of St. Glyceria<sup>39</sup>. As a matter of fact Cyril Mango has recently written an article publishing two interesting texts, one of which is a twelfth-century notice from Cod. Christ Church Gr. 53 (deriving from a thirteenth-century synaxarion) and which sheds some light regarding Zonaras' family background in connection with the monastery of St. Glyceria.<sup>40</sup> The notice mentions

<sup>37</sup> K. Krumbacher (*op. cit.*, 370) places Zonaras' lifetime between the end of the eleventh and, approximately, the middle of the twelfth century.

<sup>38</sup> One should be careful when interpreting such terms as often titles are kept but their function changes, and this is particularly the case with the *renovatio imperii* of the Comneni. In the ninth century, for instance, the *drungarius* of the Vigla or the Watch would be the commander of a cavalry regiment known as the Tagma or Arithmos of Vigla and his duties would be those of a sentinel in campaigns which were led by the emperor in person. See J. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, London, 1911, 60; *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, vol.II, London, 1912, 227-8. In Zonaras' case, however, the title Μέγας δρουγγάριος was undoubtedly connected with the administration of civil courts in Constantinople. On the whole there was a tendency for titles to be devalued over time. For general development in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see R. Guillard, *Titres et Fonctions de l' Empire byzantin*, (Variorum), London, 1976; N. Oikonomides, "L' évolution de l' organisation administrative de l' empire byzantin au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (1025-1118)", *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), 125-152, esp. 133-5; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204: a political history*, London, 1984, 129-131.

<sup>39</sup> Zonaras' name appears in titles to be connected with a monastery of St. Glyceria (Lambecii *Comment. de bibl. Caes.* vol.VIII, 995, 2nd ed.): μοναχὸς τῆς μονῆς τῆς ἁγίας Γλυκερίας and μοναχὸς ἐκ τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς τῆς ἁγίας Γλυκερίας (*I.Zonarae in Canones apost. et consil.comment.*, 1049, ed. Paris 1618, cod. Paris. Reg. 1321). About this monastery see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l' empire byzantin.*, vol. II: *les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)*, Paris, 1975, 56.

<sup>40</sup> C. Mango, "Twelfth-Century Notices from Cod. Christ Gr. 53", *J.O.B.* 42 (1992), 221-228.

a certain monk, Naucratus Zonaras, who had once held the post of *drungarius* and who had later become a member of the monastery and had contributed to the rebuilding of its church. The aforementioned Naucratus was apparently a protégé of the *protovestiarius* Gregory Taronites whom Mango is keen to identify with his namesake, an army commander of Trebizond and rebel against the emperor Alexius I in 1103/4. Naucratus Zonaras could, again according to Mango, be identical with a certain Nicholas Zonaras, who in 1088 was Judge of the Hippodrome and *drungarius* of the Vigla. John Zonaras, we suggest, could then be the son of Naucratus. The point is that there must have existed an intimacy between a member of our Zonaras' family with a member of the Taronites' family. Despite conjectures, the inference we can deduce from the text in question is that, even if Naucratus Zonaras and Zonaras the historian were not one and the same person, *some* Zonaras (perhaps the father of John Zonaras) did in fact retire on the island of St. Glyceria.<sup>41</sup> At any rate Zonaras the historian does speak of himself as belonging to the monastic community of an island when he gives a description of the place where he composed his chronicle. It is a most remote spot, far from Constantinople and lacking completely the facilities of a library, much to our author's disappointment.<sup>42</sup> Both Krumbacher and Hunger have located Zonaras' island in the sea of Marmara,<sup>43</sup> but Ziegler has expressed doubts on the ground that most

<sup>41</sup> A second Nicholas Zonaras is attested in 1156-7, (see P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, appendix 2, list 3, 504) who might have been the grandson of the first. In this case Zonaras the historian possibly belonged to the second generation of the family.

<sup>42</sup> Zonaras refers to his place of exile (which might not have been voluntary) twice in his chronicle: first in the *prooimion* (*Epitome*, 8(13-14) *παρὰ τῆ ἐσχάτῃ ταύτῃ ποιουμένῳ νυκτὶ τὴν διατριβὴν*) and secondly at the end of book IX (*Epitome* IX, 31, 297(21-22). *αὐτὸς ὑπερόριος ὢν καὶ πόρρω τοῦ ἄστεως ἐν νησιδίῳ ἐνδιαιτώμενος.*

<sup>43</sup> K. Krumbacher, *op.cit.*, 370; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der byzantiner* (Greek translation), vol. 2, Athens, 1992, 247.

of the islands of Propontis and especially the archipelago of the so-called Princes-islands, which were renowned centers of monasticism, are at so close a distance from the capital that none of them could have been possibly referred to as "the end of the earth".<sup>44</sup>

However, on the grounds that the island of St. Glyceria (with the ruins of its monastery) can actually be located in this area with sufficient certainty, it is possible to argue that "in spirit" a place often seems at a far greater remove than that which its actual distance suggests, and so it would not have been impossible for Zonaras to feel isolated and hence to refer to himself as "living beyond the frontiers" even though he was practically living only a few hours' sail from Constantinople. Indeed isolation becomes the more depressing the shorter is the distance which separates a small secluded spot from a big urban centre, in our case the Byzantine capital from a small island.<sup>45</sup> The descriptions of the poor facilities with which Theophanes the Confessor had to cope at Sigriane and the historical sources that might have been available in a Bithynian monastery in the early ninth century perhaps provide parallels.<sup>46</sup>

Zonaras' compositional activity included the writing of a substantial body of annotations on the apostolic and synodic canons of the Orthodox Church and those of the fathers which made him, together with Balsamon and Aristenus, one of the most celebrated Byzantine canonists. It appears that a reinstatement of "academic"

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<sup>44</sup> K. Ziegler, under "Zonaras Ioannes", *op. cit.*, 722.

<sup>45</sup> All those who have had any experience with life in the army will agree that the tension of confinement is more strongly felt by men who come from big urban centres or from the very town where their camp is located and to which they are restrained. Previous experience of a "better" life in the past makes the proximity of the place of isolation with this source of "better life" feel more tyrannical and oppressive!

<sup>46</sup> Theophanes' trials are mentioned in letters 214 and 291 of Theodore the Studite. cf. *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, ed. G. Fatouros, C.F.H.B. 31/2, 1991, 336; 430. Compare also C. Mango, "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850" in *Byzantine Books and Booksman*, Washington, D. C., 1975, 35 ff.

legal studies in the mid-eleventh century by Constantine Monomachus had created an interest in Roman antecedents and an antiquarianism which continued during the *renovatio imperii* of the Comneni. Zonaras, evidently, provided a link between commentaries and histories in that his interest in the past and his respect for old laws and customs is clearly manifested both in his chronicle and in his *exegesis* on the canons. Zonaras' knowledge and application of Roman republican history to his own times works in his canonical commentary as well as in his historical account as a mode of criticism for the contempt which ancient customs or laws were presently suffering.<sup>47</sup> In fact Zonaras' negative attitude to imperial power, and especially to Alexius I and John II, was possibly due to his personal and professional experience.

Before we move on to his chronicle something should be said of the Lexicon which is attributed to Zonaras and is otherwise known as Lexicon Tittmannianum from the name of its editor. Of the over fifty known manuscripts which indicate the popularity of this work more than ten date from the thirteenth century. K. Alpers has suggested as the approximate time of its composition the period between 1170 and 1253<sup>48</sup> and there is a tendency to take as the *terminus post quem* the year 1204 when Constantinople fell to the Franks of the fourth crusade. This latter view is based on the information which can be deduced from the definition of the entry ἤλεκτρον in the Lexicon in that ἤλεκτρον is defined as having been part of the material of which the altar of St. Sophia was (ἦν) made.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> For a full discussion see R. Macrides, "Perception of the Past in the twelfth-century canonists", in *Τὸ Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 12ο αἰώνα-Κανονικὸ Δίκαιο, Κράτος καὶ Κοινωνία*, *E.B.M.M.*, vol. 5 (1991-92), 589-599.

<sup>48</sup> K. Alpers, under "Zonarae Lexicon" in *R.E.* XII, 10A(1972), 737.

<sup>49</sup> Since the author uses the imperfect tense ἦν with regard to the altar, it follows that, at the moment of his writing, the altar no longer exists. Alpers and Hunger agree on this (Alpers, *op.cit.*, 736-7; Hunger, *op.cit.*, 460). Tittmann (*Prolegomena*, 73) objects

Modern scholarship has been sceptical with regard to the authorship of Zonaras and Alpers (*op.cit.*,738) has suggested that the Lexicon should be attributed to Nicephorus Blemmydes because in the definition of "pronoun" as an entry the author mentions, *exempli gratia*, the proper noun Nicephorus which can be replaced by the personal pronoun "I". Yet the quotation of Nicephorus as an *example* cannot *prove* that the author was *also* called Nicephorus, hence the authorship remains an open question.

The chronicle of Zonaras, the Ἐπιτομὴ Ἱστοριῶν, deals with events from the Creation of the world to the death of Alexius I, the year 1118 being an important milestone of historiography in the twelfth century as Anna Comnena and Michael Glycas also end their histories with that date. Why Zonaras did not continue the narration of the events following the death of Alexius I, and when exactly did he die are questions to which no positive answer can be given. He was probably alive during the reign of John II and possibly through that of Manuel I. K. Ziegler may be right in suggesting a connection with Anna Comnena's circle for Zonaras who, like his royal counterpart, fell in disgrace soon after 1118 and had to retire to a monastery.<sup>50</sup> Du Cange has divided the *Epitome* into eighteen books of approximately equal volume, the contents of which proceed on these lines: following a notable *prooimion* (discussed below in chapter 1) book I brings the narration as far as king Saul. Book II continues until the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezar. Book III includes the interpretation of Nebuchadnezar's dream by Daniel,

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to this interpretation of isolating "one single verb" with which to judge the date and also the authorship of the Lexicon (as he would favour the view that it is actually a work by Zonaras) and suggests that ἦν is a later interpolation. Perhaps another possibility would be to take the verb ἦν as referring to the material of which the altar was made *vaguely* in the past, not necessarily the near past, and hence to make room for a possibly earlier composition. For full discussion see appendix.

<sup>50</sup> Ziegler, under "Zonaras Ioannes", *op. cit.*, 722.

and Zonaras, apart from Josephus, uses as source material also the histories of Herodotus, Xenophon (particularly his *Cyropaideia*) and Plutarch's *lives* of Alexander and Artaxerxes. At the end of book IV we have reached the death of Herod. In book VI we read about the Jewish wars and the sack of Jerusalem by Titus. In the twenty ninth chapter of this book Zonaras starts his account of Rome with the words "since our history has made mention of the Romans and since the latter had been entrusted with invincible power, it is at all events necessary to say...who the Romans were and whence their nation was initially formed". Ziegler believes that this was the most opportune moment for Zonaras to launch into his long Roman history digression since up to this point he was faithfully following his main source, Josephus, who concludes his account with the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of Jewish history. Zonaras now makes Rome his central theme and writes its history which, according to Ziegler's interpretation, he must have seen as continuing uninterruptedly down to 1118 (*op.cit.*,724).

Moreover, book VII narrates the pre-history of Rome, the landing of Aeneas in Italy and the numerous battles occurring as the conquest of new colonial territory was annexed to the Roman state. Book IX contains the Punic wars and the destruction of Carthage as well as the wars which the Romans conducted against Philip V of Macedon and his successor Perseus. For his account of Roman history Zonaras has made ample use of Dio Cassius' account and this part of his chronicle is of particular interest to the historian who would otherwise have serious difficulty in reconstructing the content of Dio's books (and they are eighty in total) which are now lost.<sup>51</sup> Towards the

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<sup>51</sup> For an extensive treatment of Dio Cassius as one of Zonaras' sources see F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford, 1964. Other sources of Zonaras for the early Christian period include Eusebius of Caesarea and Theodoret of Cyrrus.



end of book IX Zonaras makes a direct apology for not including in his work the history of Roman consuls and dictators since, regretfully, he is unable to proceed because of the lack of sources which are so scanty in his island. He is forced, therefore, to continue with the history of the Roman emperors from Augustus (book X) down to the end of Alexius' reign (book XVIII).

In our attempt to understand and interpret Zonaras as an historian we should try to keep our minds fixed on his antiquarianism but, none the less, on his Orthodoxy and Christian disposition also. Roman past and Jewish history were, in all probability, two independent but equally inseparable filters through which our author viewed things bygone and made judgements for the present. Judaism had been proved wrong and its history had tumbled down while its future was belied by the ruins of the temple of Solomon. God is working through history and has providently arranged a flow of events culminating in the establishment of a Roman empire which, from the time of Constantine I and the shift of its capital to Constantinople, has developed into a guardian of the Christian faith and an heir to the old customs and traditions of ancient Rome. But for Zonaras tradition and Orthodoxy are running a common course and *σεβας*, namely respect for God, together with the maintenance of old practices determine the legitimacy and the ethics of human actions.

c) **The island of St. Glyceria today.**

Zonaras' name, as we saw, appears in titles to be connected with a monastery (and an island) of St. Glyceria.<sup>52</sup> The island of St. Glyceria

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<sup>52</sup> See n. 39 above. The historian Theophylact Simocatta [*Historia*, ed. C. de Boor, Stuttgart, 1972, VI, 1, 221 (4-7)] informs us that a shrine of St. Glyceria existed in Heracleia of Thrace which was damaged by the Avars in 588 and was rebuilt by the emperor Maurice. As the raids were repeated in 623, it is possible that the fleeing

otherwise known as St. Andrew's island or the deserters' island (its Turkish name is *İncir Adası*) is situated south east of the port of Tuzla and forms an extended link of the chain of islands found in the north of the sea of Marmara. The island has the shape of an amoeba and can be reached by boat or helicopter from the nearby coast. Although the first impression one gets is of a tiny island, during Byzantine times it actually hosted a monastic complex, a proper church and two spacious water-cisterns all of which left, and naturally still leave, extensive free ground which is now covered with trees, houses, pavilions, a main villa and establishments for animal breeding. The island has also two harbours, one in the north and a second on the south coast. This second one, which is less exposed to the strong winds of the region and is adjacent to what once were the cells of the monks, must have been used by the Byzantines more often.

The island of St. Glyceria has been for the last fifteen years or so the property of Mr. Rahmi Koç, the noted Turkish businessman and collector of Byzantine icons. On the initiative of its owner the remarkable Byzantine ruins of the island have been restored to a large extent thanks to careful work and the application of a special plaster-mixture containing egg-shells, which gives the reconstructed surfaces their characteristic light pinkish colour. The attention of the visitor is caught by two sites. The first is the ruins of the church on the western coast facing the last Princes islands. The church is only partly restored but the ruins which survive give a good idea about its size, height and wealth of decorations. The construction date is not certain, yet the building must have existed in its present form at least since the

twelfth century.<sup>53</sup> It consists of a narthex, three aisles and a sanctuary. The area of the narthex covered a large number of graves found one next to the other probably belonging to members of the monastic community of the island which flourished in the Comnenian era or, perhaps, to donors who were buried there in reverent memory.

The main aisle is quite spacious and housed four thick columns, three of which are now standing free, while the first on the left is lying on the floor. These columns, undoubtedly, supported the weight of the dome, which is now missing. One of the three standing capitals is original while the other two were brought from Anatolia. The left aisle shelters a sample of the floor mosaic, now attached to the wall. Its pieces were found scattered on the ground and following careful assemblage they reveal an interesting pattern of repeated stones in black and burgundy. The right aisle hosts a fresco with a secular theme and a glass-protected cabinet containing interesting articles such as heavy iron nails (probably elements of the church doors), potsherds, broken pieces of glass-vessels, tesserae and an attractive figure of a saint in fresco which, unfortunately, cannot be identified.

What is also interesting is a very effective water-draining system which was installed in the base of the sanctuary and running a considerable distance supplied with rain-water the two cisterns of the island. The island presently lacks running water and, presumably, faced similar difficulties in the Byzantine times when storing rain-water through the existing devices was of paramount importance.<sup>54</sup>

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people and clergy transferred the relics to the island of St. Glyceria in the sea of Marmara for safety, a common practice at that time.

<sup>53</sup> According to Mango (*op. cit.*, 223) the consecration of the church occurred on 13 May 1142.

<sup>54</sup> Rain-water apparently has been in use for centuries in the area. People have made a virtue of necessity as rain-water is considered ideal both for drinking and for personal cleanliness.

Of the two surviving cisterns the bigger and better preserved is the one which forms part of the basement of the main villa. Following a narrow descending passage and with the sound of some stimulating Byzantine music in his ears, the visitor marvels at the sight of the roomy wine-cellar into which the cistern has been ingeniously converted. The huge marble columns which support the ceiling are original and match with the rest of the decor, which although not genuinely Byzantine is nevertheless quite convincing in style and in taste.

Leaving the island of St. Glyceria to return to modern Istanbul is a sad business. Having loitered about its coast and its winding paths, indulged in the serenity and calmness of its scenery and tasted the ripe figs from its many fig-trees just like its solitary inhabitants centuries ago,<sup>55</sup> one is left with a strong feeling to go back. A visit to the island also makes it easy to understand why St. Glyceria had been such a favourable place for retreat in twelfth-century Byzantium and why Zonaras could see it as a spot of luxury banishment and perfect isolation.

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<sup>55</sup> Its Turkish name suggests a connection with figs: *Incr Adası* means the island of figs.

## PART ONE

### CHAPTER I

#### A study of the *prooimion* of Zonaras' chronicle in relation to other 12th-century historical *prooimia*

What this chapter intends to make evident is that the *prooimion* of Zonaras' world history encompasses all the literary principles which learned historical prose, both ancient and contemporary, had developed. It moreover intends to demonstrate that although working in accordance with the basic traits of the stylistic manner peculiar to historical prefaces, the author of the *Epitome* nevertheless proved his literary quality by creating his own contributions to traditional *topoi* of expressions. Our discussion will include the *prooimia* of the histories of Michael Psellus, John Scylitzes, George Cedrenus, Nicephorus Bryennius, Anna Comnena, Constantine Manasses, Michael Glycas and Nicetas Choniates, in other words basically twelfth-century authors, and will attempt to establish Zonaras' method of handling an old practice of constructing historical introductions.

To a discussion about *prooimia* in Byzantine historiography Psellus' *Chronographia* may seem to have little relevance simply because it lacks one, even of the briefest kind.<sup>56</sup> Thus his narrative

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<sup>56</sup> That is to say it has no *prooimion* in the classic sense of a general preface. Scholars have detected two brief *prooimia*, one at the end of the reign of Isaac Comnenus and another immediately following the opening of the reign of Constantine X [Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, Paris, 1926-8; repr. 1967, II, 138(XCII); (I)]. Both these *prooimia* refer to Constantine Ducas (1059-67) and have been interpreted as an indication that Psellus did not wish or did not have the time to review his work and, hence, did not alter this obvious repetition.

starts with the reign of Basil II (976-1025) in a rather unconventional and abrupt way. It appears that no absolutely convincing explanation of this notable omission can be given although several interpretations have been offered. Sykutris argued that Psellus had actually written a preface for the first section of his work (the one covering the reigns of Basil II to the end of Isaac Comnenus (976-1059) but which he later destroyed when he was busy composing the second part of his work from Constantine X to Michael VII (1059-78) under the supervision of Michael VII.<sup>57</sup> He did this as a result of the pressure he was undergoing and which would have rendered it wise for him to avoid any preface with unwelcome suggestions. But if Psellus was quite prepared to indulge in unrestrained flattery concerning Michael VII in the second part of the *Chronographia*, why would he be hesitant to add an equally partial *prooimion* to his history in which case it would still survive alongside the main body of his narrative?

Or is it that he meant to write one, but died before he did so?<sup>58</sup> Yet if, as is generally accepted, the first part of his work was published *during* his lifetime (possibly between 1059 and 1063) how can this be reconciled with the assumption that he overlooked such a notable absence, unless we accept that he had thought first to finish the whole work and then to head it with a preface, a plan which death eventually prevented. This theory seems plausible as the historian Theophylact Simocatta, and very probably Menander Protector, also composed their

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While, in our judgement, these references to Constantine X lack the basic elements of a complete conventional *prooimion*, they are not repeating *exactly* the same information. In chapter XCII Psellus mentions his intention to continue his narrative with the qualities and achievements of Constantine as an emperor and leader of the state, whereas in the following chapter (I), with which he opens Constantine's reign, he proposes to speak, at some future date, about the emperor's personality and family origin. We would suggest that the two chapters are not a careless iteration but what seems to have been Psellus' own deliberate choice of dividing his narrative into two supplementary smaller sections instead of writing an all-inclusive single paragraph.

<sup>57</sup> J. Sykutris, "Zum Geschichtswerk des Psellos", *B. Z.* 30 (1929-30), 65.

<sup>58</sup> So J. Hussey, "Michael Psellus, the Byzantine historian", *Speculum* 10 (1935) 84.

respective prefaces at the *end* of the process of composition (or at least *towards* the end of it).

Alternatively, he might have felt that since his history was a direct continuation of Leo the Deacon it did not need a *prooimion*.<sup>59</sup> It is however hard to imagine that Psellus, whose vanity is so easily identified with the familiar ἐγὼ γούν expression, could actually bear to have his *Chronographia* prefaced by somebody else's work! It is indeed noteworthy that even Theophanes, who continued George Syncellus, saw fit to provide a separate preface to his part of the work.<sup>60</sup> In what follows we will try to demonstrate that regardless of whether Psellus ever *considered* writing an introduction, his work, as a matter of fact, embodies all the conventional elements of a standard Byzantine historiographic *prooimion* of his time.

In a chapter on Constantine IX Psellus gives his reason for writing the *Chronographia*: He was "forced", he says, "to compose history by many in authority who sat in the first rank of the senate and also by others who were initiated in the mysteries of Logos possessing souls of a higher and more divine nature".<sup>61</sup> In this three-line period with the recurrence of the word τέλος Psellus gives the conventional excuse of the historian: it is other people who *made* him write, who *led him slowly* to the task (οὕτως πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπήγον). As for himself he had initially declined their suggestions and given up the matter (καθυφείσ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν) not on account of laziness, but rather because he feared the consequences of an over-conscientious devotion to his work. There is always the danger, he explains, of an unpardonable dramatization of events which is ever lurking in

<sup>59</sup> So Hussey, *op.cit.*,84.

<sup>60</sup> Also note Agathias continued Procopius and provided a long preface.

<sup>61</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, 127, XXII (1-4). πολλοί με πολλάκις πρὸς τήνδε τὴν ξυγγραφὴν κατηνάγκασαν, οὐ τῶν ἐν τέλει μόνον...ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὰ τοῦ Λόγου τελούντων μυστήρια, καὶ τῶν ὄσοι θεϊότεροι καὶ ὑπερτελεῖς τὴν ψυχὴν.

history writing and would be the result of εὐφημία (flattery) or, contrary to this, an historian may become the unprotected target of those who indulge in fault-finding (φιλαίτιοι) if he is found unbending and impartial in his quest for truth which again would count as the result of δυσφημία (slander).

This terrible fear of excessive praise and slander is a typical element of presenting historical introductions and is based on the assumption shared by Byzantine historians that the composition of history is identifiable with the search for truth. The latter is both the beginning and the end of history. Finally Psellus succumbed to pressure and agreed to undertake the task of writing. Yet even then he asserts, with a traditional pose of modesty, that he is quite unfit for it. He makes use of a variety of ways to signify an attempt at heroic achievements which is, nevertheless, aided by poor means. "I have dared to cross the ocean aboard a small raft" he humbly asserts on another occasion.<sup>62</sup>

This self underestimation and explicitly unpretentious assessment of abilities as a writer sounds particularly out of place in the case of Psellus who has clearly shown his egocentric tendencies both in life and work. Yet such assertions which seem to us hypocritical are the rule rather than the exception. It is quite normal, it seems, for a Byzantine historian to belittle his compositional talents while at the same time it is equally normal for him to expound the depth of his erudition and literary accomplishments. Indeed it would be normally expected of him to do so in a *prooimion* and Psellus apparently does not break fresh ground when he adapts himself to this conventional pattern.

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<sup>62</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, 101, XXIV (19-20). ἐπὶ μικρᾶς σχεδίας μέγα περαιώσασθαι τετόλμηκα πέλαγος.



Just before we come to examine Psellus' own literary judgements and remarks we should perhaps stop at the point where he is commenting on the length of his work: "Just as I said", we read, "I will now stop quibbling about every fact and will choose to walk in the middle path between those who discussed the empire and achievements of the elder Rome and those who in our time have followed the trend of compiling chronicles, having no desire to strive after the excessive loquacity of the former nor the compression of the latter, in order that my history may be neither too fulsome nor omit the crucial facts".<sup>63</sup> This golden mean between two extremes, this *mediocritas* or μέση ὁδός which Psellus highly commends is, again, not uncommon in Byzantine *prooimia*. Chroniclers and historians alike would rather choose, or so they often profess, a mode of writing which is neither too lengthy and tedious nor too brief and unrewarding. Phrases which are synonymous with Psellus' κεφαλαιώδης συγγραφή or concise history which certainly avoids prolixity but at the same time ensures that no important or crucial information (τὰ καίρια) is left out, are in fact an established formula of prefatory statements which Byzantine historians consistently make.

In the middle of his narrative on Michael V Psellus is on the point of giving his account of the great public insurrection against the emperor and the recall of the empress Zoe.<sup>64</sup> But such an account demands almost superhuman capabilities, he argues. Nevertheless he hastens to qualify this by a reservation: "of course I may be judging others by myself" (λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἑμοῖς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων κρίνων). His point, at any rate, remains that what he proposes to narrate surpasses

<sup>63</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, 152(LXXIII, 13-16)-153(1-4). There is a similar comment in Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVI, 1, 1) when he comes to the narration of events of 370s, rejecting the complaints of those who believed that every imperial sneeze must be recorded.

<sup>64</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, 101, XXIV (1-16).

the merits of a poet, a rhetorician and a philosopher alike and he goes on to analyse certain writing talents of these people. A poet can change his linguistic style artfully, moving on a terribly variable but also dangerous pathway just as an acrobat would walk on a tight rope! (οἶον σκηνοβατῶν τὴν ἀφήγησιν). An orator would present a more colourful account combining elegance with accuracy and, finally, a philosopher would not assume that things happen accidentally but would apply sensible causes to events. All these people, despite their admittedly great skills, come, individually, short of fitting the description of an ideal historian. In undertaking his difficult task of writing history Psellus is tacitly suggesting that he can actually accomplish it quite successfully in that he can function as a poet,<sup>65</sup> orator and philosopher at the same time although, of course, he would never assert this openly. Far from that, he uses the metaphor of the hopelessly fragile raft, as we saw, to humble himself after a typical Byzantine fashion which in his case appears especially paradoxical.

On another occasion when he speaks of eulogy and *encomium* he draws attention to the shrewdness of the rhetoricians.<sup>66</sup> "Even if almost everything else tells against his case, a single issue with positive importance is enough for the *rhetor* to help him use his sophistic technique in order to explain away every blemish and make it an object of praise". This skill of fallaciously treating facts and events on the part of rhetoric, this detestable practice of sophistry would seem to be yet another element of writing which historians

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<sup>65</sup> According to Agathias, *Historia*, ed. R. Keydell, CFHB, 2, Berlin, 1967, *Pref.*, 6 (1-3) history and poetry are intimately related, "so much so indeed that they are divided only by metre". Averil Cameron argued that Agathias knew and was opposing Lucian's strong distinction between history and poetry and also disagreed with Procopius who, too, had made a strong distinction between rhetoric, poetry, and history. See A. Cameron, *Agathias*, Oxford, 1970, 58-9.

<sup>66</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II, 50, CLXI (6-16).

mention and often are quick to denounce in their *prooimia*. Whether Psellus actually *believes* in what he is saying or whether in fact he indulges in a vice which he supposedly condemns is perhaps a different question. The historian, Psellus claims, should act like an impartial judge, never leaning to one side only and ignoring the other, indeed never applying clever remarks in respect to good or bad persons (οὐδεμίαν σοφίαν ἐπάγει οὔτε τοῖς σπουδαίοις οὔτε τοῖς φαύλοις), but providing an account of what has taken place in a plain and clear-cut manner (ἀπλῶς τε καὶ καθαρῶς τὰ πεπραγμένα διέξεισι). We will need to remember these two adverbs ἀπλῶς and καθαρῶς when we discuss statements on language style which other authors make regarding their individual preferences in the prefaces of their works.

A little further on Psellus openly turns against the stratagems of the art of rhetoric when he asserts that he hates literary devices which "steal the truth", although that is not to say that a proper historian is not allowed to make digressions or speak subtly if he thinks it appropriate. He goes on to add an apology which, we may imagine, springs to his mind quite spontaneously, namely that "history writing does not have such precisely drawn boundaries that it is entirely stripped clean of any accretions on its surface" (ὁ γὰρ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος οὐχ οὕτως ὄρισται, ὡς ἀπεξέσθαι περίεξ παντάπασι). Writers can turn aside from their narrative provided that they soon resume the main theme of their account.

Elsewhere, speaking in his own defence and that of his erudition<sup>67</sup> he becomes even more emphatic about his right to modulate his language by the correct use of literary adornment and to combine philosophic reasoning with the art of rhetoric. Although many had accused him, Psellus bitterly resents, of indulging in

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<sup>67</sup> Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, 137, XLI (12-23).

practicing the latter he still thinks it his indefeasible right to compose history while adding to his philosophic analysis a touch of eloquence and literary garnish (αὐθις φιλόσοφόν τι ἀποδεικνύων θέμα, καθωραΐζω τοῦτο ταῖς τεχνικαῖς χάρισιν). He does this, he explains, so that the soul should not be repulsed by the seriousness of the account and, as a result, be deprived of philosophy.

It is not our purpose at this stage to investigate whether Psellus' professed modesty is honest or not or whether it forms part of a more general attitude of Byzantine historiography which regarded literary polish and rhetorical embellishment as, in principle, interwoven with the essence of Logos or that of the most refined thinking. Our interest rather lies in whether Psellus' linguistic estimates can be attached to a number of basic features which constitute an important part of contemporary historiographical *prooimia*. In our judgement, they can. There can be no proof, perhaps, that Psellus never meant to write a separate preface for his *Chronographia*. Being the kind of writer that he is, it seems, he was very well aware of what he was doing, what he was including and what he was omitting in his history. The question rather is whether he needed a *prooimion* as such or, perhaps, what *more* he would have included in this *prooimion* assuming that he ever wished to write one. We can think of very little more. After all when a writer chooses to differ in that he prefers to scatter here and there what others have brought together in a distinct part which they call a preface, it may be impossible to establish the reason why.

II. H. Hunger in his classic work on the purist Byzantine literature points out that John Scylitzes' *prooimion* deserves a distinct place among the prefaces of other historians and chroniclers.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Greek translation, vol. 2, Athens, 1992), 211.

Scylitzes certainly opens his *Synopsis* with an acknowledgement: he mentions George the Monk and Theophanes as worthy forerunners who had laboured in composing an abridged form of history most excellently and had adopted a narrative which encompassed the essence of facts (τῆς οὐσίας τῶν πεπραγμένων).

It is true that both George the Monk and Theophanes had employed a plain and unadorned language (λόγῳ ἀφελεῖ καὶ ἀπεριέργῳ)<sup>69</sup> but there was no one after them who could count as fit to continue their history. Thus, according to Scylitzes, those who attempted to write history after these two, had treated their subject matter not as their main task but rather as a subsidiary activity and, consequently, proved anything but accurate in their accounts: indeed they offered no benefit to posterity in that they omitted most of the important issues (τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν καιριωτέρων παρέντες). These “unfortunate writers” included, above all, Psellus, who becomes a target of Scylitzes’ criticism elsewhere too,<sup>70</sup> Theodore Daphnopates, Joseph Genesisius, Manuel Byzantius, Nicephorus the Deacon, Leo the Deacon, Demetrius of Cyzicus and others. All the aforementioned writers had written strictly contemporary history and as a result of their subjectivity had caused confusion to their readers rather than providing them with a useful manual.

We should perhaps pause here and ask ourselves what is meant by important facts or events? How does Scylitzes define τὰ καίρια or, to use his earlier synonymous expression, τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν πεπραγμένων, since this is what differentiates proper history from a deficient and

<sup>69</sup> Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, CFHB, 5, Berlin and N. York, 1973, *Pref.*, 3 (10). Scylitzes cannot help commenting on the language of George and Theophanes which he finds somewhat unpolished and artless. In so doing he basically confirms an aspiration which he shared with many other *literati* in that he approves of a studied and elegant mode of writing as opposed to prose in poor taste.

<sup>70</sup> Criticism of Psellus is found also in the *Continuation* of Scylitzes, *He Synecheia tes Chronographias*, ed. Eu. Tsolakis, E. M. Σ. 105, Thessaloniki, 1968, 152 (23); 156 (7).

bald statement of facts? After all Psellus, as we saw, had shown an equally strong interest in including the essential constituents of history in the *Chronographia* and the same is true for other historians and chroniclers who show similar care and sensitivity in their *prooimia*.

Scylitzes indeed has an answer to these questions but before we discuss it there is, possibly, a conclusion which we can deduce by inference regarding the reasons which prompted him to start writing in the first place. If other historiographers have named the determining factors which urged them to write their histories, one of which was the exhortations of their friends, then, perhaps, the fact that, in Scylitzes' judgement, there existed no decent account carrying the work of George the Monk and Theophanes on to his own time, constitutes *per se* an adequate condition for writing. This is, then, his excuse for composing the *Synopsis* and can be viewed as a variant of the standard excuses made by other chroniclers and historians in their *prooimia*.

Yet Scylitzes, as we said, *does* give his reasons as to why he thought there was a definite need for writing his chronicle: his basic objection is that his predecessors had unfortunately fallen into the trap of presenting accounts that conform to the flattery and/or slander pattern, which was evidently something no decent writer would want. History is supposedly free from degrading elements such as insincere praise or mean, mud-slinging attacks which is exactly, Scylitzes explains, what Psellus and the other writers did. In a sense what they were including in their histories was anything but the *καίρια* or important points. "They, having clothed their individual goals with an outward historical appearance, have stood far from the thought of the above mentioned God-inspired men" (meaning George the Monk

and Theophanes). Psellus is not mentioned explicitly as guilty of partiality but it is very likely that with “one man composing his account in order to please and another according to the orders he received” Scylitzes targets him<sup>71</sup> among a number of writers whose narratives illustrate their conflicting motivations. The only thing these people are good at is to cause dizziness and confusion in their readers’ minds (λίγγου καὶ παραχῆς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐμπεπλήκασιν) - a subtle jibe at the notion of the poetic acrobat mentioned by Psellus?

There is, therefore, an urgent need for a history free from all the above vices, and Scylitzes makes a number of promises in an attempt to give a general outline of his own historical method: first, he says, he proposes to write a concise historical volume which would abandon unnecessary comments and whatever appears to be of a mythological nature, thus presenting to the people who are keen on history a very brief report of what took place (συντομωτάτην κατάληψιν τῶν συμβεβηκότων).<sup>72</sup> This is, of course, a statement which accords with the common tendency of “to the point” writing found in historical *prooimia*, as chroniclers and historians often profess an interest in brief, all-encompassing, but *useful* (λυσιτελεῖ) accounts.

A second step would be, Scylitzes points out, to avoid any inconsistencies and exercise a kind of *catharsis*, expurgating from history whatever he supposed to be erroneous, offensive or undue flattery. His intentions were to put forward a historical *epitome*, a book which would constitute light reading for the public or,

<sup>71</sup> Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, *Pref.*, 4 (37-38). Ὁ δὲ καὶ κατὰ χάριν, ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ὡς προσετέτακτο, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνθεῖς ἱστορίαν...

<sup>72</sup> Note the use of the word φιλιστοροῦσιν [*op. cit.*, *Pref.*, 4 (41)] used also by Psellus in the *Chronographia* in an antithesis between φιλίστωρ and what appears to be its exact opposite: φιλολοῖδος [Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, 128, XXII (19-20)].

metaphorically speaking, “food ready to swallow”<sup>73</sup> and an easy to follow text. Then, using perhaps Platonic language, Scylitzes makes the point that since knowledge of history is based on remembrance<sup>74</sup> and, again, remembrance on reading consistently, his book will serve as a valuable guide and, at the same time, as a precaution against oblivion. Whether Scylitzes only partially managed to keep the promises he gives in his *prooimion*,<sup>75</sup> deserves an independent study, but the fact that he does make them there, alongside his other criticism, detailed analysis and general observations is an indication of the importance he extended to the preface of his work.

III. This is not always the case, it seems, with Byzantine *prooimia*. George Cedrenus is far less original in that he cites almost word for word the preface of Scylitzes at the beginning of his chronicle. Cedrenus produced an abridged version of Scylitzes’ introduction while he made a few minor additions to his text. He, too, mentions George the Monk and Theophanes as the leading characters, the “God-loving” and “history-nurtured” men<sup>76</sup> who were sadly not followed by others equally talented in composing epitomised accounts, but whoever tried to continue their work (and he mentions Psellus and the rest) had all failed to keep up their quality.

He then mentions Scylitzes<sup>77</sup> as somebody who managed to select the best of what had been written so far, adapt and strip it of

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<sup>73</sup> Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, *Pref.*, 4 (51). καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου ἀληθεσμένην (τροφὴν). This is an interesting popular proverb which survives in Modern Greek: (compare μασημένη τροφή or ἑτοιμο πιλάφι).

<sup>74</sup> His language is reminiscent of the Platonic knowledge-recollection equation, although, naturally, there are vast differences between Platonic ἀνάμνησις and that of Scylitzes. His language, however, may be interpreted as a sign of classical reading on Scylitzes’ part.

<sup>75</sup> So Hunger, *op.cit.*, vol.II, 212.

<sup>76</sup> Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, *Pref.*, I, 3 (1). ...τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν φιλοθέων ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλιστόρων...

<sup>77</sup> Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, *Pref.*, I, 5 (4). ὁ δὲ πρωτοβεστιάριος Ἰωάννης ὁ Θρακῆσιος τὸ ἐπώνυμον.



every slander or flattery and present a “naked” or plain history (γυμνήν τὴν ἱστορίαν παραδέδωκεν). Cedrenus refers to Scylitzes’ chronicle as one of his sources which include also Genesis Parva (Λεπτὴ Γένεσις), ecclesiastical historians and other books.<sup>78</sup> He made a careful reading of his material, he says, and selected only the “fitting”, or “right” points for his narrative (τὰ εἰκότα συνελέξαμεν) which he proudly recommends for its conciseness<sup>79</sup> and certainly for its usefulness.

Cedrenus’ *prooimion* may be short, unoriginal and repeat chunks of Scylitzes’ text, yet at least it is in itself an indication that a) there existed a variety of historical prefaces including briefer and less worked out as well as lengthier and more meaningful *prooimia* and b) that, therefore, not all writers paid the same attention to their introductions or assigned to them the same weight or importance. There may well have been diversity alongside the conventional patterns of composing prefaces.

IV. The *prooimion* of Nicephorus Bryennius occupies a small part towards the end of his introduction and certainly deserves careful attention. It opens with a direct address to his mother-in-law, the empress Irene Ducaena, in which Bryennius acknowledges the gravity and difficulty of the task which she has committed to his care, namely the composition of a literary historical record of the emperor Alexius I Comnenus’ reign. The empress is described as “most wise and intelligent”<sup>80</sup> and the task as “the grandest of all labours” (ἀθλον μέγιστον).

Now there can be little doubt that Bryennius’ brief *prooimion* is full of commonplaces typical of Byzantine historiography. Direct

<sup>78</sup> Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, *Pref.*, I, 6(2-4).

<sup>79</sup> Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, *Pref.*, I, 6 (4). ὑφ’ ἐν ἐπιδρομάδην συνθέμενοι. Compare also Strabo, 2, 1, 6: ἐπιδρομάδην ἱστορήσαι ἕκαστα.

<sup>80</sup> Bryennius, *Hyle historias*, ed. P. Gautier, CFHB, 9, Brussels, 1975, *Pref.*, 11, 71(19). ὦ σοφωτάτη μοι φρὴν καὶ διάνοια.

addresses to the imperial family or, to the emperor himself, had not been unusual in historical introductions. Michael Attaleiates complies with this norm when in his *prooimion* he addresses the emperor Nicephorus Botaneiates as the sovereign of great intelligence who will hopefully consider Michael's work as an *encens acceptable* of his loyalty.<sup>81</sup> The same practice is repeated in Constantine Manasses' preface when the latter addresses Irene, sister-in-law of the emperor Manuel I Comnenus, as the scholarly royal Lady who is the generous recipient of his chronicle.<sup>82</sup> References to the difficulty of the task of the historian are likewise abundant in Byzantine literature. John Cameniates in the *prooimion* of his account on the capture of Thessalonica by the Arabs (904), which is worthy of a closer analysis, expresses reservations about his literary efficacy with the words "I fear I am unable to write in a satisfactory manner what you have asked me to", meaning his friend Gregory from Cappadocia.<sup>83</sup>

Cameniates' introduction, being rich in that it includes most of the conventional elements used in historiographical prefaces, mentions *inter alia* the author's concern about the objectivity of what he reports as well as his professed agony in connection with his "uncharming and unprepared" language (τὸ ἀκαλλῆς τοῦ τῆδε λόγου καὶ ἀνάρμοστον). A. Carile actually argued that the kind of *prooimion* which Bryennius writes had been already in fashion from the time of Cameniates (10th century) but had its deeper roots in the introductions of the *vitae* of the saints.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, H. Lieberich had, long ago, supported the view that "the Byzantine authors, whose *prooimia* show similarity with those of Theophanes and Cameniates, are, with

<sup>81</sup> Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1953, 5 (19)-6 (5).

<sup>82</sup> Manasses, *Synopsis chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1837, 3 (vs.1-6).

<sup>83</sup> Cameniates, *De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. Böhlting, CFHB, 4, Berlin, 1973, 1, 3, (18-19). μηδὲν δύνασθαι περὶ ὧν τὴν ζήτησιν ἐποιήσω.

<sup>84</sup> A. Carile, "La "Υλλη 'Ιστορίας del Cesare Nicephoro Briennio", *Aevum* 43 (1969) 274.

the exception of Nicephorus Bryennius, nothing but religious scripts".<sup>85</sup>

Lieberich traced such clear influence on the composing technique of historical introductions specifically to the *Vita Constantini* by Eusebius of Caesarea. The *vita* in question in fact displays basic introductory elements such as the necessity for recording historical events, the importance of concise narrative, the urge to avoid showy rhetorical language, the *epiclesis* to divine inspiration etc.<sup>86</sup> It all basically owes much to the reciprocal influence of secular historiography upon ecclesiastical and vice-versa. In the beginning it was the first which exerted its impact on the latter, only to experience later a reverse effect. Thus probably under the influence of the practice of citing imperial documents found in the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius and Sozomenus, Anna Comena in her *Alexiad* quoted chrysobulls of her father or diplomatic texts, such as that of the Treaty of Devol, word for word.<sup>87</sup>

As for Bryennius, whose "Ἰστορίας" revolves round Alexius' family and the families of other contemporary illustrious men, his biographical approach may have been inspired by Xenophon and Plutarch. Indeed he does pay his tribute to classicism at the end of his *prooimion* when he repeats the *topos* of expressing his weakness in writing and the need to resort to the talent of a Demosthenes or

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<sup>85</sup> H. Lieberich, "Studien zu den Prooimien in der griechischen und byzantinischen Geschichtschreibung. T.2. Die byzantinischen Geschichtschreiber u. Chronisten ", Progr. d. Realgymn., Munich, 1900, 20.

<sup>86</sup> Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* (X-XI), *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, ed. I. A. Heikel, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1902, 11-13. On *Vita Constantini* see T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric, History, and Hagiography in Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*," in *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of H. Chadwick*, ed. R. Williams, Cambridge, 1989, 94-123; Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, Oxford, 1991, 53-56.

<sup>87</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols, Paris, 1937-45, III, 120 (28)-122 (31).

Thucydides. For this he may well have read his Menander text "on constructing orations".<sup>88</sup>

V. If Cedrenus' *prooimion* was brief Anna Comnena certainly wrote a lengthy one. She starts with the *topos* of admitting the dire necessity of preserving the memory of "great and remarkable acts" against eternal oblivion. H. Hunger was indeed right in stressing the *originality* of some writers who were in a constant search to coin new phrases while moving within rigidly prescribed boundaries.<sup>89</sup> This is, perhaps, where the improvisation and inventiveness of Byzantine historiographers could be conducive to a fresh, attractive and creative style of writing despite the limits imposed by a *mimesis*. And Anna undoubtedly knew well how to handle the secrets of such creativity. Clichés such as λήθης βυθός were probably part of the secret but this is not where everything stopped. It depended, thereafter, upon the author's own judgement as *how* to clothe these phrases or *in which context* to place them.

A closer analysis reveals that, for instance, one safe rhetorical device would often be to use two synonyms for one word side-by-side, or two synonymous expressions or, more interestingly, to say the same thing through a double mechanism of positive and negative assertion. All Anna needed to say was that time passes quickly and that, therefore, somebody had to write down and save the memory of

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<sup>88</sup> Bryennius, *Hyle historias*, ed. P. Gautier, *Pref.*, 11, 73 (7-8). μόλις γὰρ ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα ἢ τε Θουκυδίδου δεινότης καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους ἐξήρκεσε μεγαλόφωνον. Compare Menander Rhetor, *The imperial Oration* (Russell and Wilson eds.), Oxford, 1981, 78(7-12). "You may obtain ideas for the second proemium...either from the grandeur of Homer-this alone is what the subject needed-or from Orpheus...or from the Muses themselves-scarcely would even they have been able to speak worthily of the subject". Μόλις ἂν καὶ αὐταὶ πρὸς ἀξίαν τῆς ὑποθέσεως εἰπεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν.

<sup>89</sup> H. Hunger, "On the Imitation (Μίμησις) of Antiquity", *D.O.P.* 23/24 (1969/70) 33. See also his *Prooimion, Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in dern Arengen der Urkunden* (Wien: In Kommission bei H.Bohlaus Nachf., 1964) 58. Also his "Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas", *Byzantine Studies* 5/6 (1978/79), 151.

important events.<sup>90</sup> Let us now examine the very start of her *prooimion*: she begins: “time, in its impetuous flow and constant motion, sweeps away and carries along whatever has come to pass and submerges it to the depths of obscurity”.<sup>91</sup> This makes for a sonorous start which, nevertheless, works with the aid of the “double synonym” technique. Anna chooses two participles in reference to the flux of time which, basically, mean the same thing: ῥέων and κινούμενος. She also picks up two adverbs with similar meanings, ἀκάθεκτα and αἰεί in connection with time and arranges the four words crosswise with χρόνος in the middle thus adopting a traditional figure of speech:

ῥέων	ἀκάθεκτα
	ὁ χρόνος
αἰεί	κινούμενος

This technique only extends to, of course, the need for a carefully selected vocabulary, but it takes more pains for Anna to think of possible *variants* for the “time passes” theme. John Lydus, six centuries ago, had said of time that it is “the creator as well as the destroyer of its own progeny” (*De Mensibus*, I, 1). Anna portrayed it as a rushing stream whose obliterating force only historiography can withstand and “somehow bring its vehemence to a standstill” just as a lock would block the flow of water.<sup>92</sup>

It certainly takes an unimaginative reader not to acknowledge here an honest care for creativity and originality. The idea may have been old but Anna’s treatment has given it a new dimension.<sup>93</sup> A few

<sup>90</sup> Compare Theophylact, *Historia*, ed. C. de Boor, III, 8, 127 (1-7) for similar language in an “internal” preface.

<sup>91</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, *Pref.* 3, (1-3).

<sup>92</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, *Pref.* 3 (7-9).

<sup>93</sup> G. Buckler has drawn attention to a passage from Diodorus Siculus’ *prooimion* which, she argues, makes a parallel comparison of History to a “protecting force”. It is about “the power of History...possessing in time, which brings ruin upon all things else, a *custodian* which ensures its perpetual transmission to posterity” (*Bibl.I.* 2, 5). See G. Buckler, in “Byzantine Ideal of Historiography”, *Anna Comnena-A Study*,

lines further Anna mentions her purpose of writing which is the narration of her father's memorable deeds and brings forth the same theme of time-the ravaging force. She still keeps likening χρόνος to the liquid element only that now its stream of wear is sweeping things towards an ocean of forgetfulness (εἰς πέλαγος ἀμνημοσύνης)<sup>94</sup>

A second point in the *prooimion* is the explanatory and anticipatory attempts of the writer to prevent any misunderstandings which would arise from the fact that she is the daughter of Alexius. This is yet another *topos* of seeking protection from aspiring accusers (or the φιλαίτιοι found in Psellus' text) who, not least of all, would include other contemporary or subsequent historians. Anna calls them "taunt-lovers" (φιλοσκώμμονες) and explains in a long chapter that her objective is quite different from composing an *encomium* for her father. She is aware that a proper historian is, in principle, free from all kinds of bias in that he finds ways to praise an enemy or, alternatively, rebuke one's own family according to the circumstances.

Both an *encomium* and a dramatic presentation of history were apparently things to be avoided and Byzantine historiographers, more often than not, would strongly differentiate their narrative from all such performances, presumably because what both *encomium* and drama had in common was the element of fiction or fantasy which again is something totally alien to truth. Ψεῦδος (falsehood) is an alarming scare in historiography and writers, naturally, seek to disassociate themselves from whatever hint or device would imply a distortion of truth on their part. "I hope that my account of events

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Oxford, 1968, 225(n.7). Although there is a similarity between Diodorus' treatment of the theme and that of Anna, the latter has, nevertheless, managed to give a *different* variant of the *same convention* which is interesting and which tells us something about her abilities to contribute to traditional techniques of writing.

<sup>94</sup>Time is elsewhere depicted as an agent of darkness which absorbs the greatest deeds in its gloomy silence (τῷ τῆς σιωπῆς ἀποσβέννυνται σκότῳ). Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, *Pref.* 4, (11-12).

will be judged free from all blame in that it has absolutely nothing to do with lies and fiction" are the last words of Cameniates' *prooimion*.<sup>95</sup> Yet Anna, conscious though she remains of this urge to tell the truth, cannot but defend her way of treating history-matter and present her characters according to her natural inclinations, likes and dislikes.<sup>96</sup>

This is another means, we would argue, by which writers attempt to go beyond what is normally expected of them and, by directly intervening in their text, make their personal excuses, give their reasons for adopting a specific attitude or simply express their sentiment. This latter element occupies the last one and a half pages, or so, of Anna's introduction. If seen in the light of the strict criteria which prescribe the construction of an historical *prooimion*, Anna's direct confessions of the hardships of her personal life would appear, to some readers at least, quite unintelligible. It is, of course, true that the length and, especially, the emotional load with which Anna responds to her individual trials are somewhat of an exception in traditional history writing, although direct remarks of a writer's personal dispositions regarding their own experience in life and education are, in fact, not completely strange. Psellus and others (Psellus much more than others) had now and then looked for an excuse to refer directly to incidents from their lives and comment on them.

Whether we *sympathise* with Anna's stormy life and, as a result, with her lyrical exaggerations in her *prooimion* is a different

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<sup>95</sup> Cameniates, *De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. Böhling, *Pref.*, 1, 4, (31-33). The duty of an historian regarding truth and impartiality is stressed in a passage by Polybius (*Hist.* I. 14) which Anna transfers with almost no alterations to her text. Compare *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, *Pref.* 4, (25-30).

<sup>96</sup> Compare Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, IV, 166 (11-27).

question.<sup>97</sup> What is important to point out is that she keeps most of the conventional elements of historiographical introductions (the need to resist time, the elaboration of her topic, the reference to an unbiased composition and fear of criticism, the use and adaptation of classical sources and, to a lesser extent, the direct appeal to her public) yet she treats them in a way which makes her conventional techniques seem less strikingly so.

VI. With Constantine Manasses' *Synopsis* we are introduced to a novel kind of chronography which is unique in that it is the only one, until the time of its composition, to be written in fifteen-syllable political verse. It is headed by a *prooimion* of twenty six metrical lines which succeeds in comprising most of the integral parts of a normal historical preface. It includes a formal address to Irene (sister-in law of the emperor Manuel I Comnenus), a reference to the burden of the task of the author, an appreciation of the danger inherent in too much flattery, and a critical view of previous historical literature with an emphasis on truth.

There is, perhaps, one main point which needs elaboration here: the fact that Manasses composed his chronicle in verse creates a condition which cuts both ways. On the one hand versification poses in itself certain limitations on the use of language, its construction and

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<sup>97</sup> Buckler (*op.cit.*, 35-45) shows no sympathy for Anna's trials. She even attributes her "hysterical bombast" and "her desire to play the tragedy queen" to a factor of self-pity founded on a vanity "which has always figured in the Greek character". This would, undoubtedly, fit the description of a Greek widow dressed in black and mourning her husband's loss which many people have for Greek women in particular! Buckler thinks of Anna as a self-centred individual (which she may well have been) who, nevertheless, deserves no pity since her misfortunes are grave but not grave enough.

There are two points to make here with respect to our writer: first we deal with a different, oversensitive female character who had, in fact, good reasons to be resentful and unhappy independently of her Greekness or her personal inclinations and, second, that emotion may be less appealing but is, we should think, a perfectly legitimate and acceptable form of communication even in an historical account, especially when it is carefully and tactfully displayed as is the norm in the *Alexiad*.



its freedom, but on the other hand these same limitations are capable of revealing new capacities and, as a result, of pointing to special attention and further development with regard to language. And Manasses had, in fact, shown great interest in formulating a deliberate, even if exaggerated in certain points, style of writing. If indeed it is true that at least one of the elements suggesting a great self-consciousness in the imitation of ancient literature during the twelfth century was the emergence of a literary vernacular,<sup>98</sup> then it is hardly surprising that Manasses, as well as other contemporaries, sought to explore the possibilities with which they were challenged in this respect. In his *prooimion* we find the double synonym technique which, for clearly metrical purposes, becomes, occasionally, triple. Thus the characterization of the *Synopsis* as a lot of hard work occupies a whole verse with three synonymous words: Manasses would still take the task “even though it is difficult to manage (*δυσχερές*), burdensome (*ἐπαχθές*) or laborious (*ἐργώδες*). Such examples can be, of course, multiplied.<sup>99</sup> The same tendency to play with words is also portrayed in the formulation of sonorous verse endings through the right selection of words with sound identity such as in the example (*Synopsis chronice*, 3,v.6) καὶ γίνεται σοι τῆς ζωῆς ἅπας ὁ χρόνος λόγος. The emphasis in this case is placed on the ending of the verse which, especially when recited fast, leaves the audience with the hearing of the resounding words *χρόνος* and *λόγος* thus creating a playful and at the same time laboured manner of speech.

Other points are the employment of a rare vocabulary,<sup>100</sup> heavy

<sup>98</sup> For further reference see P. Magdalino, “The Rhetoric of Hellenism”, *op. cit.*, 148.

<sup>99</sup> Manasses had obviously a great ease in coining synonyms. Compare e.g. *Synopsis, chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, 3, v.4. γνώσεως καὶ λόγου καὶ παιδείας; τὸν τοῦ κόπου καύσωνα καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας (*op.cit.*, 4, v.16) a.o.

<sup>100</sup> Note, for instance, the word *ἄκουσις* (in 4, v.20) meaning hearing and which occurs only a couple of times in classical literature (Arist., *De An.* 426c I.; Philodemus,

use of adjectives, compound words, cliché phrases and certain figures of speech such as the metaphor which likens Irene's generosity and greatness of soul to the beneficial relief which dewdrops cause as they are "poured out" to quench the victims of scorching heat (vs.15-17). Overall a *prooimion* pregnant with ideas and literary aspiration.

VII. Bypassing Michael Glycas' *prooimion* which occupies less than seven lines<sup>101</sup> in the CSHB series, we next come to discuss that of Nicetas Choniates who wrote at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. The first impression one gets from reading Nicetas' preface to his *Chronice diegesis* is that of dealing with a "difficult", "compact style" language. Choniates' language is indeed a pre-eminently typical example of the Byzantine *mimesis* of classical prototypes which flourished in the literature of the Comnenian era. Thus the paradox in his *prooimion* is the author's positive assurance that he will actually employ a plain kind of narrative, brief and at the same time free of rhetoric. He would agree, he says, that an historical account is not compatible with obscurities or with the application of a language full of "circuits and circumferences". Choniates sides with the party which believes in making one's meaning as clear as possible and he alludes to the Euripidean equation of σοφόν with σαφές.<sup>102</sup> He detests boastful expressions or a style of writing which is too often interrupted by "precipitous phraseology" and is "hard to understand".

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*Rh.*2, 90 S). Another point is found in 3, v.3 where Manasses addresses Irene as ψυχὴ βασίλισσα καὶ φιλολογωτάτη: a royal soul fond of learning. The term ψυχὴ βασίλισσα which occurs again in an astronomical poem of Manasses dedicated to Irene (ed. E. Miller, *Not. et extr.* 23 (1872) 2, 8, v.1) consists, naturally, of two rather common words but the combination is rare. Did our writer want to play with βασίλισσα suggesting the connotations normally implied by the word? We can only speculate.

<sup>101</sup> Glycas, *Biblos chronice*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1836), *Pref.*, 3 (1)-4 (3). Glycas' *prooimion* is, however, yet another sign of the flexibility with which Byzantine chroniclers composed their introductions. Its main point is its brevity (βραχυσύλλαβον γράμμα) which the author stresses while our eyes are caught by the awareness of other historiographical works which Glycas admits.

<sup>102</sup> Euripides, *Orestes* 397; also *Bacchai* 395: τὸ σοφὸν οὐ σοφία.

Let others indulge in that kind of practice as there are many who gape in admiration after such a style and value what is useful or profitable higher than History itself (τῆ ἱστορίᾳ προθεμένων τὰ πρόσφορα).<sup>103</sup> Thus speaking of the particular preferences of History (personified) with regard to language Choniates makes the following statements: history, in principle, embraces a narrative which is:

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|----------------------------|--|
| simple in style ---->      | a. τὸ τὴν φύσιν ἀπλοῦν                 |
|                            | β. τὸ πρόχειρον εἰς κατάληψιν <----    |
| unadorned ---->            | c. τὸ ἄκομψον (easy for comprehension) |
| (a natural narrative ----> | d. τὸ ὡς ἔχον φύσεως διηγούμενον       |
| and easy to grasp)         | e. τὸ εὐληπτον <---- easy to grasp     |

In other words there is a bipolar qualification of the preferred style of writing which focuses on clarity and digestibility on the one hand (points b and e) and, on the other hand, on natural and plain expression (points a, c and perhaps d). Yet, as we said, Nicetas' narrative is *anything but* the above. It employs numerous metaphors, extremely subtle and carefully chosen vocabulary, frequent references to classical passages, and a showy rhetoric which is far from "easy to grasp". Already in the sixteenth-century annotation of Choniates' text by Hieronymus Wolfius we learn of a scribe's *scholion* which makes this complaint.<sup>104</sup>

Οὐκ οἶδα τὶ φῆς ἐνθάδε, Χωνειάτα,  
σοφὸν τὸ σαφὲς συγγράφων εἶναι λέγεις,

<sup>103</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, CFHB 11/1, Berlin and New York, 1975, 3 (43-44).

<sup>104</sup> See Nicetas Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB, Bonn, 1835, 871. This *scholion* is attributed, with reservations, by Hieronymus to a Constantinopolitan deacon Alexander Chartophylax who supposedly composed these three lines in fifteen-syllable verse.

εἶτα γρυφώδη καὶ βαραθρώδη γράφεις;

I do not understand what you allege, here, Choniates;

You declare in your writing that a learned style is the lucid style, and then you compose in oracular and high-flown manner?

“And, by God, not without reason”, the annotator continues in support of the objection, “for I do not know for the sake of what insolent elegance and the imitation of what manner of poetical speech he is prone to pitfalls and uses harsh, if not unsuitable, metaphors, especially in the *prooimion* where he would like to pose among the most well-spoken”.

Yet if we exclude the assumption that Choniates was totally blind to this apparent contradiction or that he was presenting an ironically unapproachable piece of writing,<sup>105</sup> then we are perhaps urged to look for a sensible interpretation. We would be inclined to argue that what Nicetas professes here about his language is an attitude very similar to that of Psellus when the latter speaks of his lack of literary abilities using the metaphor of the frail raft! Just as Psellus humbles his compositional talents and at the same time takes the greatest pains to ensure that his readers savour the best of his skills, likewise Choniates speaks of simplicity and straightforwardness and asks his public to forgive his lack of delicacy, although he is quick to specify and warn that “one is not likely to find my narrative completely inelegant”.<sup>106</sup>

To be sure, seen in the light of modern composition, such practice appears odd, to say the least, and ironical. No writer today with sound judgement would have attempted to profess most

<sup>105</sup> So H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol.2 (Greek translation), 276, n.586.

<sup>106</sup> Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, *Pref.*, 3 (38-39). οὐδὲ τούτου πάμπαν ἔξωθεν τοῦ καλοῦ πίπτουτ' ἂν εὕρη τις τὰ γραφόμενα.

earnestly in his introduction the employment of the very opposite features of the style which he, in fact, employs. Yet this was, seemingly, a normal rather than an abnormal practice in Byzantine literature, especially in the twelfth century, although no other writer takes it to that extreme. Why? One might ask. Probably it was more than simple compliance with a trend of literary composition, though one might suspect that it certainly owed something to this, and it could be that it reflected, more or less, the current climate of an antagonism to literary success, which was strongly felt among the learned of the time. After all such writings were not meant for manual workers or peasant women despite the point which Nicetas makes and which is, usually, interpreted too literally.

Indeed in a certain paragraph in the *prooimion*,<sup>107</sup> and speaking always of the correct use of style in history, he concedes that, in fact, such style is not inaccessible to diggers and blacksmiths, and those whose profession involves contact with soot or the arms, nor is it contemptuous of any working-class women who, like cloth weavers, are welcome to card the threads of History inasmuch as the latter delights in plain and unadorned mantles of expression. The problem with Byzantine writers is to know when and how they are "having us on"! How much teasing and how much strict sense is hiding in the above passage? We should think that Choniates was, in this respect, more concerned with shaping an old Homeric metaphor into a new figure in his narrative than with the actuality of what he was saying. In the *Iliad* (M, 433) we find the picture of a simple working woman whose work is to prepare the wool, and her work is then measured by being weighed on the scales because she needs the money to feed her children; Nicetas uses the same metaphor of plain cloth weavers who

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<sup>107</sup> Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, 3 (53-55).

are, this time, busy in the woolmill of History. He did not, and never intended to, write for manual workers or for mill-girls whose company, presumably, he had hardly sought in real life,<sup>108</sup> but he *did* use them as a vehicle of his attempts to embroider his narrative with imaginative details and rather handsome images or symbols.

VIII. Finally we should try to explore the way in which Zonaras' *prooimion* could be placed among the rest of the historical introductions which we have discussed so far. Zonaras wrote a rather substantial preface which opens with an apology and makes the conventional excuse of the author for composing his *Epitome historiarum*: Zonaras was reluctantly persuaded by his friends to turn his time to advantage by "compiling a work of public benefit which would secure for him a reward from God". At first sight this might appear as yet another compliance to an ordinary form pertaining to the construction of *prooimia*. However, the language which is used manages to give an old idea a new frame. These friends of Zonaras would not stop inciting him with their frequent goadings to undertake the task, something which he eventually did. Our author uses an interesting simile here in that he likens the power of human persuasion which knocks as at the door of his mind to the corrosive power of a drop of rain gradually eating away the roughness of a rock.<sup>109</sup> There is little doubt that Byzantine inventiveness and creativity knew no limits in applying variable scenic effects to traditional settings.

Zonaras' *prooimion* has more of a religious flavour than other contemporary historical introductions. The author never loses sight of the fact that he is a monk and makes a sharp distinction between,

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<sup>108</sup> Indeed he is extremely contemptuous of the proletariat.

<sup>109</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome*, Pref. 7(15-18).

on the one hand, his vocation to which he has been called by God and is described as his ἔργον or main task and on the other hand the writing of his chronicle which he sees as a πάρεργον or by-work. Yet even a by-work like this can contribute to his spiritual perfection in that "it helps the intellect to avoid , as much as possible, the turmoils of too much thinking and wicked contemplations". Zonaras is not sparing of information about himself when he tries to discern a divine purpose behind his present situation. He even becomes emotional for a glimpse of a moment. It has been a long time, he says, since he voluntarily chose "an exile for life"<sup>110</sup> and solitude in the environment of a monastery. Since God the Almighty, in His wise providence and for reasons which only He knows", had deprived him of the company of those he held most dear, Zonaras went in quest of the means to atone for his many transgressions: Ἀλγεινῶς μὲν ἐμοὶ, συμφερόντως δὲ πάντως he adds. We cannot help thinking that here we have a writer who, momentarily, loosens his control and lets a silent sigh of bitterness pass through the lines, which reminds us that the Byzantines often "break" their narrative and talk about their private concerns, where they become emotional, sometimes excessively so as in the case of Anna.

The next important point in his *prooimion* is Zonaras' criticism of his forerunners in historiography. This in itself is , of course, not a novelty although the author becomes once more innovative by putting this criticism in the mouths of his friends and turning it into an urge for the writing of a new historical project. In our discussion of Psellus' preference for a μέση ὁδός or golden mean between two extreme styles of historical accounts we argued that this is not an uncommon feature in Byzantine *prooimia*. Zonaras is, in fact,

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<sup>110</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome*, Pref. 3(4-5). ἀειφυγίαν ἑαυτοῦ καταψηφισάμενον.

another example of a writer who, too, prefers “a brief narrative which would instruct posterity about the most important events which have taken place”.<sup>111</sup> Zonaras’ friends, who presumably act in this case as his spokesmen, show no affection for detailed descriptions of battles and tedious quotations of rhetorical speeches and all that unnecessary information “which, because of its heavy bulk tends to go passively down to the bottom of memory”.<sup>112</sup> Nor indeed are they amused by those writers who choose to present “crop-tailed” histories to the loss of their readers. The interesting issue is whether Zonaras confesses a genuine dislike for either too big or too brief accounts, whether he merely adopts a conventional preference of medium-length ones or whether he is simply extolling the advantages of a chronicle.

On this issue two things can be said with fair certainty. The first is that Zonaras, as much as other writers of course, must have been aware of the historical work accomplished by different authors and covering the same period of events as that of his own. Secondly he must also have been aware that what he proposed to compose, namely a chronicle, was in essence a distinct kind of recording the past within the same genre of historiography. It has been suggested that in his criticism of digressive accounts Zonaras actually targeted the works of Bryennius and Anna Comnena,<sup>113</sup> who had both been historiographers and not chronicle writers. We cannot know exactly how much antagonism existed between historians and chroniclers but such antagonism could not have been the only source of criticism and it would be an oversimplification to assume that there existed two separate fronts or irreconcilable categories of writers. There surely had

<sup>111</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome*, Pref. 7(5-8). σύντομον ἱστορίαν ἐκδεδοκέναι, συνοπτικῶς διδάσκουσαν τοὺς ἐπιόντας τὸ σύγγραμμα τὰ καιριώτερα τῶν πεπραγμένων...

<sup>112</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome*, Pref. 7(3-5).

<sup>113</sup> So H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol.2 (Greek translation), 247.



been diversity on either side and each author might have his own conception of what is suitable, or what constitutes τὰ καιριώτερα τῶν πεπραγμένων. In Zonaras' case it seems probable that he had, naturally, a liking for a chronicle-type of narrative<sup>114</sup> and, accordingly, he may have disliked exhaustive battle descriptions or the insertion of tedious speeches. However, he *did* also possess a spirit of critical and questioning disposition towards the work of "others", which matched his individual appreciation of importance and usefulness with regard to recording events. His criticism and excuses for writing may be attested elsewhere too, but we should allow him his own focus of criticism and his own estimation of truth.

So how can Zonaras' *prooimion* fit into the tradition and, admittedly, considerable diversity of historical prefaces? Depending on the light in which we would like to view his *prooimion* we might say that it consists of a number of characteristic *topoi* which have already been frequently used in other introductions and include the conventional excuse of writing "on somebody else's suggestion", the criticism of previous historical works and a preference for a "medium length" narrative, the short survey of the contents of a work of history and an apologetic attitude on behalf of the language employed. If one stops here then, presumably, one sees it as yet another link in a homogeneous chain of compositions, as "a product of the like" in a continuous tradition of "how to write" recipes in historiography. And, of course, one would be basically right.

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<sup>114</sup> Here we cannot agree with D. Afinogenof that Zonaras denied chronicles the right to constitute an independent genre with its own rules and that he regarded chronography as a deviation from the classical standard resulting from mere ignorance (D. E. Afinogenof, "Some Observations on Genres of Byzantine Historiography", *Byzantion* 62 (1992), 30). If there existed a sore point in his mind this was not likely to be the antithesis between chronicle writers and historians, but rather the sharp contrast between conscious stylists and ignorant amateurs.

Yet there is also an other angle of seeing *beyond* the common and trivial elements, first of all by paying attention to the language. We saw earlier that Zonaras is capable of creating new figures of speech. He is also capable of coining a variety of expressions and displaying a rich vocabulary often using multiple and rare phrases meaning the same thing. We saw, too, that the bulk of his criticism he puts in the mouth of his friends which, in itself, does not alter the fact that he is being critical, but it does create a different context for what he says. Even his promise to adjust his narrative according to the language of his sources and to provide a "smooth" and unvarying text in terms of style is, despite its truistic nature, quite unparalleled as a statement.<sup>115</sup> In this sense if originality is not confined only to new ideas, but can also extend to an inventiveness which transforms these same ideas and gives them a fresh look, then certainly Zonaras has written an interestingly original *prooimion*.

In conclusion there are a few points which can be raised in relation to the construction of historical introductions and which have been partly discussed in this chapter. An obvious remark would be that there was an ample variety of *prooimia*: To start with, authors could choose between writing a long or a brief preface or even not writing one at all as is probably the case with Psellus. They could be more loquacious and descriptive of what they were about to narrate as are Bryennius and, especially, Zonaras, or they could simply quote and abridge somebody else's text as does Cedrenus. Given the occasion we have dealt with what appears to have been the conventional formulas, a body of technical specifications governing the composition of *prooimia* and which we need not repeat here, mindful of the

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<sup>115</sup> See also our chapter on the issue of the homogeneity of Zonaras' language.

Byzantine maxim that "if a discourse becomes lengthy, then it can assail the ears of the readers".<sup>116</sup>

It seems that there had been a shared conviction about the importance of historiography and its function as a recorder of the past<sup>117</sup>. and there must also have been a categorisation of historiography as an allied subject to philosophy and poetry or rhetoric. Already in the sixth century Agathias had pointed out in his *prooimion* that history-writing and poetry were closely related "differing perhaps only with regard to metrics". Manasses proved that even this difference was not insuperable. The importance of this affiliation of history-writing with poetry lies in the excuse which historiographers can now resort to in order to embroider their narrative with the necessary elements of rhetoric. Despite their frequent statements of detestation concerning an over-embellished language we argued that this was an aspect of voluntary belittlement to which the Byzantines never really affixed a literal sense.

On the contrary, we every now and then read in their *prooimia* of a concern for an artful discourse or we find them often apologising and expressing regret for, supposedly, lacking the appropriate lustre in their narrative. Zonaras in fact becomes very categorical in his criticism of "some other" writers who had the audacity to compose their work using "extremely simple phraseology"<sup>118</sup> or employing unapproved vocabulary or even committing solecisms and indulging in a form of speech offensive to scholarly taste! Hence the great

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<sup>116</sup> Glycas, *Biblos chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, *Pref.* 4 (1-2). οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ πάνυ καταβαρύνει τὰς ἀκοάς, εἴπερ ὁ λόγος εἰς μῆκος ἐπεκταθείη...

<sup>117</sup> "Simple recollection or remembrance", according to Agathias, *Historia*, ed. R. Keydell, *Pref.*, 3 (8-9), "is something totally useless and temporary, as it is unlikely to extend by itself over a long period of time".

<sup>118</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome*, *Pref.* 6(18-19). τινὰ δὲ τῶν συγγραμμάτων τούτων καὶ ἀφελέστερα λίαν ἐκδεδοῦσθαι προσετίθουν τῇ φράσει.

interest, and very likely a parallel competition, in the use of rare expressions, synonyms and figures of speech.

To give one example, simply the notion of (physical) death is conveyed in five different ways in Choniates' *prooimion* including phrases like ἐκτοξεύειν τὸ ζῆν or ἀναχρέμπεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν which are notable variants for a trivial word like θνήσκω.<sup>119</sup> In Zonaras' *prooimion* we find two more equally interesting variants, namely μεταλλάσσειν τὴν ζωὴν and μετέρχεσθαι τῶν τῆδε meaning to change one's (present) life with, presumably, an after life or to depart from this world. A second example is the wide use of metaphors which make reading more pleasant and provide good opportunities for practising literary skills. To take again a sample from Zonaras' treasury we find him likening the human mind which is in a state of inertia to a vessel exposed to the tempestuous winds of evil thoughts under the force of which it, eventually, sinks.<sup>120</sup> We would like to stress once again that, although Byzantine historiography uses worked out pathways and established *topoi* of expressions, all this strife for discovering alternative phraseologies, all this adornment with classical references shows a genuine zeal for creativity and originality which is clearly manifested in almost all of the *prooimia* we have examined.

Historical introductions display a certain unanimity of purpose for writing, a common understanding of a "clear" and "to the point" method of recording facts and a positive appreciation of a scholarly language. Yet, despite all this, not every link in this chain of writings is exactly identical. Each author aspires to achieve distinction through

<sup>119</sup> Some of these expressions survive in Modern Greek and deserve, perhaps, an independent study. Compare the idiomatic τὰ φύτω, τὰ φύτωα deriving very likely from phrases such as ἀναχρέμπετομαι τὴν ψυχὴν.

<sup>120</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome*, Pref. 7(20-22)-8(1-3).

variety and ingenuity and each author deserves attention in his own right. Zonaras, whose *prooimion* fits well into twelfth-century literary tradition, appears to have been an integral part of the chain, but he also promises to have had an independent approach to conventional patterns which equally deserves our attention.

## PART TWO

### CHAPTER II

#### **A Comparison of Zonaras' Literary Style with the Language employed in the Works of his Precursors and Contemporaries.**

An investigation into the relationship between the literary style which Zonaras employs in the *Epitome* and those of his near or exact contemporary writers would entail an overall examination of adequate samples from the writings of both historians and non-historians who lived and composed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. One would then proceed to place and define linguistic features in the spheres of syntax, grammar or vocabulary which are common, or indeed different, between the language of such writers and Zonaras' historical narrative. For practical purposes we have included in our quest a representative number of eleventh and twelfth-century authors which we have divided into two groups. The first group comprises writers of history, whether strictly historians or chroniclers. The second group hosts a limited number of non-historians, such as "metaphrasts", grammarians or contemporary poets. Naturally the writings of the first group of authors are much easier to relate to the *Epitome*, and the comparison of their language with that of Zonaras is facilitated by common points of reference and an affinity of aim.

Now some of the histories with which comparison is made were, more or less, certainly used by Zonaras. They include the works of Psellus, Attaleiates, Bryennius, Anna Comena and Scylitzes (represented here by Cedrenus) and are examined alongside authors whom Zonaras is unlikely to have read, namely Glycas, Choniates and, perhaps, Manasses.

In what follows we will try to demonstrate that inspite the influence which Zonaras' sources excercised on his language and style, the chronographer frequently imposes his own literary criteria and thus it is *lack of influence* as well as influence that is being studied. Particular emphasis is paid on:

- a) Words or phrases which Zonaras keeps or, on the contrary, modifies or replaces altogether.
- b) Certain modes of style which he avoids and in particular his stand towards expatiation, use of orations, laconic or plain narrative, long quotations from other authors, repetition of information etc.
- c) Language structures which he favours, possible varieties or forms of syntax which are typical of his writing. Whether or not he assimilates the material he is drawing on into an identifiable manner of expression by being both selective and by processing it. What is the impact of linguistic *mimesis* on his work, etc.

For the study of this first group of authors we have directed our search to the following points which are suitable for drawing linguistic parallels over a wider range, in that they provide both military and non-military historical topics:

- I. Prosopographies or biographical sketches of historical characters.
- II. Descriptions of battles, naval battles or sieges.
- III. Descriptions of famines, plagues, natural disasters or physical phenomena.
- IV. Accounts of an insurrection or coup.
- V. Accounts of personal relationships, marriages etc., of important people.
- VI. Reports on imperial policies, whether internal or external.
- VII. Descriptions of the various symptoms of human diseases, especially those suffered by emperors.

In the first group we have included four proper historians and three chronicle writers who were active during the eleventh and twelfth-centuries. Our sources are the following:

a. Historians:

1. Michael Psellus (1018-1078) whose *Chronographia* covers the period 976-1077.
2. Michael Attaleiates (Psellus' contemporary) whose history narrates the events from the end of the Macedonian dynasty (1034) until 1079/80.
3. Nicephorus Bryennius (1062-1137) whose *Hyle historias* covers the years 1070-79.
4. Anna Comnena (1083-1148) whose *Alexiad* gives an account of the years 1069-1118.
5. Nicetas Choniates (mid 12th century-beginning of 13th century) who wrote the history of the years 1118-1206.

b. Chroniclers:

6. George Cedrenus (end of 11th - beginning of 12th century) who wrote a *Synopsis historiarum*, which is a world chronicle that terminates in the year 1057.
7. Constantine Manasses (lived during Manuel I Comnenus' reign) whose *Synopsis chronice* presents history from the Creation down to the end of Botaneiates' reign (1081).
8. Michael Glycas (1st quarter of 12th century - end of 12th century) whose *Biblos chronice* is a world chronicle which, like Zonaras' *Epitome*, starts from the Creation and stretches down to the end of Alexius' I reign.

Ia. The Byzantine scholar will be, perhaps, surprised to discover that Zonaras' chronicle in fact includes a wealth of prosopographical details of emperors, magistrates, etc., in its narrative. This in itself provides suitable evidence for the argument that the *Epitome* is not, after all, a typical monkish work which laconically records dates and events in



order of time.<sup>1</sup> In our search for biographical material in the *Epitome* we have stopped at the descriptions of two imperial figures: Basil II and Alexius I Comnenus, with whose reign Zonaras ends his history. Zonaras' portrait of Basil II is admittedly influenced by Psellus' *Chronographia*, to which the former must have had access while writing his chronicle. Although Zonaras is less interested than Psellus in providing biographies, his account of Basil in all extends over three pages. We have placed below the texts from both writers which, when compared, lead to certain conclusions and we have underlined the common phrasing. First comes a report on the expulsion of the *parakoimomenos* by the emperor:

**Psellus' *Chronographia* [ed. E. Renald, I, XIX, 12 (13-20)]**

πολλοῖς δὲ περὶ τούτου κυμαινόμενος λογισμοῖς...μεθίστησιν ἀθρόως τῆς διοικήσεως τὸν παρακοιμώμενον, καὶ...εἰς...ναῦν ἐμβιβάσας, ὑπερόριον ἐποίησατο.

**I, XXI, 13 (1-8)**

Τοιούτοις οὖν ὁ παρακοιμώμενος καθ' ἑκάστην τοξεύμασιν βαλλόμενος ὡς εἶπεῖν, ἀθυμίας τε ἐνεπίμπλατο,...καὶ νέφους τὴν κεφαλὴν πληρωθεῖς,...καὶ τὰ μέλη παραλυθεῖς καὶ νεκρὸς ἔμψυχος γεγονώς, μετὰ βραχὺ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπέρρηξε τὴν ψυχὴν...

**Zonaras' *Epitome* XVII, 7, 554 (10-18)-555 (1-3)**

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῷ παρακοιμωμένῳ αὐτῷ ἤχθητό τε τάνδρῃ καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔσπευδε· μετενεγκεῖν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησιν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ μεθίστησι τῆς τῶν κοινῶν οἰκονομίας αὐτόν...εἶτα μετὰ μικρὸν καὶ ὑπερόριον τίθησι...ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος διὰ ταῦτα νέφει περισχεθεῖς ἀθυμίας

<sup>1</sup> Note the parallel with Malalas' *Chronographia*, which was composed by a secular administrator: E. Jeffreys, *Studies in John Malalas*, ch. 1 for the author; pp. 231-44 for portraits of individuals.

παρεῖτο τὰ μέλη καὶ ἔμπνους ὦπτο νεκρός καὶ βραχύ τι διαλιπών...τὸν βίον ἐξέλιπεν.

Psellus is a source whom Zonaras treats with respect. As a general rule he accepts the master's linguistic ideas, but equally ensures that he devises a phraseology of his own in order to be distinct. To give an example from the above texts, Zonaras used the same verb as Psellus, namely μεθίστησι, to refer to the removal of the *parakoimomenos* from office and although he changed the context of the relevant phrase by introducing τῆς τῶν κοινῶν οἰκονομίας instead of Psellus' τῆς διοικήσεως, he has kept the noun διοίκησις a line above. Likewise he kept the adjective ὑπερόριος but has substituted a different verb (τίθησι) for Psellus' ἐποίησατο thereby employing a historic present instead of an aorist. Elsewhere Zonaras has chosen two key-words from Psellus' text (ἀθυμίας, νέφους), which in the *Chronographia* belong to two parallel phrases, and has combined them in one phrase using the participle περισχεθείς which echoes Psellus' πληρωθείς. Finally he deliberately modified a word of lesser importance just to differ from the source he is drawing on: ἔμπνους νεκρός was introduced to form a pedantic yet conscious variation on Psellus' ἔμψυχος νεκρός. Such attempts by Zonaras indicate his serious concern to be different.

#### (Prosopography proper)

**Psellus' *Chronographia* [ed. E. Renauld, I, XXII, 13 (1-3)-14 (10-15)]**

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Βασίλειος...γλυκυθυμίας μὲν πάσης ἀπείχετο...ὑπεροπτικῶς δὲ εἶχεν οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνων, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὃ δὲ καὶ βραχεῖάν τινα δορυφορίαν περιποιησάμενος, τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας καὶ λαμπροτέρας ὥσπερ ἐφθόνει παρασκευῆς· ἑαυτὸν γὰρ πρῶτον

ἀποστενώσας, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ τῆς ὑπερόγκου ἀποστερήσας κατασκευῆς εὐκόλως, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐχειροῦτο...

**I, XXIX, 18 (4-6)**

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Βασίλειος τά τε ἄλλα κατὰ πολλὴν ὑπεροψίαν τῶν ὑπηκόων ἔδρα, καὶ οὐκ εὐνοίαις μᾶλλον ἢ φόβοις τὴν ἀρχὴν...διετίθετο.

**I, XXX, 18 (1)-19 (16)**

ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐθις εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἀναφερέσθω· οὗτος γὰρ,...καὶ τινα λογάδα περὶ αὐτὸν πεποιηκῶς ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τὴν γνώμην λαμπρῶν, οὔτε μὴν ἐπισήμων τὸ γένος, οὔτε τὰ ἐς λόγους ἐς τὸ ἄγαν πεπαιδευμένων, τούτοις καὶ τὰς βασιλείους ἐπιστολὰς ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων κοινωνῶν διετέλει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποικίλη τότε οὐκ ἦν ἡ τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς τὰς ὑπομνήσεις ἢ δεήσεις ἀπόκρισις, ἀλλ' ἀφελῆς καὶ λιτή...τὰ γοῦν ἐπιόντα τῇ γλώττῃ ῥήματα ταῦτα συνείρων τοῖς γράφουσιν ὑπηγόρευε...

**Zonaras' Epitome XVII, 7, 555 (6-12)**

ὁ δὲ καὶ γλυκυθυμίαν ἅπασαν ἀπεσεύσατο... ἑαυτῷ δὲ μόνῳ προσκληρώσας τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος μόνου τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ ἐπισήμου χρώματος μετεδίδου τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τινα δορυφορίαν ἐκείνῳ ἀπέταξε, βραχεῖαν μέντοι καὶ οὐκ ὑπέρογκον.

**XVII, 8, 561 (6-16)**

τῷ χρόνῳ γὰρ καὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἀπάντων κατεπαρθεὶς ὑπεροπτικὸς πρὸς πάντας ἐδείκνυτο καὶ οὐκ εὐνοεῖν αὐτῷ, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐβούλετο τὸ ὑπήκοον... διὸ οὐδὲ τῶν λογίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπεστρέφετο, ἀλλὰ...ἄνδρας ἀπολεξάμενος ἑαυτῷ οὔτε τῷ γένει οὔτε μέντοι ἐν λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίσημον ἔχοντας ἐκείνοις τὰς τε βασιλείους ἐπιστολὰς ἐνεχείρισε καὶ ἐκοινωνεῖ τῶν βουλευμάτων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἀφελῶς τὰς γραφὰς ὡς ἔτυχεν ὑπηγόρευεν.

Regarding the bodyguard which the emperor Basil II assigned to his brother, Psellus is closely followed by Zonaras who here summarises

his source. Because Zonaras needs to convey the same information in fewer words, he changes the participle περιποιησάμενος to the verb ἀπέταξε and while he keeps the adjective βραχεῖαν in connection to δορυφορίαν he also attaches to it the word ὑπέρογκον which in Psellus' text is connected with a different noun, namely κατασκευῆς, and occurs some lines below. Zonaras liked the word ὑπέρογκος and decided to include it in his abbreviated narrative rather successfully. This is a good example of how in a *productive* imitation of language one can build new stylistic patterns using the same elements, and thus enhance the possibilities of writing. Furthermore, when the word is applied to Basil's arrogance, Zonaras alters Psellus' ὑπεροψίαν ἔδρα το ὑπεροπτικὸς ἐδείκνυτο, which is a simpler expression, and aptly inserts in the phrase the noun τὸ ὑπήκοον which is an adaptation of τῶν ὑπηκόων found in Psellus' text shortly before. Again we find the exploitation of a word which in the original source belongs to a different context and for which Zonaras finds another function in a new phrase of his own. Towards the end the topic is about the imperial secretariat and there Zonaras has abridged Psellus' text but has kept, after his usual fashion, all the important word structures of his source: περὶ αὐτόν has been turned into αὐτῷ, κοινωνῶν διετέλει το ἐκοινωνεῖ and the relatively long phrase συνείρων τὰ ἐπιόντα τῇ γλώττῃ ῥήματα to the much more contracted ὡς ἔτυχεν which amounts to the same thing.

Ib. About Alexius I Comnenus' personality few historians other than his daughter Anna and his son-in law Bryennius give any substantial testimony. Nicetas Choniates who briefly reports on his last days does not actually present a biographical sketch, but since he refers to events which Zonaras also elaborates at some length, it is useful to review both texts. Choniates might well have read the *Epitome* but no

strong argument in favour of this view can be made. The two historians, however, have a similar attitude to imperial power.

**Zonaras' *Epitome* XVIII, 28, 761 (1-18)-764**

τὰ τελευταῖα ἔπνει ὁ Αὔγουστος...καὶ δηλοῦται τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως υἱῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐκλείπειν ἄρτι τὸν πατέρα· ὁ δ' εἰσῆει τὸν οἶκον, ἔνθαπερ ὁ θνήσκων κατέκειτο, οὔτι τὸν ἀπόντα θρηνήσων, τὸ δὲ πιστὸν τοῦ θνήσκου ἐκεῖνον τῆ ὄψει ληψόμενος, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτίκα ἐξῆλθε...ἐξιόντι δὲ πολλοὶ συνυπήχθησαν. ἄρτι δ' ἐξελθόντι τὸν τῶν Μαγγάνων περίβολον προσυπαντῶσιν οἱ Ἄβασγοί...καὶ ὑπηνηκότες ἐπηλάλαξάν τε καὶ προσεκύνησαν, τότε φασὶ τὴν βασιλίδα τῷ θνήσκοντι βασιλεῖ περιπαθῶς ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὴν τοῦ υἱέος ἀπέλευσιν, τὸν δὲ φθέγγασθαι πρὸς τοῦτο μηδέν, ἢ μὴ βουλόμενον ἢ μὴ δυνάμενον, διᾶραι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ὑψοῦ, οὐκ οἶδ' εἶθ' ὑπερευχόμενον τοῦ υἱοῦ εἶτε μὴν κατευχόμενον. ἕτεροι δὲ φασὶ μὴ τὰς χεῖρας διᾶραι τὸν θνήσκοντα, μηδὲ γὰρ οἷόν τ' εἶναι ἤδη ἐκλείποντα, τῆς δὲ βασιλίδος πολλάκις ἀνακραγούσης ὡς "ἄπεισιν ὁ υἱὸς σου ἔτι ζῶντά σε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφαιρησόμενος" ἐκεῖνον ὑπομειδῆσαι βραχὺ τι καὶ ἀμυδρόν, ἢ τῶν λεγομένων καταγελῶντα, εἰ νομίζοιτο περὶ τῆς βασιλείας φροντίζειν ἐκπνέων· ἤδη καὶ τῶν γενηρῶν ἀφιστάμενος, ἢ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πραττομένῳ διάθεσιν ὑπεμφαίνοντα (...) τῷ δ' (Ἰωάννη) ἦν ἡ ὁρμὴ πρὸς τὸ μέγα ἀνάκτορον· (...) οἱ δὲ (Βάραγγοι) μήποτε παραχωρῆσαι τῶν βασιλείων ἐτέρῳ ζῶντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἔφασαν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ τεθνηκέναι διεβεβαιούτο τὸν αὐτοκράτορα...καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνέδοσαν καὶ τῆς παρόδου τῷ βασιλεῖ παρεχώρησαν...ὁ δὲ τούτου πατὴρ (...) περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐξέλιπε, ζήσας μὲν ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντά που τὰ πάντα ἢ ὅ,τι ἐγγυτάτω, βασιλεύσας δ' ἐκ τούτων ἑνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐπὶ μῆσὶ τέσσαραι καὶ ἡμέραις τισίν.

**Choniates' *Chronice diegesis* (ed. J. A. van Dieten) 6 (29)-8 (83).**

ἐγγίζοντος δὲ οἱ τοῦ τέρατος τῆς ζωῆς, ὁ μὲν ἔκειτο πνέων τὰ λοίσθια...ὁ δὲ παῖς Ἰωάννης τὸν πατέρα ὄρων τῇ τελευτῇ πλησιάζοντα... κοινοῦται τὸ ποιητέον τοῖς ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας ἐκείνω φίλα φρονουῖσιν,...καὶ δὴ λαθὼν τὴν μητέρα ἔϊσεισι τὸν κοιτῶνα τὸν πατρικόν, καὶ προσπεσὼν ὡς δῆθεν θρηνησῶν ὑφαιρεῖται λάθρα τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς τὸν σφραγιστῆρα δακτύλιον (...) ἡ βασιλις δὲ Εἰρήνη (...) πρόσσεισι τῷ ἀνδρὶ...καὶ βαλοῦσα ἑαυτὴν τῷ σώματι καταβοᾶται λαμπρῶς τοῦ υἱέως, ὡς κρήνη μελάνυδρος τὰ δάκρυα χέουσα ὅπως αὐτοῦ τοῖς ζῶσιν ἔτι συνταπτομένου τὴν βασιλείαν οὗτος λωποδυτεῖ, εἰς ἔργα βλέψας νεώτερα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τι πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα παρ' αὐτῆς ἀπεκρίνατο,...τῆς τε μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐκδημίας φροντίζων...ἐγκειμένης δὲ λιπαρεστέρως τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ μὴ ἐνεγκεῖν ὅλως ἐχούσης τὰ παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς γινόμενα, βραχὺ τι παρεμφήνας καὶ βεβιασμένον μειδίημα ὁ Ἀλέξιος, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσχεν εἰς οὐρανόν, ἴσως μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀφηγηθεῖσι διαχυθεῖς...καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφέροντο τῆδε, ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης...οὐχ' εὔρισκε ῥαδίαν τὴν εἴσοδον, οἷα τῶν φυλάκων...προσεπιζητούντων καὶ ἄλλο τι τεκμήριον τοῦ κατὰ κέλευσιν πατρικὴν ἐκεῖσαι παραγενέσθαι (...) νυκτὸς δ' ἐπιούσης ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος τοῦ ζῆν ἀπενήκεκται, ἄρξας ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ ἥμισυ μηνὸς σὺν τοῖς τέσσαρσι.

With respect to Alexius' death moments the two historians display similar language.<sup>2</sup> Zonaras' phrase τὰ τελευταῖα πνέειν i.e. to breathe one's last is synonymous to Choniates' πνέειν τὰ λοίσθια, both of which interestingly survive in Modern Greek. Anna Comnena also resorts to an expression of this kind in the *Alexiad*.<sup>3</sup> Authors had apparently at their

<sup>2</sup> The whole episode of Alexius' last hours contains similar points in the narratives of both Zonaras and Choniates who in all probability consulted a common source or common sources, which might even have been oral.

<sup>3</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, XI, 38 (27-28). νόσω θανασίμω περιπεσὼν καὶ πνέων τὰ ἔσχατα.

disposal quite a large number of alternatives to choose from. Thus for a verb such as "to die" there existed several rival expressions like ἐκλείπειν (which Zonaras uses a line below) or θνήσκειν or τοῦ ζῆν ἀποφέρεσθαι (employed by Choniates further on) or ἀναχρέμπτεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, or ἀποσταλάζειν τὴν ψυχὴν,<sup>4</sup> or even (to cite Manasses' poetical language, τὴν πηλὸν ἀποδιδόναι τῇ δανεισάσῃ φύσει etc.<sup>5</sup> If the case is about a martyr of the Church or a saint, then a different verb is used as a matter of convention like e.g. τελειοῦμαι,<sup>6</sup> ἀναπαύομαι<sup>7</sup> or κοιμοῦμαι.<sup>8</sup>

Another issue which invites linguistic comparison is the use of hypotaxis. In Zonaras' text (at the point when the empress intervenes to warn the dying Alexius against her son) the verb φασὶ introduces a long paragraph in indirect speech in which Zonaras often indulges: a series of infinitives and participles are therefore employed: ἀπαγγεῖλαι, φθέγξασθαι, βουλόμενον, δυνάμενον, διαῖραι, ὑπερευχόμενον, κατευχόμενον, εἶναι, ὑπομειδιᾶσαι, καταγελῶντα, ὑπεμφαίνοντα etc. Zonaras is generally keen on long periods employing a chain of syntactically allied words.<sup>9</sup> A characteristic example can be found in XIV, 2, 132 (10-17)-133 (1-5) where the verb φασὶ which is used requires the dependence of over 14 participles and 10 infinitives! Such examples are quite frequent in the *Epitome* and constitute a distinct linguistic feature of Zonaras which is absent from the narrative of other historians. Compare this, for instance, to Choniates' "direct" narrative: ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο...τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσχευε...etc.<sup>10</sup> Moreover the tradition which

<sup>4</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, IV, 166 (19).

<sup>5</sup> Manasses, *Synopsis chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, 97, v. 2239. There is also available a range of μετα- expressions to do with migrating/changing one's abode/moving on/crossing over, etc., which have a relevant use here. Compare e.g. *Epitome* XV, 19, 322 (17). τὴν ζωὴν μεταθέμενος.

<sup>6</sup> *Epitome* XI, 13, 479 (5).

<sup>7</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, V, 149.

<sup>8</sup> Glycas, *Biblos chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, IV, 467 (9).

<sup>9</sup> See also our chapter on the homogeneity of Zonaras' language.

<sup>10</sup> In this case, Zonaras' construction may have a specific function: to present alternative versions of the event.

wanted Alexius to have raised his hands and to have smiled at Irene's desperate attempts to persuade him to disown his son is conveyed in different but parallel wording: Zonaras' *διάραι τὰς χεῖρας* matches Choniates' *ἀνέσχευ τὰς χεῖρας*, while the phrase *ὑπομειδιάσαι βραχύ τι καὶ ἀμυδρόν* echoes Choniates' *βραχύ τι παρεμφήνας καὶ βεβιασμένον μειδίαμα*. Other points of linguistic affinity between the accounts of Choniates and Zonaras include phrases such as the genitive absolute *τοῖς ζῶσιν ἔτι συνταττομένου* employed by the former, which is the equivalent of Zonaras' *ἔτι ζῶντά σε*, and the expression *τὴν βασιλείαν λωποδυτεῖ* which in the *Epitome* finds a near synonym, namely *τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφαιρησόμενος*, while in the *Alexiad* a similar expression is used in a different context.<sup>11</sup>

Finally an important characteristic of Zonaras' history concerns the absence of speeches. In his text above Choniates provides a short monologue for Irene as he also does a longer one for Alexius earlier on [*op. cit.*, 5 (10)-6 (22)]. Anna who, too, narrates Alexius' last hours at length embroiders her narrative with monologues rather generously.<sup>12</sup> Zonaras, on the contrary, avoids monologues and whenever he finds it necessary for his characters to say something in direct speech this usually does not extend over more than two lines of text.

II. The fatal battle of Manzikert (1071) is a major issue in Byzantine historiography and is reported by a number of authors including Psellus (*Chronographia* II, 162), Attaleiates (*Historia* 163-6), Cedrenus (*Synopsis historiarum* II, 698-701), Bryennius (*Hyle historias* 115-121) and Zonaras (*Epitome* III, 701-3). Next comes a parallel examination of the relevant texts from Zonaras and Attaleiates:

<sup>11</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, I, 19, (13). κλωπετεύειν τὴν νίκην.

<sup>12</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, IV, 157 (12-24); VIII, 148 (19-28); XV, 209 (15-27); etc.



**Attaleiates' *Historia* [ed. I. Bekker, 163 (16)-165 (4)]**

τὸν δὲ βασιλέα περιστοιχίσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι οὐκ εὐχείρωτον ἔσχον εὐθύς,...καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελῶν τέλος ἐπλήγη φασγάνῳ τὴν χεῖρα, τοῦ τε ἵππου βέλεσι κατακοντισθέντος ἐκ ποδὸς μαχόμενος ἵστατο. καμῶν δ' ὄμως πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀλώσιμος καὶ ὑπόσπονδος, φεῦ τοῦ πάθους, ἐγένετο...τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον ἀγγελθείσης τῷ σουλτάνῳ καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλώσεως, χαρὰ τις ἄπλετος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπιστία κατέσχευεν αὐτόν. οἰόμενον ὡς ἀληθῶς μέγα τι καὶ ὑπερμέγεθες εἶναι τὸ μετὰ τῆς ἥττης τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον δορυάλωτον καὶ οἰκέτην λαβεῖν (...) ὡς δ' ἐπληροφορήθη παρά τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένων ποτὲ πρέσβεων, τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα τυγχάνειν τὸν παριστάμενον, εὐθύς ἐξανεόστη καὶ αὐτός, καὶ περιπτυσσόμενος τοῦτον "μὴ δέδιθι" ἔφη "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀλλ' εὐελπισ ἔσο πρὸ πάντων, ὡς οὐδενὶ προσομιλήσεις κινδύνῳ σωματικῷ, τιμηθήσῃ δ' ἀξίως τῆς τοῦ κράτους ὑπεροχῆς, ἄφρων γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ μὴ τὰς ἀπροόπτους τύχας ἐξ ἀντεπιφορᾶς εὐλαβούμενος". ἐπιτάξας οὖν αὐτῷ σκηνὴν ἀποτευχθῆναι καὶ θεραπείαν ἀρμόζουσαν, σύνδειπνον αὐτὸν αὐτίκα καὶ ὁμοδίαιτον ἀπειργάσατο, μὴ παρὰ μέρος καθίσας αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ σύνθρονον ἐν εὐθύτητι τῆς ἐκκρίτου τάξεως καὶ ὁμόδοξον κατὰ τὴν τιμὴν ποιησάμενος.

**Zonaras' *Epitome* XVIII, 701 (17-20)-703**

ὁ δὲ (Διογένης) μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τὴν μάχην ἐδέξατο, καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐρρωμένως ἀντεῖχον, εἶτα τῶν μὲν περόντων, ἐαλωκότων δ' ἐτέρων, περιστοιχίσθη πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ὁ βασιλεὺς· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐνέδωκε. πολλοὺς δὲ πλήξας καὶ ἀνελῶν ἐπλήγη κάκεῖνος τὴν χεῖρα καὶ οὕτως ἀποκαμῶν...ἤδη τοῦ ἵππου αὐτῷ πεπτωκότος ἐκ τῶν βελῶν, ἐάλω καὶ ἀπῆκτο τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων αἰχμάλωτος. ἀγγελθεῖσα δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄλωσις τῷ σουλτάνῳ χαρὰν μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐνεποίησεν, οὐ μέντοι ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸν ὥστε καὶ ὑψηλοφρονῆσαι...ἔθεν ἠπίσται καὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλώσει διὰ τὸ τοῦ

εὐτυχήματος ἄκρατον. καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν οὐ πρότερον πιστὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδέξατο ἕως καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ σταλέντες πρέσβεις αὐτὸν ἀνεγνώρισαν...τότε δὲ τοῦ θρόνου τε ἀνεπήδησεν ὥσπερ ἔνθους καὶ τεθέντα κατὰ γῆς, ὡς ἔθος, πατήσας αὐτὸν ἀνέστησε καὶ περιεπτύξατο καὶ "μὴ λυποῦ, βασιλεῦ" ἔφη: "τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· ἐγὼ δέ σοι οὐχ ὡς αἰχμαλώτῳ, ἀλλ' ὡς βασιλεῖ σοι προσενεχθήσομαι". καὶ αὐτίκα σκηνὴν αὐτῷ ἀποτάττει καὶ θεραπείαν βασιλείου, κοινωνεῖ τε τραπέζης, ὁμόθρονον ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος, λύει τῶν αἰχμαλώτων αὐτῷ ὀπόσους ἤτησε, καὶ οὕτως ἐφ' ἡμέραις τισὶ συνομιλήσας καὶ συνδιαιτηθεὶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τιμήσας ὑπερβαλλόντως, εἶτα καὶ συνθήκας θέμενος ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ διηνεκεῖ καὶ κήδους ὑπόσχεσιν ἐπὶ παισὶν ποιησάμενος ἀφῆκε τὸν Διογένην ἀπιέναι μεθ' ὅσης οὐκ ἄν τις ἤλπισε δορυφορίας τε καὶ τιμῆς.

Regarding the hand-to-hand fight in which the emperor Romanus Diogenes was engaged at Manzikert, our sources employ a more or less uniform language. For instance *περιστοιχίζομαι*, a standard verb for "to be surrounded", is used by Attaleiates, Psellus (*περιστοιχίζεται*) and Cedrenus (*περιστοιχίσαντες*). Bryennius uses the participle *κυκλωθεὶς*. There is actually a number of such "standard" words or phrases which historians can resort to when they are describing battles. Adverbs like *ἐρρωμένως* for instance are found in Zonaras and Cedrenus (*ἡμύνατο ἐρρωμένως*). Another "classic" verb is, of course, "to kill" for which the most common Greek word is *ἀναιρῶ*; this occurs in the texts of Zonaras (*ἀνελὼν*), Bryennius (*ἀνεῖλε*), Psellus (*ἀνηρήκει*) and Cedrenus (*ἀνήρουν*). Manasses, who also describes the battle of Manzikert, resorts to more poetical language and therefore employs expressions like "to drink seas of blood", or "to stain one's hands with blood" (*Synopsis chronice*, 279, vs. 6565, 6574), etc.

It is also interesting to see a unanimity of the sources in their references to the seizure of Romanus through the employment of similar wording. "The emperor of the Romans was captured": this phrase is common to Psellus (δορυάλωτος...ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀπάγεται), Cedrenus (αἰχμάλωτος ὁ περιώνυμος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων γίνεται), Bryennius (δορυάλωτος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων γίνεται), Glycas (ἀλώσιμος γίνεται, τῷ σουλτάνῳ δέσμιος ἄγεται) and Manasses who is slightly more dramatic (ζωγρεῖται φεῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς βαρβαρικῆς παλάμης). Apart from the similar vocabulary all authors used a historic present tense for "was captured".

Towards the end Zonaras' direct speech of the Sultan is considerably more brief than that in Attaleiates. Cedrenus in fact provides a dialogue between Diogenes and the Sultan (II, 700). Glycas (VI, 611) gives a dialogue on the same lines as Cedrenus, only a little longer.

Descriptions of battles constitute a vital part of historiography as a matter of course. With regard to this issue Zonaras had adopted a language characterised by a subordinate construction as opposed to the "paratactical syntax" found in the histories of other authors like Glycas for instance. There are advantages and disadvantages, naturally, in each method: through an arrangement of clauses (for the most part, main clauses) with not too many connectives, the narrative gains a certain immediacy of expression and a dramatic effect. On the other hand, the employment of complicated subordinate clauses (admittedly a difficult task on the part of the author) creates a style of writing which can be subtle, refined and compatible with the rules of rhetoric. To return to the description of the battle of Manzikert, the language of both Zonaras and Attaleiates differs considerably from that of Glycas who employs a sequence of short main clauses containing a large number of present

tenses and a few connectives. The result is a style which very much recalls the contracted language used in telegrams!<sup>13</sup> It also resembles the narratory style used in the Byzantine romances (e.g. *Hysmine and Hysminias*).

Below we give a table (No:1) with expressions relating to battle activity found in the histories of Bryennius, Attaleiates, Zonaras and Cedrenus. The reader will notice the common phrases, variances and word-differentiation among four different authors who had to describe a battlefield:

In particular the cross-section of the various citations in the table refer to different battle action and display a language connected with the following issues: a) reconnaissance activities. The important words here are: "lying in ambush" (προλοχισμούς ποιεῖν), "sending out scouts" or spies to watch the enemy (προδρόμους ἐκπέμπειν, κατασκόπους στέλλειν, σκοπιὰς προβάλλεσθαι), "leave and return to the camp" (ἐξέρχεσθαι τοῦ χάρακος, ἀνθυπονοοστεῖν) etc. b) battle proper. Most authors (and this includes Zonaras) include quite detailed descriptions of the particular incidents of battles. Frequently an indecisive battle is mentioned for which the standard terms are παλίντροπος or ἰσοτάλαντος or ἰσόρροπος μάχη. Metaphorical language can occasionally apply here. Victory, for instance, is presented by Choniates as "smiling interchangeably" on both Romans' and Latins.<sup>14</sup> Details of man-to-man encounters are again a commonplace. Phrases such as "to strike right on the chest, the arm(s),

<sup>13</sup> Glycas, *Biblos chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, IV, 610 (3-19). διαπεραιούται τὸν Ἄλυν, ἐνδότερον γίνεταί. προβαίνουσι πολέμοι. ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σουλτάνος κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως χωρεῖ (...) συμπλέκονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπιτίθενται καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ...ὅς...ἀνθίσταται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ διὰ χειρῶν πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖ. εἶτα τὴν χεῖρα βάλλεται, ὁ ἵππος αὐτοῦ κατακοντίζεται...ἀλλὰ καὶ περὺσας γενναίως ἵσταται...τῷ σουλτάνῳ δέσμιος ἄγεται...[He (Romanus) crosses the Alys, he moves deeper inland. The enemy appears. In the end the Sultan himself marshes against the emperor...They engage in battle, the foes attack the emperor himself...who...resists the enemy and kills many with his hands. He is then shot in the hand, his horse falls wounded by javelins...yet, even alighted, he stands bravely...He is brought to the Sultan bound...]

<sup>14</sup> Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, 560 (8). καὶ ἦν ἡ νίκη ἀμειδιῶδῶν ἐπιμειδιῶσα...

the head" (παίειν κατὰ τοῦ στέρνου, τοῦ ὤμου, τῆς κεφαλῆς) are clichés, and so are expressions like "he had fits of giddiness and fell from his horse", or "he chopped his neck", or "he slew many". One interesting metaphorical expression is that which contains the words might and remembrance: μνησθῆναι ἀλκῆς, namely to "recall" one's strength or to gain courage, constitute a *topos* in historical narratives. c) aftermath. Often a battle ends up in pursuing the defeated foe and this can happen in a disorderly manner on part of either the victor or the vanquished. Participles of the verbs σκεδάννυμι or φεύγω or (μετα)στρέφω τὰ νῶτα are in this case commonly used. A phrase which authors consistently employ in connection with killing following a battle is: "to become a prey, to be consumed by knife". ἔργον or παρανάλωμα are the two standard nouns associated with μάχαιρα which provide a suitable formula for this purpose.

Bryennius	Athaleiates	Zonaras	Cedrenus
<p><i>Hyle Historias</i></p> <p>προδροπίους εξέπειεν, οὐ προ- έτρεχόν τε τοῖς ἵπποις περὶ τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων χάρακα καὶ αὐθὺς ἀνυπενώστων. [ed. P. Gautier, I, 111 (1-3)].</p> <p>ὁ δὲ εἰς πολλὰ μέρη τὸ στράτευμα διελὼν προλοχο- μοῦς τε ἐποίησε καὶ ἐνέδρας συνίστα... [I, 117 (1-2)].</p>	<p><i>Historia</i></p> <p>ὁ δὲ βοτανειάτης τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν ἐπιτεχίσμα ποιησάμενος, καὶ τινὰς σκοπίδας ἀπὸ μέρους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενος, ὡς ἂν μὴ κυκλῶτο παρὰ τῶν ἐναντιῶν καὶ παντελῶς ἀπειργίητο τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ μέσον χορείας ἀπειροπληθεῖ πολέμῳ ἀλίσκοιτο, προέβαινε... [ed. I. Bekker, 40 (13-18)].</p> <p>παλιντρόπου γενομένης τῆς νύκτας [55 (9-10)].</p> <p>καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ῥύμης καὶ τοῦ ἀκρατοῦς ρυτῆρος εἰς μέσους τοὺς πολεμικοὺς γενομένου ἄπαιν τὸ πεδῖον ἐκεῖνο σωμάτων νεκρῶν κατεσφαιγμένων ἐπλήρωσε... ἐπιήρχον το μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ φάλαγγας οἱ πολέμιοι πανταχόθεν, τῷ σώματι τούτου τὰς ἀκμὰς τῶν ξιφῶν ἐπερείδοντες, οὐδαμῶς δὲ τῆς ἵππικῆς ἕδρας αὐτὸν ἀποκορυσσάθαι ἴσχυον· ἀλλὰ φασγάνῳ τὰ δόρατα τούτων ἀποτέμων καὶ τὰς σαρίσσας, οὕτω τοὺς πολεμήτορας ὑπὸ γῆν κατακόντιζεν, οὐ μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν μιᾷ πληγῇ σὺν τῇ χειρὶ διατέμων, ἄλλον δὲ δευτέρῳ ἤμτομον... [231 (13-23)].</p>	<p><i>Epitome</i></p> <p>ὁ δὲ γε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν περιλοίπων ἐξήλαθε τοῦ χάρακος κατασκοπήσων τί τὸ γινόμενον, εἰσὶν δ' ἐπὶ γεωλόφων μέχρῃς ἐσπέρας ἐπέστρεψε. [ed. Buttimer- Wobst, XVIII, 13, 698 (16-18)] καὶ δὲ κατασκόπους στέλλας, αἰφνίδιον ἐπεκδραμῶν κατ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρε τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγγησε... [XV, 8, 279 (11-13)].</p> <p>ἡ δὲ μάχη μέχρι πολλοῦ ἰσορροπος ἦν [XVII, 3, 533 (3)].</p> <p>καὶ πρῶτος ἐφθῆ πάσας τὸν Φωκῶν ὁ Σκληρὸς, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσι, κορύνῃ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς δ' ἔ- τεροι, ξίφος ἐπανευτείνετο κατ' αὐτοῦ, τοῦ δὲ κλιθέντος πρὸς θάτερον μέρος καὶ τὴν πληγὴν ἐκ- κλίναντος, ἐφθασε τὸ τοῦ ξίφους ἄκρον τὸ οὐς ἐκτεμεῖν τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Φωκᾶ. ὁ δὲ γε Φωκᾶς ἀντέπληξε τὸν Σκληρὸν κορύνῃ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ ὁ πληγὴν σκοτοδινίσσας τῷ τοῦ ἵππου τραχηλῷ ἐπέπεσεν. [XVII, 5, 545 (5- 12)].</p>	<p><i>Synopsis Historiarum</i></p> <p>ἀλλ' ὁ μάχιστος ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὸν ποταμὸν περισκοπήσας, ἀγ- εῖρας νυκτὸς τὸν στρατὸν περαιούσας τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαμουὴλ ἀμέρι- μῶς καθεύδουσιν ἐπιτίθεται. [ed. I. Bekker, II, 450 (11-14)].</p>
<p>ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς παντάπασιν ἐρημος ἀποληφθεὶς βοηθείας τὸ ξίφος ἐγύμνωσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνέτλε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ φυγεῖν κατηνάγκασε· κυκλωθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ πληθους τὴν χεῖρα πιτρώσκειται καὶ γινώσκει ὅτι αὐτῶν ὅστις ἐστὶ κύκλῳ περιστοιχίζεται πάντοθεν, καὶ τοξέεται μὲν ὁ ἵππος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀλισθήσας πίπτει, συγκυκατάβαλλει δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπιβάτην. [I, 117 (15-21)].</p> <p>καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἐκείνων παῖει τοῦτον κατὰ τοῦ στέρνου τῷ δόρατι. ὁ δὲ τοῦ κουλεοῦ τὸ ξίφος ἐλάσας... τὸν βαλόντα κατὰ τῆς κλειδὸς πλήξας τὸν ἄμον ἅμα τῷ θώρακι διαμπάζ ἐξέτεμε... [IV, 275 (29)-277 (3)].</p>	<p>ὁ δὲ συνθήματος μεταστρέψαντες τὰ ῥωτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσκεδαρισμένους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπέθεντο καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνέθλων, καὶ ἔθλων οὐ μείονας καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν στρατάρχην Μανουὴλ καὶ τὸ στρατοπέδον διηρηπάσαν [XVIII, 12, 695 (1-4)].</p>	<p>πολλὰς τροπὰς καὶ μετακλίσεις συνέβη τὸν πάλαιον δέξασθαι, καὶ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἰστοτάλαντος ἦν ἡ μάχη. [II, 410 (9-11)].</p> <p>μεθ' ὀμίης ἀκατασχέτου τὸ παρηρημένον τῷ μηρῷ αὐτοῦ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἔεται κατὰ τοῦ Σκέρου, καὶ παῖει τοῦτον τῷ φασγάνῳ κατὰ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ἄμου περὶ τὴν κλείδα, καὶ ἀποτέμνει τὸν αὐχένα, ὡς συμβῆναι τὴν κεφαλὴν σὺν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἐκ- κοπίσας περὶ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος. [II, 406 (5-10)].</p>	<p>τοῦτο κατῶν ὁ Φωκᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου... κατεῖται μετὰ τῶν συνό- ρων ἐπιδύων συμπατομένους ὑπ' ἀλλήλων συμπατομένους καὶ ἀλακτῆς ὄρας μὴ μειντημένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνατρώων τοὺς δὲ χειρούμενος. [II, 433 (1-5)].</p>
<p>ἐκ τούτου ξυνέβη πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων περιπεσεῖν, ... πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνατρεθῆναι, τοὺς πλείονας δὲ ληφθῆναι· ἐλάω δὲ σὺν τούτοις καὶ ὁ κάταρ... [II, 181 (11-14)].</p>			

Table No: 1. The reader will notice expressions connected with 3 issues: A) reconnaissance activities, B) battle proper, C) aftermath.

III. Descriptions of famines, earthquakes or the appearance of comets are generally more common in chronography than in history proper although there are significant exceptions, like Attaleiates, where historians elaborate on these matters in surprising detail.<sup>15</sup> We will now come to examine the report of a number of portentous "physical warnings" which occurred during the reign of Constantine X Ducas and find mention in the texts of Zonaras, Glycas and others.

**Zonaras' *Epitome* XVIII, 9, 679 (15-17)-680 (1-10)**

Ταῦτα δ' ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει ἐπράχθη τῆς βασιλείας τούτου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. πρὸ δὲ τούτου σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας κατὰ τὴν κγ' τοῦ Σεπτεβρίου μηνός, ὅφ' οὗ καὶ ναοὶ καὶ οἰκίαι πολλαχοῦ ἠρειπώθησαν. ὅτε καὶ τὸ κατὰ Κυζικὸν Ἑλληνικὸν κατέπεσε τέμενος, ἔργον κάλλιστόν τε καὶ θαύματος ἄξιον, καὶ ὁ ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων μέγιστός τε καὶ περιώνυμος κατεσείσθη ναός. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Μάιον μῆνα τῆς δ' Ν κομήτης ὠπτο ἀστὴρ κατόπιν τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς δύσιν ἰόντος. ἦν δὲ πρότερον μὲν κατὰ σελήνην πλήρη τὸ μέγεθος, εἶτα κόμην ὥσπερ ἐκφύων ἐμειοῦτο καὶ καθ' ὅσον τὰ τῆς κόμης ηὔξανετο, ἠλαττονοῦτο τὸ μέγεθος. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἀπέτεινεν, ἐφ' ἡμέρας φαινόμενος τεσσαράκοντα.

**Glycas' *Biblos chronice* [ed. I. Bekker, IV, 605 (15)-606 (13)]**

πρὸ δὲ γε τοῦ ἔτους τούτου κατὰ Σεπτέμβριον μῆνα περὶ δευτέραν νυκτὸς φυλακὴν σεισμός ἐξαίσιος γέγονεν, τῶν πάποτε γενομένων ἐκπληκτικώτερος, ὡς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ναοὺς ἀνατρέψαι...καὶ ἐν Κυζίκῳ δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ θαυμάσιον Ἰδρυμα κατεσείσθη τε καὶ πλεῖον μέρος κατέπεσε, καὶ ταῦτα ὀχυρώτατον ὄν. τὰ αὐτὰ τούτοις καὶ κατὰ Νίκαιαν γέγονε· κατεσείσθησαν γὰρ ὁ τε τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ναός καὶ

<sup>15</sup> Agathias included two long accounts of earthquakes which provided an opportunity to show off scientific learning. Agathias, *Historia*, ed. R. Keydell, II. 15, 59 (20-29)-17 (23-26); V. 3, 166 (15-32)-5, 170 (1-30).

ὁ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας, ...καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων εἴσπραξις καὶ θεῖος χόλος ἐτύγχανεν, ἠνίττοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥηθέντος ἔθνους ἐπέλευσιν καὶ κατάλυσιν· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς θεοσημείαις οὐ τὸ ἐνεστὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον προθεωρεῖται καὶ προσημαίνεται. κατ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ κομήτης ἐφάνη κατόπιν ἡλίου δύνοντος, τὸ μέγεθος σεληναίου φέρων, καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν τηνικαῦτα καπνὸν καὶ ὀμίχλην ἐκπέμπειν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἤρξατο προδεικνύειν βοστρύχους τινάς, τὰς δὲ ἀκτῖνας πρὸς ἑῶαν ἀπέτεινε, μέχρις ἡμερῶν μ' φαίνων.

The richness of vocabulary is, apparently, commensurate with the depth and the length of a chapter. While Zonaras' *κατασειομαι* and *καταπίπτω* are the basic verbs to describe the damage caused by earthquake activity and seem sufficient for his brief account, other authors use a vastly greater variety of words. Naturally an author who decides to describe such an event at length will have to devise synonyms for various recurring features. Attaleiates, who dedicates four whole pages to the same events, employs phrases such as *ἀνατρέψαι οἰκίας ὀλίγας δὲ ἀνυβρίστους καταλιπεῖν, τὰ πλεῖστα περιερράγησαν, κίονες περιεδρύφθησαν, συνταραχθέντες κατηδαφίσθησαν, πάντας οἰκτίστου θανάτου γεύσασθαι, ἐξ αὐτῆς ὑποβάθρας ἀνατραπήῃαι,* etc.

As far as wording is concerned, Zonaras' *τέμενος* is a synonym for Glycas' *ἕδρυμα* and is a standard word for "temple". The same word is used by Zonaras for "the celebrated temple of St. Michael" [*Epitome* XVIII, 12, 695 (7)]. Attaleiates uses the term *ἱερόν* [*Historia* 90 (4)] and so does Cedrenus (*Synopsis historiarum* II, 657).

We would last like to mention a point of difference between Zonaras and Glycas regarding their treatment of portents which, though not linguistic, should be discussed here at some length: "All these things were the wages of sins and the manifestations of divine wrath...as



through portents not only the present but also the future are both foreseen and foretold". This is the kind of statement which, as far as we know, Zonaras nowhere makes. Zonaras overall records the occurrence of natural phenomena less frequently than Glycas or Attaleiates, but even when he mentions them he avoids coming to any "ethical" conclusions. More often than not he cites them with no further comments other than a phrase like ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω συνήνεκτο. (compare e.g. XIV, 4, 144 (1-3); 6, 153 (1-2); XVIII, 26, 756 (3); 17, 714-5). Occasionally, and when giving an account of an iconoclast emperor, Zonaras' narrative slightly hints at the function that portents can have in that they should bring people to their senses [XV, 7, 273 (13-14)], but again this is far from sermonising. This becomes better understood when one considers that Attaleiates goes as far as to refute the physical explanations which his contemporary scientists (οἱ φυσιολογοῦντες) provided for earthquakes (88-9). An earthquake for him is "by proof nothing else but a divine portent aimed at chastising mankind". This is just a fairly common attitude towards comets, earthquakes, etc. Agathias refers to it in his digressions, and Theophylact includes specific comments so Zonaras, it seems, is the only source which, in this respect, is different.

IV. Next is the issue of reporting a coup or a revolt. An example is that organised by George Maniaces during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus and attested in the texts of Psellus (*Chronographia* II, LXXVI-LXXXIX, 1-8), Attaleiates (18-19), Cedrenus, (*Synopsis historiarum* II, 547-9), Glycas (*Biblos chronice* 594), Zonaras (*Epitome* XVII, 22, 621-5) and Manasses (*Synopsis chronice*, 267-68, vs.6283-6309). We quote below first the excerpt from Zonaras followed by Manasses' verses. The reader will immediately notice not only the difference between prose and verse, but also the distance between the style and language of the two:

**Zonaras' *Epitome* XVII, 22, 621 (4-18)-623 (1-17)**

τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πόλεμος ἐπῆλθεν ἐμφύλιος. ὁ γὰρ τοι Μανιάκης Γεώργιος, ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνδρειότατος τὴν χεῖρά τε γενναϊότατος καὶ στρατηγεῖν δεξιώτατος, (...) τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρεῖ. καὶ οἱ ὡς κορυφαιοτάτῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀρηίῳ ἀνδρὶ πολὺ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ προσεχώρησεν. ὁ δὲ ἐξ Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὴν ἀντικρὺ ταύτης ἤπειρον πλοίοις ἐμβιβάσας τὸ στράτευμα γίνεται. τοῦτο εἰς θόρυβον τὸν βασιλέα ἐνέβαλε, καὶ γραφὴν ἐγχαράττει τῷ Μανιάκῃ, παντὸς δείματος αὐτὸν ἀπολύουσιν, εἰ τὰ ὄπλα κατάθοιτο, ἐπαγγελλομένην δὲ τὰ χρηστότερα. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἅπαξ κύβον ἀναρρίψας οὐκέτι τῶν ὄπλων μεθίετο, ἀντιστρατεύει κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς ... ἐπεὶ δὲ προσέβαλλον ἀλλήλαις αἱ στρατιαί, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ πρωταγωνιστῇ, τῷ Μανιάκῃ φημί, τροποῦται τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τὰ ἡμέτερα διεξαγούσῃ προνοίᾳ ἀθρόον ἀντέστραπτο τὰ τῆς μάχης, καὶ ἤττηντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Μανιάκην. ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐπιὼν τὰς τάξεις διεκλόνει τὰς φάλαγγας... αἰφνης πεπληγμένος εὐρέθη καὶ πληγὴν καιρίαν, ἐξ ἧς τὸ αἷμα καταρρέον πολὺ ἀχλὺν αὐτοῦ κατεσκεδάσασεν καὶ πάρεσιν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἐνεποίησεν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν διεκπεσεῖν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, κάκεῖνον καταβληθῆναι εἰς γῆν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου, τῆς ἔδρας ἀπολισθῆσαντα... ὡς δ' οἱ ἐκεῖνου τὸν σφέτερον ἔγνω ἀρχηγὸν πεσόντα, πτοία ληφθέντες<sup>16</sup> διεσκεδάσθησαν. τότε τῷ κειμένῳ ἐπέδραμον οἱ τῆς ἐτέρας μοίρας καὶ τὴν τοῦ δειλαίου κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμόντες τῷ σφῶν προσήγαγον στρατηγῶ. ὁ δὲ ταύτην αὐτίκα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι πέπομφε, κάκεῖνος μετέωρον ταύτην ἦρε κατὰ τὸ θέατρον·

**Manasses' *Synopsis chronice* (ed. I. Bekker, 267-68 vs. 6283-6309)**

ἐντεῦθεν ἀνερράγησαν αὐτῷ πολυκυμῖαι

καὶ συμφορῶν καὶ πειρασμῶν ἀνεμοὶ κυματῖαι.

<sup>16</sup> Compare also Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 28, 371 (11). ὡσπερ πεπεδημένος τῇ πτοία.

- 6285 ἤκουσται πάντως ὁ δεινὸς ἐκεῖνος Μανιάκης,  
 ἀνὴρ γιγαντοπάλαμος, ὀξύχειρ, ἀνδροφόντης,  
 θρασύσπλαγχνος, εὐκάρδιος, πνέων ὀργῆς ἐκθύμου.  
 ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ἠθροικῶς ἄνδρας ἀγχεσιμάχους,  
 κορυνοφόρους, αἰχμητάς, ἄνδρας γιγαντοσώμους,  
 6290 εὐάξιτον ἀναδρομὴν φέροντας τῶν σωμαίων,  
 ὑπὲρ πλατάνων ὑδρηλῶν μῆκος ὠργυιωμένους,  
 ὡς νέφος ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔστη τοῦ βασιλέως  
 παχύ, ζοφῶδες, θολερόν, μελάντερον καὶ πίσης,  
 ὄμβρους ῥαγδαίους ἀπειλῶν, οὐχ' ὕδατίους ὄμβρους,  
 6295 ἀλλὰ ῥοὰς αἱματηρὰς, ἀλλὰ φονίους χύσεις.  
 κατέλαβε τὰ φρούρια, κατέλαβε τὰς πόλεις.  
 ἐπήει βρέμων τῷ θυμῷ, φυσῶν ὑπὲρ Κενταύρους,  
 ὡς Καπανεὺς μεγαλαυχῶν, κομπάζων ὡς Ἀνταῖος.  
 καὶ τίς ἂν ἤλπισε φυγεῖν ἀπὸ κακοῦ τοσοῦτου;  
 6300 ἀλλ' ὁ περιφρουρούμενος ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ παλάμαις  
 οὐ δειλιάσει γίγαντας, οὐ θῆρας ὑποτρέσει,  
 οὐδὲ τρομάσει σίδηρον οὐδὲ καμίνου στόμα.<sup>17</sup>  
 φέρει γὰρ σύμμαχον θεὸν ὑπὲρ παντάρβην λίθον,  
 ὑπὲρ τὸν περὶ Τίγρητα θηριοδιώκτην Μίδα.  
 6305 ἐντεῦθεν ἥλιος φαιδρὰς ἀνέτειλεν ἀκτίνας,  
 ἔλυσε τὴν σκοτόμαιναν, ἀπήλασε τὸ νέφος.  
 ἔβλεψαν φῶς ἐλεύθερον ὁ βασιλεὺς αἱ πόλεις,  
 ἐγένετο πλευρότρωτον τὸ δυσμενὲς θηρίον,  
 καὶ πάντες ἤλυξαν αὐτοῦ τὰς ὠμοφάγους γνάθους.

<sup>17</sup> References to "the lion's den" or to "Daniel's furnace" are common in Byzantine literature. Compare ὁ καπνὸς τοῦ καμνιαίου τούτου πυρὸς [Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, *Pref.* 7 (27-28)]. Zonaras, however, very seldom refers to the passion of Daniel even when describing a situation when somebody was condemned to die at the stake [*Epitome* XV, 8, 282 (5); 21, 329 (15)]. Naturally, one might argue that in most such cases we either have people who were not saintly, or who simply did not survive their punishment for Zonaras to exploit the Daniel theme.

The reader will notice that Manasses' account of the revolt of Maniaces employs a completely different language from that of standard historical prose. It is both "poetical" and "non-factual" in that we learn very little about historical events other than a few names and a general and vague idea about what happened. On the other hand one finds a massive recurrence of impressive compounds (nouns, adjectives, verbs), metaphors and allusions to mythology or to stories from the Bible. Although Manasses is basically a purist, he resorts to a number of nonclassical forms and particularly displays a similar tendency to polysyllabic words, an inclination which, as E. Trapp observes, was influenced by the language of the later popular romances.<sup>18</sup>

Much of Zonaras' narrative is connected with metaphors taken from the language of theatre. Thus there are many references to the "drama" of events and their "protagonists". Such language was probably influenced by rhetoric which prompted writers to employ several "scenic" effects in their narrative. The *Alexiad* is notably full of such language: τὸ δράμα τῆς προδοσίας [XI, 13 (14-15)], ὁ τοῦ δράματος κορυφαῖος [XII, 70 (27-28)], ὁ δραματουργὸς τοῦ φόνου [XIII, 90 (19)], τὴν ὑπόκρισιν παρεγύμνωσε [XII, 76 (29)]. Compare also Psellus' [*Chronographia* II, CIV, 18(7)]: οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς οἶον δραματουργῶν ἢ πλαττόμενος. Also Glycas' [*Biblos chronice*, IV, 486 (15)]: συνῆκε τὸ δράμα ὁ βασιλεύς... Manasses is familiar with this too (*Synopsis chronice*, 242, v. 5701): ὁ Τζιμισχῆς...τὸ δράμα καταγγέλλει... This is a characteristic of refined Byzantine literature which, as we shall see, is shared by twelfth-century authors in general.

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<sup>18</sup> E. Trapp, "Learned and Vernacular Literature in Byzantium: Dichotomy or Symbiosis?", *D.O.P.* 47 (1993), 119.

To return to the topic of Maniaces' revolt, the news of the coup "brought about alarm to the emperor" we read in the *Epitome*. Cedrenus uses a different syntax [*Synopsis historiarum* II, 548 (15-16)]: τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς παραχῆν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐνέπεσε. Zonaras is actually quite fond of expressions such as the above. Compare e.g. XVIII, 10, 683 (12-13): ταῦτα τῇ βασιλίσση καταγγελλόμενα θόρυβον ἐνεποίει, XVIII, 11, 689 (17-18): τοῦτο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀγγελθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἐνέσταξε, XV, 19, 323 (6-7): ταῦτα...ἀγγελθέντα τῷ Λέοντι ἔμφροντιν αὐτὸν πεποιήκασιν. It is phrases like this which, since they are repeated, lead us to assume that they constitute some of Zonaras' "favourite sayings" determining his personal style of writing. During the battle, Maniaces was fatally wounded. To convey this, historians usually employ the phrase "to receive" or "to inflict" a mortal wound (καίρια πληγή). Zonaras uses a similar expression when narrating the revolt of Bardas Phocas against Basil II and Psellus is obviously aware of it.<sup>19</sup> There is certainly a linguistic affinity between Zonaras' account of the coup and that of Psellus. Compare e.g. the latter's phrases: ἀχλύος πληρωθείσης τῆς κεφαλῆς or τῆς ἔδρας ἀπολισθήσας. Zonaras is apparently combining Psellus' phraseology with his own (by introducing, for instance the issue of the languor of Maniaces' body and limbs, which is a formula to which he resorted again: XVII, 18, 555 (1-2).

The reader will notice that allusions to mythology intersperse Manasses' narrative throughout. However, references to Greek or Roman mythology are very rare in the *Epitome*. [e.g. Σιβύλλεια χρησμοφδήματα XV, 21, 331 (5-6)]. This is perhaps due to a tacit assumption on Zonaras' part that anything pagan has no place in his writings. Now and then, however, he surprises us with comments associated with Homer: [XIII,

<sup>19</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 15, 553 (14). οἱ μὲν οὖν πληγῆναι παρά του καιρίαν τὸν ἄνδρα ἔλεγον; Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II, LXXXIV, 5 (17). καὶ καιρίαν γνοὺς τὴν βολήν.

16, 78 (14-15)] ὅρος εἶναι τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν Μίμαντα...τούτου δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα μεμνησθαι λέγοντα παρ' ἠνεμόεντα Μίμαντα). Other authors, like Psellus for instance, proudly demonstrate their acquaintance with classical culture (*Chronographia* II, CXXVI, 30(1-2): τὸ δὲ κάλλος αὐτῷ ὅποιον τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἢ τοῦ Νηρέως ἀκούομεν, (II, CLII, 46(11-12): καὶ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ Πρωτεὺς ἀτεχνῶς ἐξαλλάττων καὶ ποικιλλόμενος. We will have the opportunity to discuss the issue of literary references to mythology made by Zonaras' contemporaries in the next chapter.

V. The second marriage of the emperor Nicephorus Botaneiates to empress Maria the Alan, Michael VII Ducas' widow, is discussed mainly by Zonaras (*Epitome* XVIII, 19, 722) and Cedrenus (*Synopsis historiarum* II, 738) and just very briefly by Manasses (*Synopsis chronice*, 284, vs. 6679-84) and Bryennius (*Hyle historias* III, 253). We cite below the texts from the first two-authors:

**Cedrenus' *Synopsis historiarum* [ed. I. Bekker, II 738 (5-19)]**

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ τελευτησάσης...έτέραν ἠγάγετο. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐμνηστεύοντο...ὁ δὲ μίαν ἠρέϊτο τῶν δύο, ἣ τὴν τοῦ Δούκα σύζυγον καὶ αὐτὴς τοῦ Διογένους Εὐδοκίαν ἢ τοῦ ἔναγχος βασιλεύοντος Μιχαὴλ Μαρίαν τὴν ἐξ Ἀλανῶν. στέλλει γοῦν ληψόμενος τὴν Εὐδοκίαν· ἣ δὲ ἠκολούθει περιχαρῶς. ὅπερ γνοὺς ὁ τηνικαῦτα...μοναχός...παντὶ τρόπῳ διακωλύειν ἐσπούδασε τὸ ἀτόπημα,...ἄγεται τοίνυν τὴν Μαρίαν ἀπρωθριασμένως ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἱερολογεῖται αὐτῇ, καὶ παραυτίκα καθαίρεται ὁ ἱερεὺς ὡς προφανοῦς μοιχείας τετελεσμένης.

**Zonaras' *Epitome* XVIII, 19, 722 (7-16)**

τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τῆς ὁμοζύγου τελευτησάσης, πολλὰ μὲν ἐμνηστεύοντο παρθένοι, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἣ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Δούκα

θυγάτηρ Ζωή. ὁ δὲ ἢ τὴν βασιλίδα Εὐδοκίαν ἤθελεν ἀγαγέσθαι ἢ τὴν  
 ἐξ Ἀλανῶν Μαρίαν. τὴν τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ συνοικήσασαν. στέλλει γοῦν  
 τὴν Εὐδοκίαν μετακαλούμενος· ἡ δὲ, ὡς λόγος, οὐκ ἀπηνήνατο, ἐκωλύθη  
 δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς παρά τινων μοναχῶν. καὶ ἄγεται τὴν  
 βασιλίδα Μαρίαν. οὐδὲν ἤττον παρανομήσας ἢ εἰ τὴν Εὐδοκίαν  
 ἠγάγετο· μοιχεία γὰρ ἦν ἀπρηυθριασμένη τὸ τολμηθέν. διὸ καὶ ὁ τὴν  
ἱερολογίαν τετελεκῶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐκπέπτωκεν.

A few linguistic points should be raised here: the phrase οὐκ ἀπηνήνατο (in the *Epitome*) is a litotes, used instead of "accepted" which is what Cedrenus has. As we shall see (chapter on wordplay), Zonaras is fond of such figures of speech and gives them preference to plain narrative.

Although, of course, there can be no proof of this, it is possible that Zonaras' ἀπρηυθριασμένη μοιχεία is a combination of Cedrenus' ἀπρηυθριασμένως and προφανοῦς μοιχείας which in the latter's text are not directly connected. The theme of an "unblushed adultery" was, on the other hand, likely to encourage such expressions to which authors resorted under the circumstances. Psellus uses similar wording when referring to Monomachus' celebrated affair with Sclerena.<sup>20</sup> Zonaras' phrase "he committed no less lawlessness" is a phrase which is introduced with οὐχ ἤττον and which has a parallel in the *Alexiad* as well as the histories of Psellus and Bryennius.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand Manasses deals with Botaneiates' second marriage in three lines. The emperor is described as γέρων, παλαιγενής and πέμπελος. This last

<sup>20</sup> Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, LVI, 144 (2). καὶ ἦν τέως οὐκ ἀνευθρίαστος ὁ ἔρως αὐτοῦ.

<sup>21</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, IV, 160 (15-17). καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ἤττον ἐκείνων...οὔτοι ἐκθυμότεροί εἰσι; Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, V, 34 (11-13). τοῖς ἀυχοῦσι σβεννύειν τὴν φύσιν...οὐδὲν ἤττον προσέκειτο; Bryennius, *Hyle historias*, ed. P. Gautier, *Pref.*, 69 (6). οὐχ ἤττον δὲ καὶ ταύτην (τὴν βασιλείαν) τιμήσας.

word belongs to Manasses' demotic vocabulary in which he indulges occasionally.

VI. Alexius' I financial policies is a subject treated by Anna Comnena and Zonaras in their histories, although their accounts are poles apart:

**Zonaras' *Epitome* XVIII, 21, 7, 732 (9-16)-733 (1-3).**

τὸν δὲ γε Μελισσηνόν, ... τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ Θεσσαλονίκης εἰς κατοικίαν ἀπένειμαν, καὶ χορηγίαν χρημάτων καὶ τούτῳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς κατὰ γένος προσήκουσι τύχη τοιαύτη καὶ ἀξιωμάτων ὄγκῳ τηλικῶδε ἀνάλογον προσαφώρισαν.<sup>22</sup> ἐντεῦθεν τῶν βασιλείων προσόδων, μᾶλλον δ' εἰπεῖν τῶν κοινῶν καὶ δημοσίων, οὕτω διανεμηθεισῶν τὸ βασιλικὸν ταμεῖον ἢ τὸ κοινὸν πρυτανεῖον ἐστένωτο. καὶ ὁ κρατῶν σπανίζων χρημάτων τὰς τε τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἀνηκούσας ἀνέκαθεν ἐτησίας δόσεις ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰς τῶν συγκλητικῶν οὐσίας προσαφηρεῖτο.

***Epitome* XVIII, 25, 737 (11-16)-738 (1-5)**

ἐντεῦθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλωμάτων δεόμενος τρόπους ἀποτροπαίους συλλογῆς χρημάτων ἐξεύρισκε, καὶ ὀφειλὰς ἀδίκους εἰσῆγον κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένοι, καὶ ἀφηροῦντο τὰς οἰκείας οὐσίας οἱ μηδὲν δικαίως ὀφείλοντες. ἐντεῦθεν ἀπογραφεῖς πανταχοῦ τῶν ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ χωρίοις διαφερουσῶν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐστέλλοντο κτήσεων, καὶ τὰ καινὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπινοήθη, τὰ ὑπέρτιμα λέγω καὶ τὰ ὑπέρπλεα, καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι τρόποι ἐπηρεῶν κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων εἰσῆγοντο, καὶ ἱερὰ δ' ἀφήρηντο ἐκ θείων ναῶν. οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ νόμισμα κεκιβδηλεμένον παρὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ εὐρηκῶς χάλκεον ἔθετο...<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Anna has the same verb in a similar case: *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, XV, 216 (30)-217 (1). ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀφώρισατο τὰς ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης αὐτοῖς προνοίας· ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὴν δυνατὴν βρασιάνην αὐτοῖς περιεποιήσατο.

<sup>23</sup> Compare Cedrenus, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 369 (10-11). ἠλάττωσε δὲ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα, τὸ λεγόμενον τεταρτηρὸν ἐπινοήσας.



*Epitome XVIII, 29, 767 (2-10)*

ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν συγγενέσι καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τισὶν ἀμάξαις ὄλαις παρεῖχε τὰ δημόσια χρήματα καὶ χορηγίας ἐκείνοις ἀδράς ἐτησίους ἀπένειμεν, ὡς καὶ πλοῦτον περιβαλέσθαι βαθὺν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀποτάξαι οὐκ ἰδιώταις, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῦσι κατάλληλον, καὶ οἴκους προσκτήσασθαι, μεγέθει μὲν πόλεσιν ἐοικότας, πολυτελεία δὲ βασιλείων ἀπεικόςτας οὐδέν.<sup>24</sup> τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τῶν εὖ γεγονότων οὐχ ὁμοίαν ἐνεδείκνυτο τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἵνα μὴ τι ἕτερον φαῦλον ἐρῶ, φειδόμενος τοῦ ἀνδρός.

*Alexiad [ed. B. Leib, V, 9 (10)-11 (10)].*

τὸ δὲ ἄτερ χρημάτων οὐκ ἐνήν. τὰ δὲ οὐ παρῆν, ...ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ταμιείων κεκλεῖσθαι τὰς πύλας, ἀλλ' ἀνέτως πατεῖσθαι παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ δι' αὐτῶν ὁδεύειν. προπέποτο γάρ. ἔνθεν τοι καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανία τὸ πᾶν καθίστατο, ἀσθενείας καὶ πενίας ὁμοῦ συμπεζούσης τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους. τότε δὴ τότε<sup>25</sup> τί τὸν νέον βασιλέα καὶ ἄρτι τῶν τῆς βασιλείας οἰάκων<sup>26</sup> ἐπιβεβηκότα ἐχρῆν διαπράξασθαι; (...) πρὸς δύο ταῦτα ἀπέβλεψε, συμμάχους τε ἀπανταχόθεν μεταπέμψασθαι...τὴν δὲ γε μητέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αἰτήσασθαι χρήματά οἱ ξυμπορισαμένους ὅθεν δῆποτε ἐκπέμψαι. Οἱ δὲ πόρον πορισμοῦ μὴ ἐφευρίσκοντες ἕτερον, πρότερον μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες χρήματα, ὅποσα ἐν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, τῇ βασιλικῇ χωνεῖα παραπεπόμφασιν. πρώτη δὲ πάντων ἡ βασιλὶς καὶ μήτηρ ἐμὴ ὅποσα ἐκ τε μητρώου καὶ πατρῷου κλήρου ἐνυπηρχον αὐτῇ κατεβάλετο, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς τοῦτο ἐρεθίσαι οἰομένη. ἐδεδίει γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐν στενῷ

<sup>24</sup> The participle occurs also in Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II, XXIV, 96 (14-16). ἀνδρες οὗτοι...τῆς ἠρωϊκῆς οὐδὲν ἀπεικότες μεγαλειότητος.

<sup>25</sup> Compare Glycas, *Biblos chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, III, 410 (1-2). τότε δὴ τότε καὶ προφητικὴν ἐπιφέρει ῥῆσιν ἐπὶ σταυροῦ...The expression apparently precedes an important statement.

<sup>26</sup> The phrase "the reins of government" can be used for Church dignitaries as well. Compare Zonaras' (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, V, 144): τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἰάκας ἐγχειρίζεται ὁ τούτους εἰδώς... μεταχειρίζεσθαι.

κομιδῆ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ὀρώσα.<sup>27</sup> (...) καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εὐρηκότες ὅτι περ ἐπ' ἀναρρῦσει αἰχμαλώτων τὰ τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν ἱερὰ ἔξεστιν ἐκποιεῖσθαι, ... ὀλίγ' ἄττα τῶν πάλαι ἠργηκότων ἱερῶν καὶ καταλελυμένων ὡς εἰς μηδεμίαν χρεῖαν συντελοῦντα, ... ὡς ὕλην χαράγματος... τὰ τοιαῦτα χρηματίσαι ἐσκέψαντο.

The excerpts from the *Epitome* and the *Alexiad* give contrary accounts of the financial standing of the empire under Alexius I, but they provide suitable material for the reader who wishes to explore the phraseology and choice of diction which is used by historians regarding financial issues. According to Zonaras the emperor Alexius for lack of money stopped the yearly grants paid to the members of the Senate, and even deprived the men of their property. Glycas, who admits to having read the *Epitome* [*Biblos chronice*, IV, 551 (22)], quoted in this case Zonaras word for word: ὁ μέντοι κρατῶν ἐπειδήπερ ἐσπάνιζε χρημάτων, τὰς ἐτησίους δόσεις ἐνέκοψε τὰς ἀνηκούσας δηλονότι τοῖς ἀξιώμασι, προσαφηρεῖτο δὲ καὶ τὰς περιουσίας τῶν συγκλητικῶν.<sup>28</sup> This is interesting in that Glycas is usually content with a more plain syntax than Zonaras, hence the explicative δηλονότι. There are, of course instances when he modifies the language of the *Epitome*, introducing e.g. the phrase τρόπους ἀπαισίους συλλογῆς χρημάτων as a simplification of Zonaras' τρόπους ἀποτροπαίους.

Anna describes the financial situation of the empire under Botaneiates' regime when the treasury gates remained wide open as there were no funds left! Manasses describes the opposite situation under Nicephorus II Phocas, when the imperial storehouses were bulging with goods (*Synopsis chronice* vs. 5808-9): καὶ ταῦτα χιλιάσιτα πλουτῶν

<sup>27</sup> Compare the verse of Manasses, *Synopsis chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, 96, v. 2205). χρημάτων ἀπορούμενον, σφιγγόμενον ἐνδεία.

<sup>28</sup> Glycas, *Biblos chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, IV, 619 (2-5).

σιτοδοχεῖα κατάφορτα τοῖς βάρεσι καὶ σίτοις βεβυσμένα. Psellus has another interesting expression about *the bottoms* of the treasury [*Chronographia* I, XXIX, 132 (10-12)]: οὗτος τοὺς μὲν τῶν χρημάτων θησαυροὺς αὐτόθεν ἐκχεῖν ἐπιβέβλητο, ὡς μηδὲ τοῖς πυθμέσι καταλιπεῖν τι.

Noteworthy also is the phrase which Anna employs regarding the consumption of money by former regimes: "it was all swallowed up", she says. The reader will discover a variety of expressions which authors use regarding scarcity of money: Compare Glycas' [*Biblos chronice*, III, 436 (10-11)] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐξεκεκένωτο τὸ χρυσίον ἅπαν... Also Manasses' (*Synopsis chronice*, 87, v. 2001) ὅτι τὸ πᾶν κεκένωτο τοῦ θησαυροῦ χρυσίου, and Cedrenus' [*Synopsis historiarum* II, 368 (11-12)]: διὰ τὸ...σπανίζειν χρημάτων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις.

Finally expressions like "to suck to the marrow" in connection with increased imperial taxation must have been a *topos* in historiography. Zonaras resorts to it twice in the *Epitome*<sup>29</sup> and it is also found in Attaleiates' history where the latter describes a similar situation regarding Monomachus' economic policies which drained the treasuries.<sup>30</sup>

There follows a table (No:2) with expressions regarding the financial policies of various emperors found in the histories of Psellus, Zonaras, Manasses and Anna Comnena. The reader will notice expressions connected with four issues: a) royal generosity. Expressions like "to throw about gold as if it were grains of sand" (θησαυρίζειν τιπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ὡς ψάμμον) or, to quote Zonaras, "to grant pots of public money", or "to refresh someone by constant munificence" are commonly attested in historiography. Nicetas Choniates talking about Isaacius II Angelus' extravagant bestowals on his favourites, points out that the

<sup>29</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* III, 7, 227(22-24); XIII, 3, 15(15-16).

<sup>30</sup> Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, 50 (18-19). καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν ὀπποσῶν εὐπορούντων ἐκμυελίζων ἦν, δίκας ἀδίκους ἐπάγων..

emperor "loaded them with money and instilled them (μετήγγιζεν) unsparingly".<sup>31</sup> This is an interesting metaphorical allusion to a financial "transfusion" operated by imperial magnanimity. Moreover Anna observes that through his benefactions to the inhabitants of Thrace, her father "encircled his subjects with (the) Graces" (περίσταμένας τὰς χάριτας ἔστησεν), playfully alluding to the famous mythological goddesses who conferred all grace. b) scarcity of funds. Here words deriving from σπάνις (scarceness) are standard, but one can find more poetic expressions such as Manasses' "to be shot by the arrows of poverty" or a phrase such as "to be in a tight situation" (ἐν στενῶ) might be used. c) lavish expenditure of money. Metaphors containing allusions to the richness of the rivers Pactolus and Nile are a must here. The garnish of rhetoric often refers to the "opening of veins of gold and silver" (χρυσίτιδες φλέβες καὶ ἀργυρίτιδες), to "the stretching of plentiful hands" or to "enriching people with cooling favours". d) taxation. The important verbs here are ἀργυρολογεῖν and χρηματίζεσθαι (to levy money) which always bear a negative impact. Choniates, being once again figurative, describes the pitiless way in which the Angeli exacted revenue from the crushed cities of the empire as follows: "they did not mow down (ἐκαλαμώντο) and fleece (ἐπεφύλλιζον) just the Roman cities, by introducing new taxes, but they also collected payment, to the extent they could, from those of Latin nationality".<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, 551 (57-60). εἴ τί που ἔστεγεν ἔνδον τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον τὸ βασιλικόν...ἐξεφόρει τε...καὶ μετήγγιζεν ἀφειδέστερον.

<sup>32</sup> Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, 537 (55-57). οὐ μόνον τοίνυν τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς πόλεις ἐκαλαμώντο καὶ ἐπεφύλλιζον, εὗρεται καινῶν εἰσφορῶν καθιστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ φυλῶν Λατινίδων ἐν οἷς εἶχον εἰσέπραττον.

Psellus	Zonaras	Manasses	Anna
<p><i>Chronographia</i></p> <p>τοῖς μὲν περὶ ἐαυτὸν πάσας θύρας εὐεργετημάτων ἀνέωγε ὡς ψάμμον αὐτοῖς τὸν χρυσὸν ἐθησαύριζε τοῖς δὲ πόρρω ἐλάττωνα τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην ἐδέκνυν. (ed. E. Renauld, I, III, 26-27).</p> <p>τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἐν στενῷ ἀπειλημένῃ ὄρων, πάντων αὐτῆ τῶν χρημάτων ἐξαντληθέντων.... [II, III, 139 (1-2)]</p> <p>ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ χρυσίτιδες φλέβες καὶ αἱ μετ' ἐκείνας κατὰ ἀργυρίτιδες. [I, XLIII, 138 (5-6)]</p> <p>καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀφειδῆς ἦν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ οἶα θάλατταν αὐθημερὸν ἐξαντλήσαι ψηγμάτων χρυσῶν περιπλήθουσιν. [I, IV, 119 (13-15)].</p> <p>οὗτος μὲν δὴ... τὰ μὲν ἐνίοις τῶν ὑπηκόων κρήμασι καταπάσας πολλοῖς [II, LIII, 116 (1-3)]</p> <p>τῶν γὰρ ἄνω βασιλέων... τοὺς βασιλικούς θησαυροὺς εἰς τὰς οἰκέτας ἀπαντλούντων ἐπιθυμίας, ταῖς τε δημοσίοις συνεισφοράς οὐκ εἰς στρατιωτικὰς συντάξεις ἀποχρησμένων ἀλλ' εἰς πολιτικὰς χάριτας καὶ λαμπρότητας. [II, LIX, 119 (1-5)].</p>	<p><i>Epitome</i></p> <p>ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν συγγενέσι καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τισὶν ἀμάρξαις ὄλαυς παρεῖχε τὰ δημόσια χρήματα... τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τῶν εὐ γεγονότων οὐχ ὁμοίαν ἐνεδέκνυτο τὴν προαίρεσιν [ed. Büttner-Wobst, XVIII, 29, 767 (2-9)].</p> <p>καὶ ὁ κρατῶν σπανίζων χρημάτων... τὰς τε τοῖς ἀέθιμασιν ἀνηκούσας ἀνέκαθεν ἔτησις δόσεις ἐξέκοψε... [XVIII, 21, 733 (1-3)].</p> <p>καὶ αὐτῆ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταμείων καθ' ἐκαστὴν ἐπέρρει τὰ κρήματα κατὰ ποταμοὺς καὶ φ λ ε β ε s ἀνεστομοῦντο χρυσίτιδες [XVII, 21, 620 (5-7)].</p> <p>ἴδια τὰ κοινὰ τῶν κρατούντων λογισμένων καὶ εἰς οἰκέτας ἀπολαύσεις χρωμένων αὐτοῖς... καὶ δωρομένων ὅς βούλονται τὰ δημόσια. [XIII, 3, 15 (9-12)].</p> <p>τῆς δ' Ἀγριππίνης, ὅτι μὴ ἀργυρολογεῖν ἠδύνατο φιλαργυρωτάτη οὖσα. [XI, 12, 476 (13-14)].</p> <p>οὐ μὴν... ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐχρηματίζετο. [XII, 1, 524 (11)].</p>	<p><i>Synopsis chronice</i></p> <p>ed. I. Bekker, 96, v.2201</p> <p>καὶ συνεχέσιν ἦρδενε τὰς μεγαλοδωριάτας. 125, vs. 2903-4</p> <p>οὗτος ὁ κράτωρ θησαυροὺς εὐρῶν πολυταλάντους, ὄλαυ θαλάσσας ... καὶ ποταμοὺς χρηματῶν...</p> <p>247, vs. 5801-2</p> <p>καὶ πάντες ἀπωδύροντο τὸ τῆς ἐνδείας βέλος· χρυσίου γὰρ ὁ μέθιμος μόλις ἀπημπολεῖτο.</p> <p>265, v. 6252</p> <p>τὰ δ' ἄλλα μεγαλοπρεπῆ, φιλόδωρον, ἀστέιον</p> <p>266, vs. 6254-65</p> <p>φιλοδωρίας θάλασσαν, λίμνην ποτιμωτάτην, ἐξ ἧν ἀπῆλασαν πολλοὶ χειματῶν καλλικροῦνων,</p> <p>ἐξ ἧν ἀπήντησαν πολλοὶ νάματα ζωοτρόφα· τὰς φλέβας γὰρ ἀπανταχῆ διακρουσίας ὤφθη, Χρυσοδίνης Πακτωλὸς, Νέλος ἀργυροχεύμων. ἐπέγγων τούτου καὶ λαοὶ παλάμια φιλοδώρους, οἱ πένητες ἐξέπινον ἠγλήσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς κόρον· πᾶν τέμεινος ἀπῆλασαν ἀρθείας χρυσορεϊθρου. οὕτω κοινὸς ἦν ποταμὸς, ἀπανταχοῦ λιμναζών· ἐκένου γὰρ τῶν δωρεῶν ἀφθονοχῆτους χύσεις ὡς εἰς ἀτρίτους ἀγῶνους τοὺς καταπορευμένους. 266, vs. 6270-1</p> <p>χάρισιν ἐπιάνθησαν εὐδρόσοις ἀειρύτοις. οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν ψυχὴν, οὕτω πλουσίαν εἶχε.</p>	<p><i>Alexiad</i></p> <p>χρυσοβούλλοις λόγοις τὰς πρὸς τοῦτους ἐνεπέδωσε δωρεὰς καὶ οὐκ εἰς τοῦτους μόνους περιύταιμένες τὰς χάριτας ἔστησεν [ed. B. Leib, XIV, 185(2-3)]</p> <p>ἐδέδειε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐν στενῷ κομῶν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ὄρωσα [V, 10 (14-15)]</p> <p>φιλοδωρότατάν τε ὄντα καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, περὶ τὰς δόσεις ευκνήτων λίαν ὑπερηγάπων, καίτοι μὴ πᾶν τι πλοῦτῳ περιρροόμενον. [III, 74 13-15]]</p> <p>καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐν τῷ διεῖναι τὰς ὁδοὺς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπέταις καὶ τοῖς στυροφόροις καὶ γυμνοῖς δαμνῆ τὴν χεῖρα παρεῖχε· καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ αἰτησάμενος καὶ κενὸς ἀπελάθων. [XII, 63 (18-21)]</p> <p>καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀργυρολογίας ἄπασαν καὶ φορολογίας. [I, 57 (17-18)]</p>

Table No: 2. The reader will notice expressions connected with 4 issues: A) royal generosity, B) scarcity of funds, C) lavish money expenditure, D) taxation.

VII. Finally we will examine an account of disease, that of Michael IV, as described by Psellus and Zonaras. Their texts read as follows:

**Psellus' *Chronographia* , ed. E. Renauld, I, XVII, 62 (7-8)-63 (1-21); XVIII, 63(1-10)**

οὔτε γὰρ εἶχεν ἔτι ταύτη χρᾶσθαι, ἤδη τοῦ ὑπούλου νοσήματος ἐκραγέντος αὐτῷ (τὴν γὰρ ἕξιν διέφθαρτο, καὶ πονήρως εἶχε τοῦ σώματος), ἔπειτα καὶ αἰδοῖ τὴν ὄψιν κεκάλυπτο, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὅπως ἀντοφθαλμίσει αὐτῇ, εἰδὼς ὅπως τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν φιλίαν ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ἀπωμόσατο μὲν τὴν πίστην, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας ἠθέτησε· καὶ τρίτον, θείοις ἀνδράσι προσομιλήσας περὶ ὧν τοῦ κράτους ἐποιήσατο ἔνεκα, καὶ σωτηριώδεις δεξάμενος ἐντολάς, πάσης μὲν ἀκολασίας, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐννόμου αὐτῆς ἀπέσχετο μίξεως· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι δεδιὼς οὐ προσέκειτο τῇ βασιλίδι· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μακρῶν τῶν διαλειμμάτων, ὥσπερ δὴ πρότερον, ἢ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτῷ περιτροπῇ προσεγίνετο, ἀλλ' εἴτε τις ἕξωθεν αὐτὴν ἠλλοίου δύναμις εἴτε πάθος ἔνδοθεν περιέτρεπεν, πυκνότερον μετεβάλλετο...διὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόδοις ἐχρᾶτο πολλαῖς, οὔτε θαρρούντως ὠμίλει τισίν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ἢ χρηματίζειν ἐβούλετο, ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν συνήθων τῷ κράτει ποιεῖν, φοινικίδας ἐκατέρωθεν παραπεταννύντες...ὀπηνίκα τοῦτον θεάσαιντο...ὄσοις...σημείοις τὴν πρόδοον τοῦ πάθους ἐχαρακτήρισαν, αὐτίκα προῖέναι τοὺς εἰσιόντας ἐγκελευσάμενοι, συνέστελλον τὰ παραπετάσματα, καὶ οὕτω περιεῖπον αὐτὸν θαλαμεύσαντα·

**Zonaras' *Epitome* XVII, 14, 587 (15-17)**

εἶτα τῷ μὲν ἐκραταιοῦτο ἡ νόσος, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐκάλουν δαιμόιον μῆνυμα διὰ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν ἐνσκοῆψαν αὐτῷ καὶ συμπνίγον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς πάλαι δὴ τὸν Σαούλ, οἱ δὲ μανίαν τε καὶ παραφοράν·

## XVII, 16, 596 (1-16)

ἤδη δὲ τῆς νόσου νεανιευομένης τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ θαμὰ τῆς τοῦ λογιζομένου παραφορᾶς αὐτῷ ἐπιούσης,<sup>33</sup> οὔτε προόδοις ἐκέχρητο συνεχῶς οὔτε βασιλείοις πομπαῖς οὔτ' ἐν βήμασιν ἐχρημάτιζε τῷ βασιλείῳ θρόνῳ ἄνετος ἐφεζόμενος, ἀλλὰ παραπετάσματα περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηώρητο, καὶ τινες ἐπιτηρεῖν τεταγμένοι αὐτὸν περίσταντο, οἱ ὀπνηίκα τι σημεῖον εἶδον τῆς τοῦ νοῦ παρατροπῆς<sup>34</sup> (πολλὰ δὲ ταύτην αὐτῷ προεμήνυον), εἰλκον ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον εὐθὺς τὰ παραπετάσματα καὶ τούτοις τὸν πάσχοντα συγκαλύπτοντες ἐξιέναι τοῖς παρεστῶσιν ἐνεκελεύοντο. τῷ δὲ ἀθρόον τε τὸ πάθος ἐπήει καὶ ἀθρόον ἀφίστατο. οὕτως οὖν ἔχων ὁ Μιχαὴλ κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ τοῦ ὄραν τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τοῦ προσιέναι ἀπείχετο, ἢ αἰδούμενος ὅτι οἶα ἀνθ' οἶων αὐτῇ ἀνταπέδωκεν, ἢ ὅτι θαμὰ καὶ ἐτοιμότατα τοῦ πάθους αὐτῷ ἐπιγινομένου ἠσχύνετο πάσχων οὕτω παρ' ἐκείνης ὀρᾶσθαι, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἕξιν τοῦ σώματος διεφθάρθαι οἱ καὶ πρὸς μίξιν μὴ πεφυκέναι.

Any tradition which can be traced back to king David or Solomon or even lesser monarchs of Israel had a strong appeal to the Byzantine court and, consequently, to Byzantine literature. Manasses like Zonaras refers to Saul's illness in connection with Michael's disease.<sup>35</sup> Zonaras actually uses the same wording in his account of Saul's illness [I, 29, 108 (17-18)]: καὶ πνεῦμα πονηρὸν μετήει αὐτὸν συμπιῶγον καὶ κακοῦν τὸν ἄνδρα.

There existed a great variety of ways in which one could say that "the disease was getting worse". The *Alexiad* contains such phrases, e.g.

<sup>33</sup> Compare Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, 438 (47-50). νόσος...ἐπέβρισε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ...καὶ ἐπέθετο τῷ λογιστικῷ...

<sup>34</sup> Psellus has περιτροπή τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου. And again further down παρατραπέντα τὸν ὀφθαλμόν.

<sup>35</sup> Manasses, *Synopsis chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, 259, v. 6109. ὡς ὁ Σαοὺλ τῷ πονηρῷ πιγμῷ τοῦ δαιμονίου...

εἰς τοῦπίσω δὲ τὰ τῆς νόσου χωροῦντα.<sup>36</sup> Zonaras also resorts to them as, for instance, in his long description of king Herod's disease in V, 26, 463 (3): ἡ μέντοι νόσος ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐκείνω ἐνεπικραίνετο... Naturally clichés were available for the opposite situation when a disease was responding to treatment. Expressions like ἡ τῆς νόσου σφοδρότης ὑπεδίδου or ἡ νόσος ὑπέληγε can be found in the *Epitome*.<sup>37</sup>

Moreover the phrase ἀθρόον...τὸ πάθος ἐπήει καὶ ἀθρόον ἀφίστατο which Zonaras employs regarding the fits of epilepsy suffered by the emperor, seems to be a modification of Psellus' ὁ δὲ ἔπασχε ἑτοιμῶς καὶ ἑτοιμότερον ἀποκαθίστατο found a few lines below. The difference is that Zonaras chose to use the same adverb in the positive degree twice while Psellus employs the same adverb first in the positive and then in the comparative degrees. Wordplay of this kind is, in fact, common with historians.

In the following table (No: 3) we have cited excerpts from four writers (Choniates, Glycas, Psellus and Zonaras) in connection with the use of the "medical language" they employ. It appears that descriptions of diseases as well as metaphors based on allusions to the functions of medicine was a favourite literary preoccupation in Byzantine historiography.<sup>38</sup>

In particular the reader will notice expressions connected with three issues: a) progress of a disease. The keywords here are τὰ τῆς νόσου αὐξάνειν or ἐπιτείνειν for the relapse of the symptoms or, instead, ἀναρρωνύειν or the use of participles like ραΐσας, ἀναρρωσθεῖς, ἀνασφήλας,<sup>39</sup> etc. for the reverse situation when an illness recedes. b)

<sup>36</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, XV, 234 (19). Compare also, τῆς νόσου ἐπακμαζούσης [*op. cit.*, 233 (25-26)].

<sup>37</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 751(14-15).

<sup>38</sup> See also our next chapter on the testimony of non-historians.

<sup>39</sup> Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, 499 (54). μήπω καθαρῶς ἀνασφήλας τῆς νόσου.



description of it. Historians seemingly did not abstain from including in their narratives technical details about the symptoms of illnesses, however unattractive the particulars might be. Phrases like "to experience pain in the body" (πονήρως ἔχειν τοῦ σώματος or περιωδυνίαις βάλλεσθαι), "to be overcome by extremely painful matter" (ὑλὴ μοχθηροτέρα ἐνσκήπτειν), or to "smoulder with fire" (τὸ σῶμα τηκεδῶν ὑποσμήχειν) are commonplaces. Sometimes there is an allusion to bodily rottenness and the presence of parasitic worms and smell (σκωλήκων καὶ δυσωδίας πλήττεσθαι) or the expectoration of black discharge (μελάντερόν τι ἀναγαγεῖν). There are also references to surgical treatment of illnesses with the aid of καυτηρία, i.e. a branding-iron used for searing wounds. c) allusions to Hippocrates. Hippocrates, the ancient doctor from Cos, is frequently mentioned by the Byzantines in their discussion of medical treatment, usually in a metaphorical sense, which touches on the issue of the exploitation of the language of medicine by twelfth-century authors.

Choniatēs	Glycās	Psellus	Zonaras	
<p><b>Chronice diegesis</b> τὰ δ ἐφεξῆς φλεγμοναὶ τῶν καυτηριῶν καὶ περιωδυνίαι τῶν πρώην δριμύτεραι... καὶ ἦν τὰ φάρμακα ἡμᾶρ παρ ἡμᾶρ σχεδὸν κεραννύμενα, καὶ τὸ ἀνύσιμον αὐτοῖς ἐφωμάρτει. [ed. J.A. van Diēten, 497 (85-95)] ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς νόσου ἐπέτεινε 221 (44).</p> <p>ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς...ἐπασχε τὰ ἄρθρα τοῦ σώματος κατὰ κύκλον οἰωνεὶ καὶ περίοδον, τοὺς δὲ πόδας καὶ μάλιστα ὕλης ἐνσκηπτούσης μοχθηροτέρας καὶ ὀδύνας δυσυποπίστους ἀποτικτούσης, ἐξ ὧν...καὶ λάβροι πυρετοὶ πολλακίς ἐπήγιζον 496 (74)-497 (78).</p> <p>εἰ γὰρ ὁ Κῶος Ἴπποκράτης πολλοῖς μεταπεμπόμενος χρήμασι πρὸς τοῦ τότε Περσῶν βασιλεύοντος, ὡς ἂν τὰς ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐπισκέψαιτο πόλεις κακῶς πασχούσας νοσηλεία σώματος, οὐδ' ἠνέσχετο δέξασθαι... 580 (89-93).</p> <p>εἶτε μὴν ὡς νοσηλεῖται καὶ φάρμακα συναίρονται οἱ ἐν πλείστοις ὡς ψυχῶν ἰατρῶ, οἷς καὶ φύσις τοιαύδε τις ἐμφαίνεται τοῖς ἐπιστήσασι πρόδηλος. 581 (22-24).</p> <p>μάλιστα δὲ φιλοχρηματίαν νοσοῦντες 537 (51-2).</p>	<p><b>Biblos chronice</b> ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ τῆς νόσου ἤϋξανε. [ed. I. Bekker, IV, 624 (15-16)]. μύροις οἱ παρόντες τὴν πνοὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνακαλεσάμενοι ἀνενεγκεῖν μικρὸν πεποιήκασιν. ἀνενεγκῶν δὲ...ἐλήφθη καρδιωγμῶ καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας θνήσκει. [IV, 578 (7-11)]. καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἐξωδηκυῖαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὥσπερ σῶμα σεσηπὸς, κἀντεῦθεν σκωλήκων καὶ δυσωδίας πλησθεῖς, ἐπωδύνως καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. [IV, 612 (20)-613 (1)]. νεφρίτιδι συσχεθέντος ὡς καὶ πάρετον πάντῃ γενέσθαι, συνεβούλευον οἱ ἰατροὶ μετὰ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐπαγωγὰς καὶ γυναικί χρήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέιθετο. εἰπόντων δὲ... "εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσεις, ἀνάγκη σοι καυτηρία χρήσασθαι κἀντεῦθεν ἀπαιδίᾳ συσχεθῆναι"... [IV, 603 (14-19)]. οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ ἀριστοτέλης θεὸς διὰ τοῦ ἀνιάτως ἡμαρτηκόςτος Φαραῶ σημεῖα μεγάλα δείκνυσι... τοὺς... μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένους ἀριστα θεραπεύων... [II, 290 (11-14)]. ὁ Ἰούδας τῆ τῆς φιλαργυρίας νόσου κάτοχος γεγὼς... [III, 397 (12-13)].</p>	<p><b>Chronographia</b> ἡσθημαίνε τε πυκνότερον καὶ οὐδ' ὀπωσοῦν αὐτῶ ἀνακαυχῆν ἢ φύσις ἐδίδου. [ed. E. Renauld, II, LXXV, 130 (10-12)]. ἀνερωσθη γοῦν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς... [II, LXXXIII, 134 (1)]. εἶτα δὴ καὶ ὑπεδίδου τὰ διαστήματα, καὶ οὐ μακρὰ ἐγεγόνει τὰ δαλείματα. [II, CXXVIII, 32 (6-8)]. πονήρως δὲ ἄγαν τοῦ σώματος ἔχων... ὄλον γὰρ αὐτῶ ἐξωδήκει τὸ πρόσωπον... τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀπέγνωστο, ὁ δὲ οὐ πάνυ δυσέλπιστος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἰατρικαῖς τέχναις ἑαυτὸν ἐδεδώκει, κἀκεῖ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῶ ἐμνηστεύετο (I, XXIV-XXV, 50); ξυμπεπονήκει δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ ἡ γαστήρ διαρρυσσασα καὶ... τὸ σύμπαν δὲ αὐτῶ σῶμα τηκεδὼν τις ὑπεσμήχετο καὶ διεβόσκετο... [II, CVI, 19, (4-7)] ὑπευχέται διὰ τοῦ στόματος μελάντερον τι τὴν χροάν καὶ πεπηγός. [I, XXVI, 52, (42-44)]. ὅπερ δὲ ὁ Κῶος φησὶν Ἴπποκράτης περὶ τῶν σωματικῶν ἔξεων, ὡς ἐπειδὴν πρὸς ἄκρον ἀυξήσωσιν... τῶ συνεχεῖ τῶν κινήσεων ἐπὶ τὸ κάταντες ὀλισθαίνουσι, τοῦτο δὴ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπασχε μὲν, ἐπραττε δὲ τοῖς φίλοις... (II, CXC, 64-5).</p>	<p><b>Epitome</b> οὕτω δὲ κραταιωθεῖναι τὸν πυρετὸν [ed. Buttner-Wobst IV, 15, 352 (9)]. ῥάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου... [XI, 11, 472 (1-2)]. ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀέρων ἐναλλαγῆς σφόδρα ἐνόσησεν. ἀναρρωσθεῖς δέ... [XII, 15, 573 (21-22)]. τῶν ἐντέρων ἦσαν ἐλκώσεις, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ κώλου ἀλγῆματα, καὶ φλέγμα περὶ τοὺς πόδας ὑγρὸν τε καὶ διαυγές, τοῦ ἥτρου τε κἀκώσις, καὶ τοῦ αἰδοίου σήψης γεννώσα σκωλήκας, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀρθόπνοια τῆ τε ἀποφορᾶ ἀηθῆς καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἄσθματος συνεχεῖ. [V, 26, 463 (5-9)]. εἶτα καὶ μελάντερον τι ἀναγαγὼν διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα. [XVII, 13, 585 (6)]. μετανόιας φαρμάκοις θεραπεύειν αὐτούς... [XII, 20, 587 (20)]. ὁ δὲ φωνῆς ἐπαδόντων οὐκ ἴκουεν οὐδ' ἐφαρμακεύετο παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν. [XV, 3, 260 (17)]. See also (II, 114; 115).</p>	<p>A</p> <p>B</p> <p>C</p>

Table No: 3. The reader will notice expressions connect ed with 3 issues: A) progress of a disease, B) description of it, C) allusions to Hippocrates.

From the above specific comparisons it follows that while historians have quite a substantial common vocabulary, Zonaras is especially attentive - or different - in certain ways, and we are going to investigate these a bit more.

An important issue concerning Zonaras' literary style is the attention he pays in selecting his vocabulary. He takes pains already in the *preface* of his chronicle to warn his readers against authors who are prone to solecisms and who particularly include "corrupt" or everyday and substandard expressions in their narratives.<sup>40</sup> Discontent about lack of education and inefficiency in the proper use or spelling of words is repeatedly emphasised in the *Epitome*.<sup>41</sup> Zonaras' interest in correct language is both manifested directly in the statements he makes, and can also be deduced from the wording of his text. Explicit linguistic remarks can, of course, play only a small part in history writing and for this reason we find but a few in Zonaras' chronicle. In all these cases the author of the *Epitome* distinguishes between the appropriate word that he uses and its equivalent in demotic Greek. We have the scholarly term on the one hand and that used by the "populace" (ὁ συρφετώδης ὄχλος) or "the many" (ὁ δημώδης καὶ πολὺς ἄνθρωπος) on the other. Thus speaking about the crown of Basil II Zonaras uses the word *τιάρα* which people call *τοῦφα* and which, in his opinion, derives from the noun *τυφος* connected with conceit and vanity.<sup>42</sup> Again when the discussion is about the attempt to assassinate the emperor Constantine X Ducas, who was at that time deliberately deprived of his royal trireme, Zonaras uses the term *οἰακοστρόφοι* to refer to the helmsmen of Ducas' vessel, but warns

<sup>40</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome, Praef.* 6, 19-21: συντεθεῖσθαί τε αὐτὰ σολοικότερον καὶ ἰδιωτικαῖς λέξεσιν ἐκφέρεσθαι ἢ καὶ βαρβάροις ἐνίοτε, ὥστε ἐντεῦθεν ἀηδῶς τοὺς λόγους ὠμληκότας πρὸς αὐτὰ διατίθεσθαι.

<sup>41</sup> For the importance of ὀρθοέπεια see *Epitome* XV, 7, 277 (4); XVII, 9, 569 (16), 28, 649 (14-15) etc.

<sup>42</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 9, 566-7. Thus, indirectly, language can support history. Basil II is indeed depicted as a vain and conceited monarch by Zonaras.

against the "common" word πρωτοκάραβοι which belongs to the demotic vocabulary.<sup>43</sup> Similarly elsewhere [XV, 20, 327 (15)] Zonaras using the word χορολέκτης for a chamber valet, gives the parallel demotic term πρωτοψάλτης. Again in XVI, 6, 411(3) the scholarly term ἵπποκόμος is distinguished from the demotic πρωτοστράτωρ which refers to an ἵπποκόμος in charge. Zonaras actually uses the term πρωτοστράτωρ a few lines below apparently for lack of a better single purist word.

Moreover we will see (in the chapter on wordplay) how Zonaras criticizes the wrong etymology of the term Μονε Σταυρακίου supported by men of little learning, and reckons that such misconceptions actually constitute a more dangerous issue than the ignorance of the many.<sup>44</sup> On another occasion, when narrating the event of the accession of Michael VI to the throne, Zonaras makes the point that this aged emperor should better be called a πρεσβύτης and not a γέρων which was what the populace used to call him.<sup>45</sup> Πρεσβύτης is a term employed by Psellus,<sup>46</sup> Cedrenus<sup>47</sup> and Attaleiates<sup>48</sup> but others, like Glycas for instance or Manasses, use the term γέρων.<sup>49</sup> Now according to the author of the Lexicon Tittmannianum, who might well have been Zonaras himself,<sup>50</sup> there exists a rather detailed and precise terminology which corresponds to the different age groups. Thus starting from early in life, the word παῖς would refer to a child between 5 and 14, a μεῖραξ would age between 15 and 22, a νεανίσκος or νεανίας would be someone between

<sup>43</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 7, 675 (2). οἰακοστρόφους, οὓς πρωτοκαράβους ἢ δημῶδης λέγει φωνή.

<sup>44</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 17, 313 (8).

<sup>45</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 29, 653 (5-6). ὁ Στρατιωτικὸς Μιχαήλ...οὐ γέρων ἦν, ὡς παρὰ τοῦ δημῶδους πλήθους ὠνόμαστο, ἀλλὰ πρεσβύτης.

<sup>46</sup> Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II, II, 83 (1); XLIII, 110 (1).

<sup>47</sup> Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 612 (5-8). Μιχαήλ πατρίκιον τὸν Στρατιωτικόν...ἤδη παρηγηκότα καὶ τῆς πρεσβυτικῆς ἀψάμενον ἡλικίας.

<sup>48</sup> Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, 52.

<sup>49</sup> Glycas, *Biblos chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, IV, 599 (21). Μιχαήλ γέροντα τὸν στρατιωτικόν. Manasses, *Synopsis chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, 271, vs. 6374, 6376, 6381. ὁ τρομερὸς γέρων, τυμβογέροντα καὶ κατασεσηπότα, τὸν γέροντα...τυμβόχωστον.

<sup>50</sup> For this issue see our appendix on the possibility of Zonaras' authorship.

22 and 34 or 41. Γηραιός would be a middle aged person (between 47 and 68) and finally πρεσβύτης is a term describing real old age (anything beyond 69).<sup>51</sup> On the other hand A. M. Talbot argued that Byzantine attitudes to old age were influenced by ancient Greek writers (such as Hippocrates and Pythagoras) who tended to define a γέρων as between 60 and 80, whereas the term πρεσβύτης would be appropriate for someone between 50 and 60.<sup>52</sup> At any rate the Lexicon does not give the precise age for a γέρων but it would appear that it is a term normally suitable for a man *younger* than a πρεσβύτης, although the difference (if there was one in reality) must have been minimal. Thus the same authors who use the term πρεσβύτης (and these include Zonaras) interchangeably employ the term γέρων in their texts.<sup>53</sup> Zonaras, however, is the only author who *does* point out the difference, however minimal, between the two words and stresses the importance of using the correct one. If he and the author of the Lexicon are the same person then the pedantic classification of ages found in the Lexicon would indeed make sense as the work of a composer who is extremely sensitive in distinguishing the delicate nuances of words. If, on the other hand, Zonaras was not the author of the Lexicon at least he must have been equally preoccupied with fine distinctions in his vocabulary.

This train of thought brings us to a conclusion which can be deduced from the study of the language of the *Epitome*. If Zonaras had been so conscious about the words he used, and if he had composed or

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<sup>51</sup> Lexicon Tittmannianum : παῖς (1495), μεῖραξ (1346), νεανίσκος (1388), γηραιός (434) and πρεσβύτης (1572). Zonaras in the *Epitome* uses all the above terms, carefully distinguishing between their nuances. Compare particularly XV, 11, 291 (1-2). καὶ εἰς νεανίαν τελεῖν ἠργμένος (εἰκοσαέτης γὰρ ἦν); XVI, 16, 458 (7-8). παῖδα ἔτι τυγχάνοντα κομιδῆ· ἑβδομον γὰρ ἔτος αὐτῶ τῆς ἡλικίας ἠνύετο; XVI, 23, 490 (8-9). πρεσβύτην καὶ ὑπερήλικα; XII, 17, 579 (19-20): ὑπέργηρος ἦν (ἑβδομήκοντα γὰρ καὶ ἐννέα ἐβίω ἐνιαυτός); XVI, 6, 409 (5); XVI, 9, 423 (3) etc.

<sup>52</sup> A. M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium", *B. Z.* 77 (1984), 268-9.

<sup>53</sup> Such a case in Zonaras is found in XII, 21, 588 (4, 15) where the two words are employed for the same person.

seriously consulted a Lexicon which gives word definitions with such a variety of elaborate shades of meanings, then one would expect him to keep his own vocabulary rules, or else the rules of someone he respected, in his history. To take again an example from the Lexicon the word ἀλλοίωσις (128) is defined as a change occurring from better to worse, the word μεταβολή refers to an opposite change from a bad situation to a better one, and the word τροπή to a change for either better or worse. In fact whenever a situation arises in the *Epitome* requiring one of the above cases of change Zonaras employs the appropriate word.<sup>54</sup>

We saw earlier that Zonaras' understanding of the use of the correct language clearly made a sharp distinction between demotic and Attic vocabulary and that his preferences sided with the latter. Popular idioms are characteristically absent from the language of the *Epitome*, and significantly, this holds true even in cases where one would normally expect them to appear, namely in cases where direct speech is being reported. There are, however, some extremely rarely instances where a demotic word *does* occur, as in the reply of Theodora, wife of the emperor Theophilus, to Denderis concerning the holy icons. Theodora, Zonaras reports, had replied: "ταῦτα τὰ καλὰ μου νινία".<sup>55</sup> That the word νινία meaning dolls or babies, which with *ametathesis* of the accent survives in Modern Greek, was actually a demotic one in Zonaras' time receives support from Theophanes Continuatus' account of the incident

<sup>54</sup> Compare Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 7, 554 (7). ὁ δὲ ἀλλοιότερος ἦν ἢ τὸ πρότερον; XVII, 11, 578 (5-6). ἀλλ' ἀλλοιωθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀλλοίωσιν; XVII, 18, 606 (15-16). οὐκ ἐξ ὀργῆς ῥᾶον μεταβαλλόμενος εἰς πρῶτητα; XVI, 23, 493 (5-7). εἰ βούλοιο δὲ, μεταβληθήσονται Ῥωμαῖοις καὶ τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα, πλὴν μὴ ἀθρόον οἴου ἔσεσθαι τὴν μεταβολήν; XI, 18, 495 (17). ὅς μοναρχήσας οὔτε φονικὸν τι οὔτε ἐρωτικὸν ἔπραξεν, ἢ ὅτι μετεβάλετο... This argument gains support from the fact that, apparently, not all historians were as sensitive to strict vocabulary usage as Zonaras had been. Attaleiates, for instance, employs μεταβολή in the sense of a change from better to worse: *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, 50 (14-15). μεταβολὴν τῶν ἔργων ἀνυπονόητον ἐπεδείξατο... δίκας ἀδίκους ἐπάγων...

<sup>55</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 26, 360 (7-8).

where it is stated that the empress had given her reply in the "unpolished manner of speech" (ἀγρουκικῶς ἔφησεν).<sup>56</sup>

It is interesting to observe that Zonaras' prescriptions on ὀρθοέπεια are not always followed by other contemporary historians and, in particular, by Glycas. Thus, while in the *Epitome* we find that ὀλκός (meaning aqueduct) should be given preference over the demotic ἀγωγός, Glycas uses the very term which Zonaras finds substandard Greek.<sup>57</sup> Below is a short list of some typical examples of differences between word choices in the histories of Zonaras and Glycas. The reader should bear in mind, though, that authors do not always use the same words and that Glycas did not write in simpler Greek throughout:

<i>Zonaras' Epitome</i> (ed. Pinder-Büttner-Wobst)	<i>Glycas' Biblos chronice</i> (ed. I. Bekker)
1. ἀκρατῶς [XIV, 21, 226 (17)]	πολλά <sup>58</sup> (plus a verb, eg. μισῶ,) πλεῖστα [IV, 528 (1)]
2. οἱ ἄσημοι [XIV, 17, 214 (3)]	οἱ κάτω <sup>59</sup> [IV, 520 (9)]
3. τὸ στρατιωτικὸν τὸ στράτευμα (XIV, 12, 184-5)	τὸ φουσσάτον <sup>60</sup> [IV, 508 (12)]

<sup>56</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, 91 (19-20).

<sup>57</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 16, 80 (11-12). ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐάλης τῇ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Χαλκηδόνος ὕλη εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ὀλκοῦ ἐχρήσατο ὕδατος, ὃν ἀγωγὸν ἢ δημῶδης ὀνομάζει φωνή. Glycas (IV, 473). ὁ μέντοι Οὐαλεντινιανὸς καὶ τὸν ἀγωγὸν ὀλοδόμησε. On the other hand Zonaras employs the word ἀγωγός twice in the *Epitome* [XIV, 10, 174 (8); 24, 238 (4)], in addition to his use of ὀλκός [XIII, 16, 80 (11); XIV, 6, 157 (16); XVII, 12, 581 (3)]. This raises the issue of whether he managed, or sought, to present a consistent literary style.

<sup>58</sup> This expression which is introduced by πολλά (serving here as an adverb and not an adjective), survives today, if we are right, in the Cypriot Greek dialect (e.g. in phrases like πολλά αγαπῶ etc.) The adverb πολλά was, apparently, formed in imitation of the superlative πλεῖστα and must have evolved as a term pertaining to the vocabulary of the vernacular at that time although it does occur rarely in classical literature in the sense of "very much", "too much".

<sup>59</sup> Οἱ κάτω refers to people of the lower class, the "insignificant" of Zonaras. The word survives (as a compound noun) in Modern Greek: παρακάτιανοί obviously derives from the adverb παρακάτω which again is a synonym of κάτω.

<sup>60</sup> Compare in Modern Greek το φουσσάτο meaning army, troops etc.

4. ἡ γαμετή [XIV, 2, 128 (17)]	ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως κυρά <sup>61</sup>
ἡ κοινωνὸς αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου	[IV, 484 (4)]
[XIV, 5, 151 (14)]	
5. σκώληκας ἀναβράσσεσθαι	κατασκωληκιάσας <sup>62</sup>
[XII, 34, 624 (17-18)]	[III, 457 (10-11)]
6. proper names or titles like:	
Τζιμισκῆς [XVI, 23, 496 (1)]	Τζιμισχῆς [IV, 623 (18-19)]
Τζαχᾶς [XVIII, 25, 736 (19)]	Τζακατζᾶς [IV, 620 (6)]
σουλτάν [XVIII, 11, 689 (11)]	σουλδάνος [IV, 548 (16)]
7. κλοπιμαῖος [III, 13, 255 (8)]	κλεψιμαῖος <sup>63</sup> [II, 319 (16)]
8. νόσος (almost always)	ἀρρωστία <sup>64</sup> [II, 354 (17)]
9. τὰ ἔγκατα [XIII, 11, 57 (9)]	τὰ ἔντερα <sup>65</sup> [II, 354 (18)]
10. (hardly occurs) <sup>66</sup>	ἡ ἀγία ψυχὴ [IV, 467 (15)]
11. τῷ θυμῷ ὑπερζέσας <sup>67</sup>	καχλάζει τῷ θυμῷ <sup>68</sup>
[XVII, 18, 608 (6-7)]	[IV, 519 (12)]

### Conclusion:

Our investigation leads us to the following conclusions with regard to the kind of language Zonaras employs in the *Epitome* :

<sup>61</sup> Κυρά as much as κυρ (short for κύριος or κύρης) both survive in Modern Greek. In this case κυρά is taken to mean simply the wife (e.g. in phrases like η κυρά μου) and is still considered as colloquial Greek.

<sup>62</sup> Compare σκουληκιάζω in Modern Greek meaning to get or to have worms and σκουληκισμένος meaning worm-eaten.

<sup>63</sup> κλοπιμαία is the standard word in Modern Greek for stolen goods but there also exists the term κλεψιμαίικος as colloquial for stolen.

<sup>64</sup> See also Glycas, *Biblos chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 358 (3). Glycas employs both words for "disease" but Zonaras consistently uses the term νόσος throughout the *Epitome* .

<sup>65</sup> Both words are used in Modern Greek. Ἐγκατα would now refer to the "depths" especially in the phrase τα ἔγκατα της γης meaning the depths of the earth. Likewise the expression μου βγήκαν τα ἔντερα refers to a similar incident described by Zonaras and Glycas.

<sup>66</sup> The phrase ἡ ἀγία ψυχὴ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου found in Glycas' history must have been a colloquial one surviving still in Modern Greek in expressions like η ψυχὴ , η ψυχούλα του etc. This is just a colourful way of referring to Constantine's person. Zonaras does not normally use the phrase, as far as we know, except for once when reporting a direct speech [III, 12, 251 (9)]. "ζῆ ἡ ψυχὴ σου, κύριέ μου"...

<sup>67</sup> Compare also Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 6, 549 (16). ἀναζέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ θυμῷ...

<sup>68</sup> Glycas' phrase survives in Modern Greek in expressions like κοχλάζω ἀπο θυμό meaning to boil, seethe with anger.



I. Like all his contemporary historians Zonaras resorts to standard phrases or formulas to say things which are constantly repeated time after time, for instance the accession of an emperor to the throne or the end of an emperor's reign etc. In doing this he, of course, adopts his own vocabulary and his own favourite expressions. We saw that again he resorts to perhaps less strictly defined phrases or clichés, but equally recurrent, in order to convey such issues as dying, killing, human emotions, disease symptoms or money expenditure.

II. With regard to his style of writing and syntactical preferences it would be fair to say that Zonaras avoids lengthy monologues and speeches in his narrative and that direct speech is employed considerably less often than indirect speech. Zonaras as a rule loves to indulge in a complex syntax which (as stated above) involves long periods entailing a series of infinitives and participles. He also prefers a subtle and ornate language, rich in figures of speech and subordinate clauses. He obviously does not like "the easy" and convenient way of composing in the fashion of a telegram like, in some cases, Glycas' style.

III. As far as his vocabulary is concerned, one should point out that its richness is directly related to the length and detail of a passage. Zonaras is usually extremely careful in selecting his wording which excludes almost entirely popular idioms and avoids terms or phrases of the vernacular. Often the case is that his choice of diction combines expressions found in other authors' narratives, especially Psellus' (whose linguistic style he must have admired): these are then modified and processed into Zonaras' own literary manner of writing, which is notably free from any slavish imitation.

IV. Finally one should not forget or underestimate the fact that Zonaras is writing in a language which was not spoken at his time. This consideration raises two points. First, Zonaras' historical narrative can

actually be placed at a comparable level of quality and high technique as that of other eminent eleventh-century and twelfth-century historians like Attaleiates, Anna Comnena or even Psellus who also wrote in a "dead" language. The effort and skill which is required for such ambitious, distinctive and refined style of writing is much greater, incidentally, than what is required for composition in a spoken language, however polished this latter might be. Second, as a consequence to the first point, we should warn against any attempts to liken the language of the *Epitome* with that of a certain classical or classicising prototype. Comparisons of this kind are, in our view, unrealistic in that they precisely overlook the fact that one cannot put side by side pieces of writing which are so broadly separated by time. Just as it would be wrong to compare Procopius with Thucydides, likewise it would make little sense representing as similar the language of Zonaras and that of Plutarch or Cassius Dio.

## CHAPTER III

### The Testimony of non-Historians

Twelfth-century Byzantium was marked by a flurry of activity on part of authors, both historians and non-historians. The latter were actually remarkably more prolific and, for this reason, a selection of their writings becomes difficult, though necessary, for the scholar who decides to study their language. In our investigation we have included the following writers and concentrated on certain works by them which, in our view, represent to a fair extent the cultural spirit of the Comnenian era.

a) The *letters* of John Tzetzes, his commentary on Aristophanes' *Nubes, Ranos, Aves, and Plutus* as well as his so-called *Chiliades* i.e. a lengthy compilation of historical but, above all, literary items of information in fifteen-syllable verses.<sup>1</sup> Tzetzes was basically a grammarian who flourished approximately a hundred years after Psellus<sup>2</sup> and is notorious for his authoritarian manner of composing grammatical instructions; he is also known for his sarcastic comments against his professional rivals.

b) The "translation" of Nicephorus Blemmydes' *Imperial Statue* into a simpler register of Greek by George Galesiotes and George Oinaïotes.<sup>3</sup> Blemmydes who flourished in the early thirteenth-century Nicaean empire was, apparently, more than a grammarian and rhetor as

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<sup>1</sup> Ioannes Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone, Teubner, 1972; Jo. Tzetzae, *Commentarii in Aristophanem* fasc. I-III (L. M. Positano, D. Holwerda, W. J. W. Koster, eds.), Groningen/Amsterdam, 1960-62; Ioannis Tzetzae, *Historiarum Variarum Chiliades*, ed. Th. Kiessling, Hildesheim, 1963.

<sup>2</sup> Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, XI, 720. ἡμῶν πρὸ χρόνων ἑκατὸν ἀκμάζων ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

<sup>3</sup> H. Hunger-Ih. Sevcenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaïotes*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, Band XVIII, Wien, 1986.

he also had developed an interest in philosophy. The *Imperial Statue* was addressed by Blemmydes when he was a monk to the young emperor Theodore II Lascaris (1254-58), who was his student at that time. The translation was made early in the fourteenth century and the reason we chose a later work in our discussion is simply because there is no comparable metaphrasis of a secular work in the twelfth century.

c) The *epistles* and *orations* of Nicephorus Basilaces together with his *rhetorical exercises*.<sup>4</sup> Basilaces was a clergyman, performer of rhetoric and Teacher of the Psalter (διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου). He flourished from c. 1135 to 1157.

d) The *epistles* and *orations* of George Tornices.<sup>5</sup> These works by Tornices (which include his funeral oration on Anna Comnena) were produced during a brief period of his life between c. 1146 and 1156. In 1155 Tornices was ordained bishop of Ephesus.

e) The *epistles* and *orations* of Michael Italicus.<sup>6</sup> Italicus is said to have been Teacher of the Gospel (διδάσκαλος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου) in c. 1142. He was probably born during the last decade of the eleventh century and worked as a tutor of rhetoric and philosophy. He became metropolitan of Philippopolis in c. 1143; he was the rival of N. Basilaces and the instructor of Theodore Prodromus.

In their general comments concerning the use of a proper style these authors make more or less the same statements which historians mention in their historical introductions. They all agree that literary perfection should combine elegance with precision. The paramount importance of linguistic dexterity and high rhetorical performance is pressed with consistency, whereas illiteracy and generally incompetence

<sup>4</sup> Nicephori Basilacae, *Orationes et Epistolae*, ed. A. Garzya, Teubner, 1984; Niceforo Basilace, *Progimnasmii e Monodie*, ed. A. Pignani, Napoli, 1983.

<sup>5</sup> George et Demetrios Tornikes, *Lettres et Discours*, ed. J. Darrouzes, Paris, 1970.

<sup>6</sup> Michel Italikos, *Lettres et Discours*, ed. P. Gautier, Archives de l' Orient Chretien, Paris, 1972.

to write and express oneself properly in Greek, are thought to bring shame and aversion. "Just as the space before Plato's door is said to have had the inscription *no-one ignorant of geometry is allowed*", Tzetzes playfully writes, "likewise over my threshold there stands an invisible inscription warning with silent wording against any intruder who is uneducated, incapable of learning, rash and uncultured".<sup>7</sup> Tzetzes' discontent about contemporary lack of erudition is best expressed in his iambic verses when he complains about the degradation of the quality of teaching which young students receive from "ungrammatical instructors":

If someone should make a slight error,  
 be he a cobbler, food-preserved, or low-born worker,  
 or a dung carrier, someone who meddles with foul smell,  
 he is rebuked and called a bad man;  
 yet with regard to rhetoric, things are quite opposite  
 because all who are unskilled and make spelling errors,  
 people brought up in loathsome, disreputable dwellings,  
 versed in the games which tavern-keepers play,  
 burglars and pickpockets,  
 these people are thought to be much greater experts,  
 and they worm their way into the palace while  
 the Senate acclaims: so much then for erudition.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Epistulae* 71 (12-18). ὡς γὰρ παρὰ προθύροις ἀκούω γεγράφθαι τοῖς Πλάτωνος· μηδεὶς εἰσὶτω ἀγεωμέτρητος, οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς προθύροις ἄγραφον ἐγκεχάρακται τι ἐπίγραμμα ἀγλώσσω λόγῳ βοῶν· τὴν Τζέτζου θύραν μηδεὶς εἰσὶτω δυσπαιδευτῶν, δυστράχηνος, θρασὺς καὶ ἀνάγωγος ἄνθρωπος. See also *Chiliades* VIII, 972-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Iambi* (Kiessling), 511 (35-46).

Εἴ τις παραπταίσειεν εἰς βραχὺ μέρος,  
 Σκυτεὺς, ταριχεύς, δυσγενὴς ἐργάτης,  
 Καὶ κοπραγωγῶν τῶν δυσόδμων ἐργάτης,  
 Τωθάζεται τε καὶ κακὸς κλήσιν φέρει·  
 Τὰ τῶν λόγων ἔχει δὲ πᾶν τούναντίον·  
 Ὅσοι γὰρ εἰσι τῶν ἀτέχνων, βαρβάρων,  
 Στέγαις τε πορνῶν δυσγενῶς τεθραμμένοι  
 Καὶ ταῖς καπήλων παιδιαῖς ἡσκημένοι,  
 Τοιχωρυχοῦντες καὶ τομεῖς βαλαντίων,  
 Μᾶλλον δοκοῦσι τεχνικὸν πεφυκέναι,  
 Παρεισφοροῦνται δ' εἰς ἀνάκτορα κρότοις  
 Συγκλητικοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ λόγους.

In essence these complaints remind us of Zonaras' words in the *Epitome* XIII, 16, 78 (11-12) where he asserts that "once men of letters were befriended by emperors and would accompany them in court, where are they now"? To return to the statements which non-historians make about the use of proper language one should certainly consider Tzetzes' guidelines. They include: a) accuracy of diction (ἀκριβῶς τὰ τῆς τέχνης, presumably the equivalent of ὀρθοέπεια), b) grandeur and weight of style (μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ ὄγκος), c) elegance (ὠραιότης), d) brevity (συντομία), and e) credibility (πιθανότης).<sup>9</sup> The reader will remember that Zonaras also points to the importance of c and d above in his introduction.<sup>10</sup> Contrary to the rules of good prose, according to Tzetzes, is the writing of an amateur author (μειρακιῶδες) or a poor and low style (χαμερπές).

Moreover, Nicephorus Basilaces in his introduction which precedes his orations accepts the view that garrulity should be avoided as a dangerous vice (οὐ χρὴ πολυλογεῖν· ἀμαρτοεπέες γὰρ τὸ πολύμυθον) while he emphasizes the significance of linguistic elegance. "I think it is a characteristic of coarse art not to use words for pleasure or to disregard the rules of grammar altogether", he says.<sup>11</sup> Like Tzetzes he takes pride in his own personal style and speaks of a "Basilacean" manner of writing which is comparable to Gorgias' sophistic prose.<sup>12</sup> "Let the young lovers of art reap the fruits of my labours as if they were flowers of a blooming meadow", he writes.<sup>13</sup> Basilaces is a bitter critic of his professional rivals who envy him because "being the foes of the Graces, they compose ridiculous prose, breaching the rules of syntax a good many times and

<sup>9</sup> Tzetzes, *Epistulae* 129 (23)-130 (1-6).

<sup>10</sup> See our chapter on the comparison of Zonaras' *prooimion* with those of other historians.

<sup>11</sup> Basilaces, *Orationes et Epistolae* 3 (19-21). ἀγλευκῆς γάρ μοι ἐδόκει...καὶ τέχνης ἀξέστου τὸ μὴ ξὺν ἡδονῇ λέγειν ἢ καὶ ὄλως ὑποβαρβαρίζειν.

<sup>12</sup> *op. cit.*; 3 (29-30). τὸ βασιλακίζειν ἐν σχεδοπλόκοις, ὡς πάλαι τὸ γοργιάζειν ἐν σοφισταῖς.

<sup>13</sup> *op. cit.*, 3 (7-8). ἀποδρέψαιντο δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλοπονίας ὡς εὐανθοῦς λειμῶνος οὐκ ὀλίγα τῆς εὐμουσίας ἄνθη καὶ ὅση νεότης φιλόμουσος...

this despite their promises to teach the skills of grammar, which pursues elegance of style and correct language".<sup>14</sup> Again one is reminded of Zonaras' attack on certain historians who "wrote in extremely simple manner, committing solecisms, using substandard vocabulary or, sometimes, spelling words wrongly".<sup>15</sup>

In his funeral oration on Anna Comnena George Tornices mentions that the former had a great admiration for Aristotle's prose, which displayed elegance, grandeur, noble ideas and excess of wit. These were, apparently, thought by the Byzantines to be the characteristics of proper style.<sup>16</sup> Michael Italicus in a letter to Theodore Prodromus compliments his own and Prodromus' literary accomplishments and asserts that they both adorn their narrative with the qualities of harmony (ἄρμονία), melody (μέλος), and change (μεταβολή) and that "there are times when elegance permeates all our ideas and shines with delicacy and occasionally we become versed in a linguistic *mimesis* of Demosthenes, now emulating Isocrates and the sweetness of Herodotus, then reflecting the seriousness of Thucydides".<sup>17</sup> Behind these sonorous phrases, which in Italicus at least are commonplaces,<sup>18</sup> one can discern a keen interest in a refined writing and a strong desire to rival successfully the classical models of historiography and rhetoric. Both historians and non-historians agree that writers of great narrative power should be able to combine philosophy with practical eloquence.<sup>19</sup> We come now to

<sup>14</sup> *op. cit.*, 3 (32-34). τοῖς τῶν χαρίτων ἐχθοῦσι, ...καὶ γελοίοις τὴν πλοκὴν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ὑποσολοίκοις, καὶ ταῦτα γραμματικὴν ἐπαγγελλομένοις ἐκπαιδεύειν, ἥς τὸ εὖ λέγειν καὶ ὀρθοεπεῖν ἐπιτήδευμα.

<sup>15</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome Praef.* 6 (18-20).

<sup>16</sup> G. Tornices, *Lettres et Discours* 287 (18-19). θαυμάζουσα δὲ καὶ τὸ κομψὸν τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γλώττης καὶ τὸ σεμνόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν νοημάτων τὸ ὑψηλόν, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶνουν...

<sup>17</sup> *op. cit.*, 60 (27-31). καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἡμῖν ἔστι μὲν οὖν διὰ πασῶν ἥκει τῶν ἰδεῶν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀβρότητας ἀπαστράπτει, ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ ἐντριβόμεθα, τὸ μὲν τὸν Παιανιέα μιμούμενοι, τὸ δὲ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην ζηλοῦντες καὶ τὴν Ἡροδότου γλυκύτητα μετὰ τοῦ στρυφνοῦ τῆς Θουκυδίδου σεμνότητος παρεμφαίνοντες.

<sup>18</sup> cf. letter 18, *op. cit.*, 158 (20-23).

<sup>19</sup> Compare Tornices, *op. cit.*, 61 (1) and Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, XLI, 137 (17-23).

examine certain aspects of the language which non-historians employ in their private correspondence, public orations or grammatical treatises. Most of them resort to figures of speech, wordplay, puns etc., that the reader will also encounter in *Zonaras' Epitome* :

1) **Use of Wordplay.** In the preface of his rhetorical pamphlet Nicephorus Basilaces makes an interesting statement: "because young people as a rule are prone to laughter and love pleasantries and facetious utterances, I also diverged into comical writing...just as Solon in his early years occupied himself with poetry in a jocose rather than earnest manner and modified his metres with an intention to please more than to be useful".<sup>20</sup> All this despite the opposition of "our theosophy", meaning the teachings of the Church, which at the time acted like a brake on writers' humorous disposition. It is the religious education which Basilaces was brought up with and its instruction regarding a Christian life which "allows people to weep but not to laugh" that made him burn all his satirical compositions. It looks though as if he regretted his decision because, as he boastfully admits, they contained a good many phrases of refined Attic prose suggesting a wide learning and a graceful writing talent.

Basilaces' introductory statement is significant in that it attributes, partly at least, the motive behind this playful frame of mind which 12th-century Byzantine authors adopt to a consistent and keen demand on part of young readers who are extremely fond of wordplay. Regarding this art it is useful to quote a confidential as well as professional secret mentioned by Tzetzes in his *Chiliades* . When talking about the Byzantine name Serblias, Tzetzes points out that it can either be derived from Servilius or, if one is writing *psogos*, from "Serb Elias" (i.e. Serblias could refer to a Serb whose name is Elijah)! This intentional paretyymology is

<sup>20</sup> Basilaces, *Praef.* 4 (11-15). ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ νέον ὡς ἐπίπαν φιλογελῶν καὶ ἀστεῖσμοῦ καὶ φιλοπαίγμοσύνης ἦπτον, καὶ εἰς τὸ κωμικὸν τοῦ λόγου ἐξεκυλίσθη...οὕτω καὶ Σόλων ἔτι νεάζων ποιήσει ἐδεδώκει μᾶλλον παίζων ἢ σπουδάζων, καὶ εἰς ἡδονὴν πλέον ἤπερ εἰς ὠφέλειαν τὰ μέτρα ἐρρύθμιζε.



simply a manifestation of the "aptitude of a versatile linguist to handle praise or slander in a befitting manner with respect to proper names, etc."<sup>21</sup> Tzetzes actually has created a number of jokes using this kind of wordplay. A good example is when he discusses the use of abstract nouns like, for instance, Horsiness or Humanity, a subject which had been treated also by Antisthenes. One can see the species of a genus such as horses or men but not the abstract idea or type of which they are species. "Quite right Antisthenes"! Tzetzes goes on, "for I, in my part, am unable to discern humanity not even in the patriarchs; for they are quicker thieves than quicksilver".<sup>22</sup> The wordplay here works with the double definition of the term "humanity" meaning on one hand mankind collectively and the kind feelings of man, his humaneness, on the other.

Whatever one thinks of Tzetzes as a grammarian and linguist one cannot deny him the talent of a good punster. At some point in the *Chiliades* he discusses several forms of linguistic imitation and gives examples of parody. He quotes a verse from Homer where the latter refers to a medley of races speaking a Babel of languages. Tzetzes drawing the analogy between this Homeric crowd and the multinational inhabitants of 12th-century Constantinople, changes the phrase πολύκλητοι ἄνδρες (men called from many a land) into πολύκλεπτοι ἄνδρες (notorious thieves) which is a pun aimed against his contemporaries.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Tzetzes, *Chiliades* VII, 299-305: Τοῦτο γὰρ ῥήτορος ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀμφιτερογλώσσου,  
Καὶ πράγμασι καὶ κλήσεσι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁμοίως  
Πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ ψόγον δὲ κεχρῆσθαι συμφερόντως.

The paretymology concerning Serblias works as a parody of his name: Servilius > Serblias < Serb (Servus) Elias.

<sup>22</sup> Tzetzes, *Chiliades* VII, 606-611. The joke with quicksilver works, presumably, on the hypothesis that both quicksilver and these patriarchs whom Tzetzes slanders as thieves move equally very fast!

<sup>23</sup> Tzetzes, *Chiliades* XIII, 356-369.

Ἄλλὰ γλῶσσ' ἐμέμικτο, πολύκλητοι δ' ἔσαν ἄνδρες.

Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεξα καὶ ταῦτα παρωδήσας.

Οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἐστὶν ὁμὸς θρόος, οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς,

Ἄλλὰ γλῶσσα μέμικται, πολύκλεπτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἄνδρες

Οἱ πόλιν γὰρ τὴν ἀνασσαν ναίοντες Κωνσταντίνου,

Elsewhere Tzetzes resorts to an interesting wordplay when he personally sets upon his antagonists who "steal" from his writings and ideas, and without acknowledging their source, i.e. Tzetzes, they profit by what is not theirs: "with the exception of one or two...they all are extremely ungrateful to me...at best they admit that they found this in the writings of an uncle; God, however, does know whom they are calling an uncle".<sup>24</sup> The pun apparently works only in Greek where the same word *θεῖος* can refer to two things simultaneously, as a noun to the brother of one's father or mother and as an adjective qualifying the noun *φύσις* to God or His divine nature. The next example is taken from Tzetzes' *scholia* on Aristophanes' *Plutus* where the grammarian gives an elaborate definition plus etymology for the word *κοτύλη* (a liquid measure) and adds: "I would have written a lengthier explanation about this and the rest but I see that I have reached the end of this page, so I grudgingly write even these brief notes for you; for your memory is unable to retain all the details. Indeed as *my Scripture* reads, *you hate both myself and my father*".<sup>25</sup> The subtle wordplay involved here works on the metaphorical interpretation of Jesus' words in the Bible which are now taken to refer to Tzetzes acting as the father of his writings and furthermore portrayed as the object of the hatred on part of the ignorant.

To give one last example of wordplay from Tzetzes we will examine at his analysis of an Aristophanic phrase in the *Nubes*. In Aristophanes' play (1178-91) there is a dialogue between Pheidippides and Strepsiades about payment of debts on the last day of the month. The day is in Greek called *ἔνη τε καὶ νέα ἡμέρα*, i.e. a day that is old and

<sup>24</sup> *Scholia* in Aristophanes' *Ranes* (843a, 935-6). *πάρεξ δύο τινῶν...οἱ πάντες ἐμοὶ ἀγνωμονέστατοι...οἱ μετριώτεροι δὲ εἰς θεῖου αὐτῶν συγγραφᾶς εὐρεῖν τοῦτο λέγουσιν· ἡ θεία δὲ τότε συνοιδε φύσις, τίνα θεῖον οὗτοι καλοῦσι...*

<sup>25</sup> *Scholia* on Aristophanes' *Plutus* (436, 111). *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξηγήσει γράφειν ἡδυνάμην, ἀλλὰ τὴν σελίδα ταύτην τοῦ χάρτου τερματωθεῖσαν ὄρω, καὶ ὀκνηρῶς δὲ ὑμῖν γράφω καὶ τὰ βραχέα ταυτί· τὰ πολλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα βαστάζειν οὐ δύνασθε, ὅτι μού φησιν ἡ Γραφή· μεμισήκατε καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου.*

new. "Old and New" in reality was a current expression familiar to everybody. *Hene kai nea*, however, cannot be the name of a single day, according to Strepsiades' sophistic reasoning, since to call a day "old and new" is to contradict oneself. The expression must then denote two days, *hene* and *nea*, of which the latter is evidently the New Moon, the first day of the month and *hene* the day preceding it. Now Tzetzes, who comments on these lines, takes the opportunity to create a pun. "Is there a Diocletian day as such?" he asks, "a day with two names? so that, like St. Paul who played a Jew with the Jews and a Greek with the Greeks, I, Tzetzes, should appear amusing to those who love playing and comical to the lovers of comedy".<sup>26</sup> A "Diocletian day" (διοκλητιανή ημέρα) can (with change of vowel) refer to a day "with two names" but can also playfully allude to the name of the emperor Diocletian who had, naturally, nothing in common with the above discussion.

The reader will remember that according to Tzetzes' maxim a dexterous rhetorician can play with proper names, employing either praise or slander depending on how he feels about the person in question. Zonaras occasionally resorted to this kind of wordplay, mostly to convey irony, in his historical narrative and so did the non-historians in their own writings. With the exception of Tzetzes, George Tornices, Nicephorus Basilaces and Michael Italicus worked on the etymology of proper names with the sole purpose of praising a certain individual.<sup>27</sup> Thus Tornices elaborates on Andronicus Comnenus' name (cousin of the emperor Manuel Comnenus) and addresses him with the words: "you are the only one to bear your name worthily".<sup>28</sup> He does this once more with

<sup>26</sup> *Scholia* in Aristophanes' *Nubes* (1178, 647). παραγράφεται τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκ τῆς διπλῆς αὐτῆς κλήσεως λέγων· τί φῆς, ὦ πάτερ; ἔστι τις ἡμέρα διοκλητιανὴ καὶ κλήσεις ἔχουσα δύο, ἓνα καὶ Τζέτζης, ὡς Παῦλος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς Ἕλλην, τοῖς παίζουσιν ὡς παίζων καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς ὡς κωμικὸς φαίνοιτο γράφων.

<sup>27</sup> With certain rare exceptions. cf. Tornices, *Lettres et Discours*, 209 (19-20). κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνευγενεστάτου Παντευγένου.

<sup>28</sup> Tornices, *Lettres et Discours*, 111 (4). ὦ μόνε φερωνύμως Ἀνδρόνικε.

respect to Nicephorus Bryennius, the historian and husband of Anna Comnena. "His name clearly bears the victories which he gained against all", he writes.<sup>29</sup> Likewise Basilaces commending the *orphanotrophus* Alexius Aristenus highly, makes the following point: "who is ignorant of those Aristenoi who were given as their names the very things they became or rather became the very things they had been previously called? Men who are called most excellent but who demonstrate in their deeds the most excellent virtue no less? Men who are really superior and who do not belie the superiority of their appellation? Men who do not bear their name in vain so that even if it had not yet been agreed by the experts in such matters that we assign names to things on the basis of the things' nature, at any rate in the case of these individuals they would have assigned this particular set of names to nature".<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere in one of his rhetorical exercises devoted to Sophocles, Basilaces comments that the former "confirmed with his own deeds the wisdom displayed in his name".<sup>31</sup> Finally when the word is about the logothete Meles (Μέλης) Italicus gracefully compares the former's eloquence with the sweetness of honey (μέλι).<sup>32</sup>

On the other hand Tzetzes has worked on some very witty etymological puns using proper names but his aim is to create a pleasurable excitement for his readers. A classic example is found in one

<sup>29</sup> *op. cit.*, 253 (21-22). ὅλος κατὰ πάντων ἐν πᾶσι φερωνύμως φέρων τὰ νικητήρια.

<sup>30</sup> Basilaces, *Orationes et Epistolae*, 14 (25-31). ἢ τίς οὐκ οἶδε τοὺς Ἀριστηνοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο κληθέντας ὃ γεγόνασιν ἢ γεγενημένους ὃ προεκλήθησαν; τοὺς ὡς μὲν τὴν κλῆσιν ἀρίστους ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀποφερομένους τὸ ἀριστον, ἀρίστους ὄντας τῶ ὄντι καὶ τὴν ἀριστωνυμίαν μὴ ψευδομένους καὶ μὴ μάτην φοροῦντας τοῦνομα, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μήπω τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινοῖς ὀνοματοθετεῖν ἐκ γε τῆς φύσεως ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τῇ φύσει πάντως ἂν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀπένειμαν. The reference is to the theory found in e.g. Plato's *Cratylus* that words are not mere conventional tokens for the things they stand for but express their natures and that there is deep wisdom in etymology. "The experts in such matters" are philosophers.

<sup>31</sup> Basilaces, *Progimnasmii et Monodie*, 105 (32-3). καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας σοφὸν ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐβεβαίωσε.

<sup>32</sup> Italicus, *Lettres et Discours*, 165 (1-4); 168 (16-18). Note the wordplay involved: Διὰ τοῦτό μοι μάλλον τῶν ἄλλων μέλει τοῦ Μέλῆτος καὶ ὅτι μέλιτος γλυκύτερον ἀποστάζει χυμὸν καὶ ὅτι τούτῳ μέλει τῶν ἡμετέρων ὡς οὐκ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἰδίων ἐμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ μέλει καὶ σοῦ τῷ Θεῷ...

of his letters where he makes a fierce attack on a certain deacon, Maniaces, culminating in the following: "let Maniaces be cured of his mania...and let him become *maniaces*, instead of accenting the penult, let him accent the last syllable and become a true instead of a false bearer of his name".<sup>33</sup> This pun presumably works through the combination of words such as *μανία* (madness) and *ἄκος* (cure) in which case the name *Μανιακῆς* would refer to a cured maniac. Two more similar examples can be traced in the *Chiliades*. In the first instance there is a wordplay involved between Aeschines, the name of the Athenian orator, and *αἰσχύνη* (shame) and, secondly, the sexual joke concerning the name Antiope which works with the exploitation of the noun *ὀπή* (hole) in connection with a woman's genitals (in fact the joke involves not only the genitals).<sup>34</sup>

Occasionally, however, Tzetzes adopts a more serious approach to name etymology. Thus he opens his letter to Alexius Pantechnes with the words: "My sweet Alexius, you prove the truth of your own name by your works, the name which you were not given accidentally but quite deservedly, for you contrive and devise every possible thing..."<sup>35</sup> The Greek reads *πάντα γὰρ μηχανᾷ καὶ πάντα τεχνᾷ* a phrase by itself contained in the name *Παντεχνῆς*. Yet Tzetzes could not help introducing one more joke: Pantechnes, he says, is not the kind of philosopher who wears long hair, artfully unassuming, but pursues true philosophy, not savageness: *οὐ τοιαύτην μετέρχη φιλοσοφίαν αὐτός, ἢ πλέον φιλοβαρβάραν εἰπεῖν δριμέως τε καὶ ἀστείως...* Tzetzes sees an

<sup>33</sup> Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, 155 (12-14). ἀκεσθήτω τῆς μανίας ὁ Μανιάκης,...καὶ γενέσθω μανιακῆς ἀντὶ τοῦ βαρυτόνου ὀξύτονου, ἀντὶ ψευδωνύμου φερώνυμος.

<sup>34</sup> Tzetzes, *Chiliades* VI, 196 (10-15) and VI, 197 (42-5). Ἀντίοπη...ἡ ἄμφω ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆ μίξει κεχρημένη.

<sup>35</sup> Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, 134 (11-14). Ὁ γλυκὺς μου Ἀλέξιος, τὴν σὴν ἐπώνυμον κλήσιν ἐξ ἔργων ὄντως δεικνύεις ἐπαληθίζουσαν καὶ φερωνύμως ἐπιτεθεῖσαν σοι, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆν ἄλλως οὐδὲ εἰκῆ· πάντα γὰρ μηχανᾷ καὶ πάντα τεχνᾷ...

opportunity for jokes everywhere. Apparently the comical opposite of φιλοσοφία would be φιλοβαρβάρια!

II) **Use of Linguistic Formulas.** Like the historians so also the non-historians have broadly used standard expressions, cliché phrases, proverbs or rhetorical variants in their writings. We have listed below some of the most frequently recurring ones classified under each author and quoted, whenever possible, an equivalent expression from Zonaras' *Epitome* or from the text of another historian.

A. (1) Expressions occurring in Nicephorus Basilaces' works:

1. ὁ φθόνος οὕτω πολὺς πνεύσας : "hatred breathed with such fury".<sup>36</sup> Compare also *Epitome* XIV, 7, 158 (17).

2. Ὡς οὖν σὺ μὲν ὁ τῷ ὄντι σοφὸς ἐφαρμάκευες οἱ δ' ἀσπίδες ἦσαν τὰ ὦτα βύοντες καὶ μὴ δεχόμενοι τὰ ἐπάσματα : "you on the one hand, being truly wise, were purging them while they acted like snakes plugging their ears and not accepting the incantations".<sup>37</sup> This piece of text is important because it actually has its duplicate in the *Epitome* XV, 3, 260 (16-17) where we read : ὁ δὲ ὡσεὶ ἀσπίς ἔβυε τὰ ὦτα καὶ φωνῆς ἐπαδόντων οὐκ ἤκουεν οὐδ' ἐφαρμακεύετο παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν. The idea owes a lot to snake hypnotism where upon hearing the right formula of words said or sung the snake, compelled by the spell of its enchanter, obeys him patiently. The same idea can be manifested, in a metaphorical sense, in a variety of expressions involving not snakes this time but humans. "To enchant somebody's hearing" is, for instance, a phrase occurring in Basilaces' works<sup>38</sup> and indeed in Zonaras. The latter uses it in connection with the charming eloquence (ἕγγας) of the emperor Constantine I, who captivated the hearing of his listeners.<sup>39</sup> Moreover

<sup>36</sup> Basilaces, *Orationes et Epistolae*, Praef., 4 (4).

<sup>37</sup> *op. cit.*, 58 (25-26).

<sup>38</sup> Basilaces, *Progimnasmii et Monodie*, 101 (4-5). λόγοις κατακηλοῦσα τὰς ἀκοάς.

<sup>39</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 4, 25 (15-16). καὶ τινὰς ἕγγας προσεῖναι αὐτῇ κατακηλοῦσας τὰς τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἀκοάς.

Michael Italicus makes use of the same formula in a letter to Theodore Prodromus whose magic tongue (ἡ μαγικὴ ἴυγξ) enchants the writer's speech and hearing. "When I happen to hear your voice from somewhere even one or two words", he says, "I feel as if I am led away".<sup>40</sup>

3. καχλάζοντι τῷ τοῦ γέλωτος...βρασμῷ : bursting from laughter.<sup>41</sup> Glycas has a similar expression involving anger (καχλάζει τῷ θυμῷ IV, 519, 12).

4. ἵππος εἰς πεδίον κροαίνων, παροιμισαίμην ἄν εὐκαίρως : "Just as a horse stamping in a field, I should say".<sup>42</sup> Compare Zonaras' XVII, 5, 545 (17-18): ὁ ἵππος τοῦ Σκληροῦ...ἐκρόαινε ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Psellus used a similar expression about Maniaces' horse [ II, LXXXV, 6 (1)]: καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἐλευθέρῳ ποδὶ ἀτάκτως ἀνὰ τὸ μεταίχμιον ἔθει...

5. τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδεῶς κατεχόρευσε : "He openly insulted the Church".<sup>43</sup> Compare Zonaras XV, 24, 350 (3-4): ἀσεβῶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκράτησεν. Also XV, 6, 269 (14): ἀσεβῶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατορχησάμενος.

6. ἡ δὲ σοι χεῖρ ποταμὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ χρυσορροῶς ὁ Πακτωλὸς καὶ πενήτων πρυτανεῖον ἀδάπανον<sup>44</sup> : "Your hand proved to be that gold-flowing Pactolus and a free public banquet chamber for the poor". This phrase is a classic of its kind and has its equivalent in most historians, as we saw, including Zonaras, who, when the narrative is about St. John the Almsgiver, bishop of Alexandria, points out that the man was actually richer in gold than the river Pactolus.<sup>45</sup> This is because Pactolus "is said to be providing the miners with just grains of gold whereas John was spending whole talents on the poor". In a similar manner Tornices

<sup>40</sup> Italicus, *Lettres et Discours*, 63 (28-30). τὴν μαγικὴ ἴυγγα, τὴν σὴν λέγω γλωτταν, ἡ καταθέγει μου καὶ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὴν ἀκοήν, καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσω ποθὲν καὶ βραχὺ τι τῆς σῆς ἡχοῦς, αἰσθάνομαι πως ἀγόμενος.

<sup>41</sup> *op. cit.*, *Praef.*, 4 (30). Compare also 15 (5). τὴν γλωτταν καχλάζοντες.

<sup>42</sup> *op. cit.*, *Praef.*, 8 (19). Also in *Progimnasmi et Monodie* 72 (1-2). ὁ ἵππος...κατὰ λειμῶνα ἐκρόαινε.

<sup>43</sup> *op. cit.*, 19 (17).

<sup>44</sup> *op. cit.*, 34 (15-17). The allusion is to the practice of giving free meals to deserving citizens, e.g. Olympic victors, in the πρυτανεῖον, town hall.

<sup>45</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, V, 145 (4-8).

speaking of the generosity of the metropolitan of Athens thanks him for "distributing gold like water".<sup>46</sup> Apparently the idea of the flowing of gold could also be exploited in connection with person's linguistic talents and John Chrysostom is the most obvious candidate. Basilaces reports about him that "his writings were dripping grains of gold as if from a golden fountain".<sup>47</sup> It comes as no surprise to find in some of Basilaces' rhetorical texts, such as the one dedicated to the story of the mythical king Midas, expressions immediately connected with money or avarice. These expressions include the following: φιλοχρηματίας ἄρχειν (to be above money), τοῦτο (i.e. φιλοχρηματίαν) νοσῶν (to have a weakness for money),<sup>48</sup> φόροι δύσφοροι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπεφορτίζοντο (unbearable taxes were imposed on the people) etc.

Noteworthy is the passage in Basilaces' exercise narrating the lesson which Midas had to learn when to his frustration he discovered that, according to his wishes, all his food had become gold. It reminds us very much of a similar passage in Zonaras and other historians, where the Persian king Chosroes, when captured and imprisoned by his son Siroes, was offered, as a form of punishment for his avarice, gold and precious stones instead of a meal.<sup>49</sup> Both the idea and, to an extent, the wording were seemingly common in historiography and in the works of rhetoric.

7. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκείνοις μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν κάτω ταύτην καὶ φαινομένην Ἱερουσαλήμ ἀκριβῶς ἐξελέανας, σαυτῷ δ' ἑτέραν θειοτέραν

<sup>46</sup> Tornices, *Lettres et Discours*, 121 (7-8). ὅτι σοι κατὰ ποταμὸν αἱ χεῖρες τὸν χρυσοῦν βρέουσι. Compare also 170, 9; 239, 20-21.

<sup>47</sup> Basilaces, *Orationes et Epistolae*, 41 (25-27). Compare also Zonaras' *Epitome* XIII, 20, 96 (7-8). ἃ τῆς ἐκεῖνου χρυσέας γλώττης ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς ἐξεστὶν ἀκούειν διηγουμένης.

<sup>48</sup> The verb νοσῶ is often used in a periphrasis either in connection with money, like here, to show a weakness for it or some other situation usually to denote an unpleasant state of affairs. Compare e.g. Zonaras' *Epitome* XI, 22, 512 (23). ὅσα ἐάλωσαν πρότερον ἀποστασίαν ἐνόσησαν.

<sup>49</sup> Basilaces, *Progymnasmata et Monodie*, 84 (48-54); *Epitome* XIV, 16, 211 (3-8). Compare also Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, I, 734 (13-15).



ὁδὸν καὶ μάλα εὐρεῖαν ἀνέωξας, τὴν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ δηλαδὴ τὴν ἄνω καὶ ἱερὰν.<sup>50</sup> "you, Oh emperor, have clearly smoothed away for them the road which leads to this lower and visible Jerusalem, but for yourself you have paved another wider road and more divine, namely the one which leads to the upper and holy Jerusalem". The issue of the distinction between two Jerusalems, the lower and the upper, occurs twice in the writings of Zonaras. In the *Epitome* it is associated with the legend of the last Roman emperor and Zonaras mentions it in connection with Alexius I Comnenus. Basilaces is here doing the same with regard to Alexius' son and successor, John Comnenus.<sup>51</sup> Apparently it was an established literary formula (deriving probably from homiletic and hagiography) which 12th-century authors made free use of.<sup>52</sup>

8. σὺ δὲ ὁ ἐμὸς πατριάρχης καὶ Ἰακώβ, ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνιον. εἰς τόπον χλόης ἐξῆγγες καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ ἀναπαύσεως, τὸν ἱερὸν τῆς γραφῆς λέγω λειμῶνα, τὸν πᾶσι καλοῖς χλοάζοντα καὶ σοφία ξυμπάση περίρρυτον<sup>53</sup>: "Yet you, my patriarch and Jacob, at what cost did you not lead Christ's folk to a grazing land and to relieving waters, I mean the sacred meadow of the Scriptures which grows all good things and is watered by all kinds of wisdom". You can tell a shepherd by the kind of pasture-land that he chooses for his sheep. The good one chooses a green and fertile grazing ground; on the contrary, a bad shepherd leads his folk to dangerous and dry lands. Metaphorically speaking this works with regard to pastors and prelates and, as an idea, it must have been in use by authors of sermons etc. Originally, of course, it sprung from the

<sup>50</sup> *op. cit.*, 56 (12-15).

<sup>51</sup> Compare Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 28, 760 (15-18); also Papadopoulos-Kerameus V, 150 (5-10).

<sup>52</sup> Compare also Michael Italicus, *Lettres et Discours* 72, 19-20. τὴν νοητὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανῷ.

<sup>53</sup> Basilaces, *Orationes et Epistolae*, 82 (16-19).

Bible and in particular from the Psalms of David.<sup>54</sup> Zonaras in his sermon on Sophronius of Jerusalem speaks of venal, unworthy bishops who "led their sheep to pernicious and poisonous pasture-lands giving them turbid water to drink".<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, Michael Italicus uses the same formula in his sermon to patriarch Michael Kourkouas where he writes : καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ποίμινε εἰς τόπον χλόης καὶ ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως.<sup>56</sup> Again when addressing the patriarch Leon Stypes, Italicus half complainingly states: "Father, I know the kind of crosier you hold, it strikes gently yet it leads to a grazing land. Nevertheless it is not a severely chastising crosier, for I must speak the truth; it quenches our thirst but not with relieving waters (ὕδωρ οὐκ ἀναπαύσεως), it uses encouraging words so that neither what is sour (στυφόν) is left unsoothed, nor what is soothing becomes separated from bitterness".<sup>57</sup> Leon Stypes' crosier is a little further compared to Moses' staff and, if we are right, there must be some intentional wordplay between Stypes' name (Στυπής) and bitterness (στυφελόν-στυφόν) or στυπτηρία (astringent salt) which Italicus cleverly exploits.

#### A. (2) Proverbs occurring in Nicephorus Basilaces' Works:

ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς καλάμης τὴν ἄνθην ἂν τις τεκμήραιτο : "you can tell a blossom by the stem of a plant".<sup>58</sup>

ἀπὸ τῆς κάλυκος τὸ ρόδον ἐθαύμασα, ἀπὸ τοῦ κόχλου τὴν πορφύραν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλύτρων τὸν μάργαρον : "to admire a rose from its calyx, a

<sup>54</sup> Compare Psalm 23, vs. 1-2 (the Gideons International Version): "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall lack nothing. He makes me lie down in green pastures, he leads me beside quiet waters..."

<sup>55</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus V, 147 (6-9). τῶν μισθωτῶν ἀλλ' οὐ ποιμένων ἐκείνων, οἱ πρὸς νομάς ὀλεθρίους καὶ πῶας δηλητηρίους καὶ θανασίμους ἐξῆγον τὰ ποίμνια καὶ ἀνατροπὴν ἐπότιζον θολεράν.

<sup>56</sup> Italicus, *Lettres et Discours*, 80 (14-15). Note the noun πρόβατα of demotic Greek which Italicus uses instead of ποίμνια or ἀγέλη.

<sup>57</sup> *op. cit.*, 123 (13-18).

<sup>58</sup> Basilaces, *Orationes et Epistolae*, 15 (33-34).

murex from its shell, a pearl from its cover".<sup>59</sup> These are actually rare and interesting variants of the proverb "you can tell a lion by its claw".<sup>60</sup>

ἐξ ἀπαλῆς ἡλικίας καὶ πρώτης, ὃ φασίν, τῆς τριχῶς : "from early in life".<sup>61</sup> The proverb occurs in Zonaras [XV, 24, 350 (1)].

περιάξει ὡς ἀπὸ φορβειᾶς τινός...πάντας Πέρσας : "to lead all the Persians by the nose, to control them".<sup>62</sup> The saying occurs in the *Epitome* XIII, 20, 96 (4).

οἱ τῶν φορτίων οὐδ' ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ θίγουσι τὰ βαρύτερα : "who do not touch heavy loads not even by their finger".<sup>63</sup> Compare also *Epitome* XVII, 20, 617 (10).

### B. Expressions occurring in Michael Italicus' Works:

1. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀθελκτότατον Ἄδην οὐ καταθέλατε. Λῆρος ἦν ὁ περὶ Ὀρφέως λόγος, ὡς ἔοικεν...καὶ καταθέλγεται μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀπέφραξε τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἐκκεκῶφθαι πρὸς τὰς Ἀνδρονίκου ἀμάχους ἕγγας. "Yet you did not enchant the implacable Hades; it seems, therefore, that Orpheus' story had been a myth...Hades was under spell, but he plugged his ears and chose not to listen to Andronicus' irresistible enchantments".<sup>64</sup> This is a recurrence of the theme discussed in A(1)-2 above. We have quoted it here to point to parallel expressions found in the *Epitome* [XV, 21, 332 (7-8)] ἀλλ' ἐξεκεκῶφει ὁ δαίμων καὶ θεομαχῶν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, [XVIII, 14, 701 (14)] ἀλλ' ἐξεκεκῶφεισαν ἅπαντες καὶ τῆς φυγῆς οὐ μεθίεντο.

2. εἰς τὴν ὑποδεεστέραν ῥητορικὴν ὄλοις ἰστίοις ἐφέρετο, ἐμοὶ χρώμενος κυβερνήτη. "He was directing himself full sail towards the lesser rhetoric with myself as a captain".<sup>65</sup> Compare *Epitome* XVII, 20, 614 (16).

<sup>59</sup> *op. cit.*, 29 (32-33).

<sup>60</sup> See also our chapter on wordplay, the use of proverbs, etc.

<sup>61</sup> *op. cit.*, 33 (20-21).

<sup>62</sup> *op. cit.*, 68 (21-22).

<sup>63</sup> *op. cit.*, 79 (22-23).

<sup>64</sup> Italicus, *Lettres et Discours*, 85 (17-18).

<sup>65</sup> *op. cit.*, 90 (19); also 159 (5). εἰς τοὺς εὐαγγελικοὺς ἐλλιμενίζομεν κόλπους καὶ ἄραντες ὄλοις ἰστίοις πρὸς τοὺτους καταίρομεν...

3. μηκέτι μοι τονθορύζετε· ἔχετε καὶ πάλιν διδάσκαλον τὸν διδάσκαλον, κύκλους μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνελίττοντα καὶ πρὸς πόνους καὶ αἴθις παραβαλλόμενον. "Do not mutter then any more; you again have (your) teacher as teacher, going round about the same issues and, once more, exposing himself to labours".<sup>66</sup> Compare *Epitome* XVII, 19, 609 (10).

4. καὶ τὴν κοσμικὴν μετὰ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἀποθρίσασα τρίχα...εἰς τὰς οὐρανίους μονὰς ἀνίπταται. "And after having her hair cropped close, she (Irene Ducaena) at the same time abandoned every luxury...and went to glory".<sup>67</sup> Compare *Epitome* XV, 10, 285 (8-9): τὴν τριχῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀποθρίξασα. The phrase must have been a formula suitable for those abdicating worldly goods and joining monasticism.

5. ἵνα μὴ μάτην θυραυλήσαντες οἱ λόγοι περὶ τὰ ὦτα τοῦ βασιλέως κενοὶ καὶ κατηφεῖς παλινδρομήσωσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. "So that (my) words would not stay hopelessly outwith the emperor's hearing and run back to me empty and downcast".<sup>68</sup> Compare Zonaras' *prooimion* ,7 (17) λόγος ἐνδελεχῆς τὰ ὦτα θυροκοπῶν. The metaphor of this expression apparently alludes to the picture of a beggar banging on peoples' doors and asking to be let inside. Tornices actually mentions an interesting variant of this expression when speaking of Anna Comnena's trials: he observes that "only her ears were bombarded by wilder sounds...while her soul remained fearless and calm".<sup>69</sup>

6. οἵτινες οὐκ ἀφῆκαν παρασυρῆναι τοῦ χρόνου τῷ ρεύματι καὶ λίθης παραδοθῆναι βυθοῖς τὰ πάλαι τοῖς πρώην βασιλεῦσι προπεπραγμένα. "Men who did not allow whatever the previous emperors had done in the past to be carried away by the stream of time and be cast into the depths

<sup>66</sup> *op. cit.*, 119 (19).

<sup>67</sup> *op. cit.*, 151 (1).

<sup>68</sup> *op. cit.*, 230 (16-17).

<sup>69</sup> Tornices, *Lettres et Discours*, 273 (18-19). μόνως τὰς ἀκοὰς κατεβομβεῖτο ἀγριωτέροις ψόφοις...τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εἶχεν ἄτρεστον καὶ ἀτίνακτον.

of oblivion".<sup>70</sup> This is a trivial expression occurring, the reader will remember, in the *prooimion* of the *Alexiad* (*Praef.*, 3-4), yet it shows how common some at least of these formulas had been in the 12th century and how both historians and non-historians could freely use them.

7. τῶν βασιλικῶν παίδων ὁ πρῶτιστος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὁ κληρονόμος, νεανίας ἄξιον τυραννίδος εἶδος ἐμφαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ βλέμματος. "The firstborn of the royal offspring (Alexius I Comnenus) and the heir of the kingdom was a young man with an appearance worthy of monarchy, judging from his eyes".<sup>71</sup> Compare *Epitome* XIV, 1, 126 (16): τὸν γὰρ Ζήνωνα τῇ βασιλείᾳ μὴ προσήκοντα ἔκρινεν, ὅτι μήτε γνώμην εἶχε βασιλικὴν μήτε μὴν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος.. Again this is a formula to which both historians and non-historians evidently resort.

### III. Use of Medical Language

The use of medical language is a consistent characteristic of non historical writings in the 12th century and medicine in itself had been a discipline in which distinguished Byzantines were proud to be trained. Apparently separate from its standard meaning and when employed in the figurative sense, the Greek verb *θεραπεύω* could also refer to the satisfaction of a need or the healing of a situation, an evil etc. Likewise the Greek word for medicament, *φάρμακον*, usually qualified by an adjective such as *λαθικηδές* (banishing care), or *ἀλεξίκακον* (keeping off evil) or *ἀκεσώδυνον* (allaying pain) could equally be used in the sense of a remedy, counteracting or repairing any evil or loss. The construction of a sentence containing the word *φάρμακον* would occasionally require the use of the verb *κεράννυμι* or *μίγνυμι* as medicines often rely on blending several components. Indeed the application of medical language obviously enhanced the possibilities for a writer to experiment,

<sup>70</sup> *op. cit.*, 232 (5-6).

<sup>71</sup> *op. cit.*, 289 (2-4).

introduced new dimensions to the potential of rhetorical composition and was, therefore, recommended to authors of sermons and orations, writers of epistolography and no less to historians.

Zonaras in his sermon about Sophronius of Jerusalem speaks of the patriarch's "ailment", in other words his passion for knowledge, which he "cured" by visiting Alexandria's library and becoming a student of the city's wise men.<sup>72</sup> A few pages further the emperor Heraclius is depicted as having coined a heresy within a heresy since in his attempt to remedy the lawless teachings of the monophysites he "blended a medicament", namely the idea that Christ possessed neither a single nor a double acting power, thus "curing evil by evil".<sup>73</sup> Again in the *Epitome* the emperor Isaacius I Comnenus is depicted as making use of his naked sword with which "he was prepared to cut tumours at once instead of softening and plastering up the wounds below".<sup>74</sup> This allusion to "surgical" treatment of public evils by the state has actually become an established *topos* in rhetoric. Elsewhere the Roman general Pompey is referred to as "the most gentle doctor" who is the suitable person to provide a cure for the illness of the Roman state.<sup>75</sup>

Nicephorus Basilaces in his sermon to Alexius Aristenus, makes the point that the latter combined philosophy with rhetoric in the fashion in which a doctor blends bitter with sweet ingredients to create "a most refined medicament, an excellent mixture of both".<sup>76</sup> If one takes a closer

<sup>72</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus V, 140 (23-24). ἵνα τοίνυν αὐτῷ θεραπευθεῖ τούτο τὸ ἄλγημα, τὴν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ κειμένην καταλαμβάνει πόλιν, τὴν περιώνυμον Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

<sup>73</sup> *op. cit.*, 148 (22-25). οἷόν τι δὲ φάρμακον, εἰς θεραπείαν τάχα τοῦ ἀθέσμου δόγματος κεραννύς, θέσπισμά τι γράφει βασιλείον μήτε ἐνιαίαν ἐνέργειαν, μήτε διπλὴν ὁμολογεῖν ἐν Χριστῷ, κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἐξιώμενος.

<sup>74</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 4, 667 (11-12). καὶ τέμνειν αὐτίκα παρεσκευαστο τὰ οἰδήματα, ἀλλ' οὐ μαλάσσειν οὐδ' ἐμπλάττειν τὰ ὕπουλα.

<sup>75</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* X, 7, 317 (14-16). χρῆναι δὲ τοῦ πραοτάτου τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι τὸ πάθος τουτὶ φαρμακεύοντος...

<sup>76</sup> Basilaces, *Orationes et Epistolae*, 18 (14-16). ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, τῷ πάντων χαριεστάτῳ φαρμάκῳ καὶ τι τοῦ στύφοντος συνεκέρασας καὶ γίνεταί σοι τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κρᾶμα θαυμάσιον. Compare also *Progimnasmii et Monodie* 110 (5); 112 (61-64).

look at the kind of medical language Byzantine authors employ one interestingly discovers that they often indulge in quoting details of a doctor's diagnostics, mentioning symptoms of diseases and their ways of treatment in their metaphorical arguments so that they may sound thoroughly professional. The more exaggerated an author becomes in his descriptions the more learned he appears. Tzetzes, for instance, in one of his letters to Theodoretus Cotertzes goes to great lengths with respect to rhetorical exaggeration and writes: " I always use my words as love-knots, presenting them as astrigent, biting and bitter agents and I apply them as if they were plasters on what is decaying and purulent and heal it; but there is also a need for your blessings, for drastic concoctions as well as for a good dosage of astrigent powder to achieve a quick recovery".<sup>77</sup> Again George Tornices in a letter to Alexius Ducas (son of Eirene and grandson of Anna Comnena and Bryennius) writes: " In this way she became your mother not just physically but in respect to your soul too; for she raised you in a wise manner ever since you were a baby, gracefully impressing on your tender heart the engravings of virtue. Then she presented you to the pan-Hellenic audience in order to demonstrate your education by means of deeds. Not like those who attempt the practice of medicine in a state of ignorance, embarking on the use of drugs before they have studied the physical properties of human beings and of drugs, people who would do better as butchers or cooks rather than doctors".<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Tzetzes, *Epistulae* 41 (15-20). καταδέσμους γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦτω ἐγὼ καὶ στυπηρίους καὶ δάκνοντας καὶ δριμεῖς τοὺς λόγους, οἷον ἐμπλάστρους, ἐντίθημι καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ σεσηπὸς καὶ πυῶδες ἐπανακτῶμαι. χρεῖα δὲ καὶ ὑμετέρων εὐχῶν καὶ δραστηρίων πομάτων καὶ στυπηρίας δὲ ἀγαθῆς πρὸς τὸ τῆς ῥώσεως τέλος. Compare also *op. cit.*, 36 (17-19); 38 (22); 40 (1-3); 51 (6-15); 67 (2-6); 138 (17); 144 (10-11).

<sup>78</sup> Tornices, *Lettres et Discours*, 165 (5-10). Οὕτως ἐγένετό σοι μήτηρ οὐ σώματος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς, σοφῶς θρεψαμένη βρεφόμεν καὶ ἀπαλῆ καρδίᾳ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐχαράττουσα γλύμματα, καὶ οὕτω παραγαγοῦσα πρὸς τὸ πανελλήμιον θέατρον, ἔργους τὴν ἐκ μαθήσεως ὑποδείξοντα παιδευσιν, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἀμαθῶς τοῖς τῆς λατρικῆς ἐπιχειροῦντας, πρὶν ἢ μεμαθηκέναι ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ φαρμάκων φύσιν τοῖς φαρμακεύμασιν ἐπεμβαίνοντας οἱ δημίων μᾶλλον καὶ μαγείρων ἔργα ἢ περὶ λατρῶν

Besides, as A. Kazhdan notes,<sup>79</sup> twelfth-century authors paid special attention to the medical profession. By the end of this century physicians enter as equals the establishment of functionaries and literati (members of which they, indeed were); they became respected, although mocked time and again by contemporaries who accepted the traditional patterns towards secular medicine, like Theodore Prodromus. But this preoccupation with doctors and their practices must have exercised a considerable literary influence on authors hence, when seen in this perspective, rhetorical references to the medical jargon are perfectly understandable and hardly surprising.<sup>80</sup>

#### IV. References to Mythology.

The Byzantine interest in Greek mythology probably owed much to classical education and the teaching of Homer as part of the students' curriculum. Knowledge of the myths and their exploitation by suitably applying them to contemporary circumstances was absolutely essential to performers of rhetoric. The Greek heroes and the different mythological stories in which they were involved, provided a "cultural past" for Byzantine literature, a past which had to be mastered and put into the service of impressive, highly rhetorical prose. After all it was the possession of the grace of the Greek Muses which determined whether someone was cultured or a Philistine. In the introduction of his letter to a certain Manuel Gabrielacites, Tzetzes points out: " Euripides wrote *you have become a barbarian, having lived for long among the barbarians* ; and by the skilled in words Hermes and the Muses themselves I used to suspect that you would have been reduced to such a man after living on the

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ἐπιδείκνυται. Compare also *op. cit.*, 82 (2); 85 (10-20); 119 (11-13); 143 (2-5); 164 (5-6); 192 (7-9); 223 (10-13); 225 (12-15); 285 (7); 293 (10-11).

<sup>79</sup> A. Kazhdan, "The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries", *Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on Byzantine Medicine, D.O.P.*, 38 (1983), 43-51.

<sup>80</sup> One can push this "educated" exploitation of medical language back to the seventh century. Theophylact and George of Pisidia both indulged.



mountainous spots of Thessaly. Yet you compose in such a way that surpasses the sweetness of the honey of Attica and, it seems, either the Muses are once again haunting and residing around Helicon (for Helicon is near Thessaly) and they educate and teach you, or else, that Orpheus himself returned to life and has instructed you in the rhythm of writing and the musical harmony, or indeed that Thessalian half beast Cheiron, the teacher of the heroes, is still alive and having taken you back to his cave (for Pelion and Platamon are very close), he is giving you the kind of training he gave to Jason, to the son of Coronis (Asclepius) and to Achilles. Such is the level of your writings".<sup>81</sup>

The garnish of mythology could serve several purposes from most serious to simply the creation of a joke. To quote again from Tzetzes, here is an example of his irony directed against some anonymous rival and grammarian. "Feel free to laugh at us", Tzetzes warns this man, "if you think we can be laughed at; but you should also consider thinking about Prometheus, least you ever come to experience Metameleia, Epimetheus' daughter".<sup>82</sup> Μεταμέλεια, of course, in Greek means regret and Tzetzes seems to be resorting to the charms of mythology to convey an otherwise simple message: feel free to ridicule me, but be careful because you may regret it.

Users of mythological themes had, however, to proceed very carefully to avoid any charges of paganism. Even royal offspring

<sup>81</sup> Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, 21 (12-20)-22 (1-8). Εὐριπίδης μὲν γὰρ φησὶν βεβαρβάρωσαι, χρόνιος ὢν ἐν βαρβάροις· κἀγὼ δὲ νῆ τὸν λόγιον Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὰς Μούσας αὐτὰς τοιοῦτον ὑπετόπαζον γεγενῆσθαι σε Θετταλικοῖς ὄρεσκώοις χωρίοις ἐνδιατρίβοντα· σὺ δὲ μοι καὶ μέλιτος Ἀττικοῦ γλυκερωτέρας δημιουργεῖς τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν ἢ που παρ' Ἑλικῶνα πάλιν αἱ Μοῦσαι φιλοχωροῦσι καὶ διατρίβουσι (πλησίον δὲ που τῆς Θετταλίας ὁ Ἑλικῶν) καὶ σὲ παιδοτριβοῦσι καὶ τὰ πρὸς λόγους ἀνάγουσιν, ἢ Ὀρφεὺς ὁ Λειψήθριος αὐτὸς ἀνεβίω καὶ τὸν ρυθμὸν τῆς γραφῆς πρὸς ἀρμονίαν ρυθμίζειν κιθαρωδικὴν ἐξεπαίδευσεν, ἢ ἄρα ὁ Θετταλὸς ἐκεῖνος ἡμίθηρ ὁ Χείρων ὁ τῶν ἡρώων διδάσκαλος, ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περίεστι καὶ σὲ παρὰ τὸ ἄντρον λαβὼν (πάνυ δὲ πλησίον ὁ Πλαταμῶν καὶ τὸ Πήλιον) ὡς τὸν Ἰάσονα καὶ τὸν Κορωνίδος υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα παιδεύει· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπακριβοῖς τὰς γραφάς.

<sup>82</sup> *op. cit.*, 21 (4-7). ἔρρωσο παίζων ἡμᾶς, εἰ παικτέοι σοι λογιζόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἔδει καὶ Προμηθέως φροντίδα ποιῆσθαι σε, μήποτε καὶ πείραν λάβης Μεταμελείας τῆς Ἐπιμηθέως· παιδός.

apparently were not totally free to pursue secular education. George Tornices is quite revealing on this matter when speaking about the obstacles which Anna Comnena had to overcome at a young age in order to acquaint herself with the classics. Anna's parents, Tornices writes, "suspected secular letters as evil...especially grammar, which is based on poetry. This latter is marked by polytheism or rather atheism and its characteristic feature is mythology, a discipline narrating about gods' unlawful love-affairs, about rapes of girls and abductions of boys and other such topics containing a great deal of improprieties both in words and in deeds. This they (Alexius I and his wife) thought dangerous even for the males but for the females they, and rightly, thought of it as utterly pernicious".<sup>83</sup> It would be better, therefore, for mythology, if it had to appear at all, to combine elements of history and, preferably still, elements of theology. Nicephorus Basilaces, George Tornices and, above all, Michael Italicus often took pains to marry in their narrative such characters as Xerxes and Artabanus with Orestes and Pylades, Solomon with Achilles, Joseph with Bellerephon.<sup>84</sup> Zonaras, as we saw, referred to mythology extremely sparingly in his history, understandably not for lack of knowledge. Although his reluctance might have owed to the nature of his work, it is not at all improbable that it had been a safeguard against possible allegations of paganism.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Tornices, *Lettres et Discours*, 245 (5-10). τὴν γε μὴν προτρέχουσαν τούτων γραμματικὴν, ἧς τὸ κράτιστον μὲν ἡ ποίησις, ἧς τὸ πολυθεον εἶτ' οὖν ἄθεον καὶ μῦθοι τὸ γνῶρισμα, οἱ θεοὺς πλάττουσιν ἐρωήντας δυσέρωτας ἔρωτας καὶ παρθένων φθορὰς καὶ ἀρρένων ἀρπαγὰς καὶ ἄλλην ἀριστουργίαν ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πολὺ τὸ ἄσεμνον ἔχουσαν, ταύτην μὲν καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπικίνδυνον, γυναίξει δὲ καὶ παρθένοις καὶ λίαν ἐπίβουλον καλῶς νενομίκασιν...

<sup>84</sup> For references to Greek mythology in the works of Basilaces cf. *Orationes et Epistolae*, 10 (4-5); 11 (3-10); 13 (27-30); 16 (2); 19 (29-30); 27 (22); 31 (23); 49 (11-12). In Tornices cf. *Lettres et Discours*, 80 (1-5); 82 (20); 114 (8-9); 128 (2); 170 (6); 223 (1-5). In Italicus cf. *Lettres et Discours*, 59 (1-3); 63 (27-30); 68 (13-14); 84 (1-3); 130 (9-11); 134 (1-10); 164 (1); 172 (17); 190 (7); 221 (19).

<sup>85</sup> This is not to say that *any* mythological references are absent from the *Epitome*, but they are extremely rare. Compare, for instance, XVII, 19, 609 (4-5). *ἕνα ἔτι περιλελειφθαι αὐτῷ ἐνόμιζεν Ἡράκλειον ἄεθλον τὸ καὶ τὴν βασιλίδα ἀποσκευάσασθαι*; XIV, 16, 209 (10). τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ σχεδόν τι πάντα "Αἰδι προέειπεν. (Hom. Il. I, 3).

## V. References to the Language of Drama.

That historical events represent dramatical acts and that history is actually the stage on which the drama of life takes place is an old idea and it had been popular with Byzantine authors, especially historiographers. It is not difficult to see why. Historians could speak about *scenes* and *plots* but also about those involved in them acting as *protagonists* and *subordinates* of what became known as Byzantine intrigues. Furthermore they could refer to veiled, hypocritical and dishonest behaviour as involving *theatrical masks* and disguises and by introducing a theatrical language in their narratives, they could sound more dramatic and at the same time appear more entertaining and sophisticated. Performers of rhetoric were equally interested in creating similar effects for their audiences just as the historians. We saw that Zonaras had been an advocate of theatrical language yet in this he was not alone as most of his contemporary authors, especially those composing model rhetorical exercises, shared the same literary devices. Here we will merely quote a passage from the speech *Against Bagoas* by Nicephorus Basilaces which contains almost every possible detail from the language of theatre in just a few lines: "The poet conceived the drama, he supplied the settings, only the actor was missing...having assembled such an audience he exposed the disgrace of the priests, made a show of the shame of the church thus giving the impression of piety. The man who was ignorant of all this became a suspect again, the innocent was found guilty and those who had created the drama were accusing, persecuting, questioning...whereas the very choregos and teacher of the actors, as if it was about somebody else's play, were lamenting, crying, complaining".<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Basilaces, *Epistolae*, 96 (16-17); (27-32)-97 (1-2). ἐπενόησεν ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ δράμα, τὴν ὕλην ἐχορήγησε, μόνος ὑποκριτῆς ἐλείπετο...τοιούτον θέατρον συγκροτήσας ἐκπομπεύει τὸ τῶν ἱερέων αἴσχος, θεατρίζει τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄγος, καὶ δοκεῖ <...> πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ξυνειδὼς ἐκεῖνος, πάλιν ὑποπτος, εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀντέστραπτο.

## VI. References to Old Testament Figures.

As Byzantium had always been a theocratic monarchy it was expected that authors should regularly refer to the Bible and especially the Old Testament. Tzetzes, Basilaces, Tornices and Italicus without exception embroider their narratives with biblical quotations of the type "the second error will be worse than the first", or indeed the Solomonian maxim "vanity, vanity, all is vanity", or sometimes a verse from David's Psalms.<sup>87</sup> Among the most consistently attested characters of the Old Testament are, apart from the obvious Moses, David and Solomon, the Jewish patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel. The interesting issue is that both the Byzantine state and its intelligentsia had seriously considered that the eastern Roman empire was actually the only true and legitimate heir of God's kingdom, that the Orthodox people had been the guardian of the faith and the chosen ones and, consequently, believed that the Byzantine emperor was in essence God's anointed monarch carrying on the line of succession of the Old Testament kings. The Comnenian dynasty, starting from its founder Alexius I, had apparently reinforced this idea. We will see later that Alexius was promulgating the legend of the last Roman emperor to lay down his diadem in Jerusalem. His successors must have pressed this propaganda further, and perhaps invited the notion that their monarchy was in agreement with divine plans about the recovery of the Holy Land and

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ὁ μὲν καθαρὸς ὑπ' αἰτίαισιν ἤγετο, οἱ δὲ τὸ πᾶν δραματουργήσαντες κατηγοροῦν ἐδίωκον ἐξήλεγχον...ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ὦν ὁ χορηγὸς καὶ διδάσκαλος ὡς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῳ τῷ δράματι ἀνεκώκυν ἔστεινεν ἐσχετλίαζεν. Compare also 16 (16-17); 66 (10-11); 97 (1-2); 107 (25-26); 112 (3-5). *Progimnasmia et Monodie*, 150 (53-55); 208 (3-4); 259 (172-74). For the speech on Bagoas see P. Magdalino, *The Bagoas of Nikephoros Basilakes: A Normal Reaction?*, in *Studies in Comparative Legal History* (L. Mayali and M. Mart, eds.), Berkeley, 1993, 47-63.

<sup>87</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, 26 (15); 36 (12); 48 (1); 78 (8); 79 (13); 82 (20); 91(2); 95 (18); 97 (3). Basilaces, *Orationes et Epistolae*, 36 (19); 56 (30-31); 66 (33); 71 (22). Tornices, *Lettres et Discours*, 80 (4); 83 (4); 89 (5); 90 (28); 94 (26); 101 (2); 137 (2); 271 (5). Italicus, *Lettres et Discours*, 73 (21-23); 74 (17); 76 (20); 79 (18).

that they themselves were to be treated as the new Davids and Solomons of modern history.

Nicephorus Basilaces, for instance, in his welcoming speech (λόγος ἐπιβατηρίου) dedicated to the emperor John Comnenus who had recently returned to Constantinople from his long eastern campaigns in Asia Minor (c. 1138) writes: "ever since the Almighty appointed you ahead of nations and anointed you as emperor and sent you forth, his chosen and holy one, to lead Israel, you honour and adorn your subjects, the chosen people of the Lord, aspiring to liberate them from their servitude to the barbarians...".<sup>88</sup>

But the emperor who attracted the most sonorous identifications was certainly Manuel I Comnenus. Michael Italicus in his *basilikos logos* to this emperor likens him with St. Paul and elsewhere in the same speech Manuel is compared with Joseph. This is somewhat strange as one might have expected for him a likening with Benjamin, Israel's youngest son, since Manuel was the youngest among his brothers Alexius, Andronicus and Isaac. Yet his identification with Joseph does make sense when we think of him as combining young age with wisdom. Manuel is subsequently paralleled to kings David and Solomon as well as the revered emperor Constantine I. Italicus finally proceeds with an equation which will have made even the keenest monarchist shiver with awe. He likens Manuel with Jesus and draws the linguistic similarity between the names Emmanuel and Manuel. "Even as you have been deprived of the first syllable", he points out, "it is no matter to wonder; nature does not call for an absolute identification between what is perfect

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<sup>88</sup> Basilaces, *Orationes et Epistolae*, 53 (29-33). ἐπεὶ γὰρ σε θεὸς εἰς κεφαλὴν ἔθνων κατέστησε καὶ εἰς βασιλέα ἔχρισε καὶ σὲ τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν ὄσιον, εἰς ὁδηγίαν Ἰσραὴλ ἐξαπέστειλε, κοσμεῖς μὲν καὶ διατάττεται εὐθὺς τὸ ὑπήκουον, τὸν λαὸν κυρίου τὸν περιούσιον, ὅλη χειρὶ βαραβαρικῆς ἐξελέσθαι δουλείας φιλονεικῶν...

and what is not, but only so much as it is suitable",<sup>89</sup> and Italicus finishes his eulogy with the maxim: "Emmanuel save Manuel and Manuel save Emmanuel's heritage". Likenings of *personae* to Old Testament figures in 12th-century literature were not restricted to secular rulers, however, but could naturally be applied to the clergy. Thus Zonaras in his sermon on Sophronius of Jerusalem compares the distress but also the great patience of his hero with that of Job.<sup>90</sup>

### VII. Use of Demotic Vocabulary.

Since performers of rhetoric employed a polished style of language, a demotic structure of words or a demotic vocabulary are unlikely to be encountered in their narrative. Zonaras, as we saw, was certainly doing his best to avoid "mistakes" of this kind. Yet 12th-century writers were composing in a language they did not speak. Now and then, therefore, in their private correspondence or at moments when they were less alert, or even for the sake of the magic of colourful expressions they would let certain phrases or words of the vernacular slip in their texts. For instance Tzetzes in a letter to a monk named Theosterictus (God-supported?) writes about the *chartouliarios* of the Great Church: εἰ εὐρεθῆ ἔχων τὸ σκλαβόπωλον ἀξιός ἐστι παθεῖν το... if he is found to have the little slave with him, it serves him right...<sup>91</sup> Now this last word, το, is probably the neuter of the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο. It is both the form in which the word appears (as an abbreviation of τοῦτο) and its position at the end of the sentence which are unusual. If we are right this is a syntactical structure of later Greek surviving even in Modern Greek especially in imperatives like μάθε το, κάνε το (learn this, do this) etc.

<sup>89</sup> Italicus, *Lettres et Discours*, 294 (26-28). εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν πρώτην κεκολόβωσαι συλλαβὴν, οὐδενὸς ἀπεικός· φύσις ἐστὶ μὴ πάντα ἑξομοιοῦσθαι τὰ καταδεέστερα τοῖς ὑπερτέροις, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἡ ἐπιτηδειότης ἐχώρησεν.

<sup>90</sup> Papadopoulou-Kerameus V, 141 (14-20).

<sup>91</sup> Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, 69 (17-18).

Tzetzes actually intermingles quite a few words of everyday Greek in his narrative. He especially introduces those long impressive compounds which were very fashionable in 12th-century political verse and which we have encountered in Manasses' chronicle. Such compounds can be found in his correspondence and include: σελλοχάλινον (70, 11 saddle-girth?), κλεπταββαδίτζιον (80, 1 a monk who steals?)<sup>92</sup>, τζουριχοάγιοι (79, 19 involving a non-Greek demotic element (τζουριχ), stealing saints), τζουριχοψευδοθεοπτία (77, 16 fake piety?), σκλαβόπων (69, 18 young slave, servant), έγλωττογάστωρ (109, 17 ventriloquist?), όπισθοφάλακρος (99, 22 who has bald nape), χρηματόψυχοι (91, 20 niggardly), μεθυσκοότταβοι (26, 6 drunkards), άνθρωποχοιροτρόφια (27, 12 brothels), μεγαλοφιλία (16, 11 great friendship), τρισαλιτήριος (153, 23 villain) etc.

He even uses words which clearly belong to later Greek such as the verb γινώσκω for instance found in *Koine* Greek, or the adverb άλληναλλως (in various ways) which perhaps finds its Modern Greek parallel in the expression αλλαντάλλων, or indeed the pronoun ό καθένα (88, 18 masculine, nominative singular of the pronoun καθεῖς, καθεμία, καθέν, one by one). If this is not a printing mistake in Leone's edition, it is particularly interesting as the form καθένα normally belongs to the accusative singular and not the nominative, but perhaps the law of analogy was already active in 12th-century spoken Greek. Certain dialects of Modern Greek still preserve such "anomalies" in expressions like ο πασαενα (ό πας εῖς > ο πασαεῖς > ο πασαένα, everybody, every one) which are similarly nominatives of the relevant pronouns. Finally Tzetzes uses regularly the noun νομισματίτζια (coins of small value) which must have been a rather common everyday word and regarding which Michael Italicus in a letter to one of his students wrote: "I am therefore demanding... that the small wages (νομισματίτζια) of the poor

<sup>92</sup> The monk need not be young. The diminutive is pejorative.

teachers be paid to them as soon as possible; for since I am humiliated, I must reduce my vocabulary to words used in the streets". Italicus' testimony as far as νομισματίτζια is concerned is revealing for he clearly identifies this word with low-registered Greek vocabulary<sup>93</sup> and it is obvious, from the way he treats it, that he employs it with great discomfort. If *litterati* had to resort to τριοδίτιδαι λέξεις at all, they would first need to make an apology.

### VIII. The Testimony of the "Metaphrasts".

Our comments here will be based on the "translation" of Nicephorus Blemmydes' *Imperial Statue* and any generalizations will, therefore, refer to this piece of writing only. Seen as a whole, this *metaphrasis* is no more than a rhetorical exercise as many of its renderings are given in an equally refined and polished linguistic level as that of the original text. One should not forget that it was composed by men of higher education who were versed in rhetoric and treated Blemmydes' work as an opportunity for a written rhetorical task. Thus when they translate the word βάσανος, a siliceous stone used to assay gold, as Lydian stone (Λυδία λίθος) they certainly are not using a simpler vocabulary; they are just showing off by introducing a synonym, probably borrowed from some current Lexicon,<sup>94</sup> which only someone as educated as themselves would be able to understand. In this sense the *metaphrasis* by George Galesiotes and George Oinaiotes was not a "translation" in the modern sense of the word and, to an extent, not even a "free" translation. Below we will give a number of points regarding the methodology, so to say, of the metaphrasts which partly reflects the changes involved in a simplified

<sup>93</sup> Italicus, *Lettres et Discours*, 227 (7-10). γράφω τοίνυν καὶ δέομαι...δοθῆναι τὰ τῶν ταλαιπώρων διδασκάλων νομισματίτζια ταχύτερον· δεῖ γάρ με ταπεινούμενον καταβαίνειν καὶ εἰς τὰς τῶν λέξεων τριοδίτιδας.

<sup>94</sup> *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς* (Hunger-Sevcenko), 114, 213 (3). Compare, for instance, the definition found in the *Lexicon Tittmannianum* (374); Βάσανος, ἡ τιμωρία. καὶ βάσανος λίθος ἢ τὸ χρυσοῦν περιτριβόμενον δοκιμάζουσα...



level of Greek and perhaps could be taken as pointing to, some at least, of the basic rules of the late Byzantine vernacular.

1. It is common for some verbs or participles to be rendered periphrastically using the auxiliary verb "to have". e.g. 62 (64): κᾶν ταῖς

ἄλλαις λέγουτο κομᾶν ἀρεταῖς == κᾶν τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχῃ...

Compare also 65 (70); 67 (75), etc.

2. Some "difficult" words are translated with commoner ones or easier to understand e.g. 64 (72): ἀπηρυθριασμένης πλεονεξίας ἐστίν ==

ἀναιδεστάτης πλεονεξίας ἐστίν; 48 (14): ξίφος ἀμφίστομον = δίστομον

ξίφος; 50 (22): ὡς διὰ φορβειᾶς ἔλκεσθαι == ὡσπερ διὰ γαλινοῦ

φέρεσθαι; 56 (40): ἔτυψέ τις ρόπαλοις = ἔδειρε (τις)... διὰ ράβδου; 94

(152): ἐτώσιον ἄχθος = φόρτος κενός, etc.

3. Compound words (usually participles) are turned into plain ones e.g.

116 (219) : ἀποθησαυρίσας = θησαυρίσας; 92 (150) : καταμελῶν =

ἀμελῶν; 110 (198) : προσκληρούμενοι = κληρούμενοι; 112 (206) :

διαπραττόμενος = πράττων, etc.

4. Verbal adjectives ending in -τέος are explained with the aid of

periphraseis, while synonyms are offered whenever the meaning of the

original word is obscure: e.g. 74 (99) : πορρωτάτω τοῖνυν ἔξοριστέον...τὸ

μετέωρον φρόνημα, προσοικειωτέον δὲ τὸ μέτριον = διὰ τοῦτο πρέπον

ἐστίν ἔξορίζειν...τὸ μετέωρον φρόνημα,...ἀγαπᾶν δὲ καὶ ζητεῖν ἐκ

παντὸς τρόπου τὸ μέτριον. Compare also 96 (155); 114 (209); 114 (212).

5. Rhetorical questions are transformed into main clauses e.g. 66 (78) : οὐχ

ὑπερβαλλόντως πλουτῶ, τοὺς ἐμοὺς πάντας πλουτοῦντας εἰδώς; = τοῦτο

μέγας πλοῦτος ἐμοί, ὅτι βλέπω πλουτοῦντας πάντας τοὺς ἡμετέρους.

Compare also 80 (114); 100 (170); 112 (208).

6. As a general rule genitive absolutes are avoided and, instead, verbs or

adjectives or subordinate clause structures are being used. e.g. 102 (174) :

τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καταστρατεύειν ὠρμημένου Συναχερείμ = ὁπότε ὁ

Σεραχερείμ στρατιάν κατὰ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἤγειρεν. Compare also 60 (58): ἑπτὰ δὲ διεληλυθότων ἐτῶν = μετὰ δὲ παρέλευσιν ἑπτὰ χρόνων; 104 (181); etc.

7. The dual number as well as the Attic Syntax (i.e. the rule according to which neuter plural subjects are followed by singular verbs) are not kept in the "translation". e.g. 68 (85) : ἄμφω τῶ...στρατηγῷ = ἀμφοτέρω...οἱ στρατηγοί; 70 (91) : ἀναζωπυροῦται τὰ πάθη καὶ ἀποθρασύνεται = ἰσχυροποιοῦνται τὰ πάθη καὶ θράσος λαμβάνουσι. Compare also 84 (130); 90 (142).

8. Infinitives preceded by the definite article are rendered with nouns e.g. 88 (141) : ἐν τῷ παρασκευάζεσθαι = ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ...

9. The metaphrasts are still using infinitives and participles although in some cases, especially when the participles are found in "complex" tenses such as the perfect tense, they either change them into verbs or they give the form of an aorist participle e.g. 104 (182) : οὔτε τῇ...ἐμπειρία τεθαρρηκώς, ἀλλ' εἰς...πρόμαχον πανσθενῆ καταπεφευγώς = οὔτε τῷ πλήθει...ἐθάρρησεν...ἀλλ' εἰς μόνον τὸν παντοδύναμον καταφυγών... etc.

10. Verbs in the perfect tense are usually rendered in the past tense. e.g. 110 (199) : ποῖον ὄμμα τεθέαται; ποῖον ἀκήκοεν οὓς; = ποῖος ὀφθαλμὸς ἔθεάσατο, ποῖον οὓς ἤκουσεν... Compare also 56 (40); 58 (40); 60 (56); 98 (163).

11. Most importantly where the original text employs predicative participles, in the "translation" we find them replaced by verbs, in other words the subordinate syntactical structure is changed into paratactical e.g. 72 (95); 96 (157); 102 (174-6) : τὸν Ἐζεκιάν μανθάνομεν...τροφὰς ἐξαίροντα, πηγὰς ἐμφράττοντα, τάφρους ὀρύττοντα...φρουροὺς ἀθροίζοντά τε καὶ καθοπλίζοντα = ὁ Ἐζεκιὰς...ἀφηρεῖτο μὲν τὰς τροφὰς, ἔφραττε δὲ τὰς πηγὰς, ἔξώρυττε δὲ τάφρους...ἀπέταττε φύλακας, τοξότας καθώπλιζεν... The text of the metaphrasts displays

exactly the kind of syntax which we encountered in Glykas' text and which Zonaras, as we saw, is avoiding at all costs. It is the kind of style which lays the linguistic foundations for the development of a more "relaxed", wordy and analytical prose and on which Modern Greek is based.

**Conclusion:**

The more familiar one becomes with 12th-century literature the more one is impressed by the literary aspirations of the authors and charmed by the level of perfection which some of their works display. It has become apparent that the Comnenian renaissance was an era during which well-educated Byzantines acted as a demanding public urging that extremely refined pieces of writing be produced, and threatening with scorn anything falling short of their description. It was an era which welcomed fierce competition among writers and promoted particularly high standards as far as language was concerned. Performers and teachers of rhetoric and grammar often adopted a conceited attitude towards what they called "barbarism", a term encompassing all kinds of literary incompetence, and occasionally treated their colleagues as inferiors, ever looking out for mistakes on the part of their rivals. Accusations of plagiarism, lack of skill and/or ignorance were a commonplace. Tzetzes in his *Chiliades*, for instance, is absolutely critical of his opponents:

Learn these things properly, therefore, according to Tzetzes,  
whom on account of this they scorn, God knows how many  
scoundrels and of what kind, supposedly philosophers,  
freaks, with no brains, forged in the art of grammar,  
people who have read ten or twelve books only,  
and even these they understood after many blows of the cane  
by themselves unable to comprehend the slightest thing;  
such freaks of nature, bastard monsters,

even though they are no more knowledgeable than Tzetzes,  
 yet they pretend to be wittier than the witty,  
 and to afford to understand everything on their own,  
 alleging that Tzetzes said the wrong thing on these matters.<sup>95</sup>

12th-century writers were composing in a society whose intelligentsia was good-humoured and appreciative of subtle irony and verbal pyrotechnics. It was a society whose young men were ever eager to listen to well-prepared speeches, read pieces of prose or verse written in the highest level of style and competed with each other as to who would rate first in presenting florid, highly-wrought verbal showpieces. It was a society with a public yearning for linguistic eccentricities, demonstrations of witty puns and other forms of wordplay and narratives bulging from mythological garnish as well as references and quotations from the classics or the Bible.

Moreover it was a society that delighted in the excesses of rhetoric, whose members would talk highly of their talents but would also indulge in a kind of weird modesty, which deserves to be called Byzantine and which modern scholarship has often failed to understand. Finally it was a society whose *literati* shared a passion for etymologies and generally for word hermeneutics. Time and again they interrupt their narrative in order to insert a statement about the etymology of a keyword, phrase, etc. Tzetzes was once more pioneer in all kinds of vocabulary interpretations. In his *scholia* on Aristophanes' *Nubes* he points out the correct definition

<sup>95</sup> Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, VII, 504-515.

οὕτω καλῶς σὺ γίνωσκε ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν Τζέτζην,  
 Τὸν ὄνπερ καθυβρίζουσιν ἔνεκα τούτου πόσα,  
 Καὶ οἷα δὲ καθάρματα, φιλοσοφοῦντα δῆθεν,  
 Ἐκτρώματα, ἀνούστατα, σφυρήλατα τὴν τέχνην,  
 Δέκα μόνον ἢ δώδεκα βιβλία ἀναγνόντα,  
 Κἄν ταῦτα ἐπεγνώκεισαν πόσαις πληγαῖς βουκέντρων,  
 Ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τῶν ὄντων δὲ νοοῦντά τι μηδὲλως.  
 Τοιαῦτα δὴ ἀμβλώματα φύσεως, νόθον τέρας,  
 Κἄν μὴ πολυμαθέστερα καθέστηκε τοῦ Τζέτζου,  
 Ἄλλ' οὖν γε εὐφυέστερα καὶ τῶν ἀγχινοστέρων  
 Καὶ μόνα δὴ καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς σθένοντα πᾶν νοῆσαι,  
 Τὸν Τζέτζην λέγουσι κακῶς ἐν τούτοις εἰρηκέναι.

of the verb γαμῶ meaning "to marry" and not "to have intercourse",<sup>96</sup> a saucy misunderstanding common even today among Greek students learning ancient Greek. It is a kind of observation revealing the extent to which the meanings of words had already changed and, at the same time, also revealing the amount of effort required of aspiring linguists. On another occasion Michael Italicus gives the etymology of the word βασιλεύς interpreting it as βάσις λαοῦ (foundation of the people).<sup>97</sup> This information is repeated in a speech of Theophylact of Bulgaria to the emperor Constantine X Ducas (P. G. 126, 269a) and is also attested in the Lexicon Tittmannianum (370). Italicus was actually very keen in supplying correct definitions to words which were confusing or easily misunderstood and a good example of this is when he attempts to establish the connection between the words ὁμαίμων, ὁμόγνιος and ἀδελφός.<sup>98</sup>

What the above review of non-historians reveals is that all writers with *any* pretensions whatsoever will be expected to display, fairly regularly, the types of stylistic and linguistic device which have just been catalogued. There is an interest in definitions, and in playing with definitions which authors exploit to their particular needs. Thus the delicacies of rhetoric could be cleverly used both as a means of elegant flattery and a weapon of disguised defence or even attack on adversaries. It is now possible to understand why the compiler of the Lexicon Tittmannianum was working within the appropriate environment and why his work was so much liked and reproduced. It is also possible to view Zonaras' history as a typical product of twelfth-century literature

<sup>96</sup> *Scholia* in Aristophanes' *Nubes* 393, 49a. ὁ δέ φασιν οἱ ἀσελγεῖς καὶ αἰσχρόστομοι...οὐ γάμος καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὁμίλια...

<sup>97</sup> Italicus, *Lettres et Discours*, 287 (26).

<sup>98</sup> *op. cit.*, 216 (1-23).

and to appreciate the talent of an author who realized in his own ways the literary virtues of his age.

## CHAPTER IV

### **Some Features of Zonaras' Style. The Issue of Homogeneity.**

Investigating the homogeneity of a linguistic style is in itself a difficult task which in the case of Zonaras' history becomes even harder due to its expanse. Naturally the maintenance of a uniform and coherent language is partly dependent on how a writer treats his sources. Zonaras for a fact had drawn on a number of authors and if the traditional view about his work were to hold true, namely that it is worthy only as the medium through which information from early historians is preserved, then the risk of him failing to create a style of his own would be much greater. As a consequence the chances that he might have sought to intervene in other historians' narratives would be less and homogeneity in his own text would seem highly unlikely.

Yet our discoveries so far have shown that Zonaras was not somebody who uncritically transcribed information from his sources into the *Epitome*. His text has nothing in common with that of a chronicle which clumsily constructs pieces from other historians as a colourful patchwork with no prevailing pattern of its own. Yet before attempting an analysis of the prevailing linguistic features of his history and before we examine how faithfully he persists in these features throughout, let us for a moment consider an overall literary assessment of Zonaras' prose: this is found in the beginning of one of the surviving manuscripts (Codex Parisiensis Regius 1715 A), negligently written by an unknown hand. The author must have been himself a historian as is plain from his knowledgable comments preceded by the statement: λέγω δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ

τὰ τῆ ἱστορία καθήκοντα ἀποβλέπων.<sup>1</sup> He probably lived during or shortly after Zonaras' life-time and was possibly Nicetas Choniates as we know that both Nicetas and Zonaras shared a Christian ideology and a common approach to imperial power. Nicetas in fact was fully aware of his high mission as a historian; he also wrote a theological treatise, the *Panoplia Dogmatica* - Πανοπλία Δογματική - in which he criticised contemporary emperors and prelates, using a kind of language very similar to that of Zonaras.<sup>2</sup> A second possibility would be Constantine Acropolites (son of George) who again shared with Zonaras a non-secular concept of history by contrast with his father who had received a philosophical education. In our view the anonymous author, whoever he was, had to a great extent understood and appreciated what modern scholars, even today, have failed to realize: that the *Epitome* is an ambitious work exhibiting more talents than shortcomings.

"Since (ideally) clear style is the characteristic of historians and of those who do not make an untimely demonstration of their strength in eloquence, he (i.e. Zonaras) cared for clarity in as much as this was demanded of him by his narrative. Following the prescriptions of rhetoric, he moved in between what is a flaccid style and what is compact. He cared, therefore, for solemnity and the things through which the best kind of prose and written history are achieved; he also cared for the conciseness which invigorates slow or tedious narratives making them "mobile" as it were by interrupting the flow of thought. Indeed he cared for elegance and sweetness of diction in order not to overwhelm his audience with a speech which would otherwise have been extremely harsh and dissonant and somewhat inflexible.

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<sup>1</sup> *Notae*, Büttner-Wobst, I, 568.

<sup>2</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, ed. J. L. van Dielen, Amsterdam, 1970, 62 (15-20)-63 (1-8).



Yet he did not avoid linguistic elegance in as much as it was safe for him to do so. Moreover, the brilliance of all of his serious writings renders the flow of his history sweet. One might marvel at the purity of his text which is vigorous, concise and varied with figures of speech. On the other hand one should not fail to praise him for his florid vocabulary with its colourful variations. If he is not happy with the employment of harsh and laboured wording which is a sign of a difficult, bitter and austere style, this is not surprising; he preferred not to present a show of eloquence but a model for living. Consequently, to those who indulge in a showy display of words instead of trying to improve their lives, he may sound unpleasing; yet to those who give priority to a proper lifestyle over and above a "corrupt" language, he remains a valuable possession".<sup>3</sup>

The scholar who confronts this assessment is called to decide about how favourable it is towards Zonaras' prose. Alternatively, it is perhaps not a matter of looking at the *Epitome* favourably or otherwise but accepting that Zonaras was simply an author who set aside the polish of his style for a much profounder, ethical message which his history conveys. Is it then rather the case that Zonaras was a better moralist than stylist, and that, apparently, he composed a narrative not completely inelegant but definitely lacking the charms of rhetoric and the magic of

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<sup>3</sup>*Epitome* vol. I, *Notae*, 568-9. ἐπειδὴ τὸ σαφὲς τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς ἀνεῖται καὶ μὴ ἐπίδειξιν ἄκαιρον τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δυνάμεως ποιουμένοις, τοσοῦτον πεφρόντικεν ὅσον ὁ λόγος ἀπῆται τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ διηγήσεως. διαίτη γὰρ ῥητορικῆ τοῦ ὑπτίου τε καὶ συντόνου μέσον βαδίσειε. διὸ καὶ ἐδέησε τούτῳ σεμνότητος καὶ δι' ὧν κατορθοῦται τὸ βέλτιστον εἶδος ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἱστορίαις, ἐδέησε δὲ συντομίας τὸ οἷον δυσκίνητον ἢ νωθρὸν τῶν διηγημάτων διεγειρούσης καὶ οἷον εὐκίνητον τῆ διακοπῆ ποιούσης, κάλλους δὲ καὶ γλυκύτητος ὅσον ἔμελλε μὴ διακορεῖς τοὺς ἀκούοντας διαθεῖναι τῷ πάνυ τραχεῖ καὶ δυσήχῳ τῆς ἐρμηνείας καὶ οἷον σκληρῷ. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐπιεικείας ὅπως ἀκίνδυνον ἦν διαπέφευγε. τὸ δ' ἐπιλάμπον ἐφ' ἅπασιν τοῖς σεμνοῖς τῶν διηγημάτων ἠδεῖαν τὴν ὁμιλίαν τῆς ἱστορίας ποιεῖ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ἐρμηνείας καὶ οἷον ἀκμαῖον καὶ σύντομον κἂν τοῖς σχήμασι διαλλάττον. τὸ δὲ τῆς λέξεως ἀνθηρὸν καὶ ποικίλως μεταποιούμενον οὐ μικρὰς τινος ἄξιον εὐφημίας. εἰ δὲ μὴ χαίρει τραχείαις τε καὶ πεπονημέναις προστίθεσθαι λέξεσιν, ἐξ ὧν τὸ δυσσεπιχείρητον καὶ πικρὸν καὶ στρυφνὸν ἀναφαίνεται τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ θαυμάζειν εἰκόσ· οὐ γὰρ λόγων ἐπίδειξιν ἀλλὰ βίου προτύπων ἐνεγκεῖν ἠρεῖτο. διὸ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὅσοι μὴ βίον αἰροῦνται ῥυθμίζειν τὸν ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ἀλλὰ λόγων ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἐπίδειξιν, ἀτερπῆς εἰς ἀκρόασιν φαίνονται ἂν. κτῆμα δὲ τίμιον ὅσοι τὸν ὀρθὸν βίον τοῦ διεστραμμένου λόγου προκρίνουσιν.

eloquence? It is too easy to answer positively to these questions, especially if one treats the *Epitome* as a historical source without spending any time over a literary examination of Zonaras' Greek, but it is also a hasty and unjustified judgement which overlooks the key points made by the anonymous assessor. For the latter clearly states that while the *Epitome* was not meant to be a rhetorical showpiece it did in fact employ a good many identifiable rhetorical devices such as ample use of figures of speech, rich variation of vocabulary, sweetness of diction and, generally speaking, linguistic propriety. The main stylistic issues raised in the anonymous verdict are particularly three: first, Zonaras' text is described as vigorous and concise. This judgement is indeed in agreement with the impression which the Byzantine reader gets from reading the *Epitome*. The narrative records all the important historical facts without becoming exhausting or flaccid. To give a few examples, the reign of Constantine I is dealt with in 25 pages, Justinian I occupies 20 pages, Basil II 20 pages and Alexius I 35 pages. What captures our attention is that, in all cases, Zonaras combines political history, portraits of individuals, entertaining variations in the narrative and personal comments in such a way that "the flow" of his thought proceeds smoothly to the next episode or monarch. The numerous brief dialogues quoted, help to produce a certain "lightness" and vigour of style which refreshes the reader and works as a wise mechanism against repetition.

The second point is about Zonaras' florid vocabulary and his use of various figures of speech. Again here the anonymous writer makes a correct judgement. As we shall see in the chapter on wordplay, the *Epitome* is interspersed with ellipses, chiasmuses, oxymorons, understatements, etc. As for Zonaras' vocabulary, this is certainly both colourful and carefully chosen. One example may help: in a paragraph commenting on the seizure of imperial power by Alexius I and his

entourage we read: "But the Comneni, since no-one was opposing them, had approached the palace, entering it without difficulty, smoothly, with great ease. Such was their arrival, such their entry to the Queen of Cities, such their stepping upon the empire".<sup>4</sup> Apart from the different synonyms employed to convey the uninhibited access of the Comeni, the reader will notice the careful selection of the three nouns προσόδια, εἰσιτήρια and ἐπιβατήρια which, stage by stage, correspond to Alexius' approach to Constantinople, his entrance to the city and finally his ascension (advance?) to power.

The third issue mentioned in the anonymous appraisal is Zonaras' avoidance of showy eloquence which, indeed, would be inappropriate or undesirable in a world-chronicle. "Not too much rhetoric", however, does not necessarily mean ignorance or lack of it. In fact it suggests the *opposite*. If Zonaras knows how to avoid *excessive* rhetoric, he knows how to measure rhetoric properly.

With respect now to Zonaras' stylistic preferences one could pinpoint certain rather general linguistic features in which we find him indulging. One such feature is his preference for the use of passive syntax which he often introduces as a replacement for the active syntax employed by his sources. In such cases we either discover a complete reversal of the word structure of a phrase when an active verb is changed into a passive to be accompanied, when necessary, by the agent, or instead of an active verb or participle we find a passive participle etc. Indeed the opposite process (i.e. of passive syntax being changed into active) is not something which will strike the reader of the *Epitome*. When Zonaras is not busy practising changes of active forms into passive he usually keeps an already existing passive structure unaltered.

<sup>4</sup> Zonaras; *Epitome* XVIII, 20, 730 (12-16). Οἱ δὲ Κομνηνοὶ μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντιβαίνοντος τοῖς ἀνακτόροις προσπεφοιτήκασιν, ἀταλαιπύρως τούτοις ἐπιβάντες καὶ ὁμαλῶς μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς λειότητος. τοιαῦτα σφίσι τὰ προσόδια γέγονε, τοιαῦτα τὰ εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων εἰσιτήρια, τοιαῦτα τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβατήρια.

An easy explanation of this peculiarity would be to say that Zonaras needs passive syntax for abbreviating long chunks of text for his own purposes as an epitomator, and to a certain extent this may well hold true. Yet in a good many cases the above argument simply lacks force because there Zonaras is not making a long phrase shorter but, perhaps, even increasing the number of words in his text. We should therefore consider whether he had an additional motive and, in our view, this might be the creation of a new style, which appears occasionally odd but is certainly impressive and original. The Byzantine linguist who concentrates solely on the aspect of *mimesis* in terms of style surely misses the equally important point connected with *change* and *innovation* in Byzantine literature, of course always within a context that permits such innovation. The use of passive syntax could arguably serve the purpose of attracting the attention of Zonaras' readers by introducing an unusual syntactical structure as opposed to plainer, and therefore more trivial, structures used in traditional historiography.

Zonaras' motive might indeed have had further implications: his obsession with presenting historical facts not as deeds of people but rather as happenings affecting peoples' lives, could reflect a different understanding of history on his part, which would, consequently, require a suitable literary vehicle of expression. Passive syntax provides an ideal word structure for an historian whose philosophy concentrates not on human actions but sees humans more or less as the recipients of the course of their destiny. Zonaras has actually, and probably in agreement with the general conception of history in contemporary Byzantine theology, expressly stated in the *Epitome* [III, 3, 214 (7-10)] that history culminates with the second advent of Christ and that, in his days, the world was living in what seemed to be the last days of the fourth kingdom of Daniel. There was yet one last kingdom to appear, that of

Jesus, which would subject all of the earth [the Roman empire being only a fraction of it, *op. cit.*, XI, 16, 491 (2-3)], and would bring everlasting peace to all nations. It is conceivable, then, for a chronicle writer who sees world history as the fulfilment of God's plan to avoid phrases such as "x did z" and instead adopt more "passive" ones of the kind "z was brought about by x". The problem with this argument, however, is that it points to the concept of predestination which was not shared by twelfth-century writers.

Alternatively, it is possible that this degree of "remoteness" from events displayed by the use of passive syntax, was actually due to Zonaras' previous occupation as a jurist. As a matter of fact the rhetoric of surviving legal texts which date from the twelfth century does employ the use of passive syntax rather frequently. A few examples may help here. The first is an extract from a chrysobull of the emperor John II Comnenus intended to prevent thefts occurring in vacant dioceses (c. 1124 or 1139): "Yet if someone commits such a thing, even if he is a dignitary, he will first be chastised by lashing and tonsure as a violator of our command, and then, as a penalty, he will be asked to pay six litres of gold. Moreover if indeed any of the clerics of the diocese in question should be caught stealing some of the possessions of the church (for my Lordship has been instructed that many such deeds are in fact undertaken by the clerics) it is ordained that these, after strict examination and verification of the truth be deprived of their rank..."<sup>5</sup> The second extract is from a chrysobull of Manuel I Comnenus regarding the possessions of monasteries (c. 1158): "Because, however, by order of

<sup>5</sup> *Novellae et Aureae Bullae Imperatorum post Justinianum in Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. J. Zepos, vol. 1, Darmstadt, 1931, 363-4. εἰ δὲ τις... τοιοῦτόν τι διαπράξεται, κἂν ἀξιωματικὸς εἴη, πρῶτον μὲν ὡς παραβάτης τοῦ ἡμετέρου προστάγματος διὰ δαρμοῦ σωφρονισθήσεται καὶ κουράς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ λόγῳ ποινῆς ἀπαιτηθήσεται λίτρας νομισμάτων ἕξ. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπισκοπῆς κληρικῶν τις ὡς ὑφελόμενός τινα τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων φωραθεῖη (τολμάσθαι γὰρ διὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν κληρικῶν ἢ βασιλεία μου ἀνεδιδάχθη), διορίζεται καὶ τούτους μετὰ ἀκριβῆ ἔλεγχον καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κατάληψιν τοῦ οἰκείου ἐκπίπτειν βαθμοῦ...

my Lordship records will be created of the property and people owned by the monasteries, a monastery will only be inconvenienced and what is unjustly occupied (by it) removed, when the public official proves that the monastery is in possession of land or personnel or other asset in excess of the limit. For the monasteries will not be allowed to extend whatever is owned by them today, whether people, lands or other, and increase their number".<sup>6</sup>

Finally the third extract is taken from another chrysobull of Manuel dealing with the administration of law courts (c. 1166): "For if the Lord is just and loved justice, presumably the person who is assigned by Him to rule the inhabitants of the earth should both be himself just and have the highest opinion as well as accept the judgements of those who have been appointed by him to conduct trials. For what other task of the emperor is more precious than this and more profitable for his subjects? These then my Lordship not only did not overlook, but indeed wished and prayed that there should be no-one suffering injustice within my kingdom, or else, that those who have been commanded by my Lordship to avenge the underprivileged should not be more indolent than the lawless".<sup>7</sup>

The following lines give a selected number of examples displaying changes from active to passive syntax. Zonaras is practising these changes when drawing on a variety of sources including Josephus,

<sup>6</sup> *op. cit.*, 384. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ προστάξεως τῆς βασιλείας μου μέλλουσι γενέσθαι πρακτικὰ τῶν σήμερον κατεχομένων παρὰ τῶν μονῶν ἀκινήτων καὶ παροίκων, τότε μόνον ὀχληθήσεται ἡ μονὴ καὶ τὸ ἀδίκως κατεχόμενον ἀφαιρεθήσεται, ὅτε ὁ ἀναγραφεὺς δεικνύει, ὡς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ περιορισμοῦ κατέχει ἡ μονὴ τόπια ἢ παροίκους ἢ ἕτερον δίκαιον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔξουσιν αἱ μοναὶ τὰ σήμερον παρ' αὐτῶν κατεχόμενα, εἴτε πάροικοι εἴεν εἴτε τόποι εἴτε αὐτούργια, ἐπαύξειν καὶ εἰς πληθυσμὸν ἄγειν πλείονα.

<sup>7</sup> *op. cit.*, 389-90. εἰ γὰρ δίκαιος ὁ κύριος καὶ δικαιοσύνας ἠγάπησε, προσήκει δὴ πού καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου λαχόντα βασιλεύειν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς αὐτόν τε δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προβαλλομένων εἰς τὸ δικάζειν τὰς εὐθυδικίας περισπούδαστον ἔργον ποιῆσθαι καὶ ἀποδέχασθαι. ἢ τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη βασιλέως ἔργον τιμιώτερον ἕτερον καὶ τοῖς βασιλευομένοις λυσιτελέστερον; ταῦτα τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιλεία μου ἀγνοήσασα, μάλιστα μὲν ἠβούλετο καὶ ἠῤῃχετο, μηδένα μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀδικούμενον ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπικράτειαν· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ῥαθυμοτέρους εἶναι τῶν τὰ παράνομα δρώντων περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐκδίκησιν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν τεταγμένους παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου.

Cassius Dio, Xenophon, Plutarch and a few Byzantine chroniclers and historians. The changes are perhaps even more remarkable since Zonaras, with certain exceptions,<sup>8</sup> avoids long direct quotations from other authors, especially from Psellus. Thus the fact that whenever he does follow them closely he chooses to reverse the word order of their text, indicates the importance of the alterations he brings:

### Josephus<sup>9</sup>

1. [*Antiqu.* XII, 255 (23-24)] καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν (τῶν Ἰουδαίων) κατηκολούθουν οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέτακτο...

*Epitome* IV, 19, 367 (5) οἱ μὲν οὖν τῇ βίᾳ νικώμενοι τοῖς ἐπιτεταγμένοις ἐπέιθοντο...

2. [*Antiqu.* XIII, 117 (20-21)] τῶν γὰρ σωματοφυλάκων αὐτὸν ἐξαρπασάντων χαλεπῶς οὕτως εἶχεν...

*Epitome* IV, 23, 380 (9-10) μόλις δ' ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἐξαρπασθεὶς ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἔκειτο τέσσαρας...

3. [*Antiqu.* XIII, 131 (8-9)] τίς στρατηγὸς...ὁ καὶ Τρύφων ἐπικληθεὶς παραγίνεται πρὸς Μάλχον τὸν Ἄραβα, ὃς ἔτρεφε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον...

*Epitome* IV, 24, 381 (12) τις στρατηγὸς Τρύφων ἐπικληθεὶς, πρὸς Μάλχον τὸν Ἄραβα παραγίνεται, καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀντίοχον τρεφόμενον παρ' αὐτῷ ἐζήτει...

4. (*De Bello Jud.* V, 447, 18-19) λωφήσαντος δὲ πρὸς βραχὺ τοῦ θύραζε πολέμου πάλιν τὸν ἔνδον ἢ στάσις ἐπήγειρεν.

*Epitome* VI, 19, 527 (1-2) λωφήσαντος δὲ πρὸς βραχὺ τοῦ θύραθεν πολέμου, πάλιν τοῖς ἔνδον ἢ στάσις ἠγείρετο.

<sup>8</sup> He does follow e. g. the Josephus' *Epitome* pretty closely.

<sup>9</sup> Compare also *Antiqu.* XIII, 192 (33-34) and *Epitome* V, 24, 384 (8-9); *Antiqu.* XIV, 17 (32-33) and *Epitome* V, 5, 398 (14-15); *De Bello Jud.* VI, 564 (17-18) and *Epitome* VI, 26, 548 (9); *De bello Jud.* VII, 575 (18-19) and *Epitome* VI, 26, 550 (9-10); *De Bello Jud.* VII, 598 (18-20) and *Epitome* VI, 28, 557 (16-18).

5. (*De Bello Jud.* V, 449, 7-8) καὶ κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐνέδραν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συσκευάζονται τοιάνδε.

*Epitome* VI, 19, 527 (6-7) Ἰουδαίους δὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐνέδρα τις μεμηχάνητο.

6. (*De Bello Jud.* VI, 547, 18-20) τῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αἰδῶ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κωλύοντος φόβον ἐνίκων οἱ θυμοὶ καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μῖσος.

*Epitome* VI, 23, 541 (20-22) οἱ δὲ νικώμενοι τῷ θυμῷ καὶ τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μίσει, οὔτε τῇ πρὸς Τίτον αἰδοῖ ἀνεκόπτοντο οὔτε φόβῳ τῷ τοῦ κωλύοντος.

### Cassius Dio<sup>10</sup>

1. (*Historiae* LXXXIV, 130, 2) καὶ τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀφεῖλε (sc. ὁ Περτίναξ) τῶν ἀδίκως πεφονευμένων.

*Epitome* XII, 6, 540 (19-20) καὶ ἡ ἀτιμία τῶν ἀδίκως πεφονευμένων ἐλύθη παρ' αὐτοῦ.

2. (*Historiae* LXXVI, 228, 5) καὶ εἶδομεν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐνούχους τε καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ πατέρας ἀόρχεις καὶ ἐκτομίας καὶ πωγωνίας.

*Epitome* XII, 10, 552 (13-14) ὥσθ' ὀρᾶσθαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ εὐνούχους καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ πατέρας ἀόρχεις καὶ ἐκτομίας καὶ πωγωνίας.

3. (*Historiae* LXXVII, 264, 4) δύνανται δὲ (sc. οἱ Βρεττανοί) καὶ λιμὸν καὶ ψυχὸς καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν πᾶσαν ὑπομένειν.

*Epitome* XII, 10, 554 (10-11) λιμῷ δὲ καὶ ψύχει ταλαιπωρούμενοι καὶ ἄλλαις κακώσεσι φέρουσι...

### Xenophon

1. (*Cyrop.* I, 5, 4) καὶ ὁ Κῦρος...ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἦν.

<sup>10</sup> Compare also: *Historiae* LXXVII, 264 (5) and *Epitome* XII, 10, 554 (16-17); *Historiae* LXXVII, 270 (7) and *Epitome* XII, 10, 555 (9); *Historiae* LXXVIII, 312 and *Epitome* XII, 12, 562 (5).



*Epitome* III, 16, 265 (17-18) ἤδη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἠρίθμητο.

2. (*Cyrop.* IV, 6, 392) τὸν δὲ Γωβρίαν ἄγουσι πρὸς τὸν Κύρον.

*Epitome* III, 19, 274 (5) ὁ Γωβρίας...ἤχθη πρὸς αὐτόν.

### **Plutarch**<sup>11</sup>

1. (*Romulus* VII, 21) ὁ μὲν οὖν Νομήτωρ ἔκ τε τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν εἰκάζων τὸν χρόνον...

*Epitome* VII, 2, 8 (1-2) ὁ μὲν οὖν Νομήτωρ τοῖς τε λόγοις τοῦ Ρώμου καὶ τῇ ὄψει πρὸς ἔννοιαν τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐνήγετο παίδων...

2. (*Numa* II, 61) τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς μεσοβασιλείαν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.

*Epitome* VII, 5, 19 (6-7) τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο μεσοβασιλεία τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὠνόμαστο.

3. (*Publicola* XXIII) αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες...διεπένθησαν ἑνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρί...

*Epitome* VII, 13, 49 (20) δημοσίᾳ ταφεῖς καὶ θρηνηθεῖς ἐφ' ὅλον ἑνιαυτόν.

### **Theophanes**

(I, 280, 10-12) ἐκ τούτου πολὺ μῖσος ἐκινήθη κατὰ Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἤρξαντο λοιδορίαις τοῦτον βάλλειν...

*Epitome* XIV, 13, 193 (4-5) ἐντεῦθεν πᾶσι μῖσος κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφύετο καὶ πρὸς πάντων ἐλοιδορεῖτο...

### **George the Monk**

(222, 23) καὶ ἵνα μὴ νομίσωσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πάλιν ἀπολήψεσθαι τὸν ναόν...

<sup>11</sup> Compare also: *Alexander* XIX, 274 and *Epitome* IV, 9, 334 (20); *Alexander* XX, 6, 280 and *Epitome* IV, 9, 335 (17-18); *Alexander* XXIV, 2, 292 and *Epitome* IV, 10, 336 (10).

*Epitome* III, 10, 246 (6-7) ἵνα δὲ μὴ νομίζηται τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις  
 πρόσκαιρος ἢ ἐρήμωσις...

### **Psellus**<sup>12</sup>

1. *Chronographia* I, V, 27 (4-5) ἡ μὲν πρεσβυτέρα...διέφθαρτο γὰρ ἐξ ἔτι  
 παιδὸς οὐσης, λοιμικοῦ ταύτην κατασχόντος νοσήματος:

*Epitome* XVII, 10, 570 (18) ἡ μὲν πρεσβυτέρα Εὐδοκία λοιμικῶ τὸ κάλλος  
λωβηθεῖσα νοσήματι...

2. *Chronographia* I, XIX, 45 (2-5) ἡ πολλάκις ἀποστρεφόμενη τὸν ἐκτομίαν  
 τότε θαμὰ προσῆλ καὶ...εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λόγον κατέληγε.  
 θαρρεῖν τε ἐκεῖνον παρεκελεύετο...

*Epitome* XVII, 13, 582 (13-14) μισούμενος δ' αὐτῇ πρῶην ὁ ἐκτομίας  
 τότε καὶ προσεκαλεῖτο καὶ ὁμιλίας ἤξιωτο γνησιώτερον, εἶτα καὶ περὶ  
 τοῦ Μιχαῆλ ἠρωτᾶτο τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.

3. *Chronographia* I, XXI, 47 (1-2) εἰς γνώσιν οὐκ ἐληλύθει τῷ βασιλεῖ·

*Epitome* XVII, 13, 583 (6) μόνω δ' ἠγνοεῖτο τῷ αὐτοκράτορι.

4. *Chronographia* I, XXI, 47 (9-10) μόνον τε τοῦτον ἐκάλει καὶ τῶν ποδῶν  
 ἐπαφᾶσθαι καὶ ἀνατρίβειν τούτῳ προσέταττε...

*Epitome* XVII, 13, 583 (8) ὁ Μιχαῆλ εἰσκαλούμενος ἀνατρίβειν οἱ τοὺς  
 πόδας κεκέλευστο.

A few lines below on the same page:

Psellus: ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐραστὴν ἢ ἐρώμενον προσκαλέσας ποτὲ περὶ τοῦ  
 ἔρωτος ἐπυνθάνετο...

Zonaras: τὸν ὑποπτευόμενον αὐτῷ καλέσας εἰ ἐρώτο πρὸς τῆς  
 βασιλίσσης ἠρώτα...

<sup>12</sup> Compare also: Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, LI, 142 (3-4) and *Epitome* XVII, 21, 618-19; *Chronographia* II, C, 15 (8) and *Epitome* XVII, 23, 625 (16-17); *Chronographia* II, CXXI, 28 (4) and *Epitome* XVII, 23, 630 (10-11).

A second literary feature which the language of the *Epitome* displays is the frequent use of hypotaxis, in other words of a dependent construction of phrases ususally involving a series of infinitives and participles which depend on an aorist or a (historical) present tense or an impersonal verb like "it is said". Zonaras resorts to hypotaxis<sup>13</sup> when he is reporting information from other sources, or when he gives an analysis of the conditions of a treaty (requiring a list of infinitives after the preposition ἐπὶ (τῷ) etc. It is a linguistic feature not exactly rare in historiography, but it certainly portrays an interest in careful writing pursued by aspiring stylists and is characteristically absent from less classicizing works of literature. For instance Zonaras' account of the death of Isaac Comnenus (*Epitome* XVIII, 7, 672-3) gives us a brilliant example of how he can combine information from three different sources<sup>14</sup> (Psellus, Scylitzes Continuatus, Bryennius), and adapt it into his own narrative by introducing an unusually long passage of one and half pages containing fourteen participles and nineteen infinitives (!), all of which depend on two verbs: λέγει (for Psellus) and ἱστορήσε (for his second source, Scylitzes). It is perhaps useful at this point to follow Zonaras' technique of presenting facts which he finds in his sources and then reports in indirect speech by employing just participles and infinitives without any main verbs: the first thing to observe regarding this masterpiece of hypotaxis is that Zonaras could have easily avoided it and, instead, could have used an assortment of participles, infinitives *and* verbs just as Psellus did in extracts a(1) and a(2) a few paragraphs below. Yet Zonaras chose the hard, uncommon way of hypotactic structure; he has kept some of Psellus' wording but has introduced important changes

<sup>13</sup> Compare Zonaras, *Epitome* X, 22, 372-3; VIII, 22, 179-80; XIV, 10, 178 (12-18); XVIII, 7, 672-3; VIII, 17, 162 (15-22); IX, 16, 252 (1-8); XII, 33, 621-22; XIII, 21, 98-9; XIV, 2, 132-33; XIV, 12, 188-89; XVIII, 7, 672-3.

<sup>14</sup> Although he himself mentions just Psellus and "the Thrakesian", presumably referring to Scylitzes, it is possible that Zonaras had also consulted the history of Bryennius.

with regard to verbs by turning them into infinitives, while for certain participles in Psellus he discovers attractive variations. Here are some of the changes he introduces:

<u>Psellus</u> <sup>15</sup>	<u>Zonaras</u>
ψυχρῶ πνεύματι <u>βάλλεται</u>	(λέγει) <u>βληθῆναι</u> πνεύματι ψυχρῶ
<u>ρίγώσαντα</u>	(λέγει) <u>φρίκην ἐπισυμβῆναι αὐτῶ</u>
<u>πυρετὸς διαδέχεται</u>	(λέγει) <u>πυρετὸν ... ἀναφλενῆναι</u>
(φήσας) <u>λύττεσθαι τὴν πλευράν</u>	(λέγει) <u>λύττεσθαι τὴν πλευράν</u>
οὐ πάνυ τι <u>γενναίως</u>	(λέγει) <u>τὸ ἄσθμα μὴ ἐρρώσθαι αὐτῶ</u>
<u>ἀναφέρειν τὸ ἄσθμα</u>	

Then Zonaras moves on to the information of his second source regarding Isaac's fatal chase of the wild boar in the environs of Neapolis. According to him this information derives from the "Thrakesian" and is indeed attested in Scylitzes Continuatus (extract b). The series of participles and infinitives is continued in Zonaras' text, except that a new verb (ιστόρησε) shortly interrupts their present flow. Verbs are still being changed into infinitives, whereas participles are either replaced by infinitives or by different participles which form part of new phrases, thus creating a new impact on readers. Again here are some of the key-changes which Zonaras brings:

<u>Scylitzes Continuatus</u>	<u>Zonaras</u>
χοῖρος <u>ἐπιφανείς</u>	(ιστόρησε) σὺν δ' <u>ἐπιφανῆναι</u>
τὴν θάλασσαν <u>εἰσδὺς</u> ἀφανῆς	(ιστόρησε) <u>εἰσδύναι</u> τὴν θάλασσαν
<u>ἐγένετο</u>	<u>γενέσθαι</u> τε ἀφανῆ
τοῦ ἵππου τε <u>ἀπεςφαιρίσθη</u>	(ιστόρησε) τοῦ ἵππου τε <u>ἐκπεσεῖν</u>
πρὸς τῆ γῆ <u>ἀφρίζων</u> ἐκυλίετο	(ιστόρησε) <u>κεῖσθαι</u> παρὰ τῆ γῆ
	<u>ἀφρὸν τοῦ στόματος ἀποπτύοντα</u>
ἀκατίῳ δὲ <u>ἐμβληθείς</u>	(ιστόρησε) ἀκατίῳ... <u>ἐμβιβασθέντα</u>

<sup>15</sup> Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II, LXXIII, 129 (10-12); LXXVII, 130 (4)-131 (7).

Finally Zonaras moves on to report Isaac's retreat as a Studite monk and consequently his death for which he probably draws on a third source, in all likelihood the history of Bryennius (extract c). This is primarily because, out of all sources, only Zonaras and Bryennius mention the recovery of the emperor from his illness which took place in the monastery of the Studites. While it is always possible that such information was going about by word of mouth during Zonaras' lifetime, it remains a significant fact that Psellus, Attalieiates and Scylitzes are silent about it. In Zonaras' text the same hypotactic word structure is maintained, resulting in a syntactically unique passage quite unparalleled in Byzantine historiography. Below we cite the three extracts from Zonaras' sources to be followed by his own account (extract d):

Extract a(1) : Psellus [*Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld II, LXXIII, 129 (8-12)]

πολλάκις δὲ τῇ βολῇ τῆς λόγχης ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τὰς ὕς χρώμενος καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπανατείνων τὴν δεξιάν, ψυχρῷ πνεύματι βάλλεται τὴν πλευράν, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐ πάνυ κατάδηλος ἡ πληγὴ ἐγεγόνει, τῇ δ' ἐφεξῆς ῥιγώσαντα πυρετὸς διαδέχεται.

Extract a(2) : Psellus [*Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II, LXXVII, 130-1]

πρωταίτερον δὲ αὐθις ἐκεῖσε παραγενόμενον ἐπτόησέ τις αὐτίκα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, νύττεσθαι μὲν φήσας τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν πλευράν, αὐτὸν δὲ πνευστιᾶν καὶ οὐ πάνυ τι γενναίως ἀναφέρειν τὸ ἄσθμα.

Extract b : Scylitzes Continuatus [*He Synecheia tes Chronographias*, ed. Eu. Tsolakis, 108 (5-12)]

περὶ δὲ ὥραν ἀρίστου φῶς ἀστραπηβόλον τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις ἐνέσκηψε, Νεάπολις τούτοις τὸ γνῶρισμα, χοῖρός τέ ποθεν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα ἐξεκαλέσατο, δν ἐπιδιώκων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄχρι καὶ θαλάσσης ἐξήλασεν. Ὡς δὲ ὁ χοῖρος τὴν θάλασσαν εἰσδὺς ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαίφνης πληγεῖς τῷ ἀστραπηβόλῳ φωτὶ τοῦ ἵππου τε

ἀπεσφαιρίσθη καὶ πρὸς τῆ γῆ ἀφρίζων ἐκυλίετο. Ἄκατίω δὲ ἐμβληθεὶς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια διασώζεσθαι παρεκεκομμένος καὶ ἑαυτοῦ μηδόλως ἐπαισθανόμενος.

Extract c : Bryennius [*Hyle historias*, ed. P. Gautier, I, 83 (11)-85 (5)]

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν νόσον ὀρῶν ἐπιτείνουσαν, ἐπεὶπερ ἀπέγνωστο...πρὸς τὸν Δούκα Κωνσταντῖνον ἀπεΐδεν,...εὐθὺς οὖν ἐκάλει καὶ...αὐτῷ παραθέμενος τῷ βασιλικῷ ταινιώματι στεφανοῖ, αὐτὸς πρότερον τῆς ἀλουργίδος τὸ ἀγγελικὸν ἀνταλλαζάμενος σχῆμα. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Στουδίου μονὴν ὑπήγετο (...) ἐπεὶ γὰρ...τὰ τῆς νόσου ἐρράϊσε καὶ ὑγιῆς ὁ πρὶν θανεῖν προσδοκῆσιμος ἀποδέδεικτο...

Extract d : Zonaras (*Epitome XVIII*, 7, 672-3)

ὁ μὲν γὰρ πολὺς τὴν γλῶτταν ψελλὸς ἐν θήραιο ἐκεῖνον λέγει τὸν βασιλέα σχολάζοντα καὶ συχνάκις τὴν δεξιὰν λογχοφόρον ἐπ' ἄρκτους καὶ σύας ἐπανατείνοντα βληθῆναι πνεύματι ψυχρῷ τὴν πλευρὰν, κἀντεῦθεν φρίκην ἐπισυμβῆναι αὐτῷ καὶ πυρετὸν ἐκ τοῦ βάθους ἀναφλεγῆναι, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύττεσθαι τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ τὸ ἄσθμα μὴ ἐρρῶσθαι αὐτῷ, κἀκ τούτων ἀμφισβητήσιμον γενόμενον τὸ βιωσόμενον ἢ καὶ ἀπεγνωκότα τέλεον τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ τὸν Δούκαν Κωνσταντῖνον τῆ βασιλείᾳ ἐγκαταστήσαντα, πρὸς τὴν κρείττω μετατάξασθαι βιοτήν. ὁ δὲ γε Θρακῆσιος θηρᾶν κἀκεῖνος τὸν βασιλέα ἱστόρησέ περὶ τὴν Νεάπολιν, σὺν δ' ἐπιφανῆναί ποθεν τὴν θεᾶν φρικτόν, καὶ τὸν Κομνηνὸν ἐνδεδωκότα τῷ ἵππῳ τὸν χαλινὸν διώκειν τὸν σὺν, τὸν δὲ εἰσδῦναι τὴν θάλασσαν γενέσθαι τε ἀφανῆ, ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ ὡς ἐξ ἀστραπῆς ἐνσκήψαι λαμπηδόνα τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῆ ταύτης βολῆ διαταραχθέντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ ἵππου τε ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ κεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆ γῆ ἀφρὸν τοῦ στόματος ἀποπτύοντα καὶ μηδὲν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν αἰσθανόμενον, ἀκατίω δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐμβιβασθέντα κομισθῆναι εἰς τὰ βασίλεια καὶ νοσήσαντά τι βραχὺ, εἶτα δὴ καὶ ἀπογνωσθέντα, κείρασθαί τε τὴν τρίχα καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς πορφύρας τραχὺ

τριβώνιον ἀμφιέσασθαι, τὸν Δοῦκαν Κωνσταντῖνον βασιλέα προχειρισάμενον, καὶ οὕτω τῆ τοῦ Στουδίου προσορμίσει μονῆ, κάκεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν καταβιώναι τῆς βιοτῆς ἀναρρωσθέντα ἐκ τοῦ νοσήματος.

In conclusion one might argue that long structures such as the above were typical of the language of legal documents (especially judges' reports, which would habitually summarise opposing arguments) and that Zonaras who had been versed in the morphology and composition of the complicated legal rhetoric was, to say the least, extremely familiar with hypotaxis.<sup>16</sup>

Zonaras was a writer who had studied and mastered Greek thoroughly; he was moreover someone with an unusually keen interest in language and very probably also in lexicography, and was therefore particularly conscious about anything related to linguistic precision (ἀκριβολογία) and the correct use of vocabulary. Discussions about word interpretations, especially translations of Latin terms into Greek, are common in his history. Now and then he would explain that Μάξιμος means extremely great [VII, 14, 52 (18)], that τριβούνοι were the *demarchoi* or the tribunes [VII, 15, 55 (14)] or that προῦγκιψ can best be rendered as *prokritos* or elder [VII, 20, 72 (16)]. No less frequent are his discussions on the etymology of place-names such as the city of Tarsus, for instance in Cilicia. The city took its name from its citizens, Zonaras adds, who were previously called Θαρσεῖς. "Hence their most eminent city is called Tarsus, as *theta* was changed into *tau* " [I, 5, 31 (15-16)]. One might, of course, argue that linguistic comments on place-names are frequently found already in tenth-century historians, but Zonaras' interest in the morphology of words goes far beyond place-names. In *Epitome* [XVI, 2, 389 (11-17)] he refers to the Manichaeans whom ordinary people call

<sup>16</sup> cf. R. Macrides, Justice under Mabel I Komnenos: Four Novels on Court Business and Murder in *Fontes Minores*, 6, ed. D. Simon, 1984, 99-204; esp. 122.

Paulicians, a term consisting of the names Paulus and Ioannes.<sup>17</sup> Elsewhere [XII, 32, 619 (1-9)] quoting probably directly from the Lexicon of *Suda*, Zonaras provides an etymology for the word θρίαμβος deriving from θρία which are the fig-leaves. According to another etymology, he goes on, the word is connected with the three classes of people participating in the procession of a triumph (i.e. the senate, the populace and the soldiers). Because all three classes were marching together as one body, they were first called τρίαμβος "but instead of *tau*, *theta* was chosen for the sake of euphony".<sup>18</sup> Now such remarks are *not* common in historiography and indicate a genuine interest in language on Zonaras' part.

When drawing on his sources he often transfers hermeneutical information which, however, he enriches with additional material or, in some cases, gives different interpretations to words from those provided by his sources. Thus, when speaking about the time of the foundation of Rome which happened on the eleventh day before the kalends of May [*Epitome* VII, 3, 10 (6-7)] Zonaras adds "which would be the twentieth of April", information not to be found in Plutarch's *Romulus*. A few lines below he cites Plutarch as far as the definition of ποπούλους is concerned, meaning the populace, but then goes on to insert: "hence in the books of law *popularia* is the term used for public suits". Information which, needless to say, must have sprung to his mind from his experience during his term of office as a jurist. Again in *Epitome* VII, 12, 44 (23) Zonaras mentions that the title Ποπλικόλας given to Publius Valerius in Greek means "popular" (δημοκηδής or δημοτικώτατος), a parenthesis which once more cannot be found in Plutarch's *Publicola*.

<sup>17</sup> The etymology for Paulicians cannot be found in the account of Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 153 (20).

<sup>18</sup> It is not, however, clear whether Zonaras was aware that the Latin original of θρίαμβος, *triumphus*, does *not* begin with a theta-sound.



One last example of Zonaras' variations can be seen in his account on Mucius Cordus, surnamed Scaevola (*Epitome* VII, 13, 46 ). Although there he follows Plutarch very closely, he nevertheless defines the name Scaevola as "someone with one hand, or lacking both hands" (ὁ δηλοῖ τὸν μονόχειρα ἢ μὴ ἀρτιόχειρα). Plutarch's definition is different. Scaevola for him is "someone with only a left hand" (λαίος). Regardless of whether Zonaras is right about his interpretation, it is very unlikely that he would have come to it as a matter of error, say a misreading of Plutarch's text. Both authors in their narrative give basically the same story for Scaevola's handicap and they employ very similar wording. Yet according to Plutarch, Scaevola lost his *right hand* which he allowed voluntarily to be consumed by fire, whereas Zonaras speaks about Scaevola's *hand* (not specifying which one) as having been burnt. It is, therefore, unlikely that, given his otherwise considerable fidelity to Plutarch in this passage, Zonaras would have chosen to omit just the word "right" in connection with the man's hand unless he believed he had to. And indeed he had, if he were to be consistent with his earlier definition of Scaevola. For the latter to be left with *one* hand he had to lose his *other* (and not expressly his right) one. So much then for Zonaras' diversification regarding word etymology in his history.

We said earlier that Zonaras was sensitive about the use of his vocabulary. There are two points which can be made here: the first is that he employs an ample variety of different words for a single notion (at least twelve for "illustrious men", nine for "wife", seven for "plot" etc). The second point is that when he finds it necessary to be richly ornamental, he resorts, next to the traditionally "classical" terms, also to later Greek vocabulary or at any rate vocabulary which had been commoner in his time (e.g. the pair κηδεστής-γαμβρός in *Epitome* XIV, 11, 182 (8, 12) or indeed combines standard with poetic words (as when he

speaks of Heraclius' and Eudocia's wedding wreaths and diadems: στεφάνου, XIV, 14, 203 (18-19). He is also fond of matching pairs of synonyms which was, apparently, a literary device suggested by rhetoric [e.g. ὁμαίμων and σύγγονος XV, 13, 301 (16); ὁμοδίαιτος XV, 14, 307 (19) and ὁμέστιος XV, 26, 362 (15); σκήψεις and προβουλεύματα XVIII, 3, 664 (12)] etc. Here is a table with a brief sample of vocabulary variation from the *Epitome* :

οἱ πρῶτοι [I, 17, 68 (1)]	τὸ στρατήγημα [VIII, 6, 123 (15)]
οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες [XIV, 5, 150 (10)]	ἡ σκήψις [IX, 12, 236 (14)]
οἱ ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς [XIV, 12, 186 (12); XV, 15, 310 (9)]	τὸ πλάσμα [IX, 12, 236 (7)]
οἱ ἐπίσημοι [XIV, 14, 202 (4)]	τὸ τύρευμα [XV, 19, 324 (12)]
οἱ ἐπιφανεῖς [XIV, 14, 202 (17)]	τὸ σκαιωρούμενον [XV, 25, 353 (9)]
οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ προεξάρχοντες [XIV, 20, 222 (17)]	τὸ σκαιώρημα [XVI, 1, 384 (16)]
οἱ ὑπερλίαν [XIV, 22, 232 (2); XV, 2, 256 (7)]	τὸ προβούλευμα [XVIII, 3, 664 (12)]
οἱ μεγιστάνες [XV, 12, 294 (5); XVI, 7, 415 (10)]	-----
οἱ περιφανεῖς [XV, 13, 301 (17); XV, 29, 379 (4)]	ἡ εὐνέτειρα [XV, 27, 367 (15)]
οἱ ἐν ἀρχαῖς [XV, 16, 311 (13)]	ἡ σύμβιος [XV, 29, 381 (7); XVI, 14, 455 (5)]
οἱ ὑπερέχοντες τῶν ἀρχόντων [XV, 17, 316 (7)]	ἡ σύνευνος [XVI, 13, 446 (9)]
	ἡ γαμετή [XVI, 13, 446 (1)]
	ἡ ὁμεινέτις [XVI, 18, 470 (1)]
	ἡ γυνή [XVI, 18, 471]
	ἡ κοινωνὸς τοῦ βίου [XVI, 21, 483]
	ἡ σύνοικος [XVII, 21, 618 (10)]
	ἡ ξυνεινέτις [XVII, 21, 620 (5)]

We come now to discuss some of the lesser characteristics of Zonaras' style, one of which is the (rare) omission of the verb in a

sentence. This is not perhaps something exclusively peculiar to Zonaras and it might owe its origin to oral language which is not always compliant with the rules of grammar.<sup>19</sup> Thus expressions denoting repetitions of events or a result of events understandably can "stand", as it were, unsupported by a verb. Such expressions contain words like αὐθις, or πάλιν or ἐντεῦθεν and can be found below:

1. καὶ αὐθις ναυμαχίαι συχναί [*Epitome* XIV, 20, 223 (13)]
2. πάλιν οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ στρατεία κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, καὶ πάλιν μάχη [*Epitome* XV, 28, 371 (3-4)]
3. πάλιν ἑτέρα πρεσβεία καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τρίτη [*Epitome* XVIII, 19, 721 (7-8)]
4. ἐντεῦθεν ἐμφύλιοι πόλεμοι [*Epitome* XV, 5, 266 (2-3)]

Another point refers to the use of Attic syntax which, again, is anything but rare in classicizing historiography. It is employed usually in expressions of the kind "such things happened", when the verb is in the singular and the place of the subject is occupied by a noun in the plural like πράγματα or a demonstrative pronoun like ταῦτα. It is not always easy to detect an inclination for Zonaras to convert normal syntax into Attic when drawing on his sources, although we may assume that such a tendency was latent in his mind in that it could serve as the constituent of a polished language.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> There is, however, one more case where a verb is omitted, which does not belong to the above category. In *Epitome* XI, 21, 510-11 the emperor Trajan is said to have paid a visit to a potential enemy called Sura. The former dismissed his guards, "summoned Sura's doctor and through him (...the text has no verb) his eyes, whereas through Sura's barber he had his beard shaved". (τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποπέμψας, τὸν ἰατρὸν τοῦ Σούρα ἐκάλεσε, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ κουρέως ἐκείνου τὴν ὑπήνην ἐξύρατο). Now Zonaras' source for this incident is Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (LXVIII, 15, 5) where the reader in fact discovers no want of verbs as the phrase at issue reads καὶ δι' ἐκείνου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπηλείψατο, suggesting that the doctor applied a medicament on Trajan's eyes. If this is not an error in the manuscripts of the *Epitome*, then it must have been a "slip" on Zonaras' part.

<sup>20</sup> Instances of Attic syntax can be found in the *Epitome* VIII, 5, 122 (10); VIII, 9, 136 (18); VIII, 11, 141 (14); VIII, 22, 178 (13); VIII, 24, 184 (18); VIII, 25, 186 (8); VIII, 25, 189 (8); IX, 1, 199 (2); IX, 7, 217 (13); X, 3, 307 (2) which has a parallel in Plutarch's *Pompeius* 28,

We are perhaps luckier with another feature of the language of the *Epitome*, namely the manipulation of the dual number. Below we cite five examples in which the reader can see how Zonaras changes singular or plural into dual number:

1. *Epitome* [II, 18, 180 (4-5)] Ἰωράμ (ἢ γὰρ αὐτῆ κλησὶς ἀμφοῖν τοῖν βασιλέων προσῆν).

Josephus [*Antiqu.* IX, 95 (4)] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς Ἰώραμος, ὠμωνύμουν γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς...

2. *Epitome* [XIV, 11, 182 (8-10)] καὶ κηδεστήν (sc. τὸν Μαυρίκιον) ἐπὶ τῆ θυγατρὶ Κωνσταντῖνα αὐτὸν ἐποίησατο. τὴν δ' ἑτέραν τὴν Χαριτῶ τῷ στρατηγῷ συνέζευξε Γερμανῷ καὶ ἄμφω δὲ τετίμηκε καίσαρε.

Theophanes [I, 252, (1-4)] καὶ προσελάβετο αὐτὸν γαμβρὸν εἰς Κωνσταντῖναν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Γερμανῷ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἔζευξε τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Χαριτῶ, ποιήσας ἀμφοτέρους καίσαρας.

3. *Epitome* [XV, 1, 249 (10)] οἱ γὰρ Ἀβασγοὶ, ὡς ὁ Καισαρεὺς Προκόπιος ἱστορεῖ, δυοῖν ὁμοφύλων ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι.

Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*) II, 498) οἱ δὲ Ἀβασγοὶ...ἄρχοντας δὲ ὁμογενεῖς δυο ἑσαεὶ εἶχον.

4. *Epitome* [XV, 27, 368 (3-4)] τὸ δ' ἦσθην ἄνδρε καὶ γενναίω καὶ ἀγαθῷ τὰ πολεμικά.

Cedrenus (Scylitzes) II, 120 (2-3) ἢ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πολέμους πεῖρα καὶ γενναιότης...

5. *Epitome* [XVI, 2, 390 (14-15)] καὶ ἄμφω δὲ συνεπιτρόπω τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτυγχανέτην.

Cedrenus (Scylitzes) II, 156 (3) καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρόποις οὖσι τοῦ βασιλέως.

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where Attic syntax is employed but a different verb is used, X, 16, 351 (12) which has an exact parallel in Dio's *Roman History* (XLVII, 3), XVI, 3, 395 (18); XVII, 24, 631 (11), etc.

We would again argue that dual number played for Zonaras the role of a refined element in his style, that it represented a model used by classicizing authors which made their language more elegant and distinguished. It would appear, therefore, that Zonaras resorted to it whenever the situation suggested that dual number was preferable over singular or plural. In some cases, such as in *Epitome* [XIV, 15, 204 (15-16)], its use possibly had a special impact on readers: ἄμφω δὲ τῷ παιδε βασιλικῷ διαδήματι τεταινίωκε is a phrase very much reminiscent of Xenophon's introductory lines in his *Anabasis*.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand there were cases when Zonaras chose *not* to employ dual number despite an obvious opportunity for it (compare, for instance, *Epitome* [XV, 5, 267 (12)] σὺν τοῖς δυσὶν υἱέσιν αὐτοῦ).

These are then some of the more important features of Zonaras' style. In the end, however, the question always remains as to how homogeneous his language is. The issue is rather not whether it is linguistically compatible with the narrative of his sources from which, according to Du Cange, he "collected history like coins", but whether it consistently employs similar elements throughout, whether it is in harmony αὐτῆ ἐαυτῆ. Zonaras, of course, had promised in his introduction to do his best for it to be so, yet how much did he actually achieve in this direction?

To start with, it appears that some of his promises he managed to keep faithfully. We are thinking here of his plans to avoid long speeches in his text as "burdensome" and "unnecessary". Indeed nowhere in the *Epitome* will the reader encounter lengthy orations; instead he will

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<sup>21</sup> Other cases of dual number can be found in the *Epitome* IV, 18, 363 (7); XII, 31, 615 (6); XII, 32, 618 (5); XIV, 8, 169 (10); XV, 11, 293 (5); XV, 20, 326 (14); XVI, 2, 390 (14-15); XVI, 21, 484 (11)-the relevant passage in Cedrenus II, 328, 6 does not employ dual number-; XVII, 21, 620 (13); XVII, 21, 621 (7); XVIII, 1, 654 (7-8)-neither Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II, III, 84 (6) nor Cedrenus, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 615 (2-4) employ dual number in their relevant texts in contrast with Zonaras-

immediately notice the embodiment of countless brief dialogues between persons or extremely laconic monologues which are uttered to round off an episode and seldom exceed a line or two. There are a couple of points which can be raised regarding this: the first is that short dialogues or monologues provide no "room" for the display of rhetoric in contrast with extensive *demegoriai* which form a feature of traditional historiography. The second point is that the brief lines spoken by Zonaras' characters actually invigorate his narrative by "interrupting the flow of thought" as was observed by the anonymous assessor whose comments we discussed at the beginning of this chapter. This "animation" is both necessary for a narrative which repeats standard formulaic expressions such as a chronicle does, but also functional in that it serves as the vehicle of a more "relaxed", less classicizing language. It is true, and we have stressed this time and again, that Zonaras very rarely resorts to demotic vocabulary, most of the cases, however, when he does so, correspond to phrases which he puts directly in the mouth of his interlocutors. Simpler, later, even contemporary Greek is only and sparingly found in dialogues or monologues. We would argue that this simpler register of language does not only add vigour to Zonaras' history, it also provides evidence for the versatility of an author who can perform on more than one level of style; it is a constant reminder to the reader of the quality of the literary *mimesis* a writer can achieve by varying every so often polished and refined with simpler Greek.

Long speeches are, then, avoided consistently by Zonaras. Consistency in fact is maintained also with regard to another promise made in the introduction of the *Epitome* (*Praef.* 15, 3). The chronicler there promised to comment on the Byzantine emperors' character, ethics and Orthodoxy and he has fulfilled this engagement throughout his history. Although references to the piety of emperors cannot be regarded

as a strictly literary activity they nevertheless provide evidence that Zonaras was in control of his writing as well as attentive to the commitments he made. On the other hand the application of a homogeneous style is observed to the degree that this is possible. Some words, for example, are always employed with the same meaning. Thus Zonaras steadily uses ἀλλοίωσις in the sense of the process of growing worse, while μεταβολή refers to the improvement of a process and this order of definitions is kept through all his work. There are only two exceptions to this well preserved rule when μεταβολή can mean a change for either better or worse [*Epitome* X, 8, 323 (6); XI, 27, 607 (9)] but these are exceptions simply verifying the rule.

Sometimes Zonaras would employ different words for the same thing and this despite his own statements about the need to use one correct word only. We have seen that he does this with the case of "aqueduct" or "pipe" to which he refers interchangeably as ὀλκός and ἀγωγός. We also discussed how much emphasis he puts on the use of the right term for peoples' ages and we have argued that this consideration is probably owed to the hairsplitting activities of a lexicographer. Yet he calls Michael VI both πρεσβύτης and γέρων just as he attributes to Romanus Lecapenus the same adjectives with only ten pages elapsing in between. Romanus is called πρεσβύτης καὶ ὑπερήλιξ in *Epitome* [XVI, 23, 490 (8-9)] but γέρων in *Epitome* [XVI, 24, 501 (2)]. Likewise Sarapion in *Epitome* [XII, 20, 588 (4, 15)] is referred to as both γέρων and πρεσβύτης in one and the same page.

These examples can naturally be multiplied. For instance Zonaras in *Epitome* (XIV, 11, 180-1; 26, 244) employs the Homeric term λοετρόν for baths but three other times [*Epitome* X, 31, 404 (11); XIV, 21, 227 (11); XVI, 15, 457 (13)] he uses the more standard word λουτρόν. Again variations of the kind ταγματάρχης [XIV, 7, 164 (10)] and ταγματάρχος [XIV, 7, 163 (1)]

or ταξίαρχης and ταξίαρχος (XIV, 7, 163, app. crit.) or ἡγγέλη and ἡγγέλθη (XVIII, 9, 679, app. crit.) are of course there but they can easily be explained. Although they are not exactly "printing errors", it is not hard to understand that a bulky work like Zonaras' chronicle makes it almost impossible, regardless of good will, to maintain consistency of the language absolutely free of minor *errata*. We would argue then that had Zonaras noticed the existence of such errors he would have corrected them in his text in the same way he would have reacted had he discovered them in somebody else's.

On the whole Zonaras' style is linguistically studied and has ambitions which make it stand alone among other chronicle histories. His language has received considerable attention, revealing artistry, effort, remarkable competence and knowledge. As far as the use of rhetoric is concerned, as he admits in the *prooimion* of his work (*Praef.*, 5, 2), he has avoided exaggerations, but at this point two explanations should be made: the first is that the requirements for writing a chronicle are different from those of standard historiography, in that a chronicle writer has to repeat now and again phrases and commonplaces, for instance which emperor was proclaimed at that particular time or which patriarch was ordained, how they died, etc. Consequently this kind of narrative is quite restraining for the uninhibited practice of rhetoric which demands an "open" field of expression. The text area available to Zonaras for recounting or relating particular historical events is at all times far more restricted compared with that of other authors, and therefore does not allow his potential as a rhetorician to develop fully. The second point is related to an argument we brought earlier, namely that a moderate practice of eloquence does not mean lack or ignorance of the devices of rhetorical writing. Zonaras knows very well how to impress and captivate his readers when he wants to. Those who see the



*Epitome* as an arid chronicle are surely mistaken. Zonaras' fruitful exploitation and adaptation of the language of his sources in connection with his personal writing talents confirm the Byzantine character of his modesty as this is expressed by his last statement: "if the work is useless, let the blame be mine and let it affect me, his father, as if scorching my memory" [*Epitome* , XVIII, 29, 768 (5-7)].

## PART THREE

### CHAPTER V

#### **Some Elements of Irony and Humour in Zonaras' *Epitome***

When writing about humour and irony in a monk's chronicle one is inevitably confronted with a double difficulty. The first has to do with what is generally referred to as "peoples' sense of humour". It is a commonplace that apprehending and delighting in the ludicrous and mirthful depends greatly upon one's personality as well as social upbringing and, therefore, we would anticipate divergences of opinion or objections concerning *our* interpretation of what we think was Zonaras' sense of humour. The other difficulty arises from the fact that an attempt to trace humour in the writings of a monk, at first sight at least, can be likened to looking for sand in the poles! Indeed the picture of a monk, as most people understand it, is the austere figure of an ascetic character, dressed up in a black gown, perhaps bent over dusted scrolls of paper and at his best moments letting a quiet smile show on his lips. Tears of contrition, compunction and gloomy faces as opposed to laughter are, seemingly, believed to be the rule. The purpose of this chapter is to argue, on the basis of evidence, that Zonaras was not the stiff and unsmiling kind of monk, and that humour intermingled with irony were things in which he took great pleasure and which were meant to be cherished by his readers too. In the following pages we have listed approximately twenty passages found in the *Epitome* in which, according to our view, humour and/or irony are displayed. We have classified these passages by six major categories depending on the point or idea which Zonaras wants to direct our attention to. These categories are:

- I. A humorous exploitation of definitions of proper names.
- II. Humour based on jokes with sexual implications.
- III. A parody or ridicule of emperors due to their anti-orthodox religious policies, or severe taxation policies, lack of erudition, overall incompetence or sexual misbehaviour. The same applies to clerics who are criticized for being unworthy or heretics.
- IV. A use of funny anecdotes concerning emperors, rulers, generals etc., which embroider Zonaras' narrative.
- V. A satire upon undeserving monks or cunning laymen taking vows, or on heretical teachers. Humour based on exposing such people and ridiculing them, and,
- VI. Humour and/or irony which springs from any given opportunity.
  - I. In a passage on the state of affairs which followed the death of Alexander the Great, Zonaras speaks about Ptolemy's aggressive diplomacy and his attack on neighbouring territory.<sup>1</sup> "Ptolemy" we read, "the son of Lagos who was reigning over Egypt and who bore the title of Soter (Redeemer) secured anything but salvation for Syria and captured Jerusalem through deceit". The Greek literally reads: "who proved to be the opposite of what his name suggested- τὰναντία τῆ ἐπικλήσει αὐτοῦ γέγονε. Instead of Redeemer, in other words, he ought to be called perhaps Destroyer as far as Syria was concerned. This kind of light irony is repeated on several other occasions: One such case is found in book V, 23, 454 (1-5) where Zonaras is talking about Salome, daughter of king Herod. "Salome", he says, "behaved in a way contrary to the meaning of her name; for the latter means peace and whoever bears it is, normally, expected to act as a peaceful individual. She, however, was very much of a war-monger

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<sup>1</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* IV, 16, 355-6.

encouraging others for war, strife and family discord".<sup>2</sup> Zonaras here has actually adapted his source, Josephus, to introduce his joke as a contribution of his own.<sup>3</sup> Another example is found in book XVIII, 12, 693 (1-4), where Zonaras speaks of a Philaretus who was a general of the emperor Romanus IV Diogenes. The emperor had appointed this man commander of his army as he had a reputation for being experienced in military operations. "Yet his private life was anything but what his name signified".<sup>4</sup> The humorous element is based again on the exploitation of word definitions. Φιλάρετος literally means the "virtue-seeker" or "virtue-lover" but, according to Zonaras' remark, Philaretus must have been leading a life full of vices and immorality. Elsewhere Zonaras plays with Tyrannus, the name of a bishop and his 'tyrannical' pastoral attitudes,<sup>5</sup> or mocks the name of pope Eudoxius (εὐ and δόξα) pointing out that the man was erroneous (κακόδοξος) in his beliefs,<sup>6</sup> or is sarcastic about the heretic Eutyches, whose proper name means "lucky" or "fortunate", in contrast with his death which was "unfortunate".<sup>7</sup>

II. Those who delight in jokes with sexual connotations will be pleased to discover that even this kind of humour is not absent from the *Epitome*: during the time of Jesus' appearance in Judaea, Zonaras narrates, there lived in Rome a certain Paulina, a woman belonging to the upper class who was notorious for her good looks but also for her unblemished reputation. A Roman nobleman, Decius Mundus, fell in

<sup>2</sup> ἡ μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνης σημαντικὸν καὶ εἰρημικὴν εἶναι τὴν οὕτω κεκλημένην ἐδήλου, ἡ δὲ καὶ σφόδρα μάχιμος ἦν καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς μάχας καὶ στάσεις καὶ συγγενείας ἀλλοτριώσιν διεγείρουσα.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Josephus, *Antiqu.* XVII, 278 (1-2).

<sup>4</sup> Φιλάρετον στρατηγὸν προβαλόμενος, ...δοκῶν μὲν πρὸς στρατιωτικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανῶς ἔχειν, βίου δὲ τυγχάνων οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀντιρρόπου πάνυ πρὸς τὴν κλῆσιν αὐτοῦ.

<sup>5</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XII, 30, 613 (4-6). μετὰ Κύριλλον Τύραννον ὁ θρόνος ἐδέξατο, καθ' ὄν...καὶ ἡ τυραννὶς ἀφόρητος γέγονε.

<sup>6</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 15, 74 (8). τελευτήσαντος Εὐδοξίου τοῦ κακοδόξου...

<sup>7</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 25, 117 (7). ὁ γὰρ Εὐτυχὴς προτέθηκε δυστυχῶς.

love with her and tried to seduce her first with gifts, then money: "for he was ready to give away 200,000 Attic drachmas in exchange for one night in bed with her, but she would not accept. Thus he became more incensed with love for her so as to abstain from food and, in this way, *procure his death*".<sup>8</sup> Yet Decius found a collaborator in this unhappy love-affair, namely one of his emancipated slave-girls called Ide (Ἰδεη) who is described as being skilled in all kinds of evil" (παντοίων ἕδρις κακῶν).<sup>9</sup> This Ide promised to carry through the difficult task for the more modest sum of 50,000 drachmas part of which she spent on bribes. Knowing that Paulina was a devout worshipper of the Egyptian goddess Isis, she approached the priests of that cult and, through bribery, she persuaded them to use any device they could think of in order that Paulina and Decius be brought together. Soon afterwards the oldest of the priests approached Paulina in private and revealed to her that it was the wish of god Annoubis that she and the god spend a night together in the temple. The woman, so Zonaras' story has it, not suspecting the "divine" trap set up by the priests and Ide, behaved like a conscientious believer and slept for one night with a stranger who was naturally no one else but Decius himself, thinking it was god Annoubis. On the third day following the event Decius met Paulina to announce to her sarcastically: "Paulina, I still have the 200,000 drachmas and you offered your services to me for free". This kind of humourous *novella* which, in the form of an entertaining story, traces its roots perhaps back to Herodotus is admittedly not the product of Zonaras' creative fantasy as he has drawn, in this case, on

<sup>8</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VI, 5, 481 (2-4). εἴκοσι γὰρ μυριάδας δραχμῶν Ἀττικῶν εὐνῆς ἐδίδου μᾶς. ἢ δὲ οὐκ ἠνείχετο. κάκεινος ἐξῆπτο πλέον εἰς ἔρωτα, ὥστε βρώσεως ἀποχῆ ἑαυτῷ μνηστεύεσθαι θάνατον.

<sup>9</sup> Note the word play between Ἰδεη, the name of the slave and ἕδρις meaning knowledge, practice, skill.

Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*.<sup>10</sup> Yet the fact in itself that he includes it in his narrative, uncensored and explicit, tells us a lot about his sensitivity towards humour which is further elucidated by the language he uses when treating his material. In fact Zonaras' version of the story is more compressed than his source but rather more subtly humorous. Josephus, for instance, makes no reference to Mundus betrothal to his own death. The irony in the *Epitome* results from the wordplay between the standard meaning of *μνηστεύομαι* which is to court and/or seek in marriage (in which Paulina would be the obvious candidate) and the metaphorical allusion to marriage with death.

The next example is taken from the Roman emperor Elagabalus' (M. Aurelius Antoninus) sexual records. In a long and explicit passage extending for a whole page,<sup>11</sup> Zonaras describes the emperor's effeminacy and passion for other men. The narrative which could easily embarrass even a non-monastic audience leaves no room for prudish disguise. We need not enter into details here; suffice it to quote an abstract from the *Epitome* : "Once, a man called Aurelius was brought to his attention whose body was beautiful all over and who had a reputation for being well-endowed and was immediately presented to him in appropriate attendance. Aurelius greeted him with the words "my Lord Emperor, hail", to which after bending his neck like a dainty girl and closing his eyes for a short while he responded: "do not call me your Lord, for I am a Lady". Later upon joining the man in the bath he discovered that his expectations had not been defeated and rolling upon his chest he dined in his arms like a mistress". But, alas, Aurelius was bewitched by another lover of Elagabalus who feared he would become a dangerous rival, and was

<sup>10</sup> Josephus, *Antiqu.* XVIII, 304 (28-30).

<sup>11</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XII, 14, 569 (8-19).

thus rendered unable to perform all night. Hence the emperor had him deported from the palace, Rome and Italy itself. Now the whole story is, of course, not Zonaras' own who draws in particular on Dio Cassius' account of Elagabalus,<sup>12</sup> but the reader should bear in mind two points: a) the story was included in the *Epitome* and b) Zonaras has processed his source-material after his usual fashion, which means that not only did he appreciate what he was quoting, but actually contributed to the story by choosing and adapting *his* vocabulary in order to create his *personal* code of amusement. He has elaborated, for instance, upon Dio's θαυμαστῶς τὸν τε αὐχένα γυναικίσας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπεγκλάσας and has introduced the more eloquent θρύψει γυναικῶδει τὸν αὐχένα παρεγκλίνας καὶ ἐπιμύσας βραχὺ τὰ ὄμματα. Zonaras' "improvement" consists in intensifying the impact of the emperor's effeminacy by e.g. dramatising the details of his fake bashfulness.

Our third example is taken from Zonaras' account of the love-affair between the empress Zoe (daughter of Constantine VIII) and her lover Michael who later became emperor as Michael IV (1034-41). The empress' passion for the handsome youth was "talked about not just in the palace but also out in the streets and the emperor (i.e. Zoe's husband, Romanus III Argyrus) was the only one to be ignorant of the matter". So when the royal couple rested in bed Michael was summoned to the emperor's chamber to massage Romanus' legs. Poor Romanus! If only he knew "that Michael was making free with Zoe's legs too! The case being that the emperor was made into their procurer and at the same time somebody who shared their bed".<sup>13</sup> Sarcasm and irony expressed in compact style can be discerned behind Zonaras'

<sup>12</sup> Xiphilinus 351, 22-352, 14R. Exc.Valesius 413, 766.

<sup>13</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 13, 583 (9-11). τί οὖν ἂν τις οἴησαιο ἢ ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἐκείνης ἤπτετο ποδῶν; καὶ οἷον προαγωγὸς ἀμφοῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁμεινέτης ἐγένετο.

lines: this time he used Psellus' *Chronographia* as his source for the incident,<sup>14</sup> yet presents it in a much more dramatic way. Psellus provides all the necessary data about Michael's duties as an imperial valet but he chooses not to turn this into a laughing matter. He does not introduce the funny part about Michael's "feet service" or the allusion to Romanus' involuntary procuration. The story is the same, but Zonaras has added a touch of bitter humour!

III. Criticism of imperial policies and of particular emperors is often presented in the *Epitome* by means of humourous remarks. In a passage on the emperor Leo III (717-741) and his son Constantine V (741-775), who were both notorious for their iconoclasm and hence much hated by religious opponents, Zonaras makes the sarcastic remark that "a baby-lion was born to *the* Lion, which proved wilder than his father".<sup>15</sup> Now Leo and especially Constantine (known also as Copronymus) were a target for the orthodox party and such mockery is nothing new. Thus the idea that Constantine was worse and more impertinent than his father, the idea of a *synkresis* in other words between the two, is found in Theophanes who writes: ἐτέχθη τῷ δυσσεβεῖ Λέοντι ὁ δυσσεβέστερος αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Κωνσταντῖνος...<sup>16</sup> Also the notion of identifying Leo with a lion and his son with a wild beast must have been an easy one and actually occurs in the account given by George the Monk who notes: Μετὰ δὲ Λέοντα ἐβασίλευσε Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Κοπρώνυμος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτη λδ', ἐκ δεινοτάτου λέοντος ποικιλότροπος πάρδαλις...<sup>17</sup> So again Zonaras builds on material which is already present in earlier accounts, but he skillfully

<sup>14</sup> Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, XXI, 47 (1)-48 (25)..

<sup>15</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 2, 255 (17). ἐτέχθη δὲ τῷ Λέοντι σκύμνος ὠμότερος τοῦ πατρός.

<sup>16</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Hildesheim/N. York, 1980, I, 399 (27)-400 (1).

<sup>17</sup> George the Monk, *Chronicon syntomon*, ed. C. de Boor, II, 750. Compare also: ὁ δὲ θεομάχος τύραννος (i.e. Leo III) ...ὡς λέων βρύξας (*op.cit.*, 741).



transforms this material into a kind of sarcasm which is not found in Theophanes and is more penetrating than that of George. He may have resorted to an established rhetorical *topos* regarding the identification of Leo with a lion, but he has expressed his criticism in a different, ironical, context. Zonaras knows how to tell a story better!

Our next example is taken from the reign of Nicephorus I (802-811) who as a former high official in the financial administration had attempted to stabilize the finances of the empire by necessary perhaps yet unpopular measures like increased taxation. Zonaras who, as a rule, adopts a populist approach to economy and disapproves of onerous, tax-obligations for citizens is naturally very critical of Nicephorus' action and portrays him as a greedy and mean exploiter. Once, he reports, the emperor discovered that a certain candle maker was the owner of great wealth. He then summoned the man to the palace and forced him to swear on his head about the amount of gold he possessed. When the poor man told him that he had one hundred litres of gold, Nicephorus immediately seized nine tenths of that amount saying to the man that he needed no more than the rest. In return he honoured him by granting him leave to sit at the same table with himself. Thus, Zonaras concludes, "the candle maker accidentally purchased the privilege of becoming the emperor's fellow-diner for ninety litres of gold".<sup>18</sup> This, in our view, is a good example of effective irony. Once again Zonaras is repeating a story found in Theophanes using his own style and making more saucy what otherwise would be simply a short dry tale.<sup>19</sup>

A third case concerns Zonaras' remark about patriarch Eustratius who succeeded the "marvellous" Cosmas some time after

<sup>18</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 14, 308 (1-2). ἐνενήκοντα χρυσίου λιτρῶν τὸ συναριστήσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐχ ἐκόντα πριάμενον.

<sup>19</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I, 488 (1-6). Theophanes' story displays no humour.

Alexius I Comnenus (1080-1118) had gained imperial power. According to Zonaras, Cosmas resigned because "he disliked the management of public affairs at that time... and was replaced by a eunuch monk, under the name of Eustratius who had no share in education nor any experience in handling the affairs (of the Church), but was a simple man who was suited for retirement or, better even, a *fireside*".<sup>20</sup> We find approximately the same story in the *Alexiad* where we read that Eustratius the monk had cunningly approached Alexius' mother and through her managed to undermine the "saintly" Cosmas and have him removed.<sup>21</sup> In other words we find the same theme, same attitude only that Zonaras decides to filter it with humour and tartness.

IV. Humour can also be found in funny situations as, for instance, in descriptions of a peculiar habit of an emperor. On the night on which Leo V (813-820) was assassinated in the chapel of the palace by Michael II (820-829) and his men, the imperial deacons and cantors had to endure, apparently for the last time, the emperor's unpleasant chanting performance. Zonaras narrates that "the cantors had already finished with chanting over half of the hymns when the emperor entered the chapel. And although he possessed a piercing voice which was extremely harsh and rough for peoples' ears, he thought he was *sweet-voiced* and *absolutely melodious* and had developed the habit of leading the singing of the hymns".<sup>22</sup> The humorous element here lies

<sup>20</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 21, 734 (7-11). ἄλλον τινὰ ἀρχιερέα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀντικατέστησαν, ἐκτομίαν τινὰ μοναχόν, κεκλημένον Εὐστράτιον, οὔτε λόγοις ὠμιληκότα οὔτε πραγμάτων ἐγγεγυμνασμένον μεταχειρίσειν, ἀφελῆ δὲ ἀνθρωπον καὶ ἡσυχία ἢ γωνία μᾶλλον προσήκοντα.

<sup>21</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, III, 110 (1-17) *passim*, 115 (2-11). Anna intrestingly reports that it was Cosmas who allegedly had been "simple and lacking in spirit" which seems to suggest that these were common accusations in religious circles: τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀπραγμον τοῦ τηνικαῦτα ἀρχιερέως προφασίζομένη.

<sup>22</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 21, 335 (1-3). ἤδη δὲ τούτων ὑπερμεσοῦντων καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐπεδήμησε, καὶ διάτορον ἔχων φθόγγον, βαρύτατον δὲ καὶ σὺν τραχύτητι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς εἰσδυόμενον, ᾗετο εὐφωνεῖν καὶ εἶναι μελωδικώτατος καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῶν ὕμνων εἰώθει...

in the clever use of opposites and of suitable exaggerations. Leo was a terrible singer yet he thought he was fantastic! Now it does not surprise us that again the story is not new. This time it is found in the history of Cedrenus who has got it from Scylitzes.<sup>23</sup> Cedrenus' account of the incident is longer and contains perhaps more details. It even mentions that the whole situation was causing laughter to the witnesses ( ὧ δὴ καὶ γέλωτα ὠφλίσκανε τοῖς ἀκούουσι ). In spite all this, in our view, Cedrenus' story brings less pleasurable excitement because it does not exploit all the points as the one by Zonaras does. Cedrenus concentrates, for example, on Leo's untalented voice but does not introduce the point of his self-professed tunefulness. There is a big difference between saying that "x has a bad voice but is trying" , in other words he is incompetent, and saying that "x has a bad voice but thinks he is wonderful", in which case he is ridiculous. The second statement can be used as the theme of a funny story whereas the first cannot.<sup>24</sup>

On another occasion Zonaras elaborates upon the last moments in power of the emperor Michael VI (1056-1057), who was forced to abdicate by Isaac I Comnenus (1057-1059) and the opposition party. The forceful patriarch Michael Cerularius placed himself at the head of the opposition and held the balance between the two rivals. Zonaras' text reads: "He (the patriarch) told Comnenus not to delay but to hasten, and demanded a reward for his (i.e. Comnenus' ) appointment, and commanded the man who was until then emperor to quit the palace at once. When the bishops brought the patriarch's message to

<sup>23</sup> Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 60 (17-22). ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φωνήν, εὐρυθμός τις εἶναι βουλόμενος, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν φύσιν συνάδουσιν εἶχεν· ἄρρυθμος γὰρ ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ μέλη ἀνεπιτήδειος. εἰώθει γὰρ καὶ ταῖς ψαλμωδίαις ἐξάρχειν τῶν αἰνων, ...τορωτέρᾳ καὶ ἀγρίᾳ φωνῇ...

<sup>24</sup> History provides parallels. Thus, the British colonel Harry Smith (Deputy Governor of South Africa during the sixth frontier war of 1834-35) liked to sing to the troops, in what he described as "my beautiful voice", one of his favourite tunes. See Noël Mostert, *Frontiers*, New York, 1992) 721.

aged Michael, the latter replied: "What, then, will you grant me in return for the kingdom"? To which they answered: "The *heavenly kingdom*".<sup>25</sup> Now although Psellus does not mention the incident it still can be found in the history of Cedrenus (Scylitzes). Yet Cedrenus "kills" the joke by seriously wondering whether Michael's previous tribulations in life actually qualify him for the heavenly kingdom. Who knows?, Cedrenus concludes, maybe God will grant him this consolation, maybe not, "I, for a fact, do not know".<sup>26</sup> These lines indicate that Cedrenus probably did not treat the dialogue between the bishops and the ex-emperor as irony but took them at face value. This in fact shows that humour is not only associated with what one adds or copies but also with what one omits. That Zonaras was right in exploiting the incident humorously is further suggested by the text of Attaleiates who quotes a different but equally funny dialogue.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, toward the end of his account on Alexius I Comnenus' reign Zonaras makes a unique reference to the Byzantine legend on the Last Roman Emperor in connection with Alexius, a reference which indeed no other historian mentions, at least as far as relates to this ruler. According to Zonaras, "certain monks predicted to Alexius that he would not perish unless he first reached Jerusalem to

<sup>25</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 3, 665 (6-12). καὶ τῷ μὲν Κομνηνῷ μὴ μέλλειν δηλώσαντος, ἀλλὰ σπεύδειν, καὶ ἀμοιβὰς αἰτοῦντος τῆς ἀναρρήσεως, τῷ δ' ἕως τότε βασιλεύοντι κατιέναι τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἰταμώτερον ἐπιτάτοντος. ἀρχιερέων δὲ τῷ γέροντι Μιχαὴλ τὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου κομισάντων μηνύματα, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη: "τί δέ μοι ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρέξετε"; οἱ δὲ "τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν" ἀπεκρίθησαν.

<sup>26</sup> Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 637 (12-13). οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἀντιμισθίαν κομιέται τῆς ἐπιγείου βασιλείας τὴν ἐπουράνιον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ὅπη τῷ θεῷ φίλον, γενήσεται.

<sup>27</sup> Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, 59 (9-12). Attaleiates mentions the insolent message of the patriarch to Michael but does not specify who carried it to him nor does he include the short dialogue found in Cedrenus and Zonaras. Instead, he goes on to report a meeting between Michael, who had in the meantime taken the monk's habit, and Cerularius during which a short dialogue also took place. The patriarch cunningly kissed and embraced Michael with the word "Hail", to which the latter replied: "May God hug you, o patriarch, in a deserving manner". It could well be that both dialogues, admittedly equally ironic, had been recorded and Zonaras chose to refer to one of them giving it preference over the other.

worship the life-bearing Tomb of our Lord and Saviour, where they prophesied that he would lay down his crown. And they for their part promised him these things, while he believed in what was said; for whatever is proclaimed to us according to our wish is easy to believe. Thus, deceived in this way, he approached the end of his life unawares, laying down his crown even before his arrival to Jerusalem, though not willingly, *departing* , one might say, for the *upper Jerusalem*, the metropolis of the firstborn who are registered in heaven".<sup>28</sup> The fact that Zonaras is, as we have stated, the only historical source which refers to the seventh -century legend of the Last Roman Emperor with regard to Alexius,<sup>29</sup> makes it possible to assume that the graceful irony which is displayed in the relevant passage of his text genuinely reflects his personal attitude toward humour. Whether Alexius had seriously sought to identify himself with Byzantium's legendary Last Ruler or not, he certainly had to lay down his diadem not as the Last Emperor but as someone whose last day as an emperor in this life had compelled him to do so.

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<sup>28</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 28, 760 (8-18). καὶ τινες μοναχοὶ προύλεγον αὐτῷ μὴ ἄλλως ἐκλιπεῖν εἰ μὴ πρότερον πρὸς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀφίκηται εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ζωηφόρου τάφου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι μέλλειν ἐχρησολόγουν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐπηγγέλλοντο, ὁ δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐπίστευεν. ὁ γὰρ ἡμῖν πρὸς βουλήs, τοῦτο ῥάδιον εἰς πίστιν καταγγελλόμενον. οὕτω δὲ κλεπτόμενος ἔλαθε τῷ τέλει προσεγγίσας τῆs βιοτῆs καὶ πρὸ τῆs εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀφίξεως, ἀποθέμενος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑκῶν, τὸ διάδημα, εἶη δ' εἶπεν πρὸς τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐκδημήσας, τὴν τῶν πρωτοτόκων μητρόπολιν, τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖs. It is worth noting that Zonaras repeats more or less the same story about moving after death from the earthly to the heavenly Jerusalem but this time in connection with the patriarch of Jerusalem Sophronius (7th century) and with no humorous implications in his surviving sermon dedicated to him. Compare Papadopoulos-Kerameus, V, 150: καὶ τὴν κάτω λιπῶν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετέβη πρὸς τὴν ἄνω, τὴν τῶν πρωτοτόκων μητρόπολιν... Psellus has an interesting variation for this phrase [*Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II, LXXIX, 131 (10)-132 (11)]. καὶ προέπεμπον αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω βασίλεια,... The "greater palace" for an emperor would be the "heavenly palace".

<sup>29</sup> About the origins of this legend and its survival in the so-called Syriac text of Pseudo-Methodius as well as in its Latin version of the Tiburtine Sibyl (fourth century) see *The Syriac Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*: P. Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* , London, 1985, 13-60; 107, n.25; 163, n.45. In connection with Zonaras' text see P. Magdalino, *History of the future: Prophecy, policy and propaganda*, in *The Making of Byzantine History*, Aldershot, 1993, 26.

V. Zonaras' humour gets particularly caustic when it is directed against heretics or unworthy clerics, especially monks. Thus, in a passage on the system of belief known as Manicheism which spread throughout the Roman Empire, the Near East and as far east as China, the historian Zonaras finds an opportunity to present a brief portrait of Mani, the allegedly religious leader of this system. "During these years" we read, "Mani the thrice-accursed one made his way into our territory via Persia where he spewed out his own poison and from that time down to the present those bearing the name Manichee have not perished. He at times would call himself Paraclete and Holy Ghost *when he was apparently the dwelling home for the evil spirit*, and at other times he would call himself Christ, *the same one who was anointed by the demons to be their minister* ..." <sup>30</sup> The above passage is marked by a considerable presence of wordplay manifested in the juxtaposition of opposites like πνεῦμα ἅγιον and τὸ τῆς πονηρίας πνεῦμα or Χριστός and χρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων etc., as well as by a distinct touch of irony which springs from Zonaras' careful conveyance of his message by means of suitable antitheses of thoughts and words. His source this time must have been the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius which, again, provided all the necessary points of reference to Manicheism and even influenced Zonaras' vocabulary. Yet apart from a playful joke between Μάνης and the participles μανείς and μανιώδης in connection with the man, Eusebius' account breathes forth doctrinal guidance rather than a cheerful frame of mind. <sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XII, 30, 612 (8-14). Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις Μάνης ὁ τρισκατάρατος ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην παρεισφθαρείς, ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἰδὼν ἐξήμεσεν. ἀφ' οὗ τὸ τῶν Μανιχαίων ὄνομα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐπέλιπεν. ὅς ποτὲ μὲν παράκλητον ἑαυτὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ὠνόμαζε ἅγιον, ὃ τὸ τῆς πονηρίας πνεῦμα προφανῶς ἐγκατάκτιστο ποτὲ δὲ Χριστὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλει, ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων εἰς λειτουργίαν ἐκείνοις χρισθεὶς,...

<sup>31</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VII, 30. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Μανείς τὰς φρένας...τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ παρατροπὴν καθωπλίζετο, τοῦ δαίμονος, αὐτοῦ δήπου τοῦ θεομάχου σατανᾶ, ἐπὶ λύμῃ πολλῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν προβεβλημένου...Χριστὸν αὐτὸν μορφάζεσθαι ἐπειράτο, τοτὲ μὲν τὸν παράκλητον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν

Later on Zonaras gives an outline of the profile of John the Orphanotrophus, the detested eunuch who raised up his brother Michael IV to the imperial throne. It is amazing, he observes, how this man whose tireless energy would not be consumed by his unrestrained overindulgence in drinking and eating, could run the affairs of the state: "The eunuch John took upon himself the governing of the empire. He had dressed himself in the habit of a monk from long in the past, *but would honour it only as far as the appearance was concerned*".<sup>32</sup> Zonaras' description of John has drawn heavily on Psellus' detailed and elaborate account of the eunuch. Psellus is, of course, a master in compiling biographical sketches and shows no mercy in his handling of irony. The phrases he uses to describe John's hypocritical attitudes are: "This man (i.e. John) was a mixture of opposites. Although he had long ago taken the habit of a monk, he would not show proper respect for it, not even in his dreams, yet he would simulate any rightful behaviour pertaining thereto".<sup>33</sup> Zonaras has kept Psellus' μοναδικὸν πάλαι σχῆμα ἐπενδυθεὶς virtually unchanged but for one word, namely μοναδικόν, for which he substituted the synonym μοναχικόν. However, when it comes to important matters such as forming a humorous style, he ignores Psellus. He chooses a different register of humour which warns that the cowl does not make the monk!<sup>34</sup>

Another passage is the discussion about the revolt of Leo Tornices against the emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055).

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ἀνακηρύττων...τοτέ δέ, οἷα Χριστός,...ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην ὡσπερ τινὰ θανατηφόρον ἰὸν ἐξωμόρξατο, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ Μανιχαίων δυσσεβὲς ὄνομα τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰσέτι ἐπιπολάζει.

<sup>32</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 14, 588 (1-3). 'Ο δ' ἐκτομίας Ἰωάννης τὴν ὄλην ἀνεδέξατο τῆς βασιλείας κυβέρνησιν, μοναχικὸν μὲν πάλαι σχῆμα ἐπενδυθεὶς, τοῦτο δὲ τηρῶν ἄχρι μόνου τοῦ σχήματος.

<sup>33</sup> Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, XIV, 60 (8)-61(11). Καὶ ἦν παμμυγὲς τι χρῆμα ὁ ἄνθρωπος· μοναδικὸν πάλαι σχῆμα ἐπενδυθεὶς, τῆς μὲν περὶ τοῦτο εὐσχημοσύνης οὐδ' ἐν ὄνειρασιν ἐπεμέλετο, ὑπεκρίνετο δὲ ὅμως εἰ τι καθῆκον τῷ σχήματι νενομοθέτητο ἄνωθεν...

<sup>34</sup> Compare its survival in Modern Greek: Το ράσο δεν κάνει τον παπά.

The emperor suspected Tornices even after the latter's specious expulsion to Iberia, and having paid attention to slander "he sent forth those who saw that Tornices' hair was tonsured, thinking that *by clipping the hairs he would chop off the man's hopes too*, and he clothed him in a black robe with the impression that hence *he was darkening the expected brightness of his future* ".<sup>35</sup> The monkish cowl has clearly been a favourite target of irony for Zonaras and for other writers in that it provides a convenient conduit of criticism as the idea that "clothes hide many vices" becomes here particularly relevant. On the other hand often the opposite holds equally true, namely that a cowl can be the veil covering men or women of merit who live in obscurity. The former of its functions, that of a lion's hide, is obviously the more suitable for the purpose of satirical writing. Thus the cowl can serve as a two-edged literary weapon whose double operation can be activated accordingly, depending on the circumstances.<sup>36</sup> Psellus, who mentions the incident, introduces the point whereby cutting Tornices' hair suggested the loss of his hopes, but the irony is not as clear as we find it in the text of Zonaras.<sup>37</sup>

Again when giving an account of the heresy of the Bogomils under Alexius I Comnenus' reign, Zonaras narrates that "the herald and great teacher of this heresy and dispatcher of their apostles was a certain doctor called Basil, who was clad in the robe of a monk, but *had*

<sup>35</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 23, 626 (12-15). στέλλει καὶ κείρει μὲν τὴν κόμην τῶν Τορνίκων, συγκαίρειν αὐτῶ ταῖς θριξὶ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας οἰόμενος, ῥάκος δὲ μέλαν αὐτὸν ἀμφιέννυσι, ζοφοῦν αὐτῶ νομίζων ἐντεῦθεν τὴν προσδοκωμένην τῆς τύχης λαμπρότητα...

<sup>36</sup> Zonaras refers several times in the *Epitome* to the cowl as a blessing for those who wear it: compare especially *Epitome* XVII, 17, 604 (6-8). ἐνδύεται δὲ τὸ ῥάκος τῆς ἐν Χριστῶ ταπεινώσεως καὶ περιζώνεται τὸ θεῖον δέρας τὸ τῆς ἐκουσίτου νεκρώσεως σύμβολον... Instances of people who had honoured their identity as monks or nuns are found in *Epitome* XV, 25, 354 (14-16); XV, 26, 358 (12-14), etc.

<sup>37</sup> Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II, CI, 16 (12-15). στέλλει κατὰ τάχος τοὺς ἀποκεροῦντας καὶ τὸ μέλαν τριβῶνον ἐπενδύουσιν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐκκοπέει τῶν ἐλπίδων, ὁ πάλαι λαμπροφορῶν ἀθρόον ῥακοδυτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα ἐπάνεισιν.



*put on Satan himself* ".<sup>38</sup> The theme of the monkish robe serving as a disguise of deception is once more repeated here. Zonaras' irony can be detected in words of praise like "great teacher" etc., in connection with Basil and culminates in the balanced contrast of direct opposites such as Satan and monasticism. The basic source for the heresy of the Bogomils is, of course, Anna Comnena who provides a long, even if unhumorous, account of Basil and his followers. The notion of Satan under cover occurs in the *Alexiad* , too, where it is asserted that "evil hides under the robe and the hood" and that Basil had been "the archsatrap of Satan".<sup>39</sup>

VI. Finally humour can spring from any given opportunity. This is the case with a brief physical description of the emperor Zeno (474-75, 476-91) which Zonaras provides in the relevant section of his history. The previous emperor Leo I (467-474) had crowned his young grandson (named also Leo) as his successor, because he thought of Zeno, who was the child's father and the emperor's son in-law, as totally unsuitable for the imperial office. "For he lacked not only the intellectual stature of an emperor but also the looks which go with monarchy. *He was indeed not just horrible looking but also had a soul which was worse than his appearance* ".<sup>40</sup> This funny remark is a compressed form of the irony found in Cedrenus-Scylitzes' account of Zeno's portrait. It may be argued that Zeno in Cedrenus emerges as more of a droll character than he does so in Zonaras. Cedrenus' text reads: "For Zeno came from the most evil and hateful race of the Isaurians, being both shaggy and ugly, just as the Greeks paint Pan goat-shanked and

<sup>38</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 23, 743 (7-11). τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης αἰρέσεως κῆρυξ ἦν καὶ μέγας διδάσκαλος καὶ προβολεὺς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀποστόλων Βασιλείος τις λεγόμενος ἱατρός, σχῆμα μὲν περικείμενος μοναχοῦ, αὐτὸν δ' ἐκέῖνον ἐνδεδυμένος τὸν σατανᾶν...

<sup>39</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* , ed. B. Leib, XV, 220 (4).

<sup>40</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIV, 1, 126 (14-17). τὸν γὰρ Ζήνωνα τῇ βασιλείᾳ μὴ προσήκοντα ἔκρινεν, ὅτι μήτε τὴν γνώμην εἶχε βασιλικὴν μήτε μὴν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἦν εἰδεχθέστατος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶχε τῆς ὄψεως χείρονα.

shaggy-legged; he was dark-skinned, below standard in height,<sup>41</sup> irascible; resentful and full of hatred".<sup>42</sup> Yet it may equally be argued that Zonaras' humour, compressed though it seems in a phrase, is actually more refined and subtle than that of Cedrenus.

Our last example is taken from the reign of Justinian II (685-695) who had recruited an army of 30,000 brave and young Slavs, carefully selected, whom he called "the chosen people", a name echoing that of the Israelites in Old Testament. (*Chronicles* XVI, 13). The tragic irony which is treated so effectively by Zonaras is that this "chosen people" of Justinian, who had inspired him with the best of hopes, proved ultimately disastrous in his offensive war against the Arabs. Zonaras mentions their name four times in his text,<sup>43</sup> of which at least three are in an ironic context. The "new and chosen people" are used as a vehicle of an unjust, ungodly attack, but when the battle starts, immediately a large number of them deserted Justinian and fled to the enemy and, consequently, after the hostilities ended the emperor ordered the execution of those "chosen ones" who had remained faithful! The ironic element becomes the more effective as Zonaras juxtaposes the "chosen people" and the result or nature of their ineffectiveness in an attempt to present Justinian's folly even more ridiculous.

In the above pages we have dealt with a limited number of instances taken from Zonaras' humorous thesaurus and argued, on the basis of these examples, that the historian Zonaras was indeed capable

<sup>41</sup> ἀσύμβλητος is used of dishonest tradesmen's weights and measures which fail to match the official standard.

<sup>42</sup> Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, I, 615 (13-17). ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων τῆς κακίστης καὶ εἰδεχθοῦς γενεᾶς τῶν Ἰσαύρων, δασύς τε καὶ εἰδεχθέστατος, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες ζωγραφοῦσι τὸν Πάνα τραγοσκελῆ καὶ δασύκνημον, τὴν χροιάν μέλας, τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀσύμβλητος, ὀργίλος, μνησικακὸς καὶ φθόνου μεστός. Note the similarities in Zonaras' phraseology [XIV, 2, 128 (5-6)]. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ζήνων ἐξ ἔθνους αἰσχίστου τοῦ τῶν Ἰσαύρων, αἰσχιστος καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν μορφήν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν γεγονώς.

<sup>43</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIV, 22, 229-31. Zonaras seems to have drawn on Cedrenus-Scylitzes' account (*op.cit.*, I, 772-3).

of both appreciating humour and of presenting it dipped into his personal "dressing" of entertainment. Now, a systematic study of Byzantine attitudes toward humour and irony, at least in connection with historiography and other forms of scholarly literature is still missing from current bibliography, and this chapter can only point to this deficiency rather than provide even a partial remedy for it.<sup>44</sup> On the whole Zonaras uses a multitude of humorous devices which vary in force or form but share the same wit even if of a somewhat biting kind. It may be that a deliberate analysis of a joke changes it from a mysterious reality to a dull artificiality but if we must speak in linguistic terms then, first of all, we would have to discuss Zonaras' use of puns and the amusement resulting from the similarity of word sounds: such are, for example, phrases containing words like δόλος and Δολιάνος<sup>45</sup> or ἐλέω and ἔλεον<sup>46</sup> or κηρίων and κύριον.<sup>47</sup> In all such cases a pun can have a saving grace as well. The combination may be so ingenious that the very ingenuity pleases. It tickles us, so to speak. Besides, everything is not exhausted in words.<sup>48</sup> On top of that, Zonaras knows how to handle the expression of humour by the incongruity of situations or ideas and by clever coinage of suitable metaphors in his narrative. Thus when he refers to the revolt of

<sup>44</sup> It is worth noting that apart from a few articles on Byzantine satire and works such as the dialogues of *Charidemus*, *Philopatris* and *Timarion* as well as the satire of *Mazaris*, modern scholarship has failed to attempt a substantial investigation of humorous artistic expressions in Byzantine literature, and the bibliographical *lacuna* on this matter is quite startling. For a short-list bibliography, see the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, (under humor, 956).

<sup>45</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 17, 598 (13-15). ἀνὴρ δὲ τις ἄσημος μὲν τὸ γένος, Δολιάνος καλούμενος, δόλου δὲ μεστὸς καὶ δεινότητος...

<sup>46</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 25, 119 (5-6). πρὸς τούτους (sc. ἡ Πουλχερία) ἐλέω τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκτήσατο ἔλεον.

<sup>47</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 14, 307 (11-13). οἶον καὶ ἐπὶ τιμῇ πράττει κηρίων εἰργάσατο. μαθὼν γὰρ (sc. ὁ Νικηφόρος) τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον κύριον εἶναι χρημάτων πολλῶν...

<sup>48</sup> Compare e.g. word contrasts like; Καλοκύρης δὲ ὁ τῶν κακῶν πρωτουργός [*Epitome*, XVII, 2, 528 (2)]. Also the word-play with regard to the diadem of the emperor Basil II: τῶν ταινιωθεῖς ὀρθία, ἦν τούφαν καλεῖ ὁ δημῶδης καὶ πολὺς ἄνθρωπος, τῦφον οἶμαι, ὠνομασμένην, ὡς τετυφῶσθαι ποιούσαν τοὺς ταύτη ἀναδομένους...

Nicephorus Diogenes against Alexius' I regime he strikes home: "Once more another conspiracy was organised against the emperor, which was headed by the son of the late emperor Diogenes, Nicephorus the offspring of the Purple Chamber, a man incomparable in strength, but in state of mind and bravery of soul not enriched with strength like that of his body, *composing the drama*, but putting off the *act*, he suffered by default rather than *performing* as he planned".<sup>49</sup> What we have here is subtle irony arising from a situation where the "scenario" of Nicephorus' own drama is marked by the "dramatic" failure of his plans because no "acting" is taking place on the stage of history. The full complexity of the wordplay in this case is achieved through the clever contrast of two pairs of participles, namely *συντιθέμενος/ὑπερτιθέμενος* and *παθών/δράσας*. i.e. Nicephorus experiences tragic *pathos* because he is *passive* and Zonaras ingeniously balances the analogy between theatrical language (in which, as we saw, he indulges) and historical facts.

### **Conclusion:**

Before ending this chapter it is perhaps sensible to reflect on a few points: the discussion has been about Zonaras' use of humour and irony and it would be fair to acknowledge that detecting such humour readily *presupposes* possession of a humorous turn in ourselves and the Byzantine reader! Solemn people usually fail to notice and appreciate the ingenuity of wordplay or the amusement of irony. Their most common excuse is that it is *the situation* which is funny and not the author's sense or temperament. To return to Zonaras, another possible

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<sup>49</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 23, 742 (1-5). 'Ο Νικηφόρος ὁ τῆς πορφύρας βλαστός, ἀνὴρ τὴν μὲν ἰσχὺν ἀπαράμιλλος, τὴν δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἕξιν καὶ τὴν ψυχῆς γενναιότητα οὐ κατὰ τὴν σωματικὴν πλουτίσας ἰσχύν. οὗτος τὸ μὲν δράμα συντιθέμενος, τὴν δὲ πρᾶξιν ὑπερτιθέμενος, ἔλαθε παθὼν ἢ δράσας ὡς ἐβουλεύσατο. Compare, though, Anna's account in the *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, IX, 174 (14), where Nicephorus is depicted as "endowed with a mind sharper than a two-edged sword" and as extremely energetic in his plans against Alexius.

objection might be that, sometimes, his humour is a "borrowing", at its best an elaboration of somebody else's idea. The objection, in some cases, seems to hold true since Zonaras, as we saw, has indeed drawn on a variety of sources and even quoted some of the jokes he found word for word.<sup>50</sup> The truth is, however, that as a rule he takes pains to filter his material through his own disposition of mind more often than not by reshaping it completely and providing us with a kind of entertainment which is distinguished for its subtlety and ingenuity as it is also for its diversity with regard to the "original" source. Now although we would agree that there exist certain stories which do not depend for their humour on any particular form of words or other agent and they therefore cannot be "killed" as such by any boring story-teller, nevertheless the very essence of humour assumes the appropriate turn of phrase and a *talent*. Indeed this quality of having a great narrative power makes some "charismatic" people preferable over others each time we would want to listen to a story *provided* it is told by a specialist. It will be remembered that in most such cases it does not matter whether the story is new or old but rather *who* tells it. We have suggested, on the basis of evidence deduced from the *Epitome*, that Zonaras was actually the kind of "charismatic" writer in whose hands history can be made as light and as funny and as pleasant as it can possibly be.

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<sup>50</sup> He has done so especially when using Xiphilinus' *Epitome* of Dio Cassius' Roman History, e.g. regarding the debasement of the Roman coinage under M. Aurelius Antoninus [*Epitome* XII, 12, 562 (6)] he is quoting Xiphilinus almost verbatim (333, 18-20R. St.): τῷ οὖν Ἀντωνίνῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ νόμισμα κίβδηλον ἦν... Again when commenting on the death of the Roman general Otho [*Epitome* XI, 15, 486 (12-14)] Zonaras quotes Xiphilinus' irony almost word for word: ὄθεν καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν τοῦ βίου συνεσκίασε. κάκιστα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ζήσας κάλλιστα ἀπέθανε,... (Xiph. 193, 5).

## CHAPTER VI

### **An Investigation of the use of Puns, Idiomatic Expressions Proverbs and several forms of Wordplay in the language of Zonaras.**

In the previous chapter we have casually touched on the issue and importance of wordplay as a vehicle of humour since both words and wit are so closely interrelated that the one cannot but depend on the other. Indeed the essence of wordplay is based on the ambiguity of language and in Greek particularly many words often possess more than one meaning. One is reminded here of Anthony Burgess' statement expanding on this basic phenomenon which is characterised by its diachronic force:

"Ambiguity is a vice of words... A scientific age like ours tends to worry about this aspect of language... Meaning should be mathematical, unambiguous. But this plurality of reference is in the very nature of language, and its management and exploitation is one of the joys of writing."<sup>1</sup>

We should add that it is also one of the joys of reading. Wordplay, it seems, is an almost continuous, unrelieved and uninterrupted facet of daily life (a feature of "*homo ludens*") and punning is, and always was, one of the beloved tools of comic and ludicrous creation,<sup>2</sup> especially in high-styled and ambitious forms of literature. The Byzantines, known for their strong aesthetical linguistic criteria, had developed a long standing tradition in rhetoric, and verbal practical jokes which basically try to pass off similarity as identity must have been a common practice even as school homework for the eager ones. If Zonaras had been alive at the time of

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<sup>1</sup> A. Burgess, *Language Made Plain*, London, 1975, 105-6.

<sup>2</sup> For a fairly recent work on wordplay see W. Redfern, *Puns*, Oxford, 1984, esp. 1-33.

Erasmus he probably would have approved of the latter's defence of "playful" against "frivolous" and agreed that: "nothing is more foolish than to talk of frivolous things seriously; but nothing is wittier than to make frivolities serve serious ends".<sup>3</sup> Even a casual glance at Zonaras' elegant language is sufficiently convincing about the truth of at least the second part of Erasmus' statement: Zonaras is indeed a skillful punster. In the following section we provide a sample list of the most common instances of wordplay found in Zonaras' *Epitome*. Such instances form part of a spectrum of figures of speech including:

I) Cases when the writer seeks to achieve a suitable sound effect by juxtaposing similar-sounding words such as a verb with its cognate object, or words of the same root, or derivatives, compound words etc;

II) An attempt to startle readers by the juxtaposition of opposites or by introducing an ample sufficiency of variants, either in form of words or of expressions, or by employing figures such as oxymorons, ellipses, understatements and chiasmuses;

III) A more serious endeavour to transcend superficial word similarities and employ a figurative language full of metaphors which apparently invite the supple-minded readers "to leap from one plane of thought to another and to follow the lightning manoeuvre of connection".<sup>4</sup> Needless to say the following examples are merely a specimen of Zonaras' linguistic resources but give quite a good idea of the wordplay or "turns on words" that he is so fond of:

1. καὶ ὁ λαὸς μετεσκήνωσεν, ἀγνεύων τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀγνείαν καὶ ἀπὸ  
γυναικὸς συνουσίας.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> D. Erasmus, *Eloge de la folie*, Paris, 1964 (1511<sup>1</sup>), 14.

<sup>4</sup> J. Cocteau, quoted in G. Elgozy, *De l'humour*, Paris, 1979, 111.

<sup>5</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 15, 62 (7-8). This is about the simplest form of wordplay involving a verb with its cognate object.

2. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ὀλοφέρνης... κατέκειτο καὶ ὑπνον θανάτου ὑπνωττειν ἀδελφόν.<sup>6</sup>
3. προσώρμησέ ποτε τῷ περὶ τὰ ἀνάκτορα λιμένι φορτὶς βάρει τῶν ἀγωγίμων πεφορτισμένη..<sup>7</sup>
4. σκηπτὸς ἐνσκήψας νυκτὸς τῇ Δάφνῃ καὶ τὸν ναὸν... ἀπετέφρωσεν.<sup>8</sup>
5. συνεὶς δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰρήνης εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον αἴτιον, ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις..<sup>9</sup>
6. ἐκεῖνος τὴν κορύνην ἀνατείνας παῖει τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον...καὶ εὐθὺς εἶχε τὸν πεπληγμένον πορφύρεος θάνατος, μιᾷ θανατωθέντα πληγῇ.<sup>10</sup>
7. "ἐπόμνυμι... κοινῇ γῆν ἐπιέσασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν μετὰ αἰσχυνομένου αἰσχυνομένη ..."11
8. οὐ μόνου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου δόμου τῆς δομύσεως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήρξατο...<sup>12</sup>
9. ἀντὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς ὀριζούσης ἐκείνω τὴν κόλασιν τῆς κολάσεως ἐλευθεροῦν αὐτὸν ἐξήνεκτο ψήφισμα.<sup>13</sup>
10. ὁ μὲν οὖν ναὸς οὕτως τὸ πῦρ ἐδέξατο, τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τελουμένων ἐναγῶς καθαρτήριον ἢ τῶν τελούντων αὐτὰ κολαστήριον .<sup>14</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* III, 12, 252 (6). This is a similar case to the above.

<sup>7</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 25, 357 (7-8). In this example we get an allied pair of words: a participle and its subject.

<sup>8</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 12, 64 (18). Same case as above only that here the pair of words is adjacent.

<sup>9</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VII, 7, 25 (10-11). There is a twofold wordplay here: first the juxtaposition of opposite nouns, then the incongruity resulting from using the same verb (ἐπιτίθεμαι) in adverse situations.

<sup>10</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 2, 526 (15-16). We find a word assonance here caused by the noun θάνατος and the participle θανατωθέντα. "Purple death", on the other hand, is an interesting metaphor alluding to the "purple" colour of blood as well as the purple of imperial status. For a similar expression compare Choniates, *Chronice Diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, 548 (8-9). γυνή τις ἠμφιάσατο μέλανα χήτει ἀνδρός, ὃν μέλας ἐκάλυψε θάνατος. Naturally, black death or the darkness of death is as old as Homer.

<sup>11</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* III, 2, 287 (16). The play here consists of adjoining identical participles but of a different gender.

<sup>12</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIV, 6, 157 (1). The startling effect is achieved by juxtaposing two words of the same root which syntactically depend on each other.

<sup>13</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 10, 685 (10-12). Similar case as above only that the related words here belong to different syntactical structures.

<sup>14</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VI, 23, 542 (6-7). Zonaras employs both active and passive participles of the same verb and plays with the metaphorical meaning of adjectives like "expurgatory" and "avenging" in connection with fire.



11. οὐ μάχη μέντοι κοινή, μονομαχία δὲ γέγονε πρότερον.<sup>15</sup>
12. "μὴ τοῦτο ἄλλοτε ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον ἐκφήνης, ὦ βασιλεῦ".<sup>16</sup>
13. ἡ δὲ (Ζωὴ) καὶ ἀμμάτων καὶ ἐπασμάτων ἠνείχeto καὶ προσίeto ἐπωδάs.<sup>17</sup>
14. τοὺs μὲν τῆs ἐπιβουλῆs μετασχόνταs αἰκισαμένη ἡ βασιλιs (Εἰρήνη) καὶ τὴν τρίχωσιν αὐτοῖs ἀποθρίξασα ὑπερορίαν τούτων κατεψηφίσατο.<sup>18</sup>
15. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κόμμοδοs τὰ τῆs ἀρχῆs διαφθείρασ, ὡs εἴρηται, κάκεῖνοs διέφθαρτο.<sup>19</sup>
16. τῶν δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων, ὅσοι ματὰ τὸν πορφυρογέννητον Βασίλειον τῆs βασιλείασ ἐπέβησαν,...<sup>20</sup>
17. "κύριέ μου" φησὶ (ὁ Δανιήλ) "βασιλεῦ,...ἡ μεγαλοσύνη σου ἔφθασεν εἰs τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ἡ κυρεία σου εἰs τὰ πέρατα τῆs γῆs".<sup>21</sup>
18. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην, καθ' ἣν τὸν ἀστράγαλον τὸν γράφοντα ἐθεάσαντο, φασὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰρεθῆναι κάκεῖνον ἀναιρεθῆναι.<sup>22</sup>
19. καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι ἠβούλετο (ὁ Μιχαὴλ VI ὁ στρατιωτικὸs) ἀλλὰ τοῖs περὶ ἐκείνον τοῦτον ἀβούλητον, ὅθεν οὐδ' εἰs ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν συνεχωρήθη τὸ βούλημα.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VII, 24, 90 (11-12). The emphasis here lies on μάχη and its derivative μονομαχία.

<sup>16</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 7, 274 (1-2). Simple correspondence in sound involving an adverb (ἄλλοτε) and a pronoun (ἄλλον).

<sup>17</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 13, 581 (14-15). In this example we have a correspondence in sound manifested in the words ἀμμάτων and ἐπασμάτων.

<sup>18</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 10, 285 (7-9). The word ἀποθρίξασα is purposely inserted to accord with τὴν τρίχωσιν. This becomes evident when one considers the number of alternatives that could have been used, for instance the following participles: ἀφελομένη [XV, 10, 287 (15)] or ψιλώσασα [XV, 11, 291 (9)] or again a phrase like τὴν κόμην περιελούσα [XV, 12, 294 (2)].

<sup>19</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XII, 6, 539 (17-18). In this case we have an active participle and the passive form of the verb combined in a paradoxical phrase.

<sup>20</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 4, 667 (1-2). There is an assonance of the words βασιλέων, Βασίλειον and βασιλείας.

<sup>21</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* III, 4, 217 (13-14). The words κύριε and κυρεία assonate in this example. κυρεία is actually not a common word.

<sup>22</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* III, 5, 220 (16-18). The two infinitives αἰρεθῆναι and ἀναιρεθῆναι correspond in sound.

<sup>23</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 3, 660-1. The wordplay is manifested in the words ἠβούλετο, ἀβούλητον and βούλημα. Note also the figure of ellipsis occurring in the syntax of the

20. λόγοις δὲ προσεῖχεν ἢ μᾶλλον τοῖς λόγοις μετιοῦσι καὶ δόξαν ἔχουσι λογιότητος, αὐτὸς τῶν λόγων ἄκρω μόνῳ δακτύλῳ τὸ τοῦ λόγου γευσάμενος.<sup>24</sup>
21. καὶ τάχα ἄν ἠνάλωτο, (ὁ Λέων VI) εἰ μὴ τις φθάσας καὶ ξίφει τεμῶν τὴν ζώνην αὐτὸν διεσώσατο, ᾧ καὶ σῶστρα καλὰ δέδωκεν ὁ ὑπ' ἐκείνου σωθεῖς τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκτομήν.<sup>25</sup>
22. ἔμενεν οὖν καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἄπορον ἀπορούμενον, ἀσαφοῦς τυγχάνοντος τοῦ χρημοῦ.<sup>26</sup>
23. Οὕτως ἡ Ῥώμη παραλόγως ἤλω καὶ ἐσώθη παραλογώτερον.<sup>27</sup>
24. ὁ μὲν οὖν (ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Κοπρώνυμος) οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς βιώσας οὕτως ἀπεβίω βιαιότατα.<sup>28</sup>
25. καὶ τοῦ ἀκράτου σπάσαντες οἱ (φρουροὶ) ἀκρατέστερον ἐλήφθησαν ὑπνω βαρεῖ.<sup>29</sup>
26. εἰ δὲ τὸ τὴν ἀνίερον ἐκείνην ιεροσύνην ἀποδίδοσθαι χρημάτων ἀμαρτία λελόγιστο...<sup>30</sup>
27. καὶ τις τῶ Κομνηνῶ τὴν ἐκείνου εὐηγγελίσατο τελευτήν.<sup>31</sup>

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phrase τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνον τοῦτον ἀβούλητον where the participle ὄν is left out and implied.

<sup>24</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 20, 617 (8-10). An assonance of the word λόγος.

<sup>25</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 11, 439 (17-19). Apart from the irony (the rescuer's compensation for saving the emperor's life was to lose his own life!), there is also the assonance of three allied words: (διεσώσατο, σῶστρα and σωθεῖς).

<sup>26</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VII, 25, 91 (19). The wordplay is between words of the same root combined in a paradox: "The *doubt* remained *in doubt* " might be a free translation of the phrase.

<sup>27</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VII, 23, 86) (23). Here we get the recurrence of an adverb in its positive and comparative degrees all of which is connected with two opposite verbs in a paradoxical phrase.

<sup>28</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 8, 282 (12-13). This is a usual formula with which Zonaras ends his account of undeserving emperors. The phrase contains four adverbs and two opposites (βιώσας and ἀπεβίω). Sometimes we get a combination of an adjective and an adverb in the superlative degree instead of one adverb in the positive and another in the superlative as here: [XV, 15, 311 (11)]: ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικηφόρος κάκιςτος γεγονὼς ἀπώλετο αἰσχίστα. Note also the assonance of βιώσας...ἀπεβίω βιαιότατα.

<sup>29</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 5, 30 (10-11). Similar case as above (ex.23) only that here we find an adjective (used as a noun) in its positive degree together with a related adverb in the comparative.

<sup>30</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* II, 12, 154 (18). This is a good example of a startling oxymoron: "The impious priesthood".

<sup>31</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 5, 669 (16). There is an ironical oxymoron in the phrase "someone brought the good news of his death". The standard meaning of εὐαγγελίζομαι

28. καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ μονάσασα (ἢ Εἰκασία) ἑαυτῇ ἕζη καὶ τῷ Θεῷ τῆς  
λογικῆς παιδείας μὴ ἀλογήσασα.<sup>32</sup>
29. ἔτι τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θρησκεία προσκειμένος (ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος) καὶ  
τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἀντικείμενος.<sup>33</sup>
30. ὁ δὲ γε Σφενδοσθλάβος ἔτι ἄπαξ Ῥωμαίους παρήνει μαχέσασθαι καὶ  
ἢ περιγενέσθαι τε καὶ σωθήσεσθαι ἢ προτιμῆσαι θάνατον εὐκλεᾶ ζωῆς  
δυστυχούσ.<sup>34</sup>
31. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, ὡς εἴρηται, κληρονόμον τὴν Ζωὴν ἦδει,  
μέτεισι κάκεινῃν, καὶ μητέρα τὴν εὐγενῆ τοῦ δυσγενούσ  
ἀναπλάττουσιν.<sup>35</sup>
32. ἀπιέναι ποιήσουςα μικρὰν τροφὴν ἑαυτῇ καὶ τοῖς παισίν, ἦς  
ἐκλιπούσης καὶ αὐτοὺς λιμῷ ἐκλιπεῖν.<sup>36</sup>
33. ὁ πατήρ...καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ἡλικία γεγονόσιν ἐζεύγνυεν,  
Ἄριστοβούλω μὲν τὴν Σαλώμης θυγατέρα Βερνίκην,  
Ἀρχελάου δὲ...τὴν παῖδα Γλαφύραν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.<sup>37</sup>
34. ὁ δὲ (Χουσί) "τῷ ἐκλεγμένῳ παρὰ Θεοῦ συνέσομαι" εἶπε, "καὶ  
συνέψομαι τῷ ἡρετισμένῳ παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ".<sup>38</sup>
35. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλωμάτων δεόμενος τρόπους ἀποτροπαίους συλλογῆς

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is "to bring good news" and as such it should normally allude to a happy event, not somebody's death!

<sup>32</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 25, 355 (1). On this occasion we find a pair of opposite words sharing the same root.

<sup>33</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 1, 2 (3-4). Two opposite participles are employed here.

<sup>34</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 2, 532 (4-6). A sequence of four opposites.

<sup>35</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 16, 597 (12-14). An interesting incongruity resulting from the juxtaposition of two opposite adjectives, where the usual play between εὖ and δυσ is again displayed.

<sup>36</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* II, 13, 159 (12-14). There is a wordplay here between the literal and the metaphorical meaning of the verb ἐκλείπω. No similar wordplay is found in Josephus [*Antiqu. Jud.* VIII, 109 (6-8)].

<sup>37</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* V, 18, 437-38. This is a ludicrous chiasmus which works a pointed criss-cross between the names of Herod's sons and those of their spouses.

<sup>38</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* II, 5, 134 (3-5). An example of chiasmus.

χρημάτων ἐξεύρισκε, καὶ ὀφειλὰς ἀδίκους εἰσηγον οἱ μηδὲν δικαίως  
ὀφείλοντες.<sup>39</sup>

36. οἱ ἝΑραβες...καὶ πλήθους φαντασίαν ἀπεργασμένοι τῷ μὴ  
συνασπισμὸν τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ διεσπασμένως ἐκτρέχειν καὶ ἐπιέναι  
ἀσυντάκτως τῷ χάρακι, ἐνδειματοῦσιν ἅπαν τὸ στρατιωτικόν.<sup>40</sup>

37. αὐτὸς δὲ (ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος) διὰ τόλμαν οὐδὲν ᾤετο τοῖς θαρσαλέοις  
ἀνάλωτον οὐδέ τι ὀχυρὸν τοῖς ἀτόλμοις.<sup>41</sup>

38. ἐξαναστάντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοῖς προσπεσόντες, οἷα γυμνοὺς  
ὀπλισμένοι, ἀπροσδοκίτους παρεσκευασμένοι, τοξότας ὀπλίται, βαρβάρους  
Ῥωμαῖοι κατέκοψαν.<sup>42</sup>

39. εἰ γὰρ τείχους τις πρῶτος ἐπέβη, καὶ τείχους ὁ στέφανος εἶδος  
ἔφερεν: ἢ καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησέ τι, καὶ τοῦτο κάκεῖνο εἰκόνιστο.  
ἐναυκράτησέ τις, ναυσὶν ὁ στέφανος ἐκεκόσμητο: ἱπποκράτησέ τις,  
ἱππικὸν τι ἐξετετύπωτο.<sup>43</sup>

40. οἱ δὲ...μόνον τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον εὐφήμησαν αὐτοκράτορα. ἐντεῦθεν  
ὀρμηθέντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεμάτων μόνον τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον  
ἀνηγόρευον βασιλέα, καὶ ἀθροισθέντες κοινῇ ἐκεῖνον μόνον ἀνεκέρυττον  
αὐτοκράτορα.<sup>44</sup>

41. ἀπελθὼν ἝΥρκανὸς διὰ πάσης ἤγετο τιμῆς πρὸς ἝΗρώδου, πατὴρ τε  
καλούμενος καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐστιάσεις προκατακλινόμενος καὶ παντοίως  
ἐξαπατῶμενος ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβουλευόμενος αἴσθηται.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 22, 737 (11-14). First we find a pun in the combination of a noun with its compound opposite. Then there is a strange chiasmus where the contrast by parallelism in reverse is between two opposites and a verb with its cognate object.

<sup>40</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 11, 577 (8-11). Another example of chiasmus.

<sup>41</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* IV, 132, 344 (19-20). Same as above. Note, however, the Doric form of the noun τόλμα.

<sup>42</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* X, 27, 388 (15-17). An impressive juxtaposition of four pairs of opposites.

<sup>43</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VII, 21, 77 (14-17). In this case we get a sequence of variants.

<sup>44</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 11, 292 (7-10). Again we have a combination of three synonymous verbs here for "they proclaimed him emperor".

<sup>45</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* V, 12, 420 (16-19). Here we have four successive participles which all refer to the subject of the sentence (Hyrkanus). This is something in which Zonaras indulges often, for instance a few lines on he writes five successive adjectives and

42. οὕτω τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκονομήσαντος τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς...ἀλγεινῶς μὲν ἐμοὶ συμφερόντως δ' ὅμως.<sup>46</sup>
43. καὶ οἱ σταλέντες κατειληφότες τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐκείνων ὑπάρχοντες πολλαπλάσιοι, μείους τῶν φευγόντων ἀποδράναι δεδύνηντο...<sup>47</sup>
44. καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην συνδρομῆν τῶν ἀνιέρων ἐκείνων σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν καλέσαι οὐκ ἀπενάρκησε.<sup>48</sup>
45. καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὴν (τὴν Εἰρήνην) ἀναπεῖθων, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσουσαν τῶν παρὰ δούλου ὀφειλομένων πρὸς δέσποιναν γίνεσθαι.<sup>49</sup>
46. τούτοις ἐκείνην (τὴν Ζωὴν) καὶ ἄλλως εὐάγωγον οὔσαν καταγοητεύσαντες καὶ καταθέξαντες τοῖς μειλύμασι συλῶσι καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦσι θελήματος.<sup>50</sup>
47. αὐτίκα τοῖνυν καλέσας τὸν Δανιὴλ ὁ κρατῶν ἡξίου δηλοῦν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν γραμμάτων, καὶ μὴ ὑποσταλῆναι κἄν εἶη σκυθρωπὸν τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν σημαινόμενον.<sup>51</sup>

participles in connection with Aristobulus [V, 12, 421 (13-15)]: ὠραιότατον ὄντα, προύχοντα, ἰσχύοντα, ἔτοιμον, εὐκατάφορον.

<sup>46</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome, Praef.* 3 (5-7). The phrases τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς and ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς are antithetically combined in the same sentence although they are not exact opposites. There is also a combination of two opposite adverbs which are connected with the μὲν -δέ link. Compare also [V, 25, 461 (1-2)]. εὐροῦσα ἐπιστολὴν Σαλώμης πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν κυρίαν κατὰ σοῦ, τὸ ἀντίγραφόν σοι αὐτῆς ἔστειλα, ἐπικινδύνως ἐμοί, ὠφελίμως δὲ σοί.

<sup>47</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 6, 551 (12-14). The author uses a complicated syntax to convey an otherwise simple message. The wordplay focuses on the juxtaposition of the adjectives πολλαπλάσιοι and μείους. Moreover there is the incongruity which is involved in the concept of the "pursuers" who are later chased and seek to escape.

<sup>48</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 6, 270 (1-3). "He was not slow in calling such a concourse of those unholy men a synod". This is a case of a linguistic litotes since what is meant is that the emperor (Constantinus V Copronymus) had been actually *anxious* to grant authority to this "synod". A few lines further, Zonaras uses the word συναγωγὴ to describe the same illegal "concourse" of Copronymus in a paradox: (ἀνιέρων ἀρχιερέων συναγωγῆ) which perhaps suggests a hint of Judaism (synagogue) -XV, 7, 274 (11).

<sup>49</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 14, 302 (11-13). Here we have another good example of a litotes or understatement whereby affirmation by negation of the contrary is introduced.

<sup>50</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 18, 606 (3-5). The text here displays a clearly metaphorical language in that the empress Zoe is depicted as being bewitched and "taken over" by the shrewd Michael V Calaphates and his men. Both the two synonymous participles καταγοητεύσαντες and καταθέξαντες as well as the noun μειλύμασι (soothing spells) refer to the activities of sorcery.

<sup>51</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* III, 5, 219 (14-17). In this case the *result* of the property of a thing is used as the property itself. σκυθρωπὸν is used instead of λυπηρόν. For a literal meaning of the word see IV, 5, 319: ὁ δὲ σκυθρωπὸν αὐτὸν θεασάμενος ἤρετο διότι κατηφιᾷ.

48. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς (Ρωμανὸς III Ἀργυρός) ... ἀλλοιωθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀλλοίωσιν... παῖδας πατέρων γεγηρακότα χρέα πραττόμενος καὶ πυρκαϊὰς ἀνάπτων κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων, ἄσπερ ὁ χρόνος ἤδη πολὺς πρὸςβεύσας κατέσβεσεν ἢ τέως κατέχωσεν ὑπὸ σποδιᾶ.<sup>52</sup>

49. Ἀρχέλαος δὲ...Γλαφύραν ἄγεται πρὸς γάμον...Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ γαμετήν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τέκνα ἦν αὐτῆ, ἀπειρημένου τῷ νόμῳ ἀδελφῶν ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκας παῖδας ἐκ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐχούσας.<sup>53</sup>

50. καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος ὁμοῦ συνελθεῖν (τοὺς ἐρμηνεῖς τῶν γραφῶν), καὶ τὰς ἐκάστων συγγραφὰς παραβληθείσας ἀλλήλαις εὐρεθῆναι μήτε κατὰ νοῦν μήτε μὴν κατὰ λέξεις διαφωνούσας, ἀλλὰ συμφώνους ἐν ἅπασιν.<sup>54</sup>

51. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἐσφάττοντο ἢ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς κατεκρήμιζον.<sup>55</sup>

52. ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος (ὁ παρακοιμώμενος Βασίλειος) διὰ ταῦτα νέφει περισχεθεὶς ἀθυμίας παρείτο τὰ μέλη καὶ ἔμπνους ὦπτο νεκρὸς καὶ βραχὺ τι διαλιπὼν οἰκτρῶς τὸν βίον ἐξέλιπεν.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 12, 578 (5-10). Zonaras is using the metaphor of "setting" and "quenching" a fire in connection with Romanus III Argyrus' unpopular measures. He also employs an unusual syntactical structure in the sentence *παῖδας πατέρων γεγηρακότα χρέα πραττόμενος* where almost every word sounds oddly and, where, yet, the grammar is absolutely fine. This incongruity is the result of placing *παῖδας* and *πατέρων* side by side and then adding the participle *γεγηρακότα* which at first glance appears to be referring to *πατέρων* but actually qualifies the following noun *χρέα*. The purpose of such paradoxes is to startle and impress the reader. Psellus [*Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, XII, 40 (8)] employs a less impressive wordplay: *ἀφανισθέντων τῆ μνήμῃ πατέρων τοὺς παῖδας λογιστεύων πικρῶς...*

<sup>53</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VI, 2, 472 (12-15). In this example we find an intentional confusion resulting from the juxtaposition of two words (nouns) which are in the same case grammatically, yet belong to different syntactical structures. The object of this phenomenon is apparently to cause a startling effect on readers. It is repeated a few lines further: [VI, 2, 472 (19-21)] *ὁ τοίνυν Καῖσαρ...ἀκροασάμενος τῶν κατηγορῶν κἀκείνου, ἐκείνου μὲν φυγαδεῖαν καταψηφίζεται, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀπηνέγκατο.* Zonaras' source Josephus [*Antiqu. Jud.* XVII, 297 (34-6)] employs no wordplay in this case.

<sup>54</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* IV, 17, 359 (15-18). The same thing is asserted both negatively and positively.

<sup>55</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* V, 7, 402 (2-3). There is a recurrence of two grammatical agents in the genitive case (*ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων*) combined with a partitive genitive (*τῶν Ἰουδαίων*). As a result we get three genitives in succession.

<sup>56</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 7, 555 (1-3). This example contains the metaphorical expression "to be covered by a cloud of despondency" and the oxymoron "living dead" which is analogous to the Modern Greek phrase *ζωντανὸς νεκρός*.

53. φαρμακεῦσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν (ὁ ἔκτομίας Ἰωάννης) καθαροῖω τοῦ ἱατροῦ μέλλοντος, ἀναπεῖσαι τὸν φαρμακεύοντα δώροις καὶ ὑποσχέσει διατινων τὴν βασίλισσαν (Ζωήν) ἀντὶ σωτηρίου προσενεγκεῖν αὐτῷ δηλητήριον.<sup>57</sup>

54. συνέβη δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον ὁ ἐπισπεῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἠρέθισε τὴν ἐγχείρισιν. εἰδότες γὰρ οἱ μάγοι ὅτι Πρηξάσπης ἐχειρουργήσῃ τὸν Σμέρδου φόνον...<sup>58</sup>

55. καὶ εἶπε (ὁ Τιβέριος) "κἀγὼ οὖν Αἴαντα αὐτὸν ποιήσω", καὶ αὐτοεντία ἀπολέσθαι αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασεν.<sup>59</sup>

56. οἱ δὲ ἐκ Περσίδος αὐτὸν ἐπανιόντα ὀφθαλμία περιπεσεῖν συνεγράψαντο, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ οἰκείου πενθεροῦ...ἀναιρεθῆναι, τῆ αὐταρχία ἐποφθαλμίσαντος.<sup>60</sup>

57. καὶ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας νόμων οὐκ ἀδαής, (ὁ Ῥωμανὸς Ἀργυρὸς) πλείω δ' εἰδέναι ὧν ἦδει ὡς ἀληθῶς οἰόμενός τε καὶ σεμνυνόμενος.<sup>61</sup>

58. οὐδὲν ἕτερον κρίνοντες ὑγιᾶς ἢ τὸ σὺ τοῦτον ἀπεικάσαι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα (Ἀλέξανδρον), διὰ τὸ περὶ γαστέρα κεχηνέναι τε καὶ συσσίτια καὶ ἀκολασίαις προσκεῖσθαι διηνεκῶς.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 15, 595 (8-11). There is a pun here employing a participle and an infinitive with the same stem and an antithesis between two opposites (σωτηρίου and δηλητήριον). Psellus [*Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, XXVI, 51 (5-8)] prefers to avoid the wordplay: τὸν ἄνδρα πρότερον φαρμάκοις καταγοητεύσαντες, μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐλλέβορον ἐκεράσαντο.

<sup>58</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* IV, 2, 308 (11-13). The wordplay is between the noun ἐγχείρισις and the verb χειρουργῶ. Both words have some connection with "hands", the first meaning "an undertaking", the second "to put in hand", to execute. In later Greek both of them would, of course, allude to the jargon of surgeons (to operate, operation) but it is not certain whether Zonaras here was actually making the connection.

<sup>59</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XI, 3, 444 (1-2). If we are right, Zonaras here is playing with the words Αἴαντα (i.e. the title of a tragedy) and the word αὐτοεντία meaning suicide. The pun works in terms of the sound which these two words produce.

<sup>60</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XII, 30, 611 (21-24). The pun consists of the play between ὀφθαλμία, the eye-disease, and the verb "to have one's eye on".

<sup>61</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 13, 585 (9-10). This is a case of irony (Romanus III Argyrus knew less than he thought!) and there is a wordplay between εἰδέναι and ἦδει since an alternative word could have been used for the second of the two, for instance ἠπίστατο. This is in fact what Psellus does [*Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, II, 33 (5)] avoiding the wordplay: πολλαπλάσια δὲ ᾤετο εἰδέναι ὧνπερ ἐγίνωσκεν.

<sup>62</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 15, 457 (2-4). We suspect that Zonaras here plays with the word σὺς meaning "pig" and συσσίτια meaning "meals" and "banquets". This wordplay is indeed subtle and ingenious.

59. ἡ δὲ Μεσσαλίνα καὶ οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι αὐτοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐπιτροπὰς τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἐπώλουν καὶ ἐκαπήλευον, ὥστε σπανίσαι πάντα τὰ ὄνια, κἀντέϋθεν βιασθῆναι τὸν Κλαύδιον ἀπὸ βήματος τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν διατάξαι.<sup>63</sup>

60. ἦτις μονὴ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐκλήθη τοῦ Σταυρακίου ὀνομασμένη, βαρβαριζομένου δὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος *παρὰ τοῦ συρφετώδους ὄχλου* λέγεται τὰ Βρακά, παρὰ τινων δὲ τὴν ἀληθῆ κλήσιν ἀγνοησάντων, μεταγόντων δὲ δῆθεν ταύτην πρὸς τὸ ἐλληνικώτερον, ὀνομάζεται τὰ Ἐβραϊκά.<sup>64</sup>

These are then some of the puns which adorn Zonaras' narrative and which work on two or more levels, manifest and latent, in some kind of stimulating coexistence. As in the case of humour we again have to acknowledge that Zonaras the historian has borrowed some of his wordplay from other sources.<sup>65</sup> It should be made clear, however, that even in cases when he is quoting word for word he becomes *selective* as to what he quotes. The fact, for instance, that he overlooks chunks of uninteresting or irrelevant writing and concentrates on what he considers as important and essential, or as exciting, graceful and witty says a lot about his considerable sensitivity toward the norms of language and its secrets. That Zonaras has occasionally quoted from other historians is no mystery and justifies no embarrassment either to him or to us. He is the

<sup>63</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XI, 9, 465 (5-9). If we are right there is a pun here in the use of the word ὄνια which normally means goods for sale, marketwares but in this case it refers to the "selling out" of offices as if they were ordinary shopping items.

<sup>64</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* [XV, 16, 313 (6-11)]. We have cited this example not because there is any intentional wordplay involved but in order to demonstrate that Zonaras had developed a keen interest in language itself and had sought, on several occasions, to provide an etymology or, as in this case, an explanation for a wrong etymology of a word or phrase. Mone Stavrakiou inspired the shorter name ta Vraka which, Zonaras explains, was used instead by the uneducated mob. Those learned, on the other hand, who ignored the original appellation had created the more hellenised Evraka as a correction, which was nevertheless equally wrong. Concerning Zonaras' interest in etymology, see our appendix on the *Lexicon Tittmannianum*.

<sup>65</sup> To mention a few instances, Zonaras has quoted Josephus in example no: 1 (*Antiqu. Jud.*, III, 29, 7); Xenophon in example No: 7 (*Cyropaedia*, VI, 4, 6); and Dio Cassius in example No: 38 (*Historiae Romanae*, XLIX, 29) verbatim.



first to let his readers know in his preface where he admits that he has used many sources as well as much of the linguistic structure from the work of other authors.<sup>66</sup> More often than not, though, he creates his own figurative expressions or takes pains to elaborate and embellish what he reckons as poor style or one susceptible of improvement. Catia Galatariotou has recently drawn attention to the eclectic originality of Neophytus the Recluse, who can thus be treated as a twelfth-century parallel for Zonaras.<sup>67</sup>

The following illustration might reinforce our argument: In the example numbered 33 above, Zonaras is drawing on the *Epitome* of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* regarding the marriage of king Herod's sons and, at some length, follows his source rather faithfully.<sup>68</sup> Josephus, however, in this case uses a plain word structure which exhibits no profundity or elegance: "Aristobulus was betrothed to Berenice, daughter of Salome and Alexander to Glaphyra, daughter of king Archelaus". Yet for Zonaras this is dull history composed ἀφελεστέρα λίαν...τῆ φράσει to use his statement from the introduction. He, therefore, takes its wording and transforms it into an elaborate chiasmus which is his and his only, and which makes for a better polished, more thoughtful piece of writing: "When his sons reached the appropriate age, Herod paired them off with women, uniting Aristobulus to Salome's daughter Berenice, while Glaphyra, the maiden of Archelaus, he would betroth to Alexander". It is in cases such as the above that the injustice which some scholars do to Byzantine writers of a less recognised status becomes the more unfair and thoughtless. It is extremely easy to dismiss a text or a passage on the grounds that the author has opened up and used a second or a third

<sup>66</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome Praef.* 9(2-4). ἐκ πολλῶν γὰρ βιβλῶν τὰς ἱστορίας ἐρανισάμενος, ἐν γε πολλοῖς ταῖς τῶν συγγραφέων ἐκείνων χρησαίμην ἂν συνθήκαις καὶ φράσεσιν,...

<sup>67</sup> Catia Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, Cambridge, 1991, esp. 23-24.

<sup>68</sup> Josephus, *Antiqu. Jud.*, XVI, 257 (15-16). καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ἡλικίαις γεγονόσιν ἐζεύγνυεν, Ἀριστοβούλῳ μὲν τὴν Σαλώμης θυγατέρα Βερνίκην, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως Γλαφύραν.

source for his material. We sometimes forget that inevitably certain writers are born before others which leaves the latter with little choice but to consult and draw on the earlier. Later does not necessarily mean lesser (*recentiores non deteriores* ).

On the other hand the objection might be raised that the limited collection of wordplay and puns which we have quoted from the *Epitome*, when spread across 1800 pages of text, does not suggest a very great concentration, i.e. there is *so much* of Zonaras, that one is bound to be able to find *some* examples. However, apart from the obvious truth that to present a complete record of Zonaras' wordplay would require a treatise in itself, the point is not whether Zonaras *invented* the use of puns, or even whether by using them he becomes unique among his contemporaries. Other authors, Attaleiates for instance or, in the field of poetry, Christopher of Mytilene, also indulged. The point rather is that Zonaras treats his material in his pre-eminent way while at the same time displaying a standard literary feature of the Byzantine culture. It is in this sense that the list of our quotations has been made, to provide a sample of various categories rather than to provide a full picture of Zonaras' resources.

If one searches for such material in 100 pages of text of, for example, Cedrenus' chronicle, one is naturally likely to discover some *sort* of wordplay, but it is wordplay of a different nature: not only is it less easy to locate, but it also strikes the reader as less sophisticated and refined. Thus Cedrenus (and so presumably Scylitzes) concentrates on the "double synonym technique" of juxtaposing two words, whether nouns, adjectives, adverbs or verbs, which have the same meaning.<sup>69</sup> Although this technique requires a command of a vast vocabulary and certainly

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<sup>69</sup> Compare Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 539 (1); 541 (4); 543 (23); 544 (20); 545 (1); 551 (3); 551 (8-9); 561 (6); 571 (1); 577 (21-22); 581 (12); 584 (12); 585 (20); 587 (2); 591 (2); 598 (4); 598 (13); 604 (21); 605 (6-7) etc.

constitutes an impressive device of rhetoric, it still remains an elementary device. Zonaras resorts to it but in rather more complicated forms, by citing e.g. four or five synonyms for one word.<sup>70</sup> In addition to the "double synonym technique" there are admittedly other puns in Cedrenus' text, basically assonance of letters or examples of chiasmus,<sup>71</sup> yet they are much more rudimentary compared with those of Zonaras. This is not, perhaps, irrelevant to the absence of a strong playful/humorous frame of mind from Cedrenus' history, which appears to give preference to historical facts over language. In Zonaras' case, on the contrary, we have an author who enjoys his work also from the point of presenting it artfully and elegantly.

In conclusion one might add that the use of metaphors and puns meant something much more than the provision of illustrations or embellishments in the narrative; puns were, and presumably are, part of a special world which can be conveyed to us only through suggestion and analogy. As words not only have specific meanings but also implied meanings, in a colourful and competitive use of language the connotations are rich and important so that the language "grows" by extension of meaning. A good writer prefers live words to dead words or drugged words. He may avoid words which have been worn smooth by overuse in certain contexts, but he may discover that even words which seem to have lost all their vigour, if put in fresh patternings, tailor-made to his specific purpose, come live again.

This was a secret that the art of rhetoric was well aware of. Therefore, puns and wordplay were highly recommended to those who pursued the charms of eloquence in their writings and indeed their presence can be traced in the texts of authors with diverse interests,

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<sup>70</sup> This is an eminent feature of Zonaras' language. Compare Zonaras, *Epitome*, XVIII, 24, 746 (13-19). μετήλλαξε τὴν ζωὴν...ἀπέτισε τὸ χρεῶν...ἀπεβίω...μετέστη τῶν γενηρῶν...

<sup>71</sup> Cedrenus, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 565 (16-17); 574 (22-23); 626 (6-8) etc.

ranging from poets and rhetoricians to historians. To start with, as a form of literary device, wordplay traces its roots to the authors of the second sophistic and the theorists of language such as Hermogenes, etc. As far as the Byzantines are concerned, witty jesting is found in the panegyric to the emperor Anastasius I (491-518) by Procopius of Gaza.<sup>72</sup> To a lesser extent wordplay appears in the excerpts of the history of the fifth-century writer Priscus, who was brought up as a "sophist" and *rhetor* in the school of Atticism and had received instruction on the art of *mimesis*. To mention one example, the proper name Chrysaphius (Χρυσάφιος) tempted Priscus to introduce a charming wordplay in connection with the man's riches and his golden-roofed mansions.<sup>73</sup> The same holds true regarding the historian Malchus from Philadelpheia of Palestine (5th century). In his *Byzantiaca* the reader will discover interesting proverbs, allusions to mythology and wordplay particularly associated with proper names.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, the history of Menander Protector (6th century), who is known for his *metaphrasis* of a diplomatic report by Peter the Patrician into refined Greek, is full of metaphors and figures of speech.<sup>75</sup>

On the other hand more prominent figures in historiography, such as Procopius of Caesarea or Agathias, preferred not to indulge in a figurative language, perhaps because they wanted their style more "Attic" as it were, and free from the "excessiveness" of Asianism. As the centuries elapsed and the gap between contemporary and classical style became more wide, authors may have felt the urge or need for a classical *mimesis* in their narratives stronger and the employment of rhetorical patterns may have, occasionally, appeared more emphatic. At any rate it would be fair

<sup>72</sup> Procopius of Gaza, *Panegyricus*, eds. I. Bekker and B. G. Niebuhr, (Bonn, 1829), 496 (13). προσήκουσαν ταύτην προσηκόντως δεξάμενος...

<sup>73</sup> Priscus, *Excerpta*, *op. cit.*, 148 (3-4). ὁ δὲ Χρυσάφιος ἔφασκεν ἕσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῶν τε χρυσοστέγων καὶ πλούτου κύριον; 212 (9-11). καὶ ἀνεβόα τὴν δίκην ἐπ' αὐτὸν φέρειν τὸ ξίφος, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν νέον τὸν ἀδικοῦντα οὐδέν...

<sup>74</sup> Malchus, *Fragments*, *op. cit.*, 273 (20-21). οὐ γὰρ ἥρωας ἔβαλλον, ὡς Πύρρος, ἀλλὰ γυναιμανῆς ἦν, ὡς Πάρις...

<sup>75</sup> Menander Protector, *Excerpta*, *op. cit.*, 285 (18-19); 320 (21-22), etc.

to say that the degree of presence or absence of wordplay in Byzantine literature often remains the determination of the writer concerned, as well as depends, of course, on his learning, rhetorical education, disposition of character, etc.

That history should not be written in an arid, unadorned and commonplace style, that it should contain an element of artistry and yet should not be entirely artificial, is a view supported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his assessment of the Thucydidean narrative.<sup>76</sup> "Excess is an abomination even in quite pleasant things", Dionysius concludes, "whereas moderation is everywhere desirable". Byzantine literary assessors held fast on this maxim and have repeatedly pointed out the dangers of going beyond the limit on either side. Thus the ninth-century humanist patriarch Photius in his *Bibliotheca* has criticised the style of the historian Theophylact Simocatta, whose composition "abounds in fanciful vocabulary and allegorical phrases" to the extent that the reader chokes from the excess. Photius passed the same judgement also to Evagrius Scholasticus, "who seems too verbose on certain occasions".<sup>77</sup>

Three centuries later the self-assertive linguist Tzetzes made it plain in his sixteen-line poem against Thucydides, that books like his should be thrown to the pit because they lack completely the necessary charms of rhetoric. Alongside gravity and clarity of style, Tzetzes' advice to Thucydides warns, the good historian cares for persuasiveness and sweetness in his text, not for wooden constructions and tortuous phraseology.<sup>78</sup> This is precisely a set of rules to which Zonaras remained

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<sup>76</sup> Dionysius condemns Thucydides' style and praises that of Demosthenes. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides*, ed. St. Usher, London, 1974, 630 (55).

<sup>77</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Henry, vol. 1, Paris, 1959, 79 (16-19) for Theophylact; 17 (31-32) for Evagrius.

<sup>78</sup> For a translation (with text) see W. B. Stanford, "Tzetzes' farewell to Thucydides", *Greece and Rome*, 11 (1941-2), 40-1. See also R. D. Scott, "The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography", (M. E. Mullett and R. D. Scott, eds.), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979 (Birmingham, 1981), 61-2.

faithful in his history by showing respect to the ideals of twelfth-century Byzantine historical writing, employing just about "enough" wordplay and figures of speech but not over the top. Overindulgence would have resulted in making his work one of those "tiresome" and "dragging" compositions such as those he condemns in his preface. "He preferred not to present a show of eloquence", the anonymous verdict had observed.

Finally we will attempt to identify a selected number of proverbs and proverbial phrases which must have constituted part of Zonaras' large reserves of handy and useful bywords, which he would have to use in response to the demands of his multiple functions as a sermon-writer, grammarian and historian. According to the late fifteenth century Byzantine scholar Michael Apostolius, who was commissioned to construct a collection of contemporary sayings, "a proverb is a phrase coating with obscurity that which is clear; or demonstrating intelligible things through things perceived by the senses, or secretively revealing the truth...a proverb is a serviceable expression, namely useful in life, hiding under moderate disguise things of great advantage or an exhortation applying to every turn of life".<sup>79</sup>

Here is a list of some of the proverbs which occur in the *Epitome* followed in each case by a brief commentary on their general use and evolution. As a rule the wording of listed proverbs is taken from the *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (volumes I and II) whenever we have been able to locate them therein:

1. Ῥαῦς ἐνδελεχοῦσα κοιλαίνει πέτραν (II, 632): "meaning that those who persevere in something will eventually succeed in it". The proverb occurs in the foreword of the *Epitome* : "For if a drop is capable of hollowing out

<sup>79</sup> C.P.G. II, 234-5: παροιμία μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ λόγος ἐπικαλύπτων τὸ σαφὲς ἀσαφείᾳ· ἢ δι' αἰσθητῶν πραγμάτων σημαίνων πράγματα νοητά· ἢ ἐπικεκρυμμένως τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπεμφαίνων...παροιμία ἐστὶ λόγος ὠφέλιμος, ἥτοι βιωφελής, ἐπικρύπτει μετρία πολὺ τὸ χρήσιμον ἔχων ἐν αὐτῷ· ἢ λόγος προτρεπτικὸς παρὰ πᾶσαν τοῦ βίου τὴν ὁδὸν χρησιμεύων.

the hard and tough stone it is far easier for a powerful word, knocking as at the door of hearing, to stir the idleness of the mind and its loosened disposition".<sup>80</sup> This saying appears to have been quite ancient<sup>81</sup> and Zonaras probably knew of it from the Fathers of the Church such as Gregory of Nazianzus and John Damascene.<sup>82</sup> Naturally he might have encountered it in the works of other Byzantine authors like Symeon Metaphrastes or Michael Psellus.<sup>83</sup> From the twelfth century writers those who have used the expression are Nicetas Eugenianus<sup>84</sup> and Constantine Manasses who quotes it in his chronicle: καὶ γὰρ ῥανὶς ἐνδεδεχῆς πέτραν σκληρὰν κοιλαίνει.<sup>85</sup> It is later found in the romance of *Libistrus and Rodamne* :

λέγουν εἰς πέτραν σταλαγμὸς συχνάσῃ να σταλάζῃ  
τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον τρυπᾷ το τὸ λιθάριν.<sup>86</sup>

In the fourteenth century it occurs in the epistles of Demetrius Cydones: τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν πυκνῶν σταγόνων πρὸς τοὺς λίθους, ὡς λόγος, σταγόνες ὕδατος πέτρας κοιλαίνουσι.<sup>87</sup> Koukoules who is still an indispensable source mentions more examples and also gives equivalent Modern Greek versions of the proverb in Kastoria, Crete and Pontus.<sup>88</sup> The standard Modern Greek saying is: σταλαγματιά σταλαγματιά ὡς καὶ το μάρμαρο

<sup>80</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome, Praef.* 7 (15-18). εἰ γὰρ κοιλαίνειν τὸ τῆς πέτρας σκληρὸν καὶ ἀπόκροτον ῥανίδος ἐνδεδεχεῖα δύναται, μᾶλλον ἂν δυνησεται λόγος ἐνδεδεχῆς τὰ ὦτα θυροκοπῶν γνώμης διεγεῖραι ῥαστώνῃ καὶ ἀνειμένην προαίρειν.

<sup>81</sup> The Alexandrian poet Choerilus mentions the proverb (*Apud Galenum*, III, 84). See also Isidorus Pelusiotes, *P.G.* 78, 1476: πέτραν κοιλαίνει ῥανὶς ὕδατος ἐνδεδεχοῦσα. Other authors (Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Aristotle) mention it, too. See also *Job*, 4, 19: λίθους ἐλέαναν ὕδατα.

<sup>82</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orationes*, 19, 293c; John Damascene, *Sacra Parallela*, 36.

<sup>83</sup> Symeon Metaphrastes (*P.G.* 114, 885): καὶ ῥανὶς ὕδατος ἐνδεδεχῶς ἐπιστάζουσα καὶ πέτραν οἶδεν ὡς λόγος κοιλαίνειν. Psellus (*Canon against Jacob, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, V, 179): ῥανὶς δὲ ἐνδεδεχοῦσα πέτραν κοιλαίνει, ὡς ἀκήκοας, (To emperor Monomachus, *op.cit.*, 111). ὑπέικουσι σταλαγμοῖς καὶ σίδηρος καὶ ἀδάμαντες, ῥανίδι δὲ συνεχεῖ αἱ πέτραι κοιλαίνονται, or elsewhere: καὶ λίθων στερεότητες σταγόνιν ὕδατων ἐνέδωσαν.

<sup>84</sup> In his monody dedicated to his teacher or friend Theodore Prodromus (*Vizantijskij Vremennik* IX, 457): ῥανίς, φησί, ἐνδεδεχοῦσα κοιλαίνει πέτραν.

<sup>85</sup> Manasses, *Synopsis chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, 189, v. 4421.

<sup>86</sup> *Libistrus and Rodamne*, ed. Lambert, 1627.

<sup>87</sup> Demetrius Cedones Correspondence, ed. G. Cammelli, ep. 31, 88. 6. 15, 19.

<sup>88</sup> Koukoules, V, 343-5.

τροπή, translating : drop after drop even the marble gets bored. Moreover Apostolius in his collection (*op.cit.*, 641) mentions a parallel saying found in an inscription which reads: Σήψει καὶ πέτρην ὁ πολὺς χρόνος, οὐδὲ σίδηρον φείδεται· ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντ' ὀλέκει δρεπάνη. This is apparently a variant proverb and its message is that time corrodes both stones and iron and destroys everything using the same scythe. It rather belongs to the "time-disintegrater" theme, but it does bear some similarity to the slow deterioration which water-drops can cause to stones and solid materials.

2. Ἀπὸ (οἱ ἐκ) φορβειᾶς ἄγεσθαι οἱ ἔλκεσθαι: meaning to lead somebody by the nose (literally by the horse's halter).

Zonaras: "And she (Eudoxia) persuaded her husband, since she was leading him by the nose, to condemn the holy man (John Chrysostom) to exile".<sup>89</sup> The phrase occurs in Strabo in its literal sense: οἱ ἵπποι ἀπὸ φορβειᾶς ἄγονται.<sup>90</sup> Eustathius, however, in his Commentary on Homer gives us an interesting clue: following a first suggestion regarding the etymology of φορβειᾶ as being derived from φορβή (i.e. hay), he goes on to add that "one should not ignore the fact that the men of old etymologize it also from the phrase *to lead by force*".<sup>91</sup> Now by "the men of old" Eustathius probably refers to the compiler of the *Suda* where (IV, 750) under φορβειᾶ we read: περιστόμιον, καπίστριον. παρὰ τῷ φέρειν βία. Both the *Suda* and Eustathius, then, allude to a kind of saying which provides the central idea of the proverb. In Modern Greek two variants are commonly used: 1) (χρειάζεται) χαλινάρι (somebody) needing restraint and 2) σέρνω (κάποιον) ἀπο τῆ μύτη: to lead somebody by the nose.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup>Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 20, 96 (3-5). πείθει τὸν γαμέτην, ἔλκουσα τοῦτον ὡσπερ ἐκ φορβειᾶς, ὑπερορίαν τοῦ ἁγίου καταψηφίσασθαι.

<sup>90</sup>Strabo, XV, 1, 52.

<sup>91</sup>Eustathius (M. Van Der Valk) II, 539, 16. οὐ χρὴ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ παρὰ τὸ φέρειν βία φασίν.

<sup>92</sup>This variant occurs also in the C.P.G. (II, 670) τῆς ῥινὸς ἔλκη which, apparently, is found in Lucian (*Hermot*, 68).



3. πάντα λίθον οἱ πέτρον οἱ κάλων κινεῖν. meaning to move heaven and earth, leave no stone unturned.

Zonaras: "Antonius, on the other hand, in seeking to punish Armenius, did not fail to leave any stone unturned, as the proverb has it, until he made him enter the camp".<sup>93</sup> This proverb occurs in the collection of Zenobius (*C.P.G.*, I, 146) where we find a brief account of its origin: When Mardonius (Xerxes' general) had been defeated in Plataea in Boeotia, he had left a treasure behind. A Theban Polycrates bought the land in which the treasure was supposedly buried, and as he could not trace it, he referred the matter to the oracle of Delphi. Apollo then divined: πάντα λίθον κίνει, hence the proverb. A variant is found in the collection of Diogenianus (I, 293) namely: πάντα κινήσω πέτρον, where we read: ὁμοία τῇ πάντα λίθον κινήσω. Ἐπὶ οὖν τῶν πάντα ῥόπον ἐπινοούντων ὥστε ποιῆσαι ὃ βούλονται ἢ παροιμία λέγεται. The proverb occurs also in the Lexica of Hesychius, Photius and the *Suda*.<sup>94</sup> A third variant occurs in the *C.P.G.* (I, 145; II, 86, 201) namely πάντα κάλων σείειν οἱ κινεῖν which, according to Gregorius Cyprius originated in the sailors' jargon whenever a need arose for them to pull the rigging of a vessel. Constantine Manasses uses it in a similar fashion: πάντα κάλων συγκινεῖ πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τοῦ πόθου<sup>95</sup> and so does Anna Comnena in the *Alexiad*.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, the unknown *Metaphrastes* of the *Alexiad*, when providing a "translation" of Anna's text into simpler Greek changes the proverb πάντα

<sup>93</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* X, 27, 390 (2). Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὸν Ἀρμένιον τιμωρήσασθαι μηχανώμενος οὐκ ἐνέλιπε πάντα λίθον κινῶν, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, ἕως αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰσελθεῖν.

<sup>94</sup> Photius (Naber, 52) actually provides an alternative etymology: according to this one the proverb sprang from the activities of those who search for crabs (ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦς καρκίνους θηρευόντων). The *Suda* (III, 22) κάλων: σχοινίον καὶ παροιμία, πάντα κάλων κινεῖν...

<sup>95</sup> Manasses, *Synopsis chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, 108, v. 2502.

<sup>96</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, XI, 35 (20-21). πάντα κάλων κινῶν περὶ τὴν ταύτης ἄλωσιν; II, 84 (31)-85 (1). πάντα κάλων, ὃ φασι, κινούντες καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν εὐφυῶς τεχναζόμενοι; III, 130 (6). τοῦ Ῥομπέρτου πάντα κάλων κινούντος.

κάλων κινῶν into πάσαν μηχανήν ἐποίει.<sup>97</sup> Interestingly Zonaras also uses a similar expression in his narrative: ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὁ Σαπώρης ἐλθὼν πᾶσαν ἐκίνησε μηχανήν ἵνα αὐτῷ ἡ πόλις ἀλῶ:<sup>98</sup> All of which makes one think that the phrase πᾶσαν μηχανήν κινεῖν or ποιεῖν is indeed not a simplification of πάντα λίθον κινεῖν but perhaps just a more common variant. The Modern Greek saying is "ἐκίνησε γῆ και ουρανὸ".

4. Ἐπὶ Μανδραβόλου τὸ πρᾶγμα χωρεῖ: meaning that a situation is turning for the worse.

Zonaras: "Hence the leading commanders of the Roman forces were enraged against the enperor (Basil II); Phocas because he was losing hope and, as the proverb has it, things were taking a turn for the worse as far as he was concerned, while the rest because he would treat them with contempt and would not communicate his thoughts to them..."<sup>99</sup> The proverb occurs in the *C.P.G.* where we find two related explanations regarding its origin. According to the first (I, 77, 241), a certain Mandrabolus (or Mandrabulus) had discovered a treasure in the island of Samos and on account of this decided to dedicate the metal model of a sheep in honour of the goddess Hera every year. In so doing, however, he gradually began to reduce the quality of his offerings presenting a golden model in the first year, a silver in the second, a third made of copper in the following year etc. According to the second explanation (II, 114-5) the aforementioned Mandrabolus had committed himself to the obligation of presenting the same offerings to the gods each year. But again he cheated by sacrificing ten oxen in the first year, nine in the second and so forth.

<sup>97</sup> See H. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Comnene, Alexias XI-XIII, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien*, XV, Wien, 1981, 33.

<sup>98</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 7, 35 (10).

<sup>99</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 6, 550 (1-4). ἐντεῦθεν οἱ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν προεξάρχοντες μηνιῶντες τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ μὲν Φωκάς ὅτι αὐτῷ αἱ ἐλπίδες ὑπέρρεον καὶ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας ἐπὶ τὰ Μανδραβόλου ἐχώρουν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ὑπερηφάνως αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκοινῶνει σφίσι τῶν βουλευμάτων...

The proverb must have been rather ancient and it is found in Lucian, Aelian and the *Suda*.<sup>100</sup> It occurs also in the writings of the fourteenth century historian Nicephorus Gregoras: ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦσαν μάταια τὰ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ Μανδραβόλου τὰ ἐκείνου διηλεκῶς ἐχώρει. Modern Greek has not kept the saying although its equivalent does exist in phrases such as : τὰ πρόγματα πάνε κατα διαβόλου meaning that things go by the board.

5.\* Ἄκρω. (or λιχάνω) ἄψασθαι δακτύλῳ : meaning to touch with one's fingertip. The proverb applies basically to those who are not sufficiently competent with something.

Zonaras: "He (Constantine Monomachus) was paying attention to erudition or rather to those who pursue it and enjoy the reputation of being scholarly, while he had acquainted himself with education, as the proverb has it, only with the tip of his finger".<sup>101</sup> This saying occurs in the C.P.G. many times indeed (I, 24, 197, 352; II, 105, 141, 266). In all these instances the expression seems to be connected with human incompetence, but there is also an instance (II, 56) where, in the collection of Gregorius Cyprius, we find it in connection with harmful situations (ἐπὶ τῶν βλαβερῶν), presumably in the sense that somebody has just about experienced something bad. The saying itself is again old and occurs in the writings of Lucian in both a literal and a metaphorical context.<sup>102</sup> Inevitably an expression which uses a certain part of the human body in its wording is likely to acquire variants employing different limbs of the

<sup>100</sup> Lucian (*de Mercere Conductis*, 21): τὸ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἢ σὺ ἤλπισας γίγνεται καὶ ὡς ἡ παροιμία φησὶν, ἐπὶ Μανδραβόλου χωρεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα καθ' ἐκάστην ὡς εἶπεῖν ἡμέραν ἀποσμηκρυνόμενον καὶ εἰς τουπίῳ ἀναποδίζον. Aelian (*de Natura Animalium*, XII, 40). Σαμίοις δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτο χρυσίον κλαπὲν πρόβατον ἀνεῦρε, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Μανδραβόλου ὁ Σάμιος τῆ "Ἡρα πρόβατον ἀνάθημα ἀνῆψεν. The *Suda* (II, 385): ἐπὶ τὰ Μανδραβόλου. ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ χεῖρονα τρεπομένων...

<sup>101</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 20, 617 (9-12). λόγοις δὲ προσεῖχεν ἢ μᾶλλον τοῖς λόγοις μετιοῦσι καὶ δόξαν ἔχουσι λογιότητος, αὐτὸς τῶν λόγων ἄκρω μόνῳ δακτύλῳ τὸ τοῦ λόγου γευσάμενος.

<sup>102</sup> For its literal use see Lucian (*Amores*, 42). Again for a metaphorical use (*Demonax*, 4). τὰς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ προαιρέσεις οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγον οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἄκρω τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀψάμενος ἠπίστατο...

body as well. This is the case with the proverb in question, and we happen to have a number of rather interesting variants in the works of twelfth-century authors: Anna Comnena, for example, introduces two more variations apart from the standard phrase: 1) ἄκροισι ποσὶ ἐφάψασθαι and 2) ἄκροισι ὡσὶν ἀνασχέσθαι.<sup>103</sup> In both these variations the emphasis has shifted from somebody's incompetence to a general failure to come into contact with something or detachment from a certain activity. This development of the proverb is in accordance with a third remarkable variation found in Eustathius' Commentary on Homer, so that to the versions already employing finger-tips, tiptoes and earlobes a fourth is also added employing lips this time: καὶ ὄρα ὅπως ἐκ παρόδου πεφεισμένως χείλεσιν οἶον ἄκροισι τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὑπετονθόρουσε θάνατον ὁ φιλαχιλλεὺς ποιητῆς...<sup>104</sup> Variations such as those above in particular are close to the Modern Greek versions of the proverb namely a) πέρασε ξυστά or παρα τρίχα meaning to pass (or escape) within a hair's breath or b) πέρασε και δεν ακούμπησε or οὔτε που ακούμπησε meaning that (somebody) nearly missed a thing or not quite touched it.

6. Ἐκ πλήρους πίθου γεῦμα (ἐστίν): meaning to get the key idea about a thing judging from a part of it.

Zonaras: "This emperor (Nicephorus I) was "an assortment" of all kinds of evil not refraining from contriving plots upon plots for the destruction of his subjects. And I will mention just a few, leaving out most of the details, so that the readers of my history should get a taste out of the whole".<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, VIII, 146 (17-19). ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν Σκυθῶν ὧδέ πη πέρας ἔχέτω, κἂν ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγα μοι εἴρηται, ἄκρω δακτύλῳ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ ἀψαμένη πελάγους; [*op. cit.*, XV, 229 (24-27)]. βασιλεὺς δὲ πλὴν ὀλίγων, λέγω δὲ Τζιμισκῆν τε καὶ Βασίλειον τὸν βασιλέα, ἔκτοτε καὶ μέχρι τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς οὐδεὶς ἄκροισι ποσὶ τῆς Ἀσιάτιδος ἐφάψασθαι τὸ παράπαν τετόλμηκεν; [*op. cit.*, XIV, 147 (14-18)]. ὁ ἔμμανῆς ἐκεῖνος καὶ θεοπλήξ βάρβαρος (ὁ ἄρχων Ἀντιοχείας Ταγγρέ) οὐδ' ἄκροισι ὡσὶν ἀνασχόμενος τῆς τε ἀληθείας τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς παρρησίας τῶν πρέσβων.

<sup>104</sup> Eustathius (M. Van der Valk) IV, 1210, 59.

<sup>105</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 14, 306 (3-7). πανοπερμία δὲ παντοδαπῆς κακίας οὗτος τυγχάνων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ οὐ διέλιπεν ἀλλὰ ἐπ' ἄλλοις εἰς συντριβὴν τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπινοούμενος. ὀλίγων δ' ἐπιμνησθήσομαι, τὰ παλλὰ παρεών, ἔν' ὡς ἐκ πλήρους πίθου γεῦμα ταῦτα τοῖς τῆ ἱστορίας ἐντυγχάνουσι ἐσοῖντο. See also the *Suda* (II, 234).

This saying must have been widely spread in various versions of course. Its ancient Greek equivalent was in all probability the proverb ἐξ ὄνυχος τὸν λέοντα i.e. you can tell a lion by its claw, from which a number of Byzantine proverbs had developed. Such are, for instance, the following: 1) μία κύλιξ πολλάκις γεῦσιν οἴνου ἐσήμανεν: often a cup of wine is enough to give a taste of it<sup>106</sup> and, to return to Zonaras' expression, 2) ὡσπερ τι μικρὸν γεῦμα παμπλήρους πίθου... ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα παρέλληπται<sup>107</sup> or ἐκ γεύματος γινώσκω:<sup>108</sup> to savour a whole by trying a sample of it.

More examples are found in the works of the Cypriot monastic writer and saint of the twelfth century Neophytus the Recluse: ἀρκεῖ μαθεῖν ἀπὸ μικρᾶς γεύσεως τοῦ πολλοῦ εἶδους τὴν ποιότητα as well as in the writings of Symeon Metaphrastes and the early fourteenth century author Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos.<sup>109</sup> Now the phrase "to taste the contents of a jar from a sample dish" which, as we saw, meant to get a general idea from a portion of a thing had, as one might expect, generated several interesting variations: In the *C.P.G.* (II, 389) we find already three of them namely: a) ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ ὕφασμα meaning to be able to understand the quality of a textile by the border, for which Koukoules gives several references (*op. cit.*, 421-2), b) τῷ Αἰθίοπι ἢ ὄψις meaning that an Ethiopian can be identified by his appearance and c) ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον: meaning that a tree is reckoned by its fruit (bearing a

<sup>106</sup> Ioannes of Climax, *P.G.* 88, 1116.

<sup>107</sup> From a synodic provision under the supervision of the twelfth century patriarch Leo Styppes (1134-1143), *R.P.* V, 80.

<sup>108</sup> This is found in the collection of Diogenianus (*C.P.G.* I, 247) and Macarius (*C.P.G.* II, 162).

<sup>109</sup> H. Delehaye, *Saints de Chypre*, *Anal. Boll.* 26 (1907) 206, 15. Symeon Metaphrastes, *P.G.* 114, 1313. Nicephorus Callistus, *Διήγησις θαυμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ Νικολάου* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, I, 357):

πλὴν ἀλλ' ἱκανὰ τῶν ἐκείνου θαυμάτων  
 ὑμῖν παραθῶ τοῖς καλοῖς δαιτυμόσιν,  
 ὡς ἐξ ὄνυχων κατίδητε προσφόρως  
 τὸν θῆρα τὸν μέγιστον, ἐκ δὲ κρασπέδου  
 τὸ φᾶρος αὐτό, γεύματος δ' αὐτοῦ πίθου  
 κακ τῆς ὀπώρας τὴν χάριν τοῦ δενδρίου.

The reader will notice that Callistus employs here four variations of the same theme.

New Testament flavour). Modern Greek uses the expression *το πανί απο την ούγια φαίνεται* which reminds us of the aforementioned phrase regarding the quality of a textile (*ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ ὕφασμα*) and which also occurs in the *Alexiad*.<sup>110</sup>

7. τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς θέειν : meaning to run from a threatening danger and, consequently, to run and fight for one's life.

Zonaras: "Krum then became desperate and, thinking that he was actually fighting for his own life, he recovered his forces...and while it was still night he attacked the camp of the Romans".<sup>111</sup> The proverb dates back to the *Iliad*, and it occurs in Herodotus (in a variant form) and in Plutarch.<sup>112</sup> In the *C.P.G.* (I, 108) we find the interesting variation *λαγῶς τὸν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν τρέχων* which receives the following explanation: "there is a proverb about the hare running for his life which is meant for those running the danger of losing their lives and, for this reason, fighting with all their strength". The expression is used also in the *Alexiad* [IX, 182 (14-15)]: *ἐκαραδόκουν τὸ μέλλον ἕκαστος δεδιώς, ὡς τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς λοίσθιον δρόμον δραμούμενος* and Eustathius mentions it in his commentary on Homer.<sup>113</sup> Modern Greek has not kept the proverb, except perhaps for the substitute *τρέχει να σωθεῖ* : to run for (one's) safety.

8. ἐκ λεπτοῦ μίτου ἠρτηῖσθαι (τὴν ζωὴν τινος): meaning that (someone's) life hangs by a single thread.

<sup>110</sup>Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, XIV, 158 (3-4). *κὰκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ ὕφασμα καὶ ἐξ ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα ἐπεγνώκως.*

<sup>111</sup>Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 15, 309 (14-17). *ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Κροῦμος καὶ τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς ἤδη λογιζόμενος θέειν, τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις συναγαγών...ἐπεισι νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρεμβολῆς.*

<sup>112</sup>*Iliad* XXII, 161: *ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θέον Ἔκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο.* Herodotus VIII, 140. *μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισσούμενοι βασιλεῖ στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρας, θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν.* Plutarch (*Fabius Maximus*, 26): *τότε...τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει, θεούση τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον, ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν ἔλεγε.*

<sup>113</sup>Eustathius (M. Van Der Valk) I, 342, 21. *ὅ ἐστι συντόμως τρέχειν, οἷα τῶν φευγόντων, μάλιστα τὸν δρόμον ἐπιτεινόντων, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ παροιμία ἢ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων λέγουσα θέειν τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς.* Also (*op.cit.*, 1264, 16): *τὸ δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς ἔθεον παροιμίαν ἀπετέλεσε, λέγουσαν τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς θέειν, ὅτε τις ἀγωνιῶν ἐπὶ ἐσχάτῳ κινδύνῳ διαπράττεται τι.*

Zonaras: "and as soon as he (Theophilus) realised that his life was hanging by a single thread and that he would very soon die, he gave orders for Theophobus to be killed and his head to be brought to him".<sup>114</sup> As Koukoules suggests (*op.cit.*, 377) this proverb combines two ideas: on the one hand the notion of a threatening great danger and on the other that of its close avoidance. It is found in the *C.P.G.* (I, 69, 238, 362; II, 28) where we learn that it is an expression equivalent to the ἐπὶ ξυροῦ βαίνειν meaning to be "on a razor's edge". Eustathius elaborating on it explains that it originally sprang from the ancient Greek saying ξυρεῖσθαι ἐν χρῶ: to shave to the skin alongside a second proverb "allied" in meaning namely: πῆματα τομώντα τὰ τομῆς δεόμενα meaning presumably "sorrows which cut through what needs cutting".<sup>115</sup> The connection between our proverb and this last one to which Eustathius calls attention to is not very clear unless he is alluding to an affinity between painful sorrows which "cut" as it were on the skin, and the agony resulting from the apprehension of pending dangers which are separated from us only by means of a single thread. Modern Greek provides the equivalent phrase ἀπο τὴν τρίχα κρέμεται or ἀπο μὴν τρίχα κρέμεται meaning that (someone's life) hangs by a hair!

9. εἰς τὸν κόλπον (τινὸς) ἑπταπλάσια ἀποδιδόναι : meaning "to make one pay back seven times more for the wrong one has done".

Zonaras: "and he (Heraclius) having launched a campaign against them (the Arabs) and having confronted them, the arrogant ones, made them pay back seven times more..."<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup>Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 29, 381 (1-2). καὶ ἐπεὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ λεπτοῦ μίτου ἤρτησθαι διέγνωκε καὶ ἄρτι ἐκλείπειν, ἀναιρεθῆναι κεκέλευκε τὸν Θεόφωβον καὶ κομισθῆναι οἱ τὴν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν.

<sup>115</sup>Eustathius (M. Van Der Valk) 796, 59. ἐνενοήσαντο μεταλαβόντες οἱ νεώτεροι ἐπὶ κινδύνων ἐξ αὐτοῦ (sc. ξυρεῖν ἐπὶ χρῶ) παροιμίας ἑτέρας δύο, ποτὲ μὲν πῆματα λέγοντες τομώντα τὰ τομῆς δεόμενα, ποτὲ δὲ τριχὸς φάσκοντες ἤρτησθαι τὰ πράγματα.

<sup>116</sup>Papadopoulos-Kerameus V, 146. κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξορμήσας καὶ συμπλακεῖς τοῖς ἀλάστοροι καὶ ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν ἑπταπλάσια...

This is indeed an interesting expression which appears to be rare in Byzantine literature and seems to owe its origin to the Judaeo-Christian tradition and the Bible. Two points perhaps deserve to be raised here: first the word κόλπος should refer to people (in our case the Arabs) and should be part of a periphrasis analogous to a phrase like ὁ κόλπος Ἀβραάμ (Ev. *Luc* XVI, 22) meaning Abraham himself. εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν therefore, should be taken as a periphrastic reference to the Arabs. Alternatively, κόλπος could mean "pocket" or "purse", i.e. money, in which case the metaphor would involve "repaying" the Arabs suitably more. The second point concerns the use of the number seven which plays an important role in the book of Daniel (see 4.13, 22, 29; 9, 25) in the Old Testament. It is the rival of the number ten as indicating the maximum, totality or excellence. According to A. Lacocque, in the Bible the number seven may be 1) an indication of time, 2) have a cultural meaning or 3) be a hyperbole.<sup>117</sup> It is this third application of the number seven, we think, that is relevant to the wording of the proverb which Zonaras uses. As a result, seven times, or sevenfold, would probably denote an indefinitely and hyperbolically large number of times.<sup>118</sup>

Moreover in the second book of Samuel (II, 12, 6) we find the idea of someone having "to pay back seven times more" for the wrong he committed. It is the story of the rich man who, upon receiving a guest, spared to take of his own flock but took the poor man's lamb, and dressed it for his visitor. King David became furious when he learned this and, invoking God, demanded that the rich man restore the lamb sevenfold (ὁ ποιήσας τοῦτο...ἀποτίσει ἑπταπλασίονα ἀνθ' ὧν ὅτι ἐποίησεν). It is possible then that Zonaras as well as Anna Comnena (who also uses the

<sup>117</sup> Andre Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, London, 1979, 65-6, n.24.

<sup>118</sup> Compare Theodoret (*Commentarii in Pss*, II, 7,(1, 676). τὸ ἑπταπλασίως ἀντὶ τοῦ πολλαπλασίως τέθεικε. τοῦτο γὰρ σύνηθες τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ. Also the *Suda* (II, 401) under ἑπταπλασίονα: ἀντὶ τοῦ πολλαπλασίονα ὁ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ πλῆθους τάττεται. See also the Lexicon Tittmannianum (ἑπταπλασίονα-818).



expression)<sup>119</sup> and other writers had actually borrowed this saying from the biblical tradition, either directly or indirectly via the fathers of the Church.<sup>120</sup>

These are then some of the proverbs which can be found in Zonaras' history. Besides them there is also a number of phrases which are not exactly fully developed proverbs but can be described as clichés and which are listed below:

1. πολύς πνέειν : meaning to breathe fury against somebody.

Zonaras: "this emperor (Justinian I) breathed fury also against those with a sexual interest in men".<sup>121</sup> The phrase in question occurs in the *Suda* (IV, 153) where under *πνεύσας* we read: "to become extremely angry". This definition is followed by a quotation which contains the two important words of the phrase and suggests some connection with Zonaras' text: *ὁ δὲ νέος ὦν καὶ φιλόνεικος πολὺς ἐπέπνει*.<sup>122</sup>

2. μαχαίρας ἔργον ποιεῖσθαι : meaning "to put (somebody to the sword)".

Zonaras: "and after confronting Sarvarus (the emperor Heraclius) ...put him to flight and he decimated his troops, putting them to the sword".<sup>123</sup>

3. expressions like: ἀσεβείας κυκεῶν ("a culmination of impiety", *Epitome* [XV, 5, 265 (3)], κακίας καταγῶγιον ["a dive of evil", XV, 14, 303 (11)], κακίας πανσπερμία ["a medley of evil", XV, 14, 306 (3)] etc. We find similar expressions in the *C.P.G.* For instance: θησαυρὸς κακῶν ("an accumulation of evils", II, 2-3, n.8) as opposed to θάλασσα ἀγαθῶν ("a sea of benefits"), or Ἰλιάς κακῶν ("an *Iliad* of evils", II, 34) or κακῶν

<sup>119</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, II, 70 (13-15). μόνον... τὸ σὸν κράτος ἐχέτω καλῶς; οἱ δὲ γε πολιορκηταὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπταπλάσιον εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν ἀπολήφονται ὦν εἰργάσαντο.

<sup>120</sup> See Gregorius of Nyssa (I, 160c) who speaks about a seven times more severe reciprocal payment (ἐπταπλάσιον τὴν ἀντίδοσιν).

<sup>121</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIV, 7, 158 (17). οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρομανῶν πολὺς ἔπνευσε.

<sup>122</sup> For a fuller discussion regarding the link between the lexicon of *Suda* and Zonaras' Zonaras, *Epitome*, see our appendix on the Lexicon Tittmannianum.

<sup>123</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIV, 15, 208 (13-16). καὶ προσβαλὼν Σαρβάρω...τρέπεται τοῦτον καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτοῦ συγκόπτει καὶ μαχαίρας ἔργον ποιεῖ.

πανήγυρις ("an assembly of evils", II, 492) etc. Anna Comnena also employs such expressions e.g. οὕτω γάρ με ὁ θεὸς συμφορῶν μεγάλων πεποίηκε καταγώγιον. [*Alexiad*, XV, 241 (22)].

4. ἐκ πρώτης τριχός : meaning "from the very beginning", early in life.

Zonaras: "she (Euphrosyne) had become a nun a long time ago and served as a member of the nunnery of the island of Prinkepos very early in her life".<sup>124</sup> We find a similar saying in the *C.P.G.* (I, 253, n.15): ἐκ πρώτης γραμμῆς which refers to the beginning, "the first draft" of a thing. This is explained (II, 298) as being derived from the starting line used by athletes and runners called ἄφεις or βαλβίς. Hence the expression ἐκ πρώτης βαλβίδος or ἐκ πρώτης ἀφειτηρίας employed in the *Alexiad*.<sup>125</sup> Compare also Psellus' [*Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, I, III, 3 (11-12)] διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ πρώτης εὐθὺς ἡλικίας ἀποτέμνητο.

5. ἐξερεύεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν meaning "to breathe one's last", to expire.

Zonaras: "and upon these words (Theophilus) expired, having reigned for twelve years and three months".<sup>126</sup>

6. ἐκτείνειν τὰ σχοινίσματα: meaning "to extend the boundaries" (esp. of a State).

Zonaras: "for this emperor (John Tzimisce) proved of such kind in military campaigns and he expanded the borders of the Romans a good deal and stretched the boundaries of their sovereignty".<sup>127</sup> The *Suda* (IV, 493) defines σχοινίσματα as "the ruling of lands" (ἡ τῆς γῆς δεσποτεία)

<sup>124</sup>Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 24, 350 (1). ἦν δ' αὕτη κεκαρμένη πρὸ πλείονος καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Πρίγκιπος ταῖς ἀσκουμέναις ἐκεῖ μοναχαῖς ἐκ πρώτης τριχός συγκατείλεκτο.

<sup>125</sup>Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, III, 140 (24); IV, 150 (24); V, 34 (19).

<sup>126</sup>Zonaras, *Epitome* XV, 29, 381 (5-6). καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξερεύεατο τὴν ψυχὴν, βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτοὺς δυοκαίδεκα ἐπὶ μηνὶ τρισί.

<sup>127</sup>Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 25, 504 (2-4). ἐν μὲν οὖν στρατηγίαις τοιοῦτος οὗτος ἐγεγόνει ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἠῤῥήκει Ῥωμαίους τὰ ὄρια καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἡγεμονίας ἐξέτεινε τὰ σχοινίσματα.

but makes no mention of the phrase which, however, occurs in the writings of John Damascene, the *Alexiad*<sup>128</sup> and Manasses' chronicle.<sup>129</sup>

7. κύκλους ἐλίττειν: meaning "to go round about a subject", to avoid coming to the point.

Zonaras: "and what good is in going around the subject? he (Michael V Calaphates) expells her (Zoe) from the palace and confines her to the so-called Prinkepos island".<sup>130</sup> The phrase, or a variation of it, must have been quite old as the expression "to go round about one's words" occurs in Euripides.<sup>131</sup> In Dio Cassius (XLI, 44) we find the saying χρόνος μήνης ἐλίσσων κύκλον : "time turning about the cycle of one's wrath" which, of course, despite the relevant wording is actually not close enough to the theme of "beating about the bush". Hesychius (Schmidt, II, 67) does not mention the phrase but seems to connect ἐλίσσειν with πλέκειν i.e. lying or speaking with allusions.

8. οἴκοθεν ἔχων τὰς ἀφορμάς: "to judge (others or a situation) by oneself".

Zonaras: "for he (Michael IV) was fearful judging the situation by his own self".<sup>132</sup> Modern Greek uses the expression κρίνειν ἐξ ἰδίων τὰ αλλότρια which has a similar meaning.

9. ὄλοις ἰστίοις πνέειν: meaning "to direct oneself at full sail towards a goal".

Zonaras: "the empress (Zoe) then directed her full attention towards him (an imperial favourite).<sup>133</sup> The lexicon of *Suda* (II, 672) mentions the variant phrase πλήρεισιν ἰστίοις which is defined as "with all one's

<sup>128</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B. Leib, XIV, 146 (19-20). κακ τούτου τὰ σχοινίσματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων πλατύνοιτο. Compare also John Damascene (*Hom.*, 2, 7. M. 96, 588c). πλατύνον σου ἐν ἐμοὶ τὰ σχοινίσματα, τὰς ἐνεργείας τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος.

<sup>129</sup> Manasses, *Synopsis chronice*, ed. I. Bekker, 250, vs. 5878-9. τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄρους ἐπλάτυνε σχοινίσμασι χωρῶν ἀπειροπλέθρων...

<sup>130</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 19, 609 (10-12). καὶ τί δει κύκλους ἐλίττειν; ἐξωθεῖ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτήν καὶ περιορίζει τῇ νήσῳ τῇ λεγομένη τοῦ Πρίγκιπος.

<sup>131</sup> Euripides (*Orestes*, 891): καλῶς κακοὺς λόγους ἐλίσσειν.

<sup>132</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 14, 587 (5-6). ἐδεδίει γὰρ οἴκοθεν ἔχων τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἀφορμάς.

<sup>133</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 20, 614 (16-17). ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον οὖν ὄλοις ἰστίοις ἔπνευσε ἡ βασίλισσα.

strength', "with all one's heart" (ἀντὶ τοῦ παντὶ σθένει, πάσῃ δυνάμει, ὅλη ψυχῇ). The expression ὅλοις ἰστίοις occurs also in the *Alexiad* both in its literal and its metaphorical sense.<sup>134</sup>

10. ὄλαις ἀμάξαις χορηγεῖν : meaning "to distribute (money) generously". Zonaras: "for surely he (Constantine VIII) distributed money lavishly to those who were surrounding him".<sup>135</sup> In the C.P.G. (II, 558) we come across a similar expression, but in connection with swearing this time: ὄλας ἀμάξας βλασφημῶν κατεσκεδάσαν ἀλλήλων. Again there also exists the variation ἄμφω τῶ χεῖρε (II, 746) referring to a distribution "with both hands": ἐπὶ τῶν ἀφθόμως καὶ δαψιλῶς μεταδιδόντων τοῖς πᾶσιν.

11. ὑπτίαις χερσὶν ὑποδέχεσθαι : meaning "to be accepted with open, outstretched arms".

Zonaras: "because he (Nicephorus Bryennius) entertained hopes that the body of the Senate would welcome him, as the proverb has it, with open arms".<sup>136</sup> Interestingly, Anna Comnena in her account of Bryennius' insurrection against Botaneiates [*Alexiad* , I, 4, 18 (2-4)] uses the same phrase: καὶ γὰρ ἐπιόντα τοῦτον αἱ πόλεις ἅπασαι ὑπτίαις χερσὶν ὑπεδέχοντο.

12. διὰ πάσης γλώττης ἄδεσθαι : meaning that something or somebody "is being talked about, has become a topic for the public".

Zonaras: "and as things turned out this way... for the Caesar (Bryennius), the man had become the topic of the public".<sup>137</sup> Speaking about Basil the leader of the Bogomils, Anna employs a similar expression: [*Alexiad* XV, 10, 227 (25-26). πολλῶν δὲ λόγων ρέοντων καὶ τῶν τερατολογιῶν αὐτοῦ

<sup>134</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* , ed. B. Leib, XI, 45 (16-18). ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντες, ὅλοις ἰστίοις τὴν πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ὕγραν ὑπέπλεον κέλευθον; *op. cit.*, XII, 70 (1-3). λοιπὸν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλοις ἰστίοις ἀπένευε καθάπερ ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν Ἀνεμάδων ἐμπνεόμενος.

<sup>135</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 10, 571 (6-7). τοῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν...ἀμάξαις ὄλαις ἐχορήγει τὰ χρήματα. Compare also [XVIII, 29, 767 (3)]. ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν συγγενέσι καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τισὶν ἀμάξαις ὄλαις παρέιχε τὰ δημόσια χρήματα...

<sup>136</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 17, 716 (11-13). ἠώρητο γὰρ ἐλπίσιν ὡς ὑπτίαις, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, χερσὶν οἱ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς αὐτὸν ὑποδέχονται.

<sup>137</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 26, 754 (16-18). οὕτω δ' ὡς εἴρηται τῷ Καίσαρι τῶν πραγμάτων συνενεχθέντων, διὰ πάσης ἢ γλώττης ἀδόμενος ὁ ἀνὴρ.

διὰ πάσης γλώττης φερομένων. Compare also Psellus' [*Chronographia* II, XXXII, 166 (7)]: τὸ διὰ πάσης γλώττης βωόμενον πτόλισμα...

13. κατὰ ῥοῦν χωρεῖν : meaning that things "turn out well", according to one's wishes.

Zonaras: "Magnentius, in the mean time, for whom things turned out well, thought fit to dispose of the most important people among the magistrates".<sup>138</sup> The saying occurs in the C.P.G. (I, 267; II, 408, 746) where a couple of relevant expressions are also attested: 1) ἐξ οὐρίας πλεῖν or ἐξ οὐρίας τῷ δεῖνι τὰ πράγματα φέρεται referring to those for whom times are happy or, on the contrary, 2) ἀνὰ ῥοῦν χωρεῖν referring to those for whom circumstances took an unhappy turning or changed for the worse. Modern Greek interestingly uses the expression (μου) τρέχει i.e. to have a run of good luck which, perhaps, points to the "favourable running" of things of the above expression.

14. παίζειν ἐν οὐ παικτοῖς : meaning "to play with what is serious business, to meddle irresponsibly".

Zonaras: "these young men modelled themselves as archpriests and pretended to perform the bloodless sacrifice, supposedly having Michael (III) himself accompanying them in their rituals, playing with what admits no fooling".<sup>139</sup> This expression is used by Constantine Manasses in his chronicle again referring to the activities of the same emperor (*Synopsis chronice* v. 5086): παίζων, φασίν, ἐν οὐ παικτοῖς, γελῶν ἐν ἀγέλαιστοις.

15. ἐπὶ στόμα πίπτειν : meaning "to fall on one's face".

Zonaras: "and Joshua fell on his face and beseeched God".<sup>140</sup>

### Conclusion:

<sup>138</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 6, 34 (4-6). ὁ δὲ Μαγνέντιος κατὰ ῥοῦν αὐτῶ τῶν τῆς τυραννίδος χωρησάντων πραγμάτων ἐσπούδασε τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων τοὺς λογισμωτάτους ἐκ μέσου ποιήσασθαι.

<sup>139</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 5, 407 (4-6). οἱ καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπλαττον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἱερουργίαν τελεῖν ὑπεκρίνοντο, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Μιχαὴλ συμπερουργοῦντα δῆθεν ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς, παίζοντες ἐν οὐ παικτοῖς...

<sup>140</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 20, 78 (5). καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ στόμα πεσὼν ἐδέετο τοῦ θεοῦ.

On reflection one could argue that Zonaras becomes increasingly keen on employing puns and a figurative language towards the last books of his history, which could be due to the fact that the Byzantine historians are usually more loquacious and perhaps more expansive in their accounts when they reach the point of narrating contemporary events. This is not, however, to say that wordplay is absent or even scarce throughout the first books of Zonaras' work. In fact the use of puns seems to be the linguistic feature in which he indulges most and which, though he shares it with other authors, remains clearly eminent in his history. As far as proverbs are concerned it would appear that they adorn his text at a rather normal rate, as he uses them carefully, avoiding citation of more than one in each case. As a result his narrative becomes less tedious and gains weight and coherence.

Finally, it is interesting to note that Modern Greek has *equivalent* proverbs in almost every case, but the metaphor is rarely the same. This may be due to the fact that the language changed over the centuries or, alternatively, that the educated Byzantines, like Zonaras, sought to modify contemporary colloquial expressions into comparable but different "learned" ones. On the other hand there is little doubt that some at least of the Modern Greek proverbs were actually in use during the twelfth century. Nicetas Choniates gives a useful example of a periphrasis which probably corresponded to a common phrase of the time, when he refers to Bryennius' indolence and lack of courage. His wife Anna, he comments, was very disappointed with nature being so unfair, in that instead of making her a man she endowed her husband with the male organ. We suspect that what Nicetas had in mind when writing these lines was an equivalent proverb to the Modern Greek expression which can be freely translated in English "to have the guts" i.e. the stamina or toughness of character. In the Modern Greek phrase manly behaviour is directly

connected with a man's testicles, which is exactly what underlies Choniates' circumlocution.

## General Conclusion

The first thing this thesis has attempted is to vindicate the classicizing language of the Byzantines. Unfortunately, so far, scholars paid attention primarily to works which were written in demotic Greek as part of the duties springing from a holy war against the purists.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this attitude we are provided with extended and repeatedly new editions of epic poetry, the so-called Byzantine romances, satirical compositions, *oneirocritica*, etc., but scholarly interest in learned writings is, if existent, certainly reduced. We believe that while demotic Greek undoubtedly deserves to be studied, it is a mistake to think it gains importance through a polemic against a rival language which was supposedly its irreconcilable enemy. Thus in his edition of the Grottaferrata version of Digenes Akrites D.Hull is categorically in favour of the demotic language, which allegedly freed heroic Byzantine literature from the bonds of classicism. His comments read as follows: "Yet all this time the written language under the influence of the Church and the pride of the Hellenic people who formed the governing classes remained unchanged, or, if anything, became ever more rigidly Attic. It was the tongue of government, of scholars, bookmen and churchmen; and everything of importance was written in it ... A new freedom was needed, which could only come with the abandonment of classical prosody. Fortunately as the old forms of writing declined, new forms were developed from the speech of the peasants, who had created their own folk tales and folk songs in the spoken language".<sup>2</sup> Modern criticism

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<sup>1</sup> Though Psellus and Anna Comnena have received attention among medieval authors, and the late Roman classicizing historians.

<sup>2</sup> D. B. Hull, *Digenes Akritas, The Grottaferrata Version*, Athens (Ohio), 1972, 21.



has brought a series of formidable charges against the polished mediaeval Greek register.

One such charge is that, in the case of a historical piece of writing, a narrative which masks the facts of history with antiquated vocabulary and traditional formulae is bound to be a boring, "dead" piece of writing. It is appropriate for Thucydides to write in classical Greek, but when Procopius, for instance, attempts to do the same the result is discouraging. According to Averil Cameron, although he carefully conformed to the rules of accentual prose and sought to imitate Herodotus, Thucydides and other classical authors, his sentence structure is anything but Thucydidean.<sup>3</sup> "Instead of elaborate subordination and antithesis", she explains, "we find participles serving almost as main verbs and stringing sentences together in what Browning calls 'the Hellenistic sentence pattern'". And she concludes: "his classicism is an amalgam, like his literary style, and in both he was often nearer the "literary koine" of writers like John the Lydian than to genuine high style".<sup>4</sup> These are, of course, views which can be traced back to the 19th-century Germans. Yet instead of resurrecting Thucydides' ghostly presence over a much later piece of writing, instead of making him into another tragic apprehension of Darius with the intention of using him as a scare emerging from a golden past, it is far more sensible to see *why* Procopius is not writing like Thucydides. The answer is, in our view, that we have a different personality composing history at a different period of time. His language is *bound* to be of a different kind because classical Greek is something he was trained to master, not his mother tongue, which was a living and evolving form of discourse. In this sense it is easy to

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<sup>3</sup> Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London, 1985, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *op. cit.*, 45.

regard the language of any classicizing historian as closer to the "literary koine" than the Thucydidean discourse. It is also natural to find later narratives abundant with stringy sentences and periphrases since classical Greek is a synthetic language which has developed an analytical structure and syntax through the ages which again renders periphrases absolutely essential. Thus, Procopius like any other Byzantine author who followed his example and came after him would, like a modern Greek, have to spend time trying to shape a sentence into acceptable 5th-century Attic prose but the quality and merit of such prose, we would argue, cannot be affected by the truth that it was not articulated by a native speaker. In fact what is urgently needed of scholars at present is to launch a totally new stylistic analysis of these authors that will rescue us from the negative judgements of the past. There is especially one sacred taboo which must be dealt with: it argues that Byzantine antiquarians composed artificial, inflexible and dull prose. Those who adopt Cameron's views would think this is so because of their incompetence and inadequate learning while according to others, the advocates of demotic, the heart of the problem probably lies in the employment of a style other than the "live" vernacular. These stylistic judgements are, however, questionable. In the preceding chapters we hope to have demonstrated that, at least in the case of Zonaras, we have a 12th-century writer who was not only acquainted with delicacies such as hypotaxis, complicated figures of speech or Attic syntax but could actually at his ease create stimulating wordplay of high standard. And if this is true for someone who composed in the 12th century then perhaps we can assume that our conclusions hold true for writers who lived either before or after Zonaras.

There is, however, one more charge which must be dealt with: it claims that the Byzantine *literati* were good imitators but were lacking the creativity of an original mind. It is naturally correct that human stylistic preferences do change considerably through the ages. Thus the Romantic Revival of the late 18th century and early 19th century revolted against classicism in favour of a more picturesque, original, free and imaginative style in literature and art. However, this was not how the Byzantines looked on literature. Their dependence on antiquity not only provided a cultural continuity with the Hellenic past but at the same time equipped them with the literary means for creating their own, "later Greek" models of expression. A. Kazhdan and A. Epstein were right in asserting that classical culture did not remain monolithically intact in its transmission to the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> The Byzantines indeed fundamentally modified classicism to conform to their peculiar cultural effort for distinction. In their imitative literature they resorted frequently to traditional themes, classical images, quotations and antique expressions but they were capable of transforming these elements into something new and fresh. This phenomenon has been excellently discussed by H. Hunger in his important article on the imitation of antiquity in Byzantine literature. Hunger there points out that "a characteristic feature of Byzantine art and literature, as yet perhaps hardly noticed, is the balance between a strict adherence to an acknowledged and accepted tradition - in our case the imitation of antiquity - on the one hand, and the greatest possible variation of detail on the other; in the best works of art and literature this is excellently done. The ingenuity of the writer will express itself in an abundance of stylistic details and phrasings of his

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<sup>5</sup> A.P.Kazhdan and A.W.Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, London, 1985, 140.

own coinage, which, however, have to be sought; the superficial observer will see nothing but the repetition of well-worn clichés".<sup>6</sup> With regard to this last remark it should be stressed that the persistence with which rhetorical formulae and pedantic vocabulary variations are paraded in the eminent Byzantine literature points to what must have been a cultural conception of good and ambitious style; this conception is not shared by many modern critics who are unwilling to give any credit to needless repetition and redundancy, but the truth is that such iteration was actually the target *itself* of a long-term training for the Byzantines for whom the art of eloquence was extremely important. To return to Zonaras' history again, we saw how in his text old proverbs or clichés find interesting variations, how by intervening in the narrative of his sources he experiments with novel ideas, adds vigour and excitement through puns of different kinds and humorous remarks and finally presents a remarkable literary style. Our answer to modern fault-finding critics would be that imitation is not *per se* an evil; merit lies not with the material but rather with the imitator. The use of showy expressions, the so-called rhetoric of Hellenism, may appear too extravagant, even grotesque to contemporary taste but the Byzantines treated it as an enviable virtue and the specific distinction of elegance. Our advice, therefore, would be to let Byzantine literature speak for itself without judging it by either a single classical prototype or our modern stylistic preferences. R. Webb is right when she points out that only when Byzantine culture has been studied, as far as possible, on its own terms can the literary values and codes it stood for be appreciated.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> H.Hunger, *On the Imitation (Μίμνησις) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature*, in *D.O.P.* 23-24 (1969-1970), 33.

<sup>7</sup> R.Webb, *A slavish art? Language and grammar in Late Byzantine education and society*, in *Dialogos* (Hellenic Studies Review), 1, (1994), 99. See also M. Mullett,

The next issue to consider is where does Zonaras stand with regard to style. His language is certainly far more refined than that of Glykas, but falls short of the classicism of Choniates whose style is perhaps the par excellence example of Byzantine *mimesis* of classical models in the Comnenian era. There is no point in denying that the *Epitome* is not exactly a rhetorical showpiece, yet it is equally vain to overlook the potential of Zonaras as a stylist or to consider his prose another case of later "literary koine", smooth and easy to follow. It remains our conviction that John Zonaras could, had he wanted, write history in an even more studious and more eccentric register. His other homiletic *opuscula* (one of which was his sermon on Sophronios of Jerusalem) bear witness to his talent in rhetoric. He chose, however, to write neither standard history like Choniates, nor a family account like Bryennius, nor a heroic biography of an emperor like Anna, but a world chronicle. And for this purpose he employed an elevated language, yet one suitable for chronicles. After all which other chronicle is written in a more polished style than the *Epitome*? It may be objected that the great number of translations of Zonaras' work (not only in Slavic but also in Latin, French and Italian) is an indication of the simplicity of its language. In our view only a person with solid and thorough knowledge of Greek could consider attempting a translation of Zonaras' work. Those who think it is an easy task can test their credentials and see for themselves! Krumbacher numbers forty four *codices* containing the *Epitome*. Again, this cannot be used as an argument for a widely spread and, *therefore*, easily comprehended text. We have no evidence that simple people ever read Zonaras' chronicle and the several monasteries which sheltered it surely did so for

practical reasons. Which abbot with literary interests would not want to enrich his library with a useful work comprising an extended Roman History *plus* an abridged story of the Bible?

In the remaining pages we intend to give one or two examples of Zonaras' ingenuity in adapting the material of his sources where it becomes clear that while he actually repeats the same information he, nevertheless, changes the impact it has on his readership completely. The first example is taken from the reign of the iconoclast emperor Theophilus (*Epitome*, XV, 27, 365) who, in his frenzy against painters of the holy icons, had arrested a certain monk called Lazarus, imprisoned him after subjecting him to torture and finally ordered that his hands be cauterized with a red-hot iron. Both Zonaras' chronicle and that of Cedrenus (which appears to have been Zonaras' source in this case) report exactly the same incident but there is a huge difference in the details and especially the shades of language employed between the two:

Cedrenus (Scylitzes), *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 113 (6-14)

πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ συγκατεσχέθη καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς Λάζαρος, περιβόητος τῆνικαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ζωγραφικὴν ὑπάρχων τέχνην. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ὁ θεομάχος θωπείαις αὐτὸν ἐπειράτο ὑποποιεῖσθαι· ὡς δὲ κρείττονα τοῦτον ἐώρα κολακείας ἀπάσης, πρὸς τὴν σύντροφον ἀπέϊδε βίαν, καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ταῖς βασάνοις κατήκισεν ὡς μηδὲ περιγενέσθαι ἐκ τούτων νομίζεσθαι. καὶ οὕτως ἔχοντα πονηρῶς τοῦ σώματος δεσμοτηρίῳ καθεῖργνυσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθετο ὡς ἀναρραῖσας αὐθις ἀναστηλοῖ τὰς θείας μορφάς, ἐκέλευσε πέταλα σιδηρᾶ ἀπανθρακωθέντα ταῖς παλάμαις αὐτοῦ ἐπιτεθῆναι.

Zonaras; *Epitome*, XV, 27, 364(15-18)-365(1-4).

ἴθην καὶ τινα μοναχὸν Λάζαρον, περιβόητον ὄντα τῆνικαῦτα περὶ τὴν γραφικὴν, ἀπηνῶς αἰκισάμενος καθεῖρξεν εἰς δεσμοτήριον· ὡς δὲ

ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν ἐκεῖνος ῥαΐσας αὐθις τὰς χεῖρας ἀγίων εἰκόνων ἐδίδου γραφαῖς, πέταλα ὁ τύραννος ἐκέλευσεν ἐκπυρωθέντα σιδήρεα τοῖς τοῦ Λαζάρου ἐπιτεθῆναι καρποῖς, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς πόνους τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῦ οἱ εὐσεβοῦντες ἔχοιεν προσκυνεῖν.

A careless reader will disregard a piece of writing which apparently "copies" certain information from another as simply secondary and needless. But a more careful examination of Zonaras' text will reveal important as well as unexpected changes which have only a distant similarity with the corresponding passage in Cedrenus. In particular Zonaras changes πέταλα σιδηρᾶ ἀπανθρακωμένα to πέταλα ἐκπυρωθέντα σιδήρεα, an otherwise modest alteration but for the introduction of the Homeric adjective σιδήρεος instead of σιδηροῦς. What, however, remains Zonaras' totally *new* addition is the phrase ἵνα μὴ τοὺς πόνους τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῦ οἱ εὐσεβοῦντες ἔχοιεν προσκυνεῖν i.e. so that the pious citizens would not be able to revere the labours of his (sc. Lazarus') hands. Cedrenus (Scylitzes) uses the word παλάμαι for hands. Zonaras who wishes at this point to insert a pun has chosen the word καρποί (wrists). This ingenious replacement enables him to allude to the double meaning of the noun καρπὸς meaning the wrist and, at the same time, the fruits, produce of a thing or a person. Likewise he is also playing with the double meaning for the noun πόνος : this latter can refer to suffering, pain or distress (and here Lazarus' torture comes immediately to our minds) but also to the result of a labour. Thus the combination of these two key-words καρπὸς and πόνος offers a completely new dimension to the impact of the incident on Zonaras' readers. Actually the phrase τοὺς πόνους τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῦ could easily be twisted with the same effect: τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν πόνων αὐτοῦ. Zonaras, as we have seen, is an expert in

exploiting every nuance of a word, even the commonest one, but it takes a patient and eager modern reader to bring all this to focus.

The second example is from the reign of the emperor Michael III (842-67). Byzantine sources portray this ruler as a dissolute emperor engaging in drinking bouts, horse races, and religious burlesques, while ignoring state affairs. Cedrenus (Scylitzes) and Zonaras refer to a comical incident when during some horse races in the hippodrome, in which Michael took part as a contestant, the emperor was stopped to receive some alarming news concerning a threatening advance of the Arabs. Michael is reported to have burst out in anger blaming the *protonotarius* who dared interrupt his serious engagement for the sake of frivolities like a pending enemy attack. Zonaras is again drawing on Cedrenus and below are the relevant texts from both authors:

Cedrenus (Scylitzes), *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, II, 175 (7-20).

Ἄλλοτε πάλιν ... ἐφ' ἄρματος αὐτοῦ ἰσταμένου ... ἀγγελία πεφοίτηκεν ὡς Ἄμερ ὁ τῆς Μελιτηνῆς ἀμηρᾶς δεινῶς λεηλατεῖ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἤδη πρὸς τοῖς Μαλαγίνοις ἐστὶ καὶ προσδοκῶνται ὅσον οὐπω δεινά. ἦν πυθόμενος ὁ πρωτονοτᾶριος ἀπελθὼν μετὰ κατηφείας ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἅμα ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχων τὰ τοῦ δομεστικού τῶν σχολῶν γράμματα ἐπέδιδου. ὁ δὲ βλοσυρὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐνιδὼν καὶ τιτανῶδες, "καὶ πῶς ἐτόλμησες, ὦ κακὴ κεφαλῆ," ἔφη "κατὰ τὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἀγῶνα τουτοῦ περὶ τοιούτων μοι διαλέγεσθαι, οὐδὲν ἄλλο σπουδάζοντι ἢ μὴ τὸν μέσον εὐωνύμων ἰδεῖν παρατετραμμένον, ὑπὲρ οὗ μοι πᾶς ὁ ἀγών". τοιοῦτος ἦν ἔκφορος καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν παρακεκνημένος.

Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 4, 398(10-16)-399(1-4).

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γράμματα τῷ πρωτονοταρίῳ τοῦ δρόμου παρά του πεφθακότος ἄρτι ἐνεχειρίσθησαν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Μελαγγεῖοις ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ διαγγέλλοντα· ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶν ἃ



νῦν ἀγροικότερον καλεῖται Μαλάγινα. ὁ γοῦν πρωτονοτάριος σκυθρωπάσας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ταῦτα ἐδίδασκε καὶ ὑπεδείκνυ τὰ γράμματα. ὁ δὲ ὀργίλον τι καὶ μανικὸν αὐτῷ ἐνιδὼν "ἐν τοιούτῳ μοι" ἔφη "ἀγῶνι ὄντι καὶ τὸν μέσον εὐώνυμον καταστήσασθαι σπεύδοντι αὐτός, μάταιε, περὶ Σαρακηνῶν ἐπιδρομῆς διαλέγη μοι;" τοιοῦτος ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐκεῖνος ἦν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὕτω περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐφρόντιζεν.

Zonaras is here again repeating information which is already there, but he has blown the glass into a new shape. He starts by introducing his favourite passive syntax which cannot be found in Cedrenus : "meanwhile letters had just been handed by the messenger to the chief of the notaries". Thus in terms of style Zonaras is manipulating a sense of dramatization in his narrative which is absent from the straightforward "the news arrived" (ἀγγελία πεφοίτηκεν). He then refers to the place where the Arabs were reported to have encamped in its proper form: Melaggeia and incidentally mentions its popular appellation Malagina which is the term employed by Cedrenus. For the two adjectives (serving as adverbs) βλοσυρόν and τιτανῶδες he finds a new pair: ὀργίλον and μανικόν and reshapes Cedrenus' rather unelegant and thin interrogative phrase asked by Michael into better and more lucid Greek. His crescendo is the clever exploitation of the emperor's infuriating indifference as an ideal opportunity to insert a comment of irony. Cedrenus misses this point by his dull conclusion: "such a frenzied man and of such unsettled mind he (sc. Michael) was". Compare this to Zonaras caustic finale: "such was that wonderful emperor and this is how much he cared for the public affairs and for the empire". If a reader had to choose between the two authors on grounds of style alone, there is little doubt where his sympathies would be.

In the above two examples one can perhaps see the mechanism through which Zonaras as a punster, linguist and humorist worked; one can also realize that *mimesis* was not so much a case of producing an exact copy or counterfeit after all. It involved effort and a world of changes that brought about enormous differentiation in the works of literature. Antique vocabulary was apparently not a hindrance to such endeavours but rather a challenge which authors were called to meet successfully. H. G. Beck pointed out, and rightly, that it is wrong to assume that chronicle writing was restricted to monastics who composed their histories in a low register of language as opposed to the more polished and refined narrative of proper historians.<sup>8</sup> This thesis argues that, at least as far as Zonaras is concerned, chronography proved it could attain the literary lustre, sophistication and elegance of her counterpart and that style is indeed a matter of authorship, personal choice and talent rather than a matter of genre or spurious originality.

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<sup>8</sup> H. G. Beck, "Zur byzantinischen "Mönchschronik" *Speculum Historiale, Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung*, (C. Bauer, L. Boehm, M. Müller, eds.), Freiburg-Munich, 1965 (1), 188-97; repr. in his *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz* (London, 1972).

## APPENDIX

### Tracing the Hand of Zonaras in the Lexicon Tittmannianum

The scholar who attempts to identify any traces of Zonaras' hand in this major Lexicon which in many respects, most of all in supplying grammatical guidelines, by and large surpassed all previous works in lexicography, will soon discover that its authorship remains a well-preserved secret. When it comes to pinpointing a mass of direct borrowings from and establishing a more intimate dependence on Zonaras' works, we are simply discouraged: all we are left with is a feeling of an intellect that traverses a very wide range of literature with, occasionally, an identifiable reference to a specific author, but no compelling revelation awaits us in return for our effort. The scholar who hopes to trace big chunks of Zonaras' text in this Lexicon will be sadly disappointed.

But this, perhaps, precisely points to the way in which the lexicographer displays his initiative and originality, or his procedure of making the compilation at some remove from the text being exploited. Surely repeating oneself is not the only, and certainly not the best, method of referring to one's own writings. Besides, extensive quotations are, in principle, excluded by the purpose of a Lexicon which has the aim of providing specific and practical definitions. On the other hand certain comments which are found in the Lexicon, do strike us as coming from Zonaras. It is in the treatment of entries like *κόμη* (1235), for instance, that one is reminded of the chronographer's famous outburst on hairstyles.<sup>1</sup> The lexicographer gives a standard

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<sup>1</sup> Canon 96 of Trullo: R.P.II, 534-535. The criticism of wearing long hair is found also in Zonaras' *Epitome* VII, 17, 65 (1-4).

definition of hair as an adornment of the body, but then adds that "others" (οἱ δέ) prefer to see a connection between κόμη and "wearing long hair" which, supposedly, "deserves attention"! True it is hard to see whether it is Zonaras who scribbled these gentle lines or whether they simply reflect a typical monkish attitude but they can, perhaps, serve as a reminder of his polemic<sup>2</sup>.

Elsewhere in the definition of ἔκτρωμα (661) we read: ὁ ἐν πασι τέλειος Παῦλος ὡς ἀτελεῖ ἐν ἀποστόλοις καὶ μὴ μορφούμενον τῆ κατὰ Χριστὸν πίστει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔκτρωμα φησὶν ἑαυτὸν · ὡς περιττῶ ἔκτρώματι ὠφθη καμοί. One gets the impression, here, that the writer wants to play with the words τέλειος, ἀτελής and ἔκτρωμα by placing them close together in his text and by trying to direct the readers' notice towards the use of antonyms (τέλειος-ἀτελεῖ) or of the same word in an antithetical connotation (ἔκτρωμα-ἐκτρώματι). This kind of word play is a distinctive peculiarity of Zonaras' linguistic indulgence which we discuss in the relevant chapter and which can, possibly, be manifested in the above example.

On another occasion Zonaras, giving an account of the land of Ἰδομαία in his historical work<sup>3</sup>, draws a parallel between the name of this land and the Jewish name for lentils (Ἐδώμ), especially golden-coloured lentils, which, as the Bible has it, had constituted the mess of

<sup>2</sup> The Lexicon certainly has a lot to say about hairstyles: compare ξανθίζεσθαι (1414), πλόκαμοι (1552), οὐλαί (1480), οὐλαμός (1478) and above all φενακίζειν (1803)...πηνίκην, ἥ δὲ ἐστὶ περιθетος κόμη διαπατώσα τοὺς πολλοὺς. Zonaras actually uses the word ἀπάτη in connection with pretentious hair styling in the above canon 96 of Trullo. Moreover, that bodily adornment is an act of stupidity and recklessness is a view shared by the lexicographer and Zonaras alike. Compare e.g. περπέρεια (1534) ὃ μὴ διὰ χρείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ καλλωπισμὸν παραλαμβάνεται, ὃ καὶ ἡ βλακεία καὶ ἡ προπέτεια. Zonaras in canon 16 of Nicaea: RP II, 623 writes in relation to περπέρεια that, according to St. Basil, this was defined as πᾶν, ὃ μὴ διὰ χρείαν ἀλλὰ διὰ καλλωπισμὸν παραλαμβάνεται. And the Trebizond manuscript adds: περπέρεια δὲ λέγεται μὲν καὶ ἡ προπέτεια, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ βλακεία. We would argue that here the lexicographer has, in fact, quoted from Zonaras' text rather than from St. Basil's, as he again quotes from the former in the next line.

<sup>3</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 9, 43 (10-17).

pottage exchanged for Esau's birthright. In the definition of the entry Ἰδομαῖος (1086) in the Lexicon we find the same account with a slightly altered wording. The importance of this occurrence is enhanced by the fact that it is not attested in the *Suda* or any earlier Byzantine Lexicon. Such affinity of thought and language between our Lexicon and the chronicle of Zonaras, particularly in the section of his biblical history, is not a single incident and merits a more systematic investigation by scholars.<sup>4</sup>

But if the above examples demand a fair amount of guess-work or of perception, we luckily happen to have a more solid indication if not of Zonaras' authorship in relation to our Lexicon, at least of his substantial influence. Thus, if the historical work of Zonaras is, comparatively, deficient in evidence which would enable us to attribute the Lexicon in question to the chronographer with sufficient certainty, it seems that his ample commentary on canon-law is more rewarding in this respect. There is no need to resort to entries such as λοιμός (1315) which the lexicographer interestingly defines also as "the bad judge" to be able to think of Zonaras' judicial post and, consequently, draw the connection<sup>5</sup>. We can actually trace over twenty definitions in the Lexicon whose wording is quoted *mot a mot* from an equal number of definitions found scattered in Zonaras' commentary on the canons. Admittedly, we have stated in the beginning of this chapter that it is unlikely for a scholar to manage to identify big chunks of Zonaras' text in the Lexicon, yet it appears that lesser

<sup>4</sup> Compare also Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 10, 48 (3-4). γίνονται (sc. τῶ Ἰωσήφ) παῖδες...ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἦν Μανασσῆς · ἐπίληθον δὲ δηλοῦν, ὅτι λήθην εὗρατο τῶν ἀτυχημάτων. In the Lexicon under Μανασσῆς (1328) we read: κύριον...ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ λήθη ἢ ἀπομάθησις.

<sup>5</sup> There are more than forty words found in the Lexicon with juridical meaning. With the exception of four entries (ἀδέκαστος, ἄρειος πάγος, ἐγκληματικά δίκαια and ἰδιωτικά δίκαια) the definitions of the rest of the above words can be found word for word in the *Suda* lexicon.

extracts, in the form of brief definitions, can be certainly located so that these are now common to both.

J. Tittmann in his edition of *Johannis Zonarae Lexicon* had, long ago, pointed out in footnotes, that fragments of Zonaras' text taken from his commentary on canon-law had formed in whole or part the definitions of certain entries in our Lexicon<sup>6</sup>. But Tittmann had not, at that time, realised the extent of such "common excerpts" nor did he adduce this evidence as a coherent argument in favour of Zonaras' authorship in which he believed. In what follows we will attempt to demonstrate the need for reconsidering the Lexicon's disputed authenticity in the light of this evidence, and to argue that Zonaras can no longer be regarded as the shadowy or foster-parent of this important work, but that he must have been more intimately connected with its composition than is commonly believed.

As a general observation regarding the lexicographer's procedure of compilation it is important to remember that he is making ample use of the *Suda* lexicon, which must have been one of his most basic sources of reference. There are, however, two points to make here. First, the lexicographer's best interests lie in curtailed, comprehensive definitions and for this purpose he, usually, decides to abridge the text of his sources, including the *Suda*. Second, he nevertheless exercises full control over what he is quoting, makes choices among available possibilities and, more often than not, surprises us with a new reference. It was, perhaps, the fact that Zonaras had the habit of providing brief and concise definitions throughout his critical notes on canon-law which attracted and prompted our compiler to include, in identical words, a fairly large

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<sup>6</sup> See e.g. his comments on the entries εἰρηνικαὶ ἐπιστολαί (633) and συστατικαὶ ἐπιστολαί (1687).

number of them in his Lexicon. These "borrowings" can be classified into two distinct categories: the first includes entries which are, basically, Latin words transliterated into Greek<sup>7</sup>, while the second extends over a variety of vocabulary which is defined in Zonaras' commentary.

The following table shows (in alphabetical order) the entries of Latin origin which we have been able to identify in our Lexicon. We have underlined those words which Zonaras uses and/or defines in his notes on the canons. The reader will notice that the word δικτατώρεια (520) which is found in the list (but not underlined), is a word with which Zonaras is very familiar and of which he was fond, as one gathers from the many times it is mentioned in his historical work.

ἀδνούμιον 47	ἀννουμίνος 175	αιωνάριος 71
ἀντιμίσιον 193	ἀσσάριον 322	<u>ἀκούμβιτα</u> 110
<u>βενεφοκίους</u> 384	βεστία 384	<u>βρέβιον</u> 407
βίσεξτον 389	βίρρον 389	βιστάκια 389
βηλός 385	βεμβράνας 383	δηναδίπτρα 500
δικτατώρεια 520	διφενσίων 510	δίφενσος 510
δηλιγατίων 493	δατόν 471	δομεστικοί 559
έκτραορδιναρίους 653	έπαρχος πραιτωρίων 787	έξέρκετον 764
έφραγγέλωσαν 936	ιγγρουσία 1100	Καπιτώλειον 1159
<u>κάλανδα</u> 1159	καμελαύκειον 1159	Καρμεντάλια 1160
κέρκουρος 1186	κίμβιξ 1210	<u>κομμονιτήριον</u> 1240
κονσουλάριος 1232	κονσίστριον 1241	κόρβους 1233
κουρατωρείον 1242	<u>κουράτωρας</u> 1242	κουστωδία 1238
κῶδιξ 1273	κωνσίλιον 1278	κωσιτώριον 1278

<sup>7</sup> For a recent work on Byzantine Lexica with Latin terminology (mostly lawyers' jargon) transliterated into Greek, see *Fontes Minores VIII, Lexica Iudica Byzantina*, (L. Burgmann, M. T. Fogen, R. Meijering, B. Stolte eds.), Frankfurt, 1990.

λεγεών 1293	<u>λίβελλος 1308</u>	λουδεμπιστής 1316
λυπινάριον 1323	μαγίστερ 1327	μλιαρήσιον 1363
μιτατώριον 1363	<u>νοῦμος 1405</u>	ὄκουλούμ 1438
ὀλλάρια 1444	ὀσπήτιον 1475	ὀστιάριος 1474
ὀφικιάλιος 1488	<u>ὀφίκιον 1489</u>	ὀψίκιον 1495
πρώμοτος 1574	πιμεντάριοι 1548	<u>πούβλικον 1569</u>
πραίδα 1576	πραιπόσιτος 1572	πραιτώριον 1582
προμιλέγια 1588	<u>ραιφερενδάριος 1603</u>	σάκρον, σάκρα 1631
<u>σίκτηρα 1649</u>	σακερδώς 1627, 1628	σεννάτωρ 1634
σιγίλλιον 1646	σκρινιάριος 1652	σπεκουλάτωρ 1666
σπέκλον 1655	τήβεννα 1727	φαικάσιον 1797
φιμινάλια 1810	<u>φοσσάτον 1820</u>	<u>φραγέλιον 1825</u>
φράτορες, ἄρος 1821		

Let us now examine the actual references to Zonaras' text traced in the definitions of our Lexicon. We have created, therefore, two columns: the left-hand corresponds to the wording in the Lexicon whereas the right-hand to the text of Zonaras' canon notes on which the lexicographer has drawn. Again the underlined words or phrases are the ones common in both authors:

<b>Lexicon Tittmannianum</b>	<b>Zonaras' canon commentary</b>
<u>κοιμονιτήριον (1240) = ἔγγραφον</u> <u>ἐνταλτήριον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν</u> κατὰ Ῥωμαίους.	<u>ἔγγραφον ἐνταλτήριον..εἰς ὑπό-</u> <u>μνησιν...ὃ κοιμονιτόριον</u> ὠνόμα- σαν. <sup>8</sup>
<u>βρέβιον (407) = ἡ ἐπίτομος καὶ σύν-</u> <u>τομος γραφή. βρεβίω γὰρ κατὰ Λατί-</u> <u>νους τὸ τέμνω...καὶ βρεβίτα ἡ συντο-</u>	<u>βρέβιον λέγεται ἡ κατ' ἐπιτομὴν</u> <u>σύντομος γραφή. βρεβίω γὰρ κα-</u> <u>τὰ Λατίνους τὸ τέμνω, καὶ βρε-</u>

<sup>8</sup> Canon 100 of Carthage: RP.III, 531.



μία

πούβλικον (1569) = παρὰ Λατίνοις  
τὸ δεδημοσιευμένον.

λίβελλος (1308) = ἔκδοτος, ἡ αἰτία  
τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

βενεφικίους (384) = ἅπαν εἶδος χά-  
ριτός τε καὶ δεξιώσεως. τῆς γὰρ  
τῶν Λατίνων διαλέκτου οὕσα ἡ  
λέξις εὐεργεσίαν δηλοῖ.

ιδιωτικὰ δίκαια (1087) = αἱ εἰς  
χρήματα τὴν ζημίαν ἐπάγουσαι

δικαιωτήρια (526) = τὰ δικαστήρια  
καὶ αἱ ἐκεῖθεν κολάσεις.

ἀκούμβιτα (110) = στρωμναὶ μαλα-  
καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἠρμέναι... ἡ λέξις Ῥω-

βίτα ἢ συντομία...<sup>9</sup>

πούβλικον γὰρ τὸ δεδημοσιευμένον  
καὶ πρόδηλον λέγεται, ἡ γὰρ λέξις  
τῶν Λατίνων οὕσα...<sup>10</sup>

λίβελλος γὰρ Ῥωμαῖστὶ ἔκδοσις  
ἐστί.<sup>11</sup>

διὰ δὲ τῶν βενεφικίων ἅπαν  
εἶδος χάριτός τε καὶ δεξιώσε-  
ως. τῆς γὰρ Λατίνων οὕσα δια-  
λέκτου ἡ λέξις εὐεργεσίαν  
δηλοῖ.<sup>12</sup>

ιδιωτικὰ (δίκαια) μὲν γὰρ λέ-  
γονται αἱ εἰς χρήματα τὴν  
ζημίαν ἐπάγουσαι.<sup>13</sup>

λαμβάνεται γὰρ τὸ δικαιῶσαι  
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κολάσαι: ὅθεν λέγο-  
μεν, τὰ ἐκεῖθεν δικαιωτήρια.<sup>14</sup>

ἀκούμβω γὰρ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ  
ἀναπίπτω: σημαίνει δὲ στρω-

<sup>9</sup> Canon 103 of Carthage: RP.III, 535.

<sup>10</sup> Canon 50 of Carthage: RP.III, 408.

<sup>11</sup> Canon 47 of Carthage: RP.III, 417.

<sup>12</sup> Canon 12 of 1st in Nicaea: RP.II, 141.

<sup>13</sup> Canon 6 of 2nd in Constantinople: RP.II, 182.

<sup>14</sup> Canon 5 of 3rd in Ephesus: RP.II, 198.

μαϊκή. ἀκούμβω γὰρ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἡμεῖνας εἰς ὕψος καὶ μα-  
τὸ ἀναπίπτω. λακάς.<sup>15</sup>

αὐθέντης (340) = φονεὺς ἢ ὁ λέγεται γὰρ αὐθέντης καὶ ὁ  
ἑαυτὸν κτιννύων. αὐτοφονευτής.<sup>16</sup>

σῆρες (1638) = οἱ σκώληκες. σῆρες γὰρ οἱ σκώληκες.<sup>17</sup>

ἀθύρματα (61) = παίγνια παρὰ ...μειρακιώδη ἀθύρματα, ἦτοι παι-  
τὸ θύω, τὸ ὀρμῶ... δικὰ παίγνια...<sup>18</sup>

Λευίτης (1293) = ὁ διάκονος...ἢ Λεύιτας τουτέστι, διακόνους<sup>19</sup>.  
Λευίτης ἐστὶν ὁ διακονήσας τὸν  
τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον.

ἐξωμοσία (762) = τὸ εἰς τὴν κε- ἐξωμοσία δ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἰς τὴν  
φαλὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ βασιλέως κεφαλὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ βα-  
καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν σωτηρίαν ὁμόσαι. σιλέως καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν σωτη-  
ρίαν ὁμόσαι.<sup>20</sup>

φατρία (1796) = συγγένεια, σύνταγμα φατρία δὲ ἐστὶ κακοθελὲς δια-  
ἢ κακοθελὲς διαβούλιον καὶ συμφω- βούλιον, καὶ συμφωνία τινῶν  
νία τινῶν ἐπὶ πράξεσι φάβλαις. ἐπὶ πράξεσι φάβλαις.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Canon 74 of Trullo: RP.II, 476.

<sup>16</sup> Canon 3 of St. Sophia: RP.II, 710.

<sup>17</sup> Canon. 16 of 7th in Nicaea: RP.II, 623. The lexicographer here ignores the definition given in the *Suda* (IV, 352): Σῆρες : ἔθνος, ἔνθα ἢ μετὰξα γίνεται. ἐξ οὗ καὶ σηρικὰ τὰ ἐκ μετὰξης ὑφασμένα λέγεται.

<sup>18</sup> Canon 9 of 7th in Nicaea: RP.II, 586.

<sup>19</sup> Canon 3 of Carthage: RP.II, 301.

<sup>20</sup> Canon 30 of 4th in Chalcedon: RP.II, 290. The lexicographer continues with the *Suda's* definition which, however, he places on a lower footing. (*Suda*, II, 321).

<sup>21</sup> Canon 18 of 4th in Chalcedon: RP.II, 264. The lexicographer quotes a tiny portion of the *Suda's* definition afterwards (*Suda*, II, 704 and 760).

εἰρηρικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ (633) = αἱ λεγόμεναι ἀπολυτικά. οἷαι εἰσὶν αἱ διδόμεναι τοῖς μητροπολίταις ὑπὸ τῶν πατριαρχῶν.

εἰρηρικαὶ μὲν ἐπιστολαὶ εἰσὶν αἱ λεγόμεναι ἀπολυτικά. οἷαι εἰσὶν αἱ διδόμεναι τοῖς μητροπολίταις ὑπὸ τῶν πατριαρχῶν.<sup>22</sup>

ἀφήλικες (351) = οἱ τὴν ἥβην μὲν ὑπεραναβάντες, ἥττους δὲ τῶν κε ἐτῶν ὧν προΐστανται οἱ κουράτωρες.

ἀφήλικες δὲ, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἥβην ὑπεραναβάντες, ἥττους δὲ τῶν κε ἐτῶν ὧν προΐστανται οἱ κουράτωρες.<sup>23</sup>

ἡμιόλιον (992) = τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ὄλου.

τῆς ἡμιολίας, ἥτις ἐστὶ τοῦ ὄλου τὸ ἥμισυ.<sup>24</sup>

σῆκρητα (1649) = παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κριτήρια.

σῆκρητα δὲ τὰ κριτήρια τοῖς Λατίνοις ὠνόμασται.<sup>25</sup>

κουράτωρας (1242) = φροντιστάς, διοικητάς.

προκουράτωρας, τουτέστι διοικητάς, φροντιστάς.<sup>26</sup>

σκηνή (1653) = ἡ κατοικία. παρὰ τὸ σχῶ, το κρατῶ...σκηνή καὶ τὸ

σκηνή λέγεται ἡ ὑπόκοισις.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Canon 11 of 4th in Chalcedon: RP.II, 243. The same applies to *συστατικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ* (1687) as the Lexicon quotes Zonaras' definition from the above note.

<sup>23</sup> Canon 3 of 4th in Chalcedon: RP.II, 221.

<sup>24</sup> Canon 17 of 1st in Nicaea: RP.II, 152. The *Suda* has a comparable definition [(*Suda* II, 570): ἡμιολία: τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ κεφαλαίου...] but the lexicographer prefers that of Zonaras.

<sup>25</sup> Canon 27 of Carthage: RP.II, 540. The *Suda* simply gives the entry σῆκρητον (IV, 349).

<sup>26</sup> Canon 16 of Carthage: RP.II, 342. The entry does not exist in the *Suda*.

<sup>27</sup> Canon 45 of Carthage: RP.II, 414. The lexicographer prefers Zonaras' definition to that of the *Suda* (IV, 375-6) which is significantly longer: Σκηνή ἐστὶ ἡ μέση θύρα τοῦ θεάτρου. παρασκήνια δὲ τὰ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς μέσης θύρας. ἵνα δὲ σαφέστερον εἴπω, μετὰ τὴν σκηνήν εὐθὺς καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια ἢ ὀρχήστρα. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος, ὁ ἐκ σανίδων ἔχων τὸ ἔδαφος ἀφ' οὗ θεατρίζουσιν οἱ μῦμοι...

δρᾶμα καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις.

The reader will have noticed that the above table comprises a variety of words which are defined in Zonaras' canon-commentary and which the lexicographer faithfully quotes. They range from entries of Latin origin,<sup>28</sup> of which some would belong to the language of administration, to more trivial and common ones. We have not included in the table words which occur both in the Lexicon and in Zonaras' text and which the chronographer does not define<sup>29</sup>, but even the words which *are* included can, we think, alone, give ground for the hypothesis that the lexicographer was, at least, fully aware and made ample use of Zonaras' definitions. Zonaras' text in this respect must to a certain extent, have been equally important to him as that of the *Suda*. Indeed, in some cases as we have seen, the lexicographer gives preference to the wording of the canon-notes of Zonaras over that of the *Suda*, especially when the former provides more concise definitions. In the light of this evidence we are challenged by two possibilities: either we have Zonaras himself working on his Lexicon and now quoting his own writings word for word, now modifying and adapting his phraseology to the needs of his later and major work, *or* we have some other author (in which case it would, perhaps, make sense to regard him as belonging to same monastic community) who writes at a later date and who, having access to and good knowledge

<sup>28</sup> There are, naturally, words of Latin origin which occur in the canon notes of Zonaras but cannot be found in the Lexicon such as κανάλης (21 of Sardice), ληγάτον (22 of Carthage), έμαγκιπατία (35 of Carthage), τρακτάτον (47 of Carthage), σεκέρνω (107 of Carthage), μάτριξ (119 of Carthage), πριβιλέγια (133 of Carthage) etc.

<sup>29</sup> Such words include ἀμοιβᾶδον (164) also in canon 76 of Carthage, έγκαταλείμματα (604) also in canon 84 of Carthage, φραγέλιον (1825) also in canon 27 of the Apostles. Moreover, expressions such as πρὸς τρυφήν ἢ βλακείαν occurring in canon 41 of the Apostles are found in our Lexicon, too (entry ακούμβιτα (110)). The word εἰληθερούμενος (641) = θερμαινόμενος can be interestingly found in the celebrated note of Zonaras on hairstyles (canon 90 of Trullo: εἰληθερεῖσθαι (sc.τὴν τρίχα τῆς κεφαλῆς) ταύτην ἐν ἀκμῇ θέρους ἀνέχονται) and the list goes on.

of Zonaras' writings on the canons, decided to include some of his definitions, in identical wording, in his Lexicon.

Neither possibility can be proved, although the first one is, admittedly, the more tempting. Of course, there can be objections to it. The most serious could be based on the fact that, as far as we are aware, we do not have parallel examples of chunks of text from Zonaras' historical work being quoted by the author of the Lexicon. And Zonaras, there, *does* give several definitions of words in the middle of his narrative. To assume that the historian Zonaras *first* composed his Lexicon and *then* his world chronicle<sup>30</sup> would, possibly, give reasons for this deficiency but it can not explain, for instance, the occurrence of some of the chronicle's vocabulary in the Lexicon nor of that of writers composing later in the twelfth century.

But before we tackle the problem of dating it would be helpful at this point to cite a number of cases where the compiler seems to be referring more or less directly to Zonaras' historical writing itself. The examples which follow are given on a selected basis and cannot but represent only a very limited picture of the ways in which both the lexicographer and Zonaras worked.

1. To start with, the entry *παράδεισος* which occurs in the Lexicon (1501) but does not occur in the *Suda*, receives similar treatment in Zonaras' *Epitome*.<sup>31</sup> The idea that man was created and appointed by God to act as His deputy in His earthly kingdom is common in both works. It is, of course, true that this description of man's condition in paradise is a commonplace, especially in religious literature, but the verbal similarities are noteworthy:

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<sup>30</sup> In which case the sequence of his writing activity would start with his commentary on the canons (as a newly vowed monk would be expected to do), continue with the Lexicon (in whatever form he left it) and finish with his chronography.

<sup>31</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 2, 21 (18-21).

**Lexicon Tittmannianum**

α. ἔμελλεν (ὁ Θεὸς) πλαστοουργεῖν

τὸν ἄνθρωπον...

ὥσπερ τινα βασιλέα...

β. ...ὁ θεῖος παράδεισος,

Θεοῦ χερσὶν...πεφυτευμένος

**Zonaras' Epitome**

οὕτω παράγει (ὁ Θεὸς)

τὸν ἄνθρωπον

οἷά τινα βασιλέα...

ἔθετο [ὁ Θεὸς] τὸν Ἀδάμ

ἐν παραδείσῳ, ὄν αὐτὸς

κατεφύτευεν.

2. More striking are the instances of identical etymologies of biblical words or proper names found in *Zonaras' Epitome* and the *Lexicon*. We may here suppose that a consultation of a common source like Josephus occurred or simply that the historian Zonaras had, in his quest for linguistic references, perused the pages of a lexicon other than that of the *Suda*, and that this different work might have been *our* *Lexicon*. e.g.

**Lexicon Tittmannianum**

α. Κάιν (1142)= ὁ δὲ ἸΑβελ

(ἐρμηνεύεται) πένθος

β. Βαβυλῶν (371) = σύγχυσις,

καὶ πόλις οὕτω καλουμένη

γ. Μελχισεδέκ (1342)= κύριον.

ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ βασιλεὺς

δικαιοσύνης

**Zonaras' Epitome**

ἸΑβελ...δηλοῖ δὲ πένθος

ἢ κλήσις<sup>32</sup>

Βαβυλῶν καλεῖται διὰ τὴν

σύγχυσιν<sup>33</sup>

Μελχισεδέκ σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο...

βασιλεὺς δίκαιος<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 3, 24 (2-3).

<sup>33</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 5, 30 (9). The *Suda* does not have the entry Βαβυλῶν.

<sup>34</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 6, 34 (20-21). The *Suda* gives a different definition: ἐρμηνεύεται Μελχισεδέκ βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης. Our *Lexicon's* definition is, therefore, closer to Zonaras.

- δ. Ἰακώβ (1077)= κύριον περιριστὴς ἐρμηνεύεται Ἰακώβ ὠνομάσθη· περιριστὴν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα καθ' Ἑβραίουσ δηλοῖ<sup>35</sup>
- ε. Ἰσραήλ (1124)= ἐρμηνεύεται νοῦσ ὁρῶν τὸν Θεὸν... Ἰσραήλ...τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι νοῦσ ὁρῶν τὸν Θεὸν ἐρμηνεύουσιν.  
Ἰώσηπος δὲ τὸν ἀντιστάντα θεῷ ἀγγέλῳ σημαίνειν φησίν.<sup>36</sup>
- στ. Ναζιραῖος (1383)= ..ἡγιασμένος Ναζιραῖον...ἅγιον δηλαδὴ<sup>37</sup>
- ζ. Δαγών (466)= εἶδωλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλοφύλων θεραπευόμενον, ᾧ τὴν κιβωτὸν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀλλόφυλοι εἰς Ἄζωτον πόλιν ἀπαγαγόντες τὴν κιβωτὸν τῷ Δαγῶν. οὕτω γὰρ τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάλουν Θεὸν, ἀνέθεντο.<sup>38</sup>
- η. Σαλώμη (1630)= κύριον. ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ εἰρήνη. ἡ Σαλώμη...ἡ μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνης σημαντικόν· καὶ εἰρηνικὴν εἶναι τὴν οὕτω κεκλημένην ἐδήλου.<sup>39</sup>

3. Speaking of common etymologies one should certainly mention the rare occurrence of short definitions, phrases, or verbal

<sup>35</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 6, 37 (9-10). The *Suda* simply mentions Ἰακώβ with no comment.

<sup>36</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 8, 41 (20-22). The *Suda* simply has Ἰσραηλίτης meaning Jew.

<sup>37</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 24, 90 (3-4). The *Suda* uses different words in his definition: Ναζιραῖος= ὁ Θεῷ κεχαρισμένος καὶ ἀφιερωμένος, ὁ μοναχός. The *Lexicon* is again closer to Zonaras' interpretation.

<sup>38</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* I, 26, 98 (6-8). The *Suda* has the definition in identical wording, yet it is interesting to see how Zonaras, too, adapts it into his text, keeping some of the words unchanged.

<sup>39</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* V, 23, 454 (2-5). The *Suda* (IV, 317) simply has ὄνομα κύριον.

elaborations in identical wording in both Zonaras' text and the Lexicon.

### Lexicon Tittmannianum

### Zonaras' Epitome

α. σκηνή (1653)= ἡ κατοικία...

σκηνή καὶ τὸ δράμα

καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις.

οὐ γὰρ ἐτήρησε (ὁ Μιχαήλ)

τὴν σκηνήν τε καὶ τὴν

προσποίησιν... and elsewhere

τοῦτο δ' ἦν...προσποίησις καὶ

σκηνή τὴν τῆς φύσεως δια-

μαρτίαν τῇ ὑποκρίσει τοῦ

σκηνοῦργου ἐπιτείνοντος.<sup>40</sup>

β. λεῖον (1298)= τὸ ὀμαλόν.

ὀμαλῶς μετὰ πολλῆς λειότητος<sup>41</sup>

γ. φαρμακοῦται (1799)= καταγοπ-

τεύεται.

...καταγοπτευθεῖς (ὁ Γερμανικός)

τε καὶ φαρμαχθεῖς<sup>42</sup>

δ. φορύνετο (1820)= τῷ αἵματι

ἐφύρατο, ἐμολύνετο...

οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτὸν (τὸν Οὐ-

τέλλιον) συνέλαβον φορυτοῦ

πεπλησμένον καὶ αἵματος, ὑπὸ

γὰρ τῶν κυνῶν ἐλελύμαντο.<sup>43</sup>

ε. ἀποπληξία (248)= τὸ μετὰ ἀναι-

σθησίας καὶ παρέσεως πάθος.

συνέβη δὲ οἱ (τῷ Τραϊανῷ)

καὶ ἀποπληξία, ἢ πάρεσις τοῦ

σώματος ἐκ μέρους

<sup>40</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVII, 18, 607 (2-3); XVII, 27, 645 (3-5). The *Suda* (IV, 375-6) gives a different definition for σκηνή.

<sup>41</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 20, 730 (14). The *Suda* (III, 258) defines λεῖον as πρᾶον. The Lexicon's definition is closer to Zonaras' text.

<sup>42</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XI, 2, 438 (8-9). The participle φαρμαχθεῖς occurs in the *Suda*, too (IV, 700).

<sup>43</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XI, 16, 491 (18-20).



ἐπηκολούθησεν.<sup>44</sup>

- στ. τολύπη (1737) = εἶδος βοτάνης, καὶ συνέλεξεν ἐκεῖνος (ὁ διά-  
 ἡ ἐργασία, μηχανὴ ἢ ἄμπελος κωνος) τοῦ ἀγροῦ λάχανα, οἷς  
 ἀγρία καὶ βοτάνη δηλητήριος. καὶ τολύπη συναμέμεικτο· ἢ δὲ  
βοτάνη ἐστὶ δηλητήριος.<sup>45</sup>
- ζ. πήγανον (1546) = βοτάνη· ὅπερ φυ- ...ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ πή-  
τευόμενον ὑπὸ τῆ συκῆ δριμύτερον γανον ἦν ἄξιον διὰ τὸ μέγε-  
ἐαυτῆς γίνεται. μετατίθεται γὰρ θος θαύματος· συκῆς γὰρ  
 εἰς τὸ φυτὸν τὸ ἐν τῆ συκῆ οὐδεμιᾶς ὕψους καὶ πάχους  
 βαρύσμον... ἐλείπετο.<sup>46</sup>
- η. ἱερούργει (1095) = θύει. οἱ δὲ (πολέμιοι) οὐδὲν ἤττον ἤ-  
 σαν ἱερούργοῦντες καὶ θύοντες.<sup>47</sup>
- θ. πώγων (1600) = ...ἔστι καὶ πω- ...ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις [τοῦ  
γωνίας ἀστροειδὲς πυρὸς ἄ- 'Ιουστίνου) ἀστὴρ ἐφάνη κομήτης  
θροισμα. ἔμπροσθεν ἔχον τὰς ἐν τῆ ἀνατολῆ, κάτω τὰς ἀκτῖνας  
ἀκτῖνας πώγωνος δίκην. ἀφίεις, ὄν πωγωνίαν οἱ μετεω-  
 ρολογοῦντες φασί.<sup>48</sup>
- ι. ὀκρίβας [1438] = ὁ ἄμβων... ἔστειλεν οὖν (ὁ Ἀναστάσιος) εἰς  
 ἡ εὐθεῖα τῶν πληθυντικῶν ὀκρί- τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν λογοθέτην

<sup>44</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XI, 22, 513 (16-17). The *Suda* (I, 314) does not include the word πάρεσις in its definition.

<sup>45</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* II, 16, 173 (22-25). The *Suda* defines τολύπη as ἀγρία κολοκύνθη.

<sup>46</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VI, 28, 554 (14-16). The *Suda* simply mentions εἶδος βοτάνης making no reference to the fig-trees.

<sup>47</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* V, 6, 402 (1). The *Suda* does not have the phrase.

<sup>48</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIV, 5, 146 (14-16). The *Suda* seems to ignore the existence of a comet under that name. It simply defines πωγωνίας as ὁ μέγας πώγων (IV, 184).

βαντες, ἐφ' ὧν ἄκρων ἐστᾶσιν      τε καὶ τὸν ἑπαρχον· οἱ ἐν τῷ  
οἱ ὑποκριταί· οἶονεὶ ἀκρίβαντες      ἄμβωνι ὡς ἐπ' ὀκρίβαντος  
 τινὲς ὄντες...      στάντες διαγγέλλειν ἤρξαντο.<sup>49</sup>

4a. In a passage on the economic exploitation of a famine in tenth-century Byzantium by the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969) at the expense of the public, Zonaras narrates with horror how Nicephorus illegally increased the price of wheat, selling it dearly to those starving. The emperor did this, and disregarded all danger entailed in such measures which eventually made him the object of hatred. The text reads as follows: καὶ γέγονε λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς, ὃν εἰς οἰκεῖον κέρδος ὁ Νικηφόρος μετήνεγκε, τιμιουλκῶν τὸν σῖτον καὶ πολλοῦ τοῦτον ἀποδιδόμενος τοῖς λιμώττουσι, μηδὲ φροντίζων ὅτι δημοκατάρατος ἦν...<sup>50</sup> The Lexicon contains the entry τιμιουλκῶν (1733) which is defined as: τιμιουλκῶν τὸν σῖτον, ἀντὶ τοῦ βαρυτιμῶν. Now the *Suda* in its definition of the same entry (IV, 556) provides all the necessary wording employed by our compiler yet, interestingly, the *Suda* adds the phrase ὁ τιμιουλκῶν σῖτον δημοκατάρατος (ἐστί) which includes the word "cursed by the people" (δημοκατάρατος)

<sup>49</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIV, 3, 138 (14-16). Speaking about the monophysite preferences of the emperor Anastasius I (491-518) Zonaras mentions that the addition of the words "who was crucified for us" to the Trisagion ordered by Anastasius had caused great disturbances and almost brought the deposition of the emperor. The "heretic" Anastasius, Zonaras explains, sent his two ministers to the great church who, in front of the congregation, ascended the pulpit to announce the imperial decree. Anastasius' messengers are depicted as vile comic characters, almost clowns, uttering their pernicious doctrine. This is suggested by the Greek ὡς ἐπ' ὀκρίβαντος στάντες διαγγέλλειν... In other words they turned the pulpit (ἄμβων), normally reserved for proper sermons, into a theatre's stage, from which the actors declaim their nonsense. What is interesting for our purpose here is that the lexicographer defines ὀκρίβας as ἄμβων thus connecting the two senses exactly in the same way in which Zonaras connects them in his text. The *Suda* (III, 515) seems to ignore any reference to the pulpit in his definition of ὀκρίβας.

<sup>50</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 28, 514 (1-3). "And a severe famine occurred which Nicephorus exploited to his own advantage, by overpricing the corn and selling it dearly to those starving, not considering that he was accursed by the people".

found in Zonaras' text. The least this means is that Zonaras had opened up his lexicon, whether that of the *Suda* or the compiler's.

β. Elsewhere Zonaras quoting the words of the emperor Leo VI (886-912) to one of his generals, Constantine, writes: "οὐ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἦν ἔλαχες σπάρταν κοσμεῖς, ἔσται σοι εὖ· εἰ δὲ νεωτερίσεις καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρήσεις,...ἡ κεφαλὴ σου τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος χωρὶς εἰσαχθήσεται."<sup>51</sup> The *Suda* simply mentions an entry σπάρτα (IV, 416) which it defines as σχοινία, but our lexicographer is more elucidating: Under σπαρτίον (1663) we read: τὸ σχοινίον. καὶ κλῆρος. καὶ στέργει σπάρτα ἥνπερ ἔλαχε. Tittmann (*op. cit.*, 1663) thinks that we should replace σπάρτα with Σπάρτην, i.e. the city Sparta. He calls attention to expressions like Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει found in Cicero (*ad Attic.*, IV, 6, 163) and argues that *sine dubio* the compiler has made an error. However, there is little doubt that both Zonaras and the compiler refer not to the city of Sparta or any expression alluding to it,<sup>52</sup> but to a phrase which had probably developed as a proverb, namely σπάρταν λαγχάνειν meaning to be given a lot, a share etc., (κλῆρος) which one could honour (στέργειν, κοσμεῖν) or dishonour! Thus Zonaras' phrase makes perfectly good sense in the light of what we read in the Lexicon and vice-versa.

γ. Speaking of the great wrong which the emperor Romanus I Lecapenus (920-944) did to emperor Constantine VII, Zonaras

<sup>51</sup> Here we adopt the lectio σπάρταν found in Dindorf's edition (XVI, 20, 65): "If in the meantime you content yourself with your lot, you will be fine; but if you revolt and attempt a coup...your head will be brought separated from the rest of your body".

<sup>52</sup> See also *ad. Attic.* I, 20, 3: The origin of this phrase is an anapaestic dimeter verse surviving among the fragments of the *Telephus* of Euripides, in which Agamemnon urges his brother Menelaus to confine his attention to his own province: The words are Σπάρτην ἔλαχες, κείνην κόσμει. Cicero quotes this saying in the form in which we find it in *ad Attic.*, IV, 6. It is possible then that this phrase developed into a proverb during Byzantine times meaning, basically, the same thing but introducing σπάρτα(ν) instead of Σπάρταν which now would refer to the word lot, not the city of Sparta. Zonaras and the lexicographer seemingly **draw on the same tradition** which is different from that of Euripides or Cicero, but not necessarily erroneous!

succinctly observes that although Divine Providence allows wrongdoers some time to show repentance, she nevertheless follows them slowly in their footsteps and finally makes them pay: *κἄν βραδύτερον ἴσως μέτεισι τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἢ πρόνοια, μετανοίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμετροῦσα καιρόν, ἀλλὰ γε τοῦ κακοῦ μὴ ἀπεχομένους μέτεισι σχολαίῳ ποδί καὶ δίκας εἰσπράττεται.*<sup>53</sup> The phrase *μέτεισι σχολαίῳ ποδί* cannot be found in the *Suda* or any other lexicon but is used as a quotation in the definition of *σχολαίῳ* in our Lexicon (1699): *ἀργῶ. σχολαίῳ ποδί.* The phrase is rare (Tittmann notes a similarity with *σχολαίῳ βαδίσματι* found in Synesius, *Ep.* 104) and can, therefore, have some significance for our investigation.

δ. In an interesting passage on the last illness of the emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) Zonaras narrates how the emperor had to be transferred to the palace of Mangana (*τὰ τῶν Μαγγάνων ἀνάκτορα*) where he underwent a series of treatments which, however, proved unsuccessful. Zonaras mentions a saying namely “*ἐν ἀκεσωδύνοις πεσεῖται*” which was said to have been written concerning Alexius by those who laboured over these matters. “They explained and named the Mangana residence as “pain relief” (*ἀκεσώδυνα*) because of the medical centre that was there, as providing relief for aches.”<sup>54</sup> Now the word *ἀκεσώδυνος* is, usually, taken as an adjective meaning “allaying pain”. This is certainly the case with *ἀκεσώδυνα* in Zonaras’ text which should qualify the noun *κατοικίαν*. If we accept this interpretation then the phrase *ἐν ἀκεσωδύνοις πεσεῖται* which, according to Zonaras, had formed an old prophecy concerning

<sup>53</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 20, 480 (7-10).

<sup>54</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 28, 759 (11-15). *Τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἀκεσωδύνοις πεσεῖται περὶ ἐκείνου γεγράφθαι λέγοντες οἱ περὶ ταῦτα ἐπτοημένοι ἀκεσώδυνα τὴν τῶν Μαγγάνων κατοικίαν ἐξηγοῦντό τε καὶ ὠνόμαζον διὰ τὸ ἱατρεῖον τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἄκος ταῖς περιωδυνίαις περιποιούμενον.*

Alexius, should mean “he will succumb to pain-relief”. This is supported by the standard definition of ἀκεσώδυνος found in all lexica.<sup>55</sup> Yet once again our Lexicon surprises us with a totally new meaning for the word. Ἀκεσώδυνος (99) we read means (as a masculine noun this time) ὁ ἰατρός, ὁ θεραπευτής. In this sense the phrase in question should mean “he will succumb at the hands of the doctors”. This is an interpretation which is in agreement with the rather negative picture of the doctors and their unsuccessful therapies drawn by Zonaras in his narrative. What the chronographer seems to be hinting is that the old saying about Alexius, namely that he will become the “victim” of doctors, had eventually come true.<sup>56</sup>

Unfortunately in the oracles attributed to the emperor Leo VI which reflected a popular anticipation of the last things to happen in Byzantium, one cannot find any reference to Alexius’ illness and so our argument cannot be further reinforced.<sup>57</sup>

ε. Finally, in a description of Rome’s last Macedonian war, Zonaras narrates how Aemilius Paulus managed to overcome all natural obstacles and eventually find access to Perseus’ entrenched camp and defeat him. He dug through the sandy foothills of Mount Olympus whereby he provided against water shortage and thus saved

<sup>55</sup> The *Suda* (I, 80) mentions ἀκεσώδυνον (the neuter of the adjective) meaning θεραπευτικὸν τῶν ὀδυνῶν. In other words it gives the standard definition for the word.

<sup>56</sup> If one would want to go even further one might argue that Zonaras, who is ever fond of wordplay, was actually suggesting a double meaning for the name of the palace where Alexius was hospitalised. Ἡ τῶν Μαγγάνων κατοικία could, perhaps, be taken as meaning much more than a place-name. Words like μαγνεύειν, μαγεύειν, μαγγανεύειν were of interrelated meaning and the notion of ἰατρός φαρμακεύων. Zonaras, *Epitome* X, 7, 317 (15), can be found in the Lexicon, too, e.g. φαρμάξας (1799) = ἰατρεύσας...ἀπατήσας γοητεύσας. Compare also Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 11, 437 (6-7). Ὁ δὲ λέων...τῷ Σανταβαρηνῷ οὐκ ἠρέσκετο, ἀλλὰ φαρμακὸν ἀπεκάλει καὶ γόητα καὶ ἀπατῶντα...and the Lexicon: γόης (446)= ὁ πλάνης ὁ ἀπατεῶν. ὁ φαρμακὸς. ὁ μάγος. Doctors and magicians were, sometimes purposely, confused by those not in the profession as both parties would equally claim expertise in healing.

<sup>57</sup> See Imperatoris Leonis Oracula in *P.G.* (Migne), 107, 1130-67.

his army. The text reads as follows:<sup>58</sup> διαμησάμενος γὰρ (ὁ Αἰμίλιος Παῦλος) τὴν ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἄμμον ὕδωρ εὗρε δαψιλές τε καὶ πότιμον. The lexicographer defines διαμησάμενος (531) as διορύξας. διαμησάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἄμμον. Now Thucydides (IV, 26) uses a similar phrase to describe a situation when soldiers had to dig through a pebbly surface to find water ( διαμώμενοι τὸν κάχληκα οἱ πλεῖστοι...ἔπινον...ὕδωρ). Polybius also uses the participle διαμησάμενος in connection with Hannibal's attempt to dig through a snow-covered mountainside ( διαμησάμενος τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χιόνα...ἔξωκοδόμει τὸν κρημνόν...) But more interestingly in *Suda's* definition of διαμησάμενος (II, 66) we read: διορύξας. διαμησάμενος γὰρ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὰ κράσπεδα τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἄμμον ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ πότιμον εὗρεν... One can see at a glance that Zonaras has carefully modified the wording of the *Suda* and adapted it into his own narrative. He has kept διαμησάμενος, τὴν τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἄμμον and πότιμον ὕδωρ unchanged whereas he has modified *Suda's* κράσπεδα to ὑπωρείᾳ and πολύ to δαψιλές all of which are exact or near synonyms. Naturally it might be argued that Cassius Dio is probably Zonaras' historical source here, and if so, both the *Suda* and Zonaras can be independently following him. This poses the problem of whether, in cases when the *Epitome*, the *Suda* and a third source (e.g. Dio Cassius) provide more or less identical information, Zonaras the historian drew on the *Suda* rather than his other source. Thus, did Zonaras overlook Dio Cassius' description of a Roman triumph used by Tzetzes<sup>59</sup> and, instead, follow that of the *Suda*? The answer is not always easy, but it is possible that Zonaras had consulted both and did not neglect the *Suda*.

<sup>58</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* IX, 23, 271 (15-16).

<sup>59</sup> *Epistulae* 141-2.

*Suda* (II, 729)*Zonaras' Epitome* <sup>60</sup>

α. πρῶτον, πρὶν ἐπινοηθῆναι τὰ  
προσωπεῖα, συκῆς φύλλοις  
ἐκάλυπτον πάντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν  
πρόσωπα καὶ δι' ἰάμβων  
ἔσκωπτον.

πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὰ προσωπεῖα ἐπι-  
νοηθῆναι τοῖς σκηνικοῖς συκῆς  
φύλλοις τὰ ἑαυτῶν καλύπτοντες  
πρόσωπα δι' ἰάμβων ἐποιούντο  
τὰ σκώμματα.

β. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται μιμούμενοι  
τοὺς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρό-  
σωπα φύλλοις συκῆς ἐν τῷ σκώ-  
πτειν καλύπτοντες σκώμματα εἰς  
τοὺς θριαμβεύοντας ἔλεγον.

καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δὲ ἐν ταῖς  
ἐπιπνικίοις πομπαῖς φύλλα συ-  
κῆς ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπάγοντες ὄ-  
ψεσιν εἰς τοὺς τὰς πομπὰς  
ποιούντας ἀπέσκωπτον.

Our Lexicon under θρίαμβος (1052) reads: ἡ ἐπίδειξις, ἡ πομπή, καὶ τὸ σεμνύνεσθαι ἐν τισι πόλεσιν ἐπὶ νίκη πολέμου. These words summarize Zonaras' definition [*op. cit.*, 619 (3-4)] which reads: κάντεῦθεν ὀνομασθῆναι νομίζεται θριάμβους τὰς ἐπιπνικίους πομπὰς. What does this all amount to? In principle we will agree that the evidence we have been able to collect naturally does not prove that Zonaras and the lexicographer were the same person. For that, in addition to other proof, we would need to establish a substantial number of lengthy quotations from Zonaras' *Epitome* in the Lexicon and, as we have stated at the beginning of this chapter, facts do not point in this direction. Instead, we have seen how the lexicographer has included in his work some rare vocabulary, peculiar phrases and expressions, proverbs and etymologies which can be found in Zonaras' historical composition and which, occasionally at least, constitute a unique body of common reference in both writers.

<sup>60</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XII, 32, 618-9.

What we hopefully *have* managed to demonstrate, on a selective basis, is that the historian Zonaras seems to have been interested in lexicography as he repeatedly used the lexicon of the *Suda* as a useful and approved source of information and as a practical reference book which he must have consulted at times whenever he was in need of a special word explanation, a linguistic elaboration or some interesting piece of information concerning Byzantium's Roman past.<sup>61</sup> We would argue that there certainly exists a linguistic affiliation between Zonaras' history and the *Suda* and that if Zonaras knew the *Suda* very well, then he might be the "conduit" for the presence of some *Suda* material in the Lexicon. Coincidentally, the *Suda* is also the indispensable source of reference for our compiler. On the other hand assuming that Zonaras *was* the composer of the Lexicon, would an avoidance of direct quotations from his history in connection with a systematic admission of definitions found in his commentary on canon-law make sense? In our view it would. If Zonaras would want to search for a specific terminology or word etymology the obvious place to look it up would be a lexicon or a treatise and not a history, even if it were his own!

But what if the Lexicon Tittmannianum had been composed outwith Zonaras' life time? What if, as some scholars suggested, it was the work of a writer who lived not a few but many years later, in the thirteenth century? K. Alpers is one of the more recent exponents of

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<sup>61</sup> Zonaras' text is abundant with "linguistic borrowings" from the *Suda*. Compare the proverb ἡ δὲ ξυρὸς ἦν εἰς ἀκόνην. Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 1, 382 (16) and *Suda's* (III, 503) ξυρὸν εἰς ἀκόνην. Also τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ὑπόγειον λόγισαι Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI, 2, 387 (9) and *Suda's* (IV, 668) ὑπόγειον...εἰς αἰσχύνην τοῦ δεδρακότος. Also οἱ δὲ (φρουροὶ)...τοῦ ἀκράτου σπάσαντες ἀκρατέστερον ἐλήφθησαν ὕπνω βαρεῖ Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 5, 30 (10-11) and *Suda's* (IV, 416) σπασάμενος ἀκράτου: οἴνου ἐκπιῶν, (I, 89) ἀκρατισαμένη: ἀκράτου σπάσσα. Indeed compare the reference to Julius Caesar in both the *Suda* (III, 85) and Zonaras' *Epitome* X, 11, 331-2, where again the latter quotes from the *Suda* with only a slight alteration of his wording. The list can go on.



this theory, which relies on the information supposedly deducible from the entry ἤλεκτρον (986) in the Lexicon.<sup>62</sup> The definition reads: χάλκωμα καθαρόν, ἢ ἀλλότυπον χρυσοῖον μεμιγμένον ὑέλῳ καὶ λιθείᾳ, οἷας ἦν κατασκευῆς ἢ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας τράπεζα ὁ πανεξαίρετος τοῦ Θεοῦ ναός... On the basis of just one word, the imperfect ἦν, those in favour of a later composition argue that since the compiler speaks of the altar of St. Sophia which *was* (and no longer *is*) made of ἤλεκτρον etc., this provides sufficient grounds for the hypothesis that the Lexicon was written after 1204 when Constantinople was sacked by the Franks and the altar destroyed. Yet there is no need to take this ἦν literally, any more than we need to take the example which the lexicographer gives when he illustrates the grammatical use of the personal pronoun literally (ἀντωνυμία-185-6). We read there that the personal pronoun can replace proper names and common nouns, thus “instead of saying Nicephorus, one can say I.” It is too far-fetched to argue with Alpers (*op. cit.*, 738) that, therefore, the compiler was called Nicephorus.

To return to the use of ἦν in connection with the altar of St. Sophia we would like to suggest that the verb in question refers to the time of its construction and “was made of” does not rule out the possibility that “it still is”, exists. Indeed in a legendary account of the building of St. Sophia which can be ascribed to the ninth century, we read concerning the materials used in the amalgam of which the altar was made:<sup>63</sup> οἱ δὲ ἔφησαν αὐτῷ· εἰς χωνευτήριον ἐμβάλωμεν χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, λίθους τιμίους καὶ παντοίους καὶ μαργαρίτας καὶ ζάμβυκας, χαλκόν, ἤλεκτρον, μόλυβδον, σίδηρον, κασσίτερον, ὑέλῳ καὶ λοιπὴν πᾶσαν μεταλλικὴν ὕλην. καὶ τρίψαντες ἀμφοτέρα αὐτῶν εἰς ὄλους

<sup>62</sup> K. Alpers, under “Zonarae Lexicon” in *R.E.* II 10 A (1972), 736-7.

<sup>63</sup> *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1989, 95.

καὶ δῆσαντες, ἐπὶ τὸ χωνευτήριον ἔχουσιν· καὶ ἀναμαζάμενον τὸ πῦρ ἀνέλαβον ταῦτα οἱ τεχνῖται ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ἔχουσιν εἰς τύπον καὶ ἐγένετο χυτὴ πάμμυγος ἢ ἀγία τράπεζα ἀτίμητος. We would like to think that the compiler drew his description of the altar from the above source. Gold, copper, amber, glass and various precious stones alike are mentioned as building materials of the altar in both texts and in the same context. If, then, there is no proof that the Lexicon must have been written after 1204, it could have been composed during Zonaras' lifetime depending on the dates within which his life fell. The Lexicon itself gives us no clue regarding dates or contemporaries,<sup>64</sup> and the best way of establishing a *terminus scribendi* would be to labour over the attempt to trace idiomatic vocabulary which would characterize certain twelfth-century writers. This is, however, a major task, far exceeding the purpose and the size of this appendix. Of the twelfth-century writers we have managed to discover just two whose vocabulary can be more or less clearly identified in our Lexicon: Anna Comnena and John Tzetzes. Our study will be, therefore, restricted to the work of these two composers:

I. In the following pages we have listed a total of 130 words common in the *Alexiad's prooimion* as well as book I and the Lexicon. Naturally the list is merely indicative of the possibility that the lexicographer was familiar with Anna's history. Not all of these words bear the stamp of her style and some, like ἐρεβοδιφῶντες or ἐρεβοδιφῶσι (872), occur also in Theophylact Simocatta's history: we

<sup>64</sup> Occasionally we find an interesting reference to contemporaries e.g. under σκῶρ (1656) we read: τὸ κόπρον. τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς σοφιστῶν ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἔν τιμι τῶν λόγων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γέγραφε τὸ σκάτος, ἀγνοήσας, ὅτι ὀρθῆ πτῶσις ἐστὶ τὸ σκῶρ, αἱ δὲ πλάγιοι τοῦ σκατὸς καὶ τῶ σκατὶ... There can be no certainty as to who this "most famous professor of our times" could be. The topic, however, must have been a popular controversy among grammarians. Compare what Tzetzes says (IV, I, 87) concerning the use of σκῶρ when he aims at the *Suda*: σκῶρ ἢ κόπρος· τινὲς λέγουσιν (i.e. the *Suda*, IV, 388) ἑτερόκλιτόν ἐστι· σκῶρ γὰρ ἢ εὐθεῖα, κλίνεται δὲ σκατός. ἡμεῖς δὲ (i.e. Tzetzes) σκῶρ, σκωρὸς κλίνομεν.

know that Anna had read Theophylact and, consequently, must have enriched her vocabulary through her reading. Moreover in all likelihood Zonaras, too, had owned or borrowed his own copy of the *Alexiad* and read it. Otherwise it would be hard to explain the praise he sings concerning Anna's accomplished Attic style: he must have admired her, and her compositional skills attract about the longest favourable comment in the *Epitome* :<sup>65</sup> τῆς ἐν λόγοις παιδείας ἀντείχετο καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν εἶχεν ἀκριβῶς ἀττικίζουσαν καὶ τὸν νοῦν πρὸς ὕψος θεωρημάτων ὀξύτατον. ταῦτα δ' αὐτῇ προσεγένετο φύσεως ὀξύτητι καὶ σπουδῇ. προσετετέκει γὰρ τοῖς βίβλοις καὶ λογίοις ἀνδράσι καὶ οὐ παρέργως ὠμίλει αὐτοῖς... If Zonaras were the author of the Lexicon this affection towards Anna's vocabulary which the latter displays would indeed make sense. Below is the list of words shared by Anna and the compiler:

*Alexiad*

## Lexicon Tittmannianum

ἀκάθεκτα, ἀκάθεκτον <i>prooim.</i>	ἀκάθεκτος 102
ἀμελετήτως <i>prooim.</i>	ἀμελέτητος 153
ἀναλεξαμένη <i>prooim.</i>	ἀναλεξάμενος 201
ἀφηγήσασθαι <i>prooim.</i>	ἀφηγεῖσθαι 358
<b>ἀντικρυς <i>prooim.</i></b>	<b>ἀντικρυς 226</b>
ἀξιάγαστα 9	ἀξιάγαστος 227
ἀπαίσιον 9	ἀπαίσιον 252
ἀνδραγαθημάτων 9-10	ἀνδραγαθία 184
ἀξιάγαστος 10	ἀξιάγαστος 227
ἀργαλέον 13	ἀργαλέος 286
ἀφορήτοις 13	ἀφόρητον 356
<b>ἀποχρώσας 15</b>	<b>ἀποχρῶσα 274</b>
ἀντικαταστῆναι 15	ἀντικαθίστασθαι 218
<b>ἀποκαραδοκῆσωσι 15</b>	<b>ἀποκαραδοκῶν 242, 263</b>

<sup>65</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XVIII, 26, 754 (11-16). This is noteworthy since Zonaras is, usually, extremely laconic in his approval of other peoples' literacy. With, perhaps, the exception of Constantine I [XIII, 4, 25 (12-16)] who, besides, was a saint-emperor for the Byzantines, the rest receive a two word remark like λόγους ὠμίλει [XII, 10, 556 (8-9)] etc., and nothing more.

αὐγή 20  
 αὐτόχρημα 20  
 ἀπολεγόμενος 27  
ἀσυμφανῶς 31  
 ἀλαλαγοῖς 33  
 ἀφαυροτέρας 38  
 ἀκρολοφίας 38  
 ἀλέας 41  
 ἀνερρίπτε 43,  
ἀνερριπίσθη 50  
 ἀπορροή 43  
 ἀναχαιτίζεσθαι 47  
 ἀλαζονείας 48  
 ἄωρον 52  
 ἀπονοίας 55  
 βυθόν *prooim.*  
 βαρύς 10  
 βρούχους 53  
 διίθυνε 17  
 δαδουχουμένου *prooim.*  
διωλύγιον *prooim.*  
 δορύκτητον 27  
 ἔρυμα *prooim.*  
 ἐξορχεῖσθαι *prooim.*, -μενος  
 ἐπειλημμένος *prooim.*  
 ἐγκώμιον *prooim.*  
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων *prooim.*  
 ἐφελκυσάμενος *prooim.*  
 ἐμπίπλαμαι *prooim.*  
 ἐπιτρεχούσης *prooim.*  
 ἐξαπορούμενος 11  
 ἐκποδῶν 12  
 ἐωνημένον 12  
 ἐπιρρώσας 14  
 ἐνεφοροῦντο 14  
 ἐπικαλύματα 15  
 ἐπωμίδα 17  
 ἐμβριθεία 17  
 εὐψυχοτέρους 22

αὐγή 343  
 αὐτοχρήμα 349  
 ἀπολεγόμενος 265  
ἀσυμφανῶς 328  
 ἀλαλαγμός 117  
 ἀφαιρώς 350  
 ἀκρολοφία 106  
 ἀλέα 124, 125  
 ἀναρριπίζειν 206  
ἀνερριπίσθη 222  
 ἀπορροή 247  
 ἀναχαιτίζειν 208  
 ἀλαζονεία 124  
 ἄωρος 367  
 ἀπόνοια 241, 244  
 βυθός 411  
 βαρύς 371  
 βροῦχος 401  
 διίθύνων 552  
 δαδουχεῖ 471  
διωλύγιον 526  
 δορύκτητον 564  
 ἔρυμα 871  
 ἐξορχησάμενος 783  
 ἐπειλημμένη 833  
 ἐγκώμιον 604  
 ἐπιτήδευμα 816  
 ἐφελκυστήρ 926  
 ἐμπιπλάται 709  
 ἐπιτρέχειν 848  
 ἐξαπορηθῆναι 766  
 ἐκποδῶν 681  
 ἐωνημένων 947  
 ἐπιρρωννύς 841  
 ἐμφοροῦμαι 711  
 ἐπικάλυμα 814  
 ἐπωμίς 807  
 ἐμβρίθεια 700  
 εὐψυχος 905

- ἐφέστριδι 23  
 ἐκασταχοῦ 25  
 ἐρείδει 25  
ἐπιστροφάδην 26  
 ἐνθυμήμασι 31  
ἐρεβοδιφῶν 32  
 ἕξεδρον 34  
 ἕδνον 39  
ἐπισκήπτει 45  
 ἐπίνειον 53  
 ἐσχετλιάζει 55  
 ἐξήνιον 60  
 θυραίας *prooim.*  
 θάμβος 20  
θούριδος 21  
 θητικὸν 22  
 καθάπτεσθαι *prooim.*  
 κατηφές 10  
 κομιδῆ 14  
 καινοτομούμενον 16  
κλωπετεύειν 19  
 κουλεοῦ 25  
κενεμβατόυσα 26  
 κλισίας 31  
κυλινδούμενος 33  
 λήξεως 18  
 λῆρος 51  
 μηχανήμασιν 11  
μορμολυττόμενους 46  
 νεήλυδας 24  
 νήδυμος 27  
νουνεχῆς 58  
 ὄφελος 9  
 ὀδίταις 38  
 πυκάσασα *prooim.*  
 παραμυθησαίμην *prooim.*  
παλινδρομεῖν 12  
 Παλαμήδειον 15  
 ποδήρη 17
- ἐφεστρίδες 929, 930  
 ἐκασταχῆ 680  
 ἐρείδειν 878  
ἐπιστροφάδην 856  
 ἐνθύμημα 736  
ἐρεβοδιφῶντες 872, ἐρεβοδιφῶσι 872  
 ἕξεδρον 759  
 ἕδνα 614  
ἐπισκήπτει 844  
 ἐπίνειον 812  
 σχετλιάζει 1702  
 ἐξήνιοι 756  
 θυραῖος 1060  
 θάμβος 1023  
θούριδος 1049  
 θητικὸν πλῆθος 1043  
 καθαπτόμενος 1164  
 κατηφῆς 1144, 1148  
 κομιδῆ 1248  
 καινοτομοῦνται 1176  
κλωπιτεύω 1222  
 κουλεός 1230  
κενεμβατεῖ 1196  
 κλισία 1219  
κυλινδούμενος 1271  
 λήξεως 1304  
 λῆρος 1302  
 μηχανήμα 1359  
μορμολύττει 1373  
 νέηλυς 1388  
 νήδυμος 1396  
νουνεχῆς 1405  
 ὄφελος 1489  
 ὀδίτης 1425  
 πυκάζω 1599  
 παραμυθοῦμαι 1523  
παλινδρομεῖν 1516  
 Παλαμήδειον (ἔπος] 1511  
 ποδήρης 1559

παραμείβοντες 18	παραμείψας 1519
πάρδαλις 26	πάρδαλις 1509
παπταίνειν 40	παπταίνων 1524
πτόρθους 41	πτόρθος 1590
πρανοῦς 41	πρανοῦς 1571
ποικίλον 45	ποικίλος 1559
<b>προεδρίας 47</b>	<b>προεδρία 1578</b>
πεπάλακτο 50	πεπαλάσθαι 1539
<b>παλίμβολα 60</b>	<b>παλίμβολος 1497</b>
σφηκιάι 25	σφηκία 1696
<b><u>συνεργάγησαν 50</u></b>	<b><u>συνεργάγησαν 1692</u></b>
τρυτάνης 19	τρυτάνη 1748
<b>τολμητίας 25</b>	<b>τολμητίας 1736</b>
τριχθά 33	τριχθά 1753
ύπηνήτης 11	ύπηνήτη 1768
φωρᾶσαι 11	φωραθῶσιν 1838
φορτίδες 53	φορτίς 1819
χαυλιόδοντα 29	χαυλιόδους 1841

The above list is, naturally, drawn from a very limited section of text and our argument for a trace of the *Alexiad's* vocabulary in the Lexicon, which could bring the compiler closer to Zonaras, is perhaps weakened by an objection: in the overlapping part of their histories Anna and Zonaras in a number of cases offer a different account or information regarding the same events. However, this objection can be met if we consider the remarkably greater number of occasions when they agree and if we accept the idea that reading and esteeming someone's work, especially on stylistic grounds, does not at all times exclude a possibility of divergent presentation of events. Although contemporary composers do not always *have* to know each other or each others' writings it would seem odd that Zonaras could have been aware of Anna's prose, have formed such a strong and positive view about her style and still not have read her book.

II. We are seemingly more fortunate in our attempt to pinpoint certain vocabulary, use of phrases and definitions which are employed by our second twelfth-century writer, John Tzetzes, and which also occur in the Lexicon. To begin with, Tzetzes is clearly mentioned as one of the compiler's grammatical sources. Under *ίός* (1078) we read: τὸ φάρμακον. ἐκ τοῦ *ιάω* *ιάω*, τὸ θεραπεύω. *ίος* δὲ τὸ βέλος

δασύνεται, ἐκ τοῦ ἴημι, τὸ πέμπω. οὕτως εὗρον παρὰ τῷ Τζέτζη.  
This entry has shocked some scholars who argued that since Tzetzes lived later than Zonaras, the quotation in question must have been a later interpolation (Tittmann, *op. cit.*, 1078). At any rate it appears strange that the lexicographer should draw information from a source of dubious reliability such as Tzetzes.<sup>66</sup> Yet whether the former acknowledged Tzetzes as a credible source or not<sup>67</sup>, the fact is that he used his writings, especially his commentary on Aristophanes, more than once as the following table shows:

<b>Lexicon Tittmannianum</b>	<b>Tzetzes' <i>scholia</i> on Aristophanes</b>
α. <u>ἀβέλτερος</u> (4) = ἀνόητος.. τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ βέλτερος. ὡσπερ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ φέρω, φέρτερος, οὕτω <u>παρὰ τὸ βάλλω βέλτερος. καὶ στερήσει του α. ἀβέλτερος.</u>	<u>βέλτερος</u> = ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλω. <u>ἀβέλτερος</u> δὲ ὁ μωρός. <sup>68</sup>
β. σισύρα (1645) = ἡ γοῦνα <u>σισύρα</u> (1645) = τὸ ἄτριχον <u>ἱμάτιον.</u>	σισύρα = ... μαλλωτὰ ἐπιβλήματα <u>σισύρα</u> = δέρμα <u>ἄτριχον</u> .. <u>φορούμενον ὡς ἱμάτιον.</u> <sup>69</sup>
γ. <u>ἐσπέρα</u> (879) = ἡλίου στέρησις ἢ <u>πέρας τῆς ἡμέρας· ἕως γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα.</u>	<u>τὴν ἐσπέραν δάσυνε· πέρας γὰρ τῆς ἕω καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστίν.</u> <sup>70</sup>
δ. <u>ἀλαζών</u> (117) = ὁ ἀπατεών, ἢ κομπαστής· <u>παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἄλλῃ καὶ πλάνῃ ζῆν...</u>	<u>ἀλαζών. ἄλλῃ καὶ πλάνῃ ζῶν</u> <sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> For some, at least, of his contemporaries Tzetzes was untrustworthy. Compare what he himself writes as a complaint for this contempt (IV, I, 73): οὕτω τεχνικῶς εἰσι πάντα τὰ πάλαι γεγραμμένα καὶ πρὸς κανόνων ἀκρίβειαν... καὶ ὁ Τζέτζης ἐστύγηται· ὅθι πρὸς ἀχαρίστους καὶ ἀδαήμονας λέγειν κανόνας ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τεχνῶν λογικῶν παρεάσει· ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ ἠγείσθωσαν τούτοις πάντα ταῦτόν...

<sup>67</sup> In the case of *ἰός* the phrase οὕτως εὗρον suggests that the writer is at some remove from the actual quotation in the sense that he is merely reporting Tzetzes' etymology.

<sup>68</sup> Tzetzes (III, 987). The *Suda* (I, 5) offers no etymology for ἀβέλτερος.

<sup>69</sup> Tzetzes (II, 378). The *Suda* does not have these entries

<sup>70</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 2, 426). The *Suda* does not have the entry.

<sup>71</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 2, 489). The *Suda* has a similar definition for ἀλαζών (I, 97) = παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἄλλῃ ζῆν. It omits however the word πλάνῃ found in Tzetzes. Besides, the *Suda* continues with an alternative etymology which the lexicographer ignores, although when the latter is quoting from the *Suda* he does so faithfully.

- ε. ὀρχήσασθαι (1471)= τρία δὲ εἰσὶν εἶδη τῆς ὀρχήσεως: πυρρίχη,... σί- κιννις,... καὶ ὁ κορδακισμός, αἰσ- χρὸς τις ὧν καὶ μᾶλλον κωμικοῖς ἀρμόδιος. τρία εἶδη ὀρχήσεων, ἐμμέλεια τραγική, σίκιννις σατυρική, ἡ κόρδαξ δὲ κωμικὴ αἰσχρῶς περιδινοῦσα τὴν ὀσφύν.<sup>72</sup>
- στ. θυεῖαν (1061)= ἕγδην θυεῖα δὲ κυρίως ἡ ἕγδη καλεῖται.<sup>73</sup>
- ζ. κιηλάς (1209)= ὁ κίχλας, πλεονασμῶ τοῦ η. κρεάτων ὀρνίθασι κιηλῶν. κρέα τε ὀρνίθεια κιηλῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κιηλῶν.<sup>74</sup>
- η. νηπύτιος (1397)= ἄφρων, ἀνόητος. παρὰ τὸ νη στερητικὸν καὶ τὸ πιυντὸν γέγονε νηπιυνύτιος. καὶ συγκοπῆ τοῦ ι καὶ τοῦ ν νηπύτιος. νηπύτιος= ἄφρων, ἀνόητος: παρὰ τὸ νη στερητικὸν καὶ τὸ πιυντὸν γέγονε νηπιυνύτιος καὶ συγκοπῆ τοῦ ἰῶτα καὶ τοῦ ν νηπύτιος.<sup>75</sup>
- θ. ἀδολεσχῆσαι (48)= τέσσαρα σημαίνει, τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν...καὶ τὸ παίζω...καὶ τὸ ὀλιγωρῶ...καὶ τὸ φλυαρεῖν. ἀδολεσχία σημαίνει δ'· ἡ φιλοσοφία, ἡ ὀλιγωρία, ἡ φλυαρία καὶ τὸ παίγνιον.<sup>76</sup>
- ι. Κῶς (1276)= ἡ νῆσος. ἀπὸ Κῶς, θυγατρὸς Μέρωπος καὶ Ἐχεμείας. ἢ παρὰ τὸ κῶ, τὸ κοιμῶμαι. ἐξ οὗ καὶ κῶδιον. τὸ τοῦ προβάτου δέρμα. καὶ ἡ νῆσος...Κῶς ἐπεκλήθη. ἐκ τοῦ κῶς οὖν τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ πρόβατον κῶδιον τὸ δέρμα τοῦ προβάτου καὶ κῶδιον λέγεται.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Tzetzes (II, 511). The *Suda* (III, 566) recognizes two ὀρχήσεις and their names do not accord with those of the Lexicon or of Tzetzes.

<sup>73</sup> Tzetzes (II, 543). The *Suda* (II, 733) defines θυεῖα as ἀγγεῖον. On the other hand the Lexicon continues with the *Suda's* definition.

<sup>74</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 2, 465). The *Suda* (III, 124) defines κίχλα as εἶδος ὀρνέου.

<sup>75</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 2, 579). The *Suda* (III, 462) gives a completely different definition: νήπιος...ἐσατερημένος τοῦ πεπνῦσθαι. **This quotation from Tzetzes is important and has passed, so far, unnoticed by scholars!**

<sup>76</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 2, 687). The *Suda* (I, 52) gives a different definition.

<sup>77</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 1, 52). The *Suda* (III, 169) has a similar definition.



- κ. βυρσοδέψης (411)= σκυτοτόμος. παρὰ τὸ τὰς βύρσας δεψῆσαι, ὁ ἐστὶν ἀπαλύναι. βυρσοδεψεῖ= δεψεῖ καὶ μαλάττει καὶ ἀπαλύνει καὶ κατεργάζεται τὰς βύρσας...<sup>78</sup>
- λ. ράβδω (1604)= ...εἴρηται ράβδος παρὰ τὸ ράσσω, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ράπιζω, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ῥᾶον βαίνειν. γίνεται δὲ ῥᾶβδος παρὰ τὸ ῥάπιω, τὸ ῥαπίζω, ῥάβδος... ἐτυμολογεῖται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸ ῥᾶον βαίνειν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.<sup>79</sup>
- μ. ἀνδράποδον (190)= ὁ δοῦλος. εἴρηται καὶ ὁ ποῦς ὁ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου μέρους τῷ ὄλω· ὑπόκειται γὰρ τῷ δεσπότη ὁ οἰκέτης, καθάπερ ὁ ποῦς τῷ ἀνωτέρω καὶ ὄλω σώματι. ἀνδράποδον δὲ εἴρηται ὁ ποῦς ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀπὸ ὑποκειμένου μέρους τῷ ὄλω· ὑπόκειται οὖν ὁ οἰκέτης τῷ δεσπότη, καθάπερ ὁ ποῦς τῷ ὄλω σώματι.<sup>80</sup>
- ν. ἔμπουσα (701)= φάντασμα δαιμονιώδες ὑπὸ Ἐκάτης πεμπόμενον, ἀλλάσσον μορφὰς πολλάς... οἱ δὲ (οἶονται εἶναι τὴν ἔμπουσαν) φάντασμα δαιμονιώδες ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκάτης πεμπόμενον καὶ τὰς μορφὰς ἐναλλάττον...<sup>81</sup>
- ξ. βαλαντιοτόμος (369)= ὁ κλέπτης, ὁ τὰ βαλάντια τέμνων. βαλαντιοτόμοι εἰσὶν οἱ...τέμνοντές τε καὶ ἀφαιρούμενοι ἔκ τινων τὰ νομισματοδόχα φασκώλια.  
and elsewhere:  
τοῖς βαλαντιοτόμοις= τοῖς κλέπτουσι τὰ βαλάντια.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 1, 52). The *Suda* (I, 501) has a similar definition but in different wording. Occasionally the lexicographer combines information from both Tzetzes and the *Suda* which he then adapts into a briefer formula. He would very seldom copy a source virtually unmodified.

<sup>79</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 1, 77). The *Suda* does not have the entry.

<sup>80</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 1, 126). This quotation has been noted by Tittmann and W. Koster in his edition of Tzetzes' *scholia* (*op. cit.*, 322).

<sup>81</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 3, 780). It appears that the lexicographer begins with Tzetzes' definition, but continues with other two etymologies which occur in the *Suda* (II, 263) and thus combines all three of them which for him is typical. Tittmann has noticed this quotation.

<sup>82</sup> Tzetzes (IV, 3, 900-1). The *Suda* (I, 450) offers a similar definition.

From the above table it appears that our compiler has definitely used Tzetzes' commentary on Aristophanes and, therefore, Tzetzes as a source. Considering that Tzetzes composed his works, basically, during the second half of the century, this creates a problem as far as Zonaras' authorship is concerned. Was Zonaras alive at the time of Tzetzes' compositional activities to be able to quote from this source in his Lexicon? Unfortunately we lack any internal evidence from the *Epitome*. We know that he is writing after the death of Alexius I, but how much later? Now and then in his history we read about the "bad signs" of his times. We hear about the high taxation imposed by those in authority who "like thieves kill the sheep and suck them to the marrow".<sup>83</sup> High taxation had, of course, been a social hazard since the reign of Constantine IX, but it reached its peak during the reign of Manuel I (1143-1180) whose endless wars took a heavy toll on the empire.<sup>84</sup> Elsewhere we learn about contemporary emperors insisting on "wearing barbaric clothing at all times" or using barbaric *insignia*<sup>85</sup> and about modern "*Kinginati*" who would be courtiers wearing long hair and frequenting the palace.<sup>86</sup> There is underlying evidence, in our view, that this is a reference to Manuel's consistent patronizing of western customs and fashion in his court. Moreover, in a passage on the indecency of those who marry twice in his commentary on canon-law Zonaras observes bitterly that ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ πατριάρχης ὄφθη, καὶ μητροπολίται διάφοροι, συνεστιώμενοι δευτερογαμήσαντι βασιλεῖ.<sup>87</sup> Again the obvious suspect is Manuel who took two wives as the last previous candidate would be Botaneiates.<sup>88</sup> Finally in two of the "more recent" *codices*, according to Th. Büttner-Wobst, of Zonaras' *Epitome*<sup>89</sup> we find an additional clue concerning dates. Following a passage [*Epitome*, XVIII, 6, 672 (8-10)] on the construction of the church of St.Thecla which the emperor Isaac I Comnenus (1057-1059) had built in the palace, these two "interpolated" *codices* add the following words: ναδὺν δὲ πολλὴν κατηγοροῦντα τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως

<sup>83</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII, 3, 15 (9-15); III, 7, 227 (22-25).

<sup>84</sup> At the latest, Constantine IX, Constantine X, Michael VII and Botaneiates are also candidates.

<sup>85</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* X, 28, 394 (7-11).

<sup>86</sup> Zonaras, *Epitome* VII, 17, 65 (1-4).

<sup>87</sup> Canon 7 of Neocaesarea: R.P. III, 80.

<sup>88</sup> In this case the comment would have been written post 1161.

<sup>89</sup> i.e. Codices B and C. See *app. crit.*, 10.

μικροπρέπειαν.<sup>90</sup> ὃν ὁ ἐκείνου καθελῶν ἐξανέψιος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἰωάννης, ὁ τοῦ ἀλεξίου υἱός, σφόδρα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀνεδομήσατο εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ... Büttner-Wobst argues that these are words added by some *virī docti Byzantini* who had reviewed Zonaras' history and here and there amended and adorned his narrative with a charitable remark which would flatter the Comnenian dynasty. But if Zonaras actually *did* write the above favourable comment on John's building activity then the date of the reconstruction of this church dedicated to Jesus, would make for a *terminus post quem* as far as the composition of the *Epitome* is concerned! All the above is, though, pretty conjectural as Zonaras obviously proved to have been faithful to his principles and to the statement he makes at the end of his history: "It has not been judged profitable for me or opportune to present the rest in writing". Alexius' I reign is as far as he can afford to remember and record.

### **Conclusion:**

Our investigation has come to its end and there is time to summarize a few concluding points: we have not managed to prove that Zonaras in fact was the compiler of the *Lexicon Tittmannianum*. Resemblance, it seems, does not provide sufficient proof of fatherhood, even for physical offspring, so how much less for products like wordbooks! Yet our contribution concentrates on the attempt to show that Zonaras *could* have been the compiler not only for reasons of writing aptitude but also for chronological ones. More specifically we have tried to demonstrate:

A: That the *Lexicon* need not have been written outwith Zonaras' lifetime and that the theory according to which it was composed later than 1204 is not valid. It is true that some of its entries bear the stamp of mid twelfth-century authors like Tzetzes, and possibly later authors too, but we have argued that, equally, on the basis of internal evidence, Zonaras might be living as late as Manuel Comnenus' reign and, therefore, might have been active at the time of the above authors.

B. That the *Lexicon's* quotations from Zonaras' commentary on canon-law are far more substantial and extensive than either Tittmann or Ziegler have acknowledged. Moreover, a closer textual analysis of

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<sup>90</sup> It is interesting that Choniates says of Manuel's palace buildings that they φιλοκαλίαν...κατηγοροῦσι....cf. Choniates, *Chronice diegesis*, ed. J. A. van Dieten, 206 (48).

Zonaras' history has shown that not only can the Lexicon serve as an indispensable word-guide to the *Epitome*, in addition it shares with it a considerable number of rare words, phrases, proverbs and etymologies which do not occur elsewhere.<sup>91</sup> If a transliterated Latin terminology and a law-vocabulary mean anything, these, also, can be found in the Lexicon. More importantly we have called attention to the fact that Zonaras had developed a strong interest in lexicography as his repeated quotations from the lexicon of the *Suda* sufficiently indicate. Zonaras besides being a historian was a grammarian, a supporter of orthodoxy and of antiquarian ideas and his writings abound in definitions and word derivations all of which are characteristics of the compiler.

C. Finally we have demonstrated that the Lexicon Tittmannianum is much more than what Hunger calls simply a "compilation", an "assortment" of words. It is the product of a serious and industrious effort to present a source of reference which combines a wealth of entries with brevity and comprehensiveness of expression and as such it deserves further study. It would be to our satisfaction if this appendix should point others in this direction.

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<sup>91</sup> e.g. the inhabitants of Heracleia in Thrace are called Περύθιοι in Zonaras' history [XIII, 3, 19 (3)] and in the Lexicon (1531). All other sources (including Cassius Dio and the *Suda*) refer to them as Περύθιοι.

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