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An Introduction to Eustathios' *Exegesis in Canonem Iambicum*

SILVIA RONCHEY

The critical edition of Eustathios' commentary on the iambic canon *de Pentecoste*, a project that Paolo Cesaretti and I submitted to the Vienna International Congress,¹ is now complete. Eustathios' treatise is probably the most extensive commentary ever written focusing on a single canon. A specimen of it, namely, Eustathios' interpretation of both the acrostic and the *heirmos* of the first ode, has been published,² as well as five more articles on the same subject.³ The writings of Theodosios the Grammarian, Gregory of Corinth, Theodore Prodromos, and John Zonaras on the canons of John and Kosmas⁴ have been explored as well, and have become an integral part of the apparatus in the edition of Eustathios.⁵

This paper deals with such problems as the es-

tablishment of the text and the historical analysis of a twelfth-century *hochsprachliche* literary work. An editor has, naturally, two tasks: first, to make the text readable at the formal level through adequate textual criticism; second, and broader in scope, to facilitate the grasp of both the textual and contextual implications. To this end, the editor would obviously provide an *apparatus fontium*, trying thereby to detect, as much as possible, the entire underpinning of quotations, allusions, hints, and general references through which the text is related to the literary system it was meant to participate in.

Let us start with the first task mentioned above. Needless to say, as with Byzantine literature in general, the textual evidence I am dealing with is either unpublished or published in editions that are very old and, in Robert Browning's words, "incomplete, uncritical and virtually unobtainable."⁶

A few scattered passages of Eustathios' commentary were first printed in the form of more or less defective quotations by Leo Allacci;⁷ the whole text was later published by Angelo Mai in his *Spicilegium Romanum*⁸ and reprinted together with an unreliable Latin translation in *Patrologia Graeca*.⁹ The *editio princeps* was founded on one manuscript, Vaticanus graecus 1409, already used by Allacci.¹⁰ Not only did Mai use only this codex—which was, after all, a philological habit of his time—but his transcription was so amazingly incorrect that his

¹R. Browning, "Projects in Byzantine Philology," in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien 1981. Akten, I.1* = *JÖB* 31.1 (1981), 61.

²S. Ronchey, "L'*Exegesis in canonem iambicum* di Eustazio di Tessalonica: Saggio di edizione critica (acrostico—irmo dell'ode prima)," *Aevum* 59.2 (1985), 241–66.

³S. Ronchey, "Sulla datazione dell'*Exegesis in canonem iambicum* di Eustazio di Tessalonica," *Athenaeum*, n.s. 74 (1986), 103–10; eadem, "Riferimenti pindarici nell'*Exegesis in canonem iambicum* di Eustazio di Tessalonica," *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*, n.s. 25.1 (1987), 53–56. See also P. Cesaretti, "Eustazio di Tessalonica e l'etimologia di *physis*: Una fonte stoica?" *Studi classici e orientali* 36 (1986), 139–45; idem, "Interpretazioni aristofanee nel commento di Eustazio all'inno pentecostale attribuito a Giovanni Damasceno," in *Ricerche di filologia classica*, III (Pisa, 1987), 169–213; idem, "Eustathios' Commentary on the Pentecostal Hymn Ascribed to St. John Damascene: A New Critical Edition," *Svenska Kommittén för Bysantinska Studier Bulletin* 5 (1987), 19–22.

⁴These liturgical hymns are published in PG 96, cols. 817–56 (John) and 98, cols. 460–524 (Kosmas); W. Christ and M. Paraniakas, *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), 161–204 (Kosmas) and 205–36 (John). For the iambic canons attributed to John of Damascus, see in particular A. Nauck†, "Iohannis Damasceni canones iambici cum commentario et indice verborum ex schedis Augusti Nauck editi," *Mélanges gréco-romains*, VI (St. Petersburg, 1893), 199–223.

⁵On the exegeses of Gregory of Corinth, see now F. Montana, "I canoni giambici di Giovanni Damasceno per le feste di Natale, Teofania e Pentecoste nelle esegesi di Gregorio di Corinto," *Koinonia* 13.1 (1989), 31–49.

⁶Browning, "Projects," 61.

⁷L. Allacci, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua consensione* (Cologne, 1648); idem, "Prolegomena," in *Joannis Damasceni . . . Opera omnia*, ed. P. M. Lequien, I (Paris, 1712), §§ 78–80 (repr. in PG 94); idem, "Diatriba de Georgiis, v. Georgius Choeroboscus (XIII)," in Fabricius-Harless, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, XII (Hamburg, 1809), 18–19.

⁸*Spicilegium Romanum*, V (Rome, 1841), 161–383.

⁹PG 136, cols. 504–754.

¹⁰Literature in P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, ST 261 (Vatican City, 1970), 586; M. Buonocore, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1968–1980)*, II (Vatican City, 1986), 898.

mistakes exceed by far those found in the whole manuscript tradition. We were able to isolate more than five hundred errors peculiar to Mai's edition, not to mention all the original mistakes of the codex that were not corrected by the editor. In a sense, Angelo Mai's *editio princeps* could be regarded as a singularly fallacious apograph of the Vatican manuscript.

It is precisely in these unfortunate editorial circumstances that I am inclined to see the main reason for the scarce or improper use of the text by modern readers. As a matter of fact, it was unreadable. Almost at the same time as Mai, both Pitra and Tafel were working on the *Exegesis*. Pitra read Vindobonensis theologicus graecus 208 Nessel (298 Lambeck).¹¹ Later he claimed to have found here, in comparison with the codex that his rival Mai used, "varias lectiones non poenitendas," that is, unobjectionable,¹² which suggests that an edition of his, had he been more prompt in forestalling the Italian cardinal, would not have been much more accurate than the latter's. In fact, on closer examination, the Vindobonensis manuscript proves to be a later apograph of the Vaticanus, containing all of its errors plus some others, along with a few odd, deliberate alterations of the exemplar's text. Tafel would certainly have been a more gifted editor. He twice promised his readers that he would publish Eustathios' commentary.¹³ We do not know whether he worked on one of the two manuscripts known at that time or took advantage of another scholar's transcription.¹⁴ In any case, his annotations on the *Exegesis* were exploited by the compilers of the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, and his *Nachlass* is briefly mentioned by Krumbacher.¹⁵

Thus, after Mai's edition, not very much was done. A few mentions of the *Exegesis* were made by later scholars, but in writings not primarily con-

cerned with our subject, such as Kuhn's,¹⁶ or Cohn's,¹⁷ or Koster and Holwerda's.¹⁸ More recently, single fragments of Eustathius' commentary were found in two palimpsest codices of the fifteenth century, Vallicellianus F 44 (gr. 94) (= Vall.) and Basileensis A. VII. 1 (= Bas.).¹⁹ Yet, to the best of my knowledge, no one ever planned a critical edition of the text or noted the existence of another major testimonium, namely, codex Alexandrinus Patriarchalis 62 (107),²⁰ which, judging from my collation at the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Alexandria, appears to be useful for the establishment of the text. This codex belongs to a different branch of the manuscript tradition. Besides offering a respectable number of better readings, it makes it possible to fill, in two instances,²¹ what are certainly lacunae in the Vatican manuscript. But before discussing any relationship between the two major testimonia, I shall briefly sketch some of their individual features.

In the printed catalogues of the Vatican Library, a detailed description of Vat. gr. 1409 (= V)—the only manuscript used in the *editio princeps*—is still lacking. This miscellaneous manuscript contains works of Constantine Manasses, Michael Psellos, Gregory of Nyssa, Anastasios of Sinai, Theodore Balsamon, Gregory of Nazianzus, Manuel Holobolos, Nikephoros Basilakes, and various anonymous ecclesiastical writings, as well as Eustathios' celebrated treatise *On the Reformation of Monastic Life*. V was written by no less than nine hands, whose features and functions I will not detail here. Eustathios' *Exegesis* was apparently written solely by the fourth hand, in brownish ink on fols. 65–

¹⁶F. Kuhn, "Quo ordine et quibus temporibus Eustathius commentarios suos composuerit," in *Commentationes in Honorem Guill. Studemund* (Strasbourg, 1889), 257.

¹⁷L. Cohn, "Eustathios," in *RE*, VI, 1488.

¹⁸W. J. W. Koster and D. Holwerda, "De Eustathio, Tzetzta, Moschopulo, Planude Aristophanis commentatoribus, I," *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, 7 (1954), 146–47.

¹⁹Cf. E. Gamillscheg, "Zur handschriftliche Überlieferung byzantinischer Schulbücher," *JÖB* 26 (1977), 211–30; idem, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer konstantinopolitanen Bibliothek," in *Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi*, I (= *RSBS* 1 [1981]), 287. Neither Vall. nor Bas. is helpful for the *constitutio textus*, and no *errores coniunctivi* bind them to the major testimonia. This might be due to the brevity of the fragments. Gamillscheg's assumption that the Basileensis manuscript depends on the Vindobonensis is in any event unverifiable.

²⁰See T. D. Moschonas, *Κατάλογοι τῆς πατριαρχικῆς βιβλιοθήκης Ἀλεξανδρείας*, I, (Alexandria, 1945), 52–55.

²¹*Ex.*, 165.20 (. . . ἀμφότεροι πρὸς ὕμνον τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου πολιούχου τῆς κατὰ τὸν μυροβλύτην μεγαλομάρτυρα εὐδοκίμῃσαν) and 204.23 Mai (ἀμετακίνητος, ἀπαράλ(λ)ακτος, ἀπαρσάλευτος . . .).

¹¹D. Nessel, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum . . . Bibliothecae Caesariae Vindobonensis*. . . (Vienna-Nuremberg, 1690), 307; P. Lambeck, *Commentariorum de . . . Bibliotheca Caesariae Vindobonensis liber quintus*, ed. A. F. Kollar (Vienna, 1778), 556–59.

¹²Theodore Prodromos, *Commentarii in Carmina Sacra Melodorum Cosmae Hierosolymitani et Ioannis Damasceni*, ed. H. M. Stevenson, pref. by J. B. Pitra (Rome, 1888), vii note 1.

¹³Eustathios of Thessalonica, *Opuscula*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt am Main, 1832; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), viii; idem, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro* (Berlin, 1839; repr. London, 1972), 353 note 2; see also 401.

¹⁴That of Crusius; cf. C. Neumann, "G. L. F. Tafel," in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXXVII, 343.

¹⁵*Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1897; repr. New York, 1958), II, 680.

111v. The manuscript, 257 × 190 mm, is of Oriental paper. In all it amounts to 281 folios. The number of lines per page ranges from 32 to 40. Each folio is numbered in red in the upper right margin in Arabic numerals. According to Jean Darrouzès, a Cypriot provenance may be assumed.²² The codex is composed of two volumes. It was once the property of Fulvio Orsini, as stated on the front endpaper. As to the dating, I am of the opinion that the manuscript belongs to the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The Alexandrian manuscript was found thanks to the help of Father Kotter of Scheyern Abbey. I first read it in a fading xerox reproduction, the only copy I was able to obtain from the Patriarchal Library. I then thought it better to sail for Alexandria, where I succeeded in inspecting and recollating the codex. Unlike Vaticanus 1409, Alexandrinus 62 (107) is on parchment, 285 × 223 mm. It contains 278 folios, each with 35 to 43 lines, sometimes in two columns. The state of its preservation is very poor, and its *reglure* is no longer visible. Like Vaticanus 1409, it is a miscellaneous codex, though a less varied one. It contains exegetical works on various subjects, both hymnologic (the commentaries of Gregory of Corinth, Theodore Prodromos, and John Zonaras on some canons of John and Kosmas' collection) and secular (John Tzetzes' writings on the *Iliad*). It also contains a few hymns and other religious and secular writings. Eustathios' *Exegesis*, fols. 101–151v, was apparently written by three different hands. One of these, A3, corrected in black the text of the two earlier scribes, who used brownish ink. A3 seems not to be the hand of the rubricator-emendator, but a slightly later hand. A3 may also be the same as the marginal hand which added, in the guise of anonymous scholia and in extremely tiny writing, Gregory of Corinth's exegesis on the iambic Pentecostal hymn.

Eustathios' text was written partly by a first and more accurate hand, A1, partly by a second and less accurate hand, A2, showing *Fettaugen* traits. This would also tend to date the manuscript toward the end of the thirteenth century. The change of hands starts on fol. 116, which belongs to the same quire as fol. 115v, still by the previous hand. Eustathios' text was therefore copied all in

the same place and roughly at the same time. In fact, the rubricator's handwriting does not change with the change of hands. The textual standard is considerably lower in the section written by A2, where better readings are no longer found and errors are more frequent. Much to the reader's surprise, here the text comes slightly closer to that of the Vatican manuscript. Whatever this means—a change of exemplar or simply the chance result of the second scribe's inaccuracy—I do not believe it is necessary to postulate a dependence on or a contamination of A2 by Vat. gr. 1409. However, the *stemma codicum* can be drawn (see diagram).

Alpha (α) represents the archetype, and beta (β) stands for at least one now missing ancestor. In this case, the archetype should be identified with a lost autograph codex written by Eustathios himself, for both V and A, the good testimonia, exhibit the features of Eustathios' handwriting and his peculiar layout, as described in M. van der Valk's edition of the Homeric *Parekbolai*.²³ Similar features are well known from the Florence manuscripts of the *Parekbolai*, commonly considered to be autograph, and from several other allegedly autograph codices studied by Nigel Wilson, which are, in any case, extremely close to the autograph.²⁴

Because of the mention of the Norman occupation of Thessaloniki found in the *prooimion* of the *Exegesis*, we must consider the archetype α as written after 1185, if not 1187.²⁵ Therefore, between this archetype, from the end of the twelfth century, and the earliest testimonium, V, from the end of the thirteenth century, only one century had elapsed. This was the time of the Nicaean Empire (1204–61). Changes in educational institutions during this period might account for the limited diffusion of the *Exegesis*, for it was mainly a textbook, probably composed (see below) for a teacher at the Patriarchal School of Constantinople.

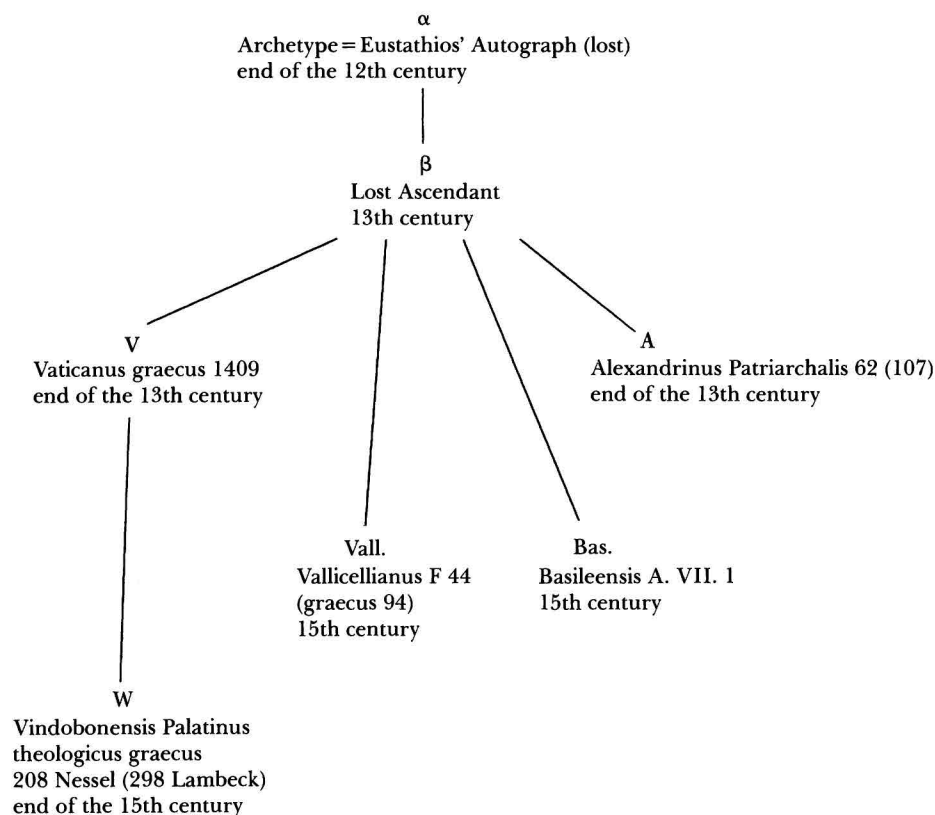
During the thirteenth century, however, at least one copy must have been made of Eustathios' now lost autograph. This is apparent from my analysis of the common errors (*errores coniunctivi*) of the two major testimonia, A and V. A certain part of these errors are probably due to the autograph itself. From studying the Florence autograph manuscripts we know how many mistakes a learned

²²J. Darrouzès, "Autres manuscrits originaux de Chypre," *REB* 15 (1957), 131–68, esp. 156.

²³Eustathios of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homerum Iliadem pertinentes*, ed. M. van der Valk, I (Leiden, 1971), xii–xiii.

²⁴Cf. N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 196–204.

²⁵Cf. Ronchey, "Sulla datazione," 107–10.



Byzantine writer could make when putting his own work down in writing, and in particular what kind of typical errors Eustathios himself happened to make.²⁶ Yet several other common errors of A and V—those that reveal trivial misunderstandings—cannot be assumed to hark back to the author's hand; nor would it be sensible, in such cases, to think that they were made independently by the two copyists. Both the better readings of the Alexandrian manuscript, hardly to be regarded as conjectures, and the very fact that A lacks the lacunae evident in V, prove the independence of A (or A1) from V. Thus the existence of at least one intermediate ascendant between α and the two extant testimonia, A and V, must be assumed. Stemming from this intermediate ancestor, β , the manuscript tradition splits into two major branches (the first of which is today represented by the Vatican manuscript and its Vienna apograph, the second by the Alexandrian manuscript), as well as, we must assume, into two other ones (the Vallicellianus and Basileensis fragments, whose dependence from

the main testimonia cannot be demonstrated, owing to the lack of evidence, and is therefore not indicated in the *stemma*). Of course, the existence of further copies, now lost or still to be found, can always be assumed. But for several reasons I am not inclined to regard the manuscript tradition of Eustathios' *Exegesis* as much wider than its present testimonia.

So much for the fortunes enjoyed by Eustathios' commentary in both printed editions and manuscripts. As to the other commentators' works, having studied them in a rather utilitarian way, I intend to be even more concise. Eustathios was taking advantage of some of his colleagues' writings when he composed his own contribution. He alludes to them quite a few times, in either a veiled or an open manner. It was therefore necessary to provide a reliable text of these works, at least in order to quote them as correctly as possible in the *apparatus fontium*.

Here, too, printed editions, if any, were unsatisfactory. Although better than Mai's *editio princeps* of Eustathios' commentary, Stevenson's nineteenth-century edition of Theodore Prodromos' ex-

²⁶Cf. van der Valk, op. cit., I, xxii ff.

eges²⁷ was still uncritical and, what is worse, incomplete, including only a part of Prodromos' writings on these canons. Theodosios the Grammarian's *dossier* was partially edited, among others, by De Stefani (1907–12),²⁸ and much more recently by De Andrés (1973).²⁹ Once again, each of these editions is founded on a single codex, the Roman Angelicus B.5.11 and the Spanish Villamil no. 30.

For other writings, there was no edition at all. A critical edition of Gregory of Corinth's commentaries was announced in 1876 by Stevenson³⁰ and a few years ago by Athanasios Komines.³¹ Professor Komines brought to our attention a few "better codices" of Gregory's commentaries: namely, Vat. gr. 2078 (12th cent.), 1712 (12th–13th cent.), and 638 (13th–14th cent.).³² These we have collated in order to establish a tentative reference-text for use exclusively in the apparatus of Eustathios. For Prodromos' exegeses omitted by Stevenson, we have used the very decent Angelicus manuscript, already used by both Stevenson and De Stefani, from the end of the thirteenth century. For Zonaras, though less relevant to Eustathios' text, I consulted Reginenses graeci 31 and 33, both of the fourteenth century. I also found it useful to read the *recentiores* of St. John's Library in Patmos; here the commentaries by Gregory of Corinth and Theodore Prodromos are deplorably contaminated, but they are sometimes provided with such valuable subject indices as that by the hand of the *hieromonachos* Athanasios Chrysochoos, written at Mykonos in January 1742 on the front endpapers of codex Patmiacus 335.

A survey of the *apparatus fontium* in the edition of Eustathios will probably show to what extent and with what competence Eustathios entered this

peculiar scholarly genre, never cultivated by him before. It will also show what use he made of his colleagues' writings, especially those of Gregory, whose opinions he sometimes follows and recommends, and of Prodromos. The latter's remarks, or indeed his very wording, are often repeated by Eustathios with different nuances of criticism: sometimes direct, sometimes allusive or even disguised as hyperbolic praise with overtones of pleasantry.³³ Any attempt to assess the implications of Eustathios' allusions to Prodromos and, more generally, of the former's relations with the latter within the Byzantine academic milieu fits precisely with the second philological task mentioned at the beginning of this paper: to provide a deeper insight into the text by analyzing its relationship with the context in which it was meant to participate. The simplest example is provided by the opening formula of Eustathios' *prooimion*, "Εοικας, ὦ ἀδελφέ . . .",³⁴ which would sound gratuitously complicated and artificial, should one not realize that he is parodying the corresponding address "to the Orphanotrophos" in Prodromos' *prooimion*, "Εοικας, ἀνθρώπε τοῦ θεοῦ. . .".³⁵

A further inspection of the *apparatus fontium* shows how, at different levels and in varying degrees, the very readability of the text—and thus its philological *constitutio*—depends upon the many obscure references linking it to the twelfth-century cultural and educational system. On the other hand, a philological approach to these references will shed some light on the world of Eustathios' culture, that is, on the background of bookish learning he could utilize in his later years for the composition of a scholarly work. In other words, to detect Eustathios' cultural patterns means in a sense to review what we call his library.

Van der Valk³⁶ and Wilson,³⁷ in their studies, have already focused on this subject, in particular on Eustathios' knowledge of tragedy as it may be inferred from the references found in his Homeric commentaries. In the case of the *Exegesis*, the picture one could draw from its *apparatus fontium* is probably larger—though perhaps a little odder—than the *Parekbolai*. This peculiar writing, both philological and religious, is his last commentary.

²⁷Theodore Prodromos, *Commentarii* (above, note 12).

²⁸E. L. De Stefani, "Per le fonti dell'*Etimologico Gudiano*," *BZ* (1907), 52–68; idem, "Il lessico ai *Canoni* di Giovanni Damasceno secondo un ms. romano," *BZ* 21 (1912), 431–35.

²⁹G. De Andrés, "Carta de Teodosio el Gramático (s. IX) sobre el lexico de los canones de San Juan Damasceno, según el codice Complutense 'Villamil n. 30,'" *Emerita* 41 (1973), 377–95.

³⁰H. Stevenson, "L'hymnographie de l'Église grecque. Du rythme dans les cantiques de la liturgie grecque," *Revue des questions historiques* 2 (1876), 491 note 5.

³¹Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κορινθίου ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τοὺς ἱεροὺς λειτουργικοὺς κανόνας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ καὶ Κοσμά τοῦ μελωδοῦ, in *Akten des XI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, München 1958* (Munich, 1960), I, 253 note 29; idem, *Gregorio Pardo metropolita di Corinto e la sua opera* (Rome-Athens, 1960), 94 note 5.

³²For a more complete list, see now Montana, "I canoni giam-bici" (above, note 5), 36 note 21.

³³See, e.g., *Ex.*, 174.19–20 Mai (ὁ ἀοιδὸς ἐν σοφοῖς Θεόδωρος ὁ Παρόδρος . . .).

³⁴*Ex.*, 161.1 Mai.

³⁵Theod. Prodr., 1.10 Stevenson (= PG 133, col. 1229B).

³⁶Van der Valk, op. cit., I, xlvii–cxlv.

³⁷Wilson, *Scholars*, 199–204.

Eustathios was born around 1115. He must have been in his seventies when he wrote the *Exegesis*.³⁸ Here, as an elderly man, he displays, not without irony, his encyclopedic knowledge, spanning an even wider range of topics than in his professional lessons of rhetoric, and shifting from the Bible to Homer, from theology to tragedy, from hymnology to comedy, and so forth.³⁹ In his numerous dissertations, he passes from enigmatology (e.g., in the account on the magic squares⁴⁰) to liturgical allegory (e.g., in the description of the prayer-posture as a *mimesis* of the vegetal world),⁴¹ from the art of government (e.g., in the praise, quite remarkable at that time, for the Venetian constitution⁴²) to the art of making beer. Strange juxtapositions of literary memories occur, for instance, at the beginning of the commentary on the *heirmos* of the first ode, where in the theological image of the divine darkness surrounding Moses on Mount Sinai is a reminiscence of the purple cloud concealing Athena in the seventeenth book of the *Iliad*.⁴³ A clearer example immediately follows:⁴⁴ here the echo of the words uttered by Philoctetes in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 297 overlaps the words of the Bible. Below,⁴⁵ Moses' friendship with the God of the Pentateuch recalls that of King Minos, the legislator, with the great Zeus.

I shall later proceed to explain what exactly can be inferred from an analysis of the references contained in this text, since the question has been raised several times of Eustathios' degree of acquaintance with the classics, in particular with textual traditions unknown to modern scholars or even with rare texts never included in the Byzantine school syllabus.⁴⁶ But now I would like to clarify the purpose for which the *Exegesis* was written, and what it is about.

The audience for this kind of work in Eustathios' day was undoubtedly scholastic. There is no need to present further evidence in this connection: an article on this subject was published by A. Demetrakopoulos.⁴⁷ Yet Demetrakopoulos, in the few lines devoted to Eustathios' *Exegesis*, seems not

to notice that when Eustathios composed this work not only had he relinquished his professorship in Constantinople, but he had already been metropolitan of Thessaloniki for several years. An article of mine⁴⁸ has already discussed the reasons for dating the composition of the *Exegesis* at least ten years after Eustathios was appointed to the episcopal chair, which occurred between 1174 and 1177 according to Browning⁴⁹ and Wirth,⁵⁰ or in 1178–79 according to Kazhdan.⁵¹ As a matter of fact, the *Exegesis* was not written before 1185–87, or possibly later. Therefore, Eustathios cannot have planned his commentary for his own teaching purposes in Constantinople, as was the case for the Homeric *Parekbolai* (though perhaps finished in Thessaloniki) and for the commentaries on Pindar, Aristophanes, Dionysius, and possibly Oppian and Theocritus. Nor have we secure evidence of any teaching activity on his part, either in Thessaloniki or in Constantinople, after his appointment as archbishop.

However, this does not necessarily imply that the *Exegesis* was not meant to be a didactic text. In the first troparion of the first ode, Eustathios says: "I am speaking to youngsters who must have already reached a good degree of classical education." In my opinion, Eustathios' commentary was to be used for a course, given not by the author himself, but rather by a colleague; and it was composed at the latter's request. I see no reason at all for regarding as a merely rhetorical device Eustathios' dedication of his work to an unnamed friend, the ἀδελφός he addresses at the beginning of the *prooimion*, and whom he mentions a few times as the person who, after long hesitation, conveyed to him such a "spiritual petition":

Ἐοικας, ὃ ἀδελφέ, ἦν πρὸ μακροῦ διέτριβες πνευματικὴν ἀξίωσιν, τριψήμερῶν καὶ λαλῶν προμηθέστερον μὲν, ἡρέμα δὲ κατ' εὐλάβειαν, ἐπιτείνειν ἄρτι ἔς ὅσον ἔξην, ὥς προθέσθαι καὶ εἰς ἐμφανὲς ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ σπουδῇν ποιήσασθαι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς ἐντέλειαν. διὸ τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην, ὑπὸ σεαυτῷ ἱλλων, καθά τις

³⁸ Cf. Ronchey, "Sulla datazione," 107–10.

³⁹ Ronchey, "L'Exegesis," 244–47.

⁴⁰ *Ex.*, 167–70 Mai.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 234.9–11 Mai.

⁴² See now P. Cesaretti, "Su Eustazio e Venezia," *Aevum* 62.2 (1988), 218–27.

⁴³ Ronchey, "L'Exegesis," 254.4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 254.6–7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 254.13–14.

⁴⁶ Cf., e.g., Wilson, *Scholars*, 204.

⁴⁷ A. Demetrakopoulos, "The Exegeses of the Canons in the Twelfth Century as School Texts," *Διπτυχία* 1 (1979), 143–58.

⁴⁸ Ronchey, "Sulla datazione" (above, note 3).

⁴⁹ R. Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantion* 32 (1962); repr. in idem, *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education* (London, 1977), 193.

⁵⁰ P. Wirth, "Zur Frage nach dem Beginne des Episkopats des Eustathios von Thessalonike," *JÖB* 16 (1967), 143–46; repr. in idem, *Eustathiana: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Leben und Werk des Metropolitens Eustathios von Thessalonike* (Amsterdam, 1980), 35–38.

⁵¹ A. P. Kazhdan, "Eustathius of Thessalonica: The Life and Opinions of a Twelfth Century Byzantine Rhetor," in *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984), 123–32.

ἔφη, καὶ ὡς οἶον παραλαλῶν λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ, σήμερον ἐξετράνωσας, καὶ ἠθέλησας εἰς πρᾶγμα δύσεργον ἐμὲ προκαλέσασθαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐξήγησις εἴτ' οὖν διευκρίνησις ὕμνου μελωδικοῦ τοῦ σήμερον ᾄδομένου τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ Πνεύματι, παρεωραμένου μὲν τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα μετελθοῦσιν. . . .⁵²

It seems, my brother, that the spiritual petition that you have been introducing for a long time, by circumlocution and talking quite cautiously, not to say softly out of reverence, you have now developed clearly enough, so as to have it set forth and set out in the open and to have the greatest care taken to have brought it to perfection. Therefore, after revolving this thought in your mind—to use someone's expression—and, so to speak, having dropped hints *sotto voce*, today you have come out with it openly, and you have expressed the wish to summon me to such a troublesome task as the *exegesis* or the critical clarification of the hymn of the melodos which is sung this day to the Holy Spirit, and about which those who used to write so attentively about such things have kept silent. . . .

This overture has, of course, many rhetorical features in both its artificial structure (ironically cast, as we have seen, on the opening formula of Prodromos' *prooimion*) and stylistic patterns: the expression διέτριβες . . . τριψημερῶν echoes Aristophanes' *Wasps*;⁵³ the next sentence, τὴν τοιαύτην γνῶμην ὑπὸ σεαυτῷ ἱλλων, comes from the *Clouds*;⁵⁴ λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ is, in turn, a Homeric quotation from the *Iliad*.⁵⁵ Furthermore, to introduce an imaginary addressee and pretend that one's work was composed at the latter's request is a longstanding rhetorical device. Nonetheless, the description of the embarrassment of Eustathios' interlocutor in making his request sounds genuine. All the more so as the reasons for his being in trouble can perhaps be explained, as we shall see in a moment. On the other hand, if we do not consider such a specific request by someone other than Eustathios real, it would hardly be possible to understand both the purpose of Eustathios' return to the exegetical genre, and the reason for his inclination toward hymnology, a field which—unlike his colleague Prodromos—he had never approached in his scholarly and scholastic past.

Let us turn to the reasons why the anonymous ἄδελφός forwarded his request to Eustathios in such a hesitant manner. From a few clues in Eustathios' text, we can assume he was a teacher, probably younger than the archbishop, perhaps a

clergyman and possibly a γραμματικός at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople. In any event, as a professor, in his courses he was supposed to comment on the hymnographic collection of Kosmas and John, which was and still is extremely popular. These canons were then used in Orthodox ecclesiastical schools as suitable for schedography.⁵⁶ Such a practice has never ceased; in some places it survived almost unchanged until the present century, as is proved by many school τετράδια, from the Ottoman period up to now, which I examined at the library of St. John's monastery in Patmos. But it was in the twelfth century that both the studying and teaching of these texts reached their highest levels. The canons of John and Kosmas were systematically interpreted. At the Patriarchal School in Constantinople, exegetical lessons were held. Their audience, members or future members of the clergy, must have reached an advanced level of education.⁵⁷ One can assume that in Eustathios' later years a teacher would have based his lectures on Prodromos' exhaustive exegetical collection, as well as the less complete works of previous commentators. Yet, in the case of the Pentecostal iambic canon, almost no one had yet dared to comment upon it. The only exception was the extremely short, poor, and ambiguous exegesis by Gregory of Corinth.

The silence of the commentators, as denounced by Eustathios in the first lines of his *prooimion* (παρεωραμένου τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα μετελθοῦσιν ἐπιμελέστερον), might be a stereotype, but the silence of Prodromos in particular is truly surprising and possibly reveals difficulties in expounding the Pentecostal canon. Thus it is conceivable that a teacher would have some problems in doing this correctly in his class. One can suppose that Eustathios, as both an eminent scholar and an authoritative orthodox prelate, was the right man to ask for direction and for a written text to help solve such problems.

Like the two other iambic canons of John and Kosmas' corpus, that is, those for Christmas and Epiphany, the Pentecostal canon went—as it still does—under the name of John of Damascus. As stated by Eustathios in his *prooimion*, the attribution to John of Damascus was to be rejected. This is demonstrated by means of stylistic comparison between the differing styles of the Pentecostal canon and John of Damascus' genuine poetical

⁵² Ex., 161.1–11 Mai.

⁵³ Ar., V. 849 (οἱμοὶ διατρίβεις κάπολεις τριψημερῶν).

⁵⁴ Ar., Nu. 762 (μὴ νυν περὶ σαυτὸν εἶλλε τὴν γνῶμην ἀεῖ).

⁵⁵ Hom., Il. 18.571.

⁵⁶ See Demetrakopoulos, "Exegeses," 145.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.*, 146 f; Browning, "Patriarchal School," 167–78.

writings.⁵⁸ Among the latter, Eustathios also mentions a tragedy “in Euripidean style” inspired by the biblical legend of Susannah. He also quotes a line of it, of course, an iambic verse⁵⁹—the only attestation we have of that lost piece.⁶⁰

Having shown that the attribution to John of Damascus is misleading, Eustathios uncovers the name of the actual author of the canon, a mysterious John Arklas.⁶¹ The only ancient mention of Arklas besides that of Eustathios is found in the twelfth-century life of John and Kosmas written by John Merkouropoulos, patriarch of Jerusalem—an enigmatic figure as well.⁶² In a short passage, the author rejects the attribution of the iambic canons to John of Damascus, criticizes their style, and ascribes them to Arklas, not only on the same grounds but almost with the same wording as Eustathios, though much more briefly, so that the two loci seem to be cast one from the other. I am hesitant as to which comes first, since they appear to be roughly contemporary. Merkouropoulos may have begun the series of prelates of Jerusalem who consulted Eustathios’ authoritative exegesis before deciding about the iambic canons’ attribution. On the other hand, Eustathios may well have sought the support of up-to-date materials on John of Damascus before commenting on this least certain of his works.

Eustathios keeps silence about John’s real last name. He only says that Ἀρχλας was nothing but an offensive nickname.⁶³ The nature of this offense is unclear, for the word itself seems to designate a “box,” a “chest” (or a *Damaleos turris*, according to Choniates⁶⁴). The *epitheton* Ἀρχλας might be simply a *volkssprachliche* parody of σκρινιάριος, as suggested by Paul Speck. Eustathios links it to the *epitheton* Χοιροβοσκός bestowed upon George, the

Constantinopolitan scholar, but here the offensive double meaning is clear. W. Bühler and C. Theodoridis have recently ascertained⁶⁵ that Chiroboscokos flourished in the age of the Second Iconoclasm, and this is also a more suitable dating than the eighth century for the Pentecostal canon’s unusual *acrostichis*. Eustathios is then extremely harsh in blaming those fanatics who invented such irreverent nicknames for scholars whom he calls distinguished and illustrious.⁶⁶

I am not speculating on the origin of these epithets. Nor shall I investigate the matter of Chiroboscokos’ iconoclasm, which has been assumed, since Bühler and Theodoridis’ studies, by several scholars.⁶⁷ I shall emphasize here that Eustathios is talking about works “written and entitled by Chiroboscokos himself”: οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνων οὕτως ἑαυτὸν δηλοῦντα (where οὕτως refers to χοιροβοσκόν) ὅτε γράφων ἐχαράκτηριζε τὰ οἰκεία.⁶⁸ The extant works of Chiroboscokos are instead considered, according to their manuscripts, as ἀπὸ φωνῆς, that is, notes his pupils took when attending his grammar lessons in Constantinople. From Eustathios’ words, which seem directly to oppose a written literary production of Chiroboscokos to the unwritten, one may wonder whether Chiroboscokos did not write other works possibly turning from the domains of grammar and the university, and significant enough to be censored after the restoration of the images.⁶⁹

Nor am I insisting on the puzzle of John Arklas’ identification. This problem was dealt with by Sathas,⁷⁰ who attempted to identify him with John

⁵⁸ Ex., 164–65 and 171–73 Mai.

⁵⁹ Ὁ ἀρχέκακος δράκων πάλιν πλανᾷν // ἔσπευδε τὴν Εὐάν ἐμέ: Ex., 165.7–12 Mai.

⁶⁰ Cf. also Eust., in *Dion. Per.* 387.16–19 (...ὁ μέντοι Ἀρριανὸς διὰ τοῦ δ κλίνει Τίγριδος, καθὰ καὶ ὁ γράψας τὸ δράμα τῆς Σωσάννης, οἶμαι ὁ Δαμασκηνός, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς φαίνεται) and Müller ad loc.; see Allacci, “Prolegomena” (above, note 7), lxvi–lxvii.

⁶¹ Ex., 166.14–22 Mai.

⁶² Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, IV (1897), 349.

⁶³ Ex., 166.22–23 Mai (οὐδὲ σεμνὸν γούν τι αὐτοὶ ὄνομα χαρίζομενοι τῷ καὶ φιλοπόνῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ μεγαλοφόνῳ καὶ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ).

⁶⁴ Nicetas Choniates, p. 205.42 van Dieten, app. Fr. B. Kouloumianos, in his preface (p. 6) to the Πεντηκοστάριον χαρμόσυνον, understands Ἀρχλας as meaning “podium” and designating John of Damascus himself as “towering” above all saints, but this identification clearly contradicts the evidence found in Eustathios’ *prooimion*.

⁶⁵ W. Bühler and C. Theodoridis, “Johannes von Damaskos terminus post quem für Chiroboscokos,” *BZ* 69 (1976), 397–401; C. Theodoridis, “Der Hymnograph Klemens terminus post quem für Chiroboscokos,” *BZ* 73 (1980), 341–45.

⁶⁶ Ex., 166.24–29 Mai.

⁶⁷ Lately for instance by P. Schreiner, “Der byzantinische Bilderstreit: Kritische Analyse der zeitgenössischen Meinungen und das Urteil der Nachwelt bis heute,” in *Bisanzio, Roma e l’Italia nell’Alto Medioevo, Settimane* 34, 3–9 April 1986 (Spoleto, 1988), 319–407, esp. 396. In fact, we can hardly assume that an οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος who taught in Constantinople at that time, and was perhaps a member of the clergy, did not belong to the intellectual group of the imperial court led by John the Grammarian.

⁶⁸ Ex., 166.26–27 Mai.

⁶⁹ Arklas and Chiroboscokos were the topic of my paper at the 17th International Byzantine Congress; see S. Ronchey, “Crise et continuité à Byzance. Georges Chiroboscokos, Jean Arklas: Deux auteurs de l’époque iconoclaste dans le prologue de l’Exegesis in canonem iambicum d’Eustathe de Thessalonique,” in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress (Washington, D.C., August 3–8, 1986). Abstracts of Short Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 297–98.

⁷⁰ K. Sathas, Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν (Venice, 1878), 162–64 and 180.

Philoponos or Geometres.⁷¹ In my opinion, for John Arklas, as for George Choïroboskos, we should look toward the milieu of the Second Iconoclasm.⁷² Although one must point out that Merkouropoulos describes Arklas, to whom he attributes all three iambic canons, as a simple, obscure monk of St. Sabas, who only happened to be a namesake of his more gifted model John of Damascus—hence the confusion between the two—Eustathios speaks of the author of the Pentecostal canon as of an illustrious man of letters.⁷³ In his sinuous reasonings, he seems then to allude to a charge of unorthodoxy concerning the hymn's author.

It can be suggested, as a hypothesis, that some of the missing Iconoclast-tinged writings may not have been actually lost after the restoration. At least such works as the hymnological ones, which had already reached a certain degree of popularity through their liturgical use, when times had changed may have been concealed under the most blameless authorships—for instance, those of the iconodule champions themselves—so as to provide a sort of ideological guarantee for their survival. "For many works," Eustathios says, "the authorship has changed in recent times."⁷⁴ If such a false attribution—he says—is the condition for not banning (ἐξαθερῶσαι) hymns of great popularity and well-established liturgical use, it is better, then, to bow to the *phēmē* of the majority and be sure that our canon is "the child of a virtuous-minded father."⁷⁵ Rather than disclaiming its paternity and admitting that it is illegitimate and suspect, better to have it adopted and to keep it in the highest esteem.⁷⁶

Thus, at the very apex of his lengthy argument in favor of Arklas' authorship, Eustathios eventually suggests that his readers forget about philology, deferentially revere the traditional orthodox assumption, and piously pretend that the iambic canons are the original work of John of Damascus—which is remarkable, I suppose, for such a moralist and scholar. I should add that Eustathios

was here very successful, for his suggestion has been followed, however unconsciously, by most ancient and modern ecclesiastical scholars. The latter often continue to attribute the Pentecostal canon to John of Damascus, and paradoxically quote as proof the words of Eustathios.⁷⁷

I assume that the reasons why both Byzantine teachers and commentators were troubled by the Pentecostal iambic canon are clear enough for the time being. Let us come to the lengthy commentary *ad litteram* that Eustathios dedicates to the hymn. Its structure, as attested in the extant manuscripts, seems to have been conceived with teaching in mind. The general features are rather similar to those of the Homeric commentaries. The exegetical text is arranged by strophes, that is, divided into sections where the single strophes are first offered; next explained in a traditional literal paraphrasis (the so-called ἐρμηνεία); then examined from the point of view of textual criticism (*variae lectiones*, corrections, etc.). The strophes are eventually commented on in a broader manner, each lemma—that is, each word or phrase of the canon—being separately discussed. The subdivision of the exegetical text into *lemmata* is graphically evident in the manuscript layout: the word or phrase commented on in each portion is repeated in the outside margin.

Such marginal subtitles must have permitted a ready consultation of the *Exegesis*. Likewise, other marginal marks provide the user with further indications, for instance, by pointing out the logical subdivision of long discussions, as well as the passages of major interest. Among these marks, the *compendium* for γνώμη or σημείωσαι is sometimes found. It usually draws the reader's attention to noteworthy quotations. But this is employed only for a very few edifying sayings which might be regarded as proverbs or moral sentences. In most cases, on the contrary, Eustathios is extremely concerned about not revealing, or even concealing, the great majority of the quotations that he is strewing about in his text. Like most Byzantine writers, he seldom points them out, and, when he

⁷¹ Φιλοπόνω: *Ex.*, 166.23 Mai.

⁷² See also B. Georgiades, *Περὶ τοῦ ιαμβικοῦ κανόνος τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς*, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 31.5 (1885), 69: τὸν Ἀρκλάν τοῦτον Ἰωάννην (. . .) ἤκμαζε κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐννάτης ἑκατονταετηρίδος.

⁷³ *Ex.*, 166.23 and 167.10–12 Mai.

⁷⁴ Ἐπεὶ τοι πολλοὺς οἶδαμεν καὶ τοιοῦτους (. . .) ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς, οἱ τὰ γραφικὰ μετατιθέμενοι ἐξηλλάττοντο: *Ex.*, 167.14–16 Mai.

⁷⁵ Οὐδὲ ἀμφιβαλεῖν μὴ οὐχὶ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς νοδὸς (. . .) ἔκγονον εἶναι: *Ex.*, 172.12 Mai.

⁷⁶ *Ex.*, 172.7 ff Mai.

⁷⁷ See for instance T. Xydes, *Βυζαντινὴ ὕμνογραφία* (Athens, 1978), 82. Among the few exceptions, it is worth mentioning C. Emerau ("Hymnographi Byzantini quorum nomina in litteras digessit notulisque adornavit C.E., II," *EO* 23 [1924], 196–97); S. Eustratiades (both his *Εἰρμολόγιον* [Chennevières-sur-Marne, 1932] and his *Ποιηταὶ καὶ ὕμνογράφοι τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας*, I [Jerusalem, 1940], 646–51); A. Komines (his footnotes to *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, III [Rome, 1972], 614 and IV [Rome, 1976], 797, as well as his essay on Gregory of Corinth).

does, he never mentions the name of the author he draws on. He uses formulas such as "as said by the one who said so and so." One has the impression that Eustathios wishes to test the Greek literary education of his audience, and that he sets up traps and quizzes to be first solved by the teacher and then possibly proposed to his students. Thus he severely tests the Greek education—not to mention the patience—of his modern editor. Yet a few conclusions may now be drawn, as to what I have called the library of Eustathios.

Some of these conclusions perfectly coincide with those of van der Valk. A survey of the *apparatus fontium* of the *Exegesis* confirms that Eustathios had a direct and very good acquaintance with Pindar.⁷⁸ He had of course a special intimacy with Homer and with his scholia as well. Most references and passages connected with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are a relic of the author's previous Homeric training. Incidentally, I would like to point out that only a few of the several *loci paralleli* to the Homeric commentaries found in the text correspond to the additional sections of the Florence manuscripts, which Eustathios must have written in his old age, as suggested by van der Valk.⁷⁹ Borrowings from more recent writings of Eustathios himself, such as some of the *Opuscula*, are also found in the *Exegesis*, along with conspicuous material on Aristophanes and Pseudo-Theocritus' *Technopaegnia*. This might strengthen the hypotheses concerning the existence of lost commentaries of Eustathios on both subjects. In particular, the references to the comedies τοῦ Κωμικοῦ and to their scholia are the most frequent, after Homer and the Bible.

Eustathios' exploitation of his knowledge of Attic tragedy is also considerable. Yet no evidence has been found in the *Exegesis* for Eustathios' acquaintance with the unselected plays of the tragic poets. Even worse, as far as the *Exegesis* is concerned, no firsthand knowledge of the manuscripts of the tragic poets is demonstrable at all. It is true that a quotation from Euripides' lost play *Antiope* is found in the *prooimion*,⁸⁰ but in Byzantine times this had become an almost proverbial commonplace. Besides, this quotation is found in both Themistius and a Homeric scholium.⁸¹

Some other anecdotes concern the tragic poets. If we turn back to the *heirmos* of the first ode, there is a quotation from Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, which I have already mentioned: φῶς ἄφαντον (v. 294).⁸² In this passage, as we have seen, Eustathios is speaking of Moses, saying that when the latter was in the darkness of Sinai, the divine light was shown to him "as a light coming from a λίθος πυρίτης—that is, a sort of incandescent mineral—invisible to those who neither know nor see it." The last phrase, τοῖς μήτε ἰδοῦσι μήτε εἰδῶσιν αὐτό, is naturally an allusion to Isaiah⁸³ and other scriptural passages. The stone πυρίτης, the mention of which is amazing in such a mystical context, is recorded in *Suidae Lexicon* together with the phrase from Sophocles. The entry in A 4554⁸⁴ reads: ἄφαντον φῶς τὸ ἐκ πυρίτου λίθου, and the exact quotation from *Philoctetes*, ἔφην' ἄφαντον φῶς, follows immediately. This does not necessarily mean that Eustathios lacked a direct knowledge of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. Rather, it means that he kept on his desk Suidas Lexicon instead of an exemplar of Sophocles. The same applies to a reminiscence of Euripides' *Rhesus* 565, κενὰ ψοφῆσας, which occurs a little further below in the interpretation of the first ode,⁸⁵ where it is indeed very appropriate since the whole passage is woven from allusions to Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Immediately before the Euripidean phrase, there is a quotation from *Frogs* 829, πνευμόνων πόνον παθῶν. The sequence may seem precious and rare. It is not. In Phrynichus' popular *Praeparatio sophistica*, the same two quotations follow each other.⁸⁶ In this case, too, Eustathios was likely to have had at his disposal a copy of Phrynichus rather than Euripides.

These are only two examples of the use of short-cuts to the classics by an outstanding Byzantine writer. I shall not offer further evidence, but merely point out that the same must be assumed for other kinds of quotations, for instance, those from the Fathers, and even for the numerous biblical references—the vehicles being, in this case, either the patristic *catenae* and collections of γνῶμαι, or in some instances liturgical formulae.

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⁷⁸ Ronchey, "Riferimenti" (above, note 3).

⁷⁹ Ronchey, "L'Exegesis," 246 note 47.

⁸⁰ *Ex.*, 163.25: σοφὸν βούλευμα ἐν τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ (Eur., **Antiope*. fr. XIX.iii-iv.7 Kambitsis).

⁸¹ See J. Kambitsis, *L'Antiope d'Euripide. Édition commentée des fragments* (Athens, 1972), 7 and 58–59; Them., *Or.*, 15.191A.

⁸² Ronchey, "L'Exegesis," 254.6–7.

⁸³ LXX, Is. 6:9.

⁸⁴ I, 425 Adler.

⁸⁵ Ronchey, "L'Exegesis," 257.5.

⁸⁶ Phrynichus, *Praep. Soph.* 83.6–8 De Borries.