APPENDIX II

The Poems of John Geometres Once Again

There are only a few manuscripts that contain poems by Geometres also found in Par. Suppl. gr. 352. Par. Suppl. gr. 690 (s. XII) has Cr. 273, 31 (see below), Athous Laura B 43 (s. XII–XIII) has Cr. 298, 14 (see below) and Laur. XXXII 40 (s. XIV) has Cr. 309, 21¹. The epigram on St. Mary of Egypt, of which only the last line is still extant in Par. Suppl. gr. 352, can be found in many manuscripts: see the list in Westerink 1992: XXXVI, to which one should add: Salamanca, University Library 2722, fol. 11¹ (s. XII) and Athous 3798 (Dion. 264), fol. 337¹ (s. XVII) [for these two manuscripts, see Appendix III].

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Par. Suppl. gr. 690 (s. XII), a manuscript renowned for its Byzantine poems², contains on fol. 118^{r-v}, after the poem on Lazarus and the Rich Man by Ignatios the Deacon, an anonymous collection of thirteen epigrams: nos. S. 1–3 on St. Eustratios and his companions; S. 4–8 on the Forty Martyrs; S. 9–12 on the Birth of the Holy Virgin; and S. 13 on the Holy Apostles³. S. 1 can be found in the collection of Geometres' poems and epigrams in Par. Suppl. gr. 352: no. Cr. 273, 31⁴. Sajdak maintains, on stylistic grounds, that the remaining twelve epigrams should be attributed to Geometres as well⁵. The epigrams do not offer any clues on their dates. S. 2 and 3 refer to a church built by a certain Basil Katakalon, whom I have not been able to identify. However, as the Katakalon family appears in historical sources as early as the tenth century, there is no reason to reject the attribution to Geometres.

 $^{^{1}}$ See Bandini 1763–70: II, 202.

² See Rochefort 1950 and see below, Appendix VI, pp. 329–333.

³ Ed. Sternbach 1897: 154–160 and Sajdak 1929: 195–198 (=S. 1–13).

⁴ See Sajdak 1929: 191-193. The poem ends at Cr. 274, 10. The last three verses (Cr. 274, 11-13) are divided from the rest in Par. Suppl. gr. 352 and constitute a separate poem.

⁵ Sajdak 1929: 192–194.

But the heading attached to S. 8 would most certainly seem to refute the attribution of these epigrams to Geometres: εἰς τοὺς αὐτούς (the Forty Martyrs): τοῦ μητοοπολίτου Εὐγαΐτων. If Mauropous is the author of S. 8, the following epigrams (S. 9-13), and perhaps even the preceding ones (S. 2-7), cannot be the work of Geometres. The question is whether the lemma of S. 8 is correct. I do not think so. The ascription of S. 8 to Mauropous is highly suspect for the following two reasons. Firstly, the anthologist of Par. Suppl. gr. 690 extracts all the poems by Mauropous from the author's own edition of his literary works, which can be found in Vat. gr. 676 and a few other manuscripts⁶. On fols. 254^r–255^r we find nineteen poems by Mauropous, in exactly the same order as in Vat. gr. 676, and on fol. 249 we again find some poems, four in total, which also occur in Mauropous' collection in Vat. gr. 676. These last four poems are followed by five anonymous monosticha: on the Holy Blood, the Crown of Thorns, the True Cross, the Spear, and the Cross⁷. These five monosticha are verse inscriptions on a reliquary containing the abovementioned relics8. Given their poor literary quality (see, for example, the prosodic error in: ἤνοιξεν ὡς ἔνυξεν οὐοανοὺς λόγχη), these five anonymous monosticha cannot be ascribed to an author as competent as John Mauropous. Thus we see that all the genuine poems of Mauropous in Par. Suppl. gr. 690 can be traced directly to the poet's personal collection. This makes the ascription of S. 8, an epigram not found in Mauropous' collection of poems, highly suspect. If the ascription were correct, it would mean that the anthologist not only perused Mauropous' collection of poems but also another source which contained poems and epigrams the poet himself had not included in his collection. True enough, in the verse prologue to the edition of his works, Mauropous states that he selected only the best of his literary works, excluding anything redundant or below par. But although some of the poems the poet himself had rejected may certainly still have circulated in unauthorized editions⁹, it would be quite remarkable if the epigram on the Forty Martyrs was one of the poems Mauropous had not included in his edition. There are only a few epigrams as popular as this one in Byzantium. Not only can the epigram be found in other Byzantine manuscripts¹⁰, but it was even used anew, as a verse inscription in the church at Asinou, on a fresco depicting the trial of the Forty Martyrs (d. 1105-6)¹¹. It is highly unlikely that Mauropous would have been so obtuse

Appendix II

⁶ On Mauropous' collection of literary works, see chapter 2, pp. 62–65.

⁷ Ed. Sternbach 1897: 160–161. See also Karpozilos 1982: 68, n. 37.

⁸ Compare Frolow 1961: 398, no. 473.

⁹ See R. Anastasi, SicGumn 26 (1972) 112–116 and Karpozilos 1982; 68–70.

¹⁰ Cantabr. Bibl. Univ. Ll. IV. 12 (2192) [s. XIV ex.], fol. 29°. Laur. XXXII 19 (s. XV), fol. 288°. Par. gr. 2991a (a. 1420), fol. 372°: see below, main text.

¹¹ See Sternbach 1897: 157 and Maguire 1996: 12–13. See also chapter 5, pp. 149–150.

as to reject the very epigram his fellow Byzantines appreciated so much. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the anthologist of Par. Suppl. gr. 690, faced with an elegant epigram transmitted anonymously, just made a rather hazardous guess. Secondly, the Anonymous Patrician (c. 940–970) obviously imitates epigram S. 8. In L. 49, 5–10 the words πρόσσχες (v. 1) and εἰ δ' οὖκ ἀκούσεις (v. 5) repeat the very words of S. 8: προσσχών ἀκούσεις (v. 2) and εἰ δ' οὖκ ἀκούσεις (v. 3)¹². The Anonymous Patrician clearly cannot have imitated Mauropous, for Mauropous was not even born when L. 49, 5–10 was written. But he certainly could have plagiarized Geometres, for Geometres had already started his poetical career in the 950s.

Sajdak's assumption that all the epigrams in Par. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 118^{r-v} (S. 1–13), should be attributed to Geometres, is corroborated by a manuscript of which he was not aware at the time: Athous Laura B 43 (s. XII–XIII)¹³. On fols. 67°-68° we find a small sylloge entitled: ἀνθολογικὸν ἐκ τῆς [sic: βίβλου?] τοῦ Γεωμέτρου Ἰω(άννου). Unfortunately, the heading attached to the sylloge proves to be incorrect, for most of the epigrams in it are not by Geometres, but are the work of various authors, such as Prodromos, Mauropous and Kallikles¹⁴. Why does the sylloge bear this misleading title? And why are all these epigrams ascribed to Geometres? The first epigram of the sylloge provides the answer to this question: (εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τῆς Θεοτόκου) γεννῶσιν ἄρτι τὴν σελήνην ἀστέρες· / καὶ γὰρ σελήνη τέξεται τὸν φωσφόρον. This is epigram S. 9 in Par. Suppl. gr. 690, which can be found immediately after the epigram incorrectly ascribed to Mauropous (S. 8). It does not need much imagination to reconstruct the error made by the scribe of Laura B 43 when he wrote the heading attached to the sylloge. The sylloge in Laura B 43 is probably a copy of an earlier source in which the epigrams were accompanied by headings mentioning the names of their authors. The scribe of Laura B 43 omitted these headings and attributed the whole sylloge to the author of the first epigram, namely, John Geometres.

If epigram S. 9 is indeed a poem by Geometres, as the title of the sylloge in Laura B 43 clearly suggests, then the whole series of epigrams in Par. Suppl. gr. 690, fol. 118^{r-v} (S. 1–13), must be attributed to Geometres. The first of the series of epigrams in Par. Suppl. gr. 690, S. 1 (=Cr. 273, 31), can be found in Par. Suppl. gr. 352 on fol. 157^v. As one of the major lacunas in Par. Suppl.

¹² See chapter 5, p. 169.

¹³ S. Eustratiadis, Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς μεγίστης Λαύρας τῆς ἐν ʿΑγίφ "Ορει. Paris 1925, and Westerink 1992: XXXII, assign the manuscript to the twelfth century. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1899: 67 dates it to the thirteenth century.

¹⁴ For a description of the sylloge and for the text of Prodromos' epigrams in it, see Lauxtermann 1999b: 369.

gr. 352 follows soon after fol. 157°, it is reasonable to assume that the remaining epigrams of the series in Par. Suppl. gr. 690, S. 2 to 13, were originally found in the currently missing quaternion(s) of Par. Suppl. gr. 352 between fols. 158° and 159°.

The sylloge in Laura B 43 contains, apart from the above-mentioned epigram S. 9, only one poem by Geometres: Cr. 298, 14. Nonetheless, as the sylloge is very interesting, I will describe it in detail:

fol. 67°: after Nikephoros Ouranos' catanyctic alphabet (fols. 66°–67°) a zigzagging demarcation line, followed by the sylloge, title: ἀνθολογικὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Γεωμέτρου Ἰω(άννου), contents: (1) Geometres (S. 9); (2) Niketas the Philosopher, no. 2, vv. 3–4¹5; (3) εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τῆς Θεοτόκου, inc. στειφώσεως βλάστημα τῆς Ἄννης ἔφυ, 4 vv.; (4) Prodromos, Tetr. 238a; (5) Prodromos, Tetr. 187a. [bottom margin: (5a) inc. πάναγνε, χαῖρε, συλλαμβάνεις γὰρ τὸν λόγον, 2 vv.]

fol. 68°: (6) Prodromos, Tetr. 190a; (7) Prodromos, Tetr. 211a; (8) Prodromos, Tetr. 215a; (9) εἰς τὴν μεταμόφφωσιν, inc. φρίξον, θεατά, τὴν ὁρωμένην θέαν, 6 vv.; (10) inc. βλέπει καὶ Μωσῆς τὴν χάριν σὺν Ἡλίᾳ, 4 vv.; (11) Prodromos, Tetr. 236a; (12) Mauropous 10, vv. 1–4; (13) εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν, inc. τὰς χεῖρας ἁπλοῖς, δημιουργὲ Χριστέ μου, 4 vv.; (14) inc. στένεις Σίμων σὺ πρὸς βάρος σταυροῦ βαίνων, 6 vv.; (15) Prodromos, Tetr. 229a; (16) inc. πάσχει Θεός φρίττουσι τάξεις ἀγγέλων, 8 vv.; (17) Kallikles 7; (18) ἄλλοι, inc. ζωή, τί θνήσκεις; ὡς ἀθάνατος θάνη, 2 vv.; (19) εἰς τὴν ἀποκαθήλωσιν, inc. σὺ νεκρός, ἔμπνοι δ' οἱ λύοντες τοῦ ξύλου, 2 vv.; (20) Prodromos, Tetr. 262a; (21) inc. φησὶ μαθητὴς χαριτώνυμος φόβω, 7 vv.

fol. 68°: (22) εἰς τὸν τίμιον ξύλον, inc. ξύλον στομωθὲν αἴμασι θεορφύτοις, 2 vv.; (23) inc. φθόνος ξύλφ σε καὶ ξύλον τῷ θανάτῳ, 3 vv.; (24) τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐπὶ τῆ σταυρώσει, inc. σταυρὸν βλέπουσα καὶ κρεμάμενον λόγον, 4 vv.; (25) εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν, inc. παραβάσει θνήξαντα τῆ βρώσει ξύλφ, 4 vv.; (26) Prodromos, Tetr. 231a; (27) Geometres, Cr. 298, 14; (28) εἰς Παῦλον, inc. πεσὼν ἀνέστης, ὢ στροφῆς τῶν πραγμάτων, 2 vv.; (29) εἰς Πέτρον, inc. Σίμων ὁ Πέτρος, Σαῦλος ἦν Παῦλος πάλαι, 4 vv.; (30) Kallikles 32; (31) Psellos 90; (32) inc. θάλασσαν ἡ γῆ· σὴ θάλασσα τῶν λόγων, 4 vv.; (33) inc. ὥσπερ σφαγεὶς ἔστηκας, οὐ τραφεὶς, μάκαρ, 2 vv. [bottom margin: ἄλλοι στίχοι κατὰ ἀλφάβητον, that is, the catanyctic alphabet by Symeon the Metaphrast on fol. 69°-ν].

The sylloge of Laura B 43 begins with the Birth of the Virgin (nos. 1 and 3). Then it presents various epigrams on the Feasts of the Lord, arranged more or less in chronological order, from the Hypapante to the Anastasis (nos. 2 and

Ed. Sternbach 1902: 85. No. 2 consists of two separate epigrams: vv. 1–2 and vv. 3–4. In Laura B 43 Niketas' epigram (2, vv. 3–4) has two additional verses: ἐφήμερον γέννημα, γεννῆτορ χρόνου, / κόσμου λύεις γέροντα, κόσμον δὲ πλάνης.

4–26), and concludes with several epigrams on the Apostles (nos. 27–31)¹⁶. The sylloge is a collection of epigrams with the potential to be used as inscriptions: see the second chapter, pp. 79–80.

* *

In Par. gr. 2991a (a. 1420), fol. 372^r, we find the following three poems without a heading indicating the author: Geometres' epigram on St. Mary of Egypt (Cr. 314, 16); the epigram on the Forty Martyrs (S. 8), attributed to Mauropous in Par. Suppl. gr. 690, but which Sajdak and I ascribe to Geometres; and an epigram on the Crossing of the Red Sea. The epigram on the Crossing of the Red Sea is quoted by Joseph Rhakendytes in a famous excursus on the dodecasyllable¹⁷. Rhakendytes writes that a good poet should avoid enjambment. He illustrates this as follows: instead of the syntactically loose verses είς τὴν ἐουθοὰν ἀβοόχοις ποσὶ πάλαι / παρῆλθε Μωσῆς, ἡ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων / φάλαγξ ὑποβούχιος ἔνδον ἐκούβη, the accomplished poet will write: Μωσῆς περῷ θάλασσαν ἀβρόχω δρόμω, / Αἰγύπτιος δὲ τοῖς κύμασιν ἐκρύβη¹⁸. All the verses quoted by Rhakendytes in his discussion of dodecasyllabic poetry can be identified as the work of famous authors. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the epigram, inc. Μωσῆς περᾶ θάλασσαν, belongs to one of the major Byzantine poets. Since the distich is found in Par. gr. 2991a, together with two epigrams by Geometres, he seems to be the most likely candidate.

* *

Nos. 32 and 33, as well as the epigram on the Theotokos at the bottom margin of fol. 67^v (5a), appear to be additions by the scribe himself. No. 32 is an encomiastic epigram, either on the Holy Writ or on the writings of one of the church fathers (John Chrysostom?). I do not understand no. 33.

Ed. Ch. Walz, Rhetores Graeci III. Stuttgart 1832, 561. The second half of this excursus, including the text of the epigram on the Crossing of the Red Sea, is also found word for word in a treatise attributed to Gregory of Corinth: ed. D. Donnet, Le traité Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου de Grégoire de Corinthe. Brussels 1967, 322–323. See also D. Donnet, Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome 37 (1966) 81–97 and W. Hörandner, BSl 56 (1995) 287–288.

¹⁸ See Lauxtermann 1998b: 20–21 and 27.

The following manuscripts contain poems attributed to Geometres, but not found in Par. Suppl. gr. 352:

Vat. Pal. gr. 367 (s. XIV in.)¹⁹, fols. 140^r–140^v and 143^r–143^v, contains fourteen (mainly satirical) poems by Geometres: nos. Sa. 1-14²⁰. None of these poems can be found in Par. Suppl. gr. 352, but there is no reason to dispute Geometres' authorship. Not only does the manuscript explicitly ascribe the poems to Geometres, but there are also three poems that clearly refer to persons or historical events of the second half of the tenth century. Sa. 1 is a satirical poem Geometres wrote in the 990s, when his monastery, Τὰ Κύρου, was caught up in a legal dispute with a certain Psenas²¹. In Sa. 4 Geometres attacks a provincial judge by the name of Pegasios, who suffered from a speech impediment and could not pronounce the rho: as Pegasios is a very unusual name, I suspect that he is the Pegasios who served as lieutenant to Bardas Skleros in 976–979 and who fought under the command of Nikephoros Ouranos around the year 1000²². And in Sa. 5, a satirical poem on the general Keroularios, Geometres writes that if this "wax-seller" can become a general, anything is possible. One may even expect to see Chambdas (Sayf al-Dawla, emir of Aleppo) triumphantly enter Constantinople. In fact, one may even expect to see the day that corn is sold for the price of one nomisma per eight modioi. The regular price used to be twelve modioi for one nomisma, but at the end of the reign of Nikephoros Phokas, due to galloping inflation, the starving population of Constantinople were only able to buy two modioi of corn for one nomisma²³. The first of the two adynata indicates that the poem was written before 967 (the year that Sayf al-Dawla died) and probably after 962, when the city of Aleppo had been conquered by the Byzantines and the military power of the once formidable Sayf al-Dawla was definitely waning. Seeing that Sa. 1 dates from

The ms. is usually dated to the 13th century, but contains several letters dating from the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century: see Mercati 1917: 127, n. 8. The ms. was written on Cyprus: see S.G. Mercati, ROC 22 (1920–21) 162–193 (repr. Mercati 1970: I, 206–235).

Ed. Lambros 1922: 44–47 and Sajdak 1930–31: 530–534 (=Sa. 1–14). The edition of Lambros (which was published after his death by K. Dyovouniotis) has attracted much attention. See A. Chatzis, NE 18 (1924) 292–294, NE 19 (1925) 222–224, and EEBS 8 (1931) 316–317; Ch. Charitonidis, NE 19 (1925) 68–71; Sajdak 1930–31: 521–530; E. Pezopoulos, EEBS 10 (1933) 438–449; and see, especially, Mercati 1927: 310–412 and Mercati 1970: I, 426–431.

 $^{^{21}\,}$ See H. Grégoire, Byz 9 (1934) 795–799 and Lauxtermann 1998d: 378–380.

²² See Leo the Deacon, 170; Skylitzes, ed. Thurn 1973: 323, 30–31; Yahya, PO 23 (1932) II, 466.

²³ Geometres writes "medimnos" instead of "modios", but he is not the only Byzantine to confuse medimnoi with modioi: see E. Schilbach, Byzantinische Metrologie. Munich 1970, 96–98. On inflation in the 960s, see Leo the Deacon, 64, 1–10; Skylitzes, Thurn 1973: 277–278; and G. Ostrogorsky, *BZ* 32 (1932) 220–221.

the 990s, Sa. 4 from the late tenth century, and Sa. 5 from 962–967, there is no reason to question the ascription of these satirical poems to Geometres, whose poems and epigrams in Par. Suppl. gr. 352, as far as they can be dated, were written in the second half of the tenth century. For the poems on fols. 139^r–140^r, 140^v–143^r and 143^v–146^v of Vat. Pal. gr. 367, see Appendix IV.

Hauniensis 1899 (s. XIII), fol. 1^r, contains a polemic exchange of some supposedly comical insults between Geometres and a certain Stylianos²⁴. There cannot be any doubt about the ascription. Stylianos calls his opponent Ἰωάννης and one of the satirical poems attributed to Geometres is an adaptation of Cr. 331, 6. The closest parallel to these poems by Geometres and Stylianos is the exchange of malicious pleasantries in verse between Constantine the Rhodian and Theodore the Paphlagonian, also dating from the tenth century.

In Athous Dion. 60 (s. XIII) a well-known epigram on the Psalter (inc. σίγησον, 'Όρφεῦ' ἡίψον, Έρμῆ, τὴν λύραν, 10 vv.) is attributed to Geometres²⁵. The epigram is also found in four other sources: Aldus Manutius' edition of the Psalter (Venice, between 1496 and 1498)²⁶; Patmos 437 (s. XVI), fol. 8' [only the first verse, on a miniature depicting David]²⁷; Par. gr. 2743 (s. XVI), fol. 3', copied by Diassorinos²⁶; and Leo Allatius, De libris ecclesiasticis (1645)²⁶. The epigram is anonymous in Aldus Manutius' edition of the Psalter, as well as in the three other sources [which perhaps derive the epigram from the Aldan edition]. Whether the ascription to Geometres is correct or not, is impossible to decide on the basis of one manuscript only. There can be no doubt, however, that the epigram dates from before the early eleventh century, given the fact that the third verse of a well-known epigram on Matthew the Evangelist (ὅθεν, πλάνος, σίγησον, 'Όρφέως λύρα), found in many manuscripts, the earliest of which dates from 1037, clearly imitates the first verse of the epigram on the Psalter³₀.

²⁴ Ed. Graux 1880: 278–280.

²⁵ Ed. Sajdak 1919–20: 43–44. See also Follieri 1957: 102.

²⁶ See E. Legrand, Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des oeuvres publiés en grec par des grecs aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Paris 1885, 22, no. 11. For the date of the edition, see G. Κοκκοnas, Κατάλογος τῶν ἀρχετύπων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Athens 1983, 58, no. 98.

²⁷ See O. Gratziou, in: Εὐφρόσυνον. 'Αφιέρωμα στὸν Μ. Χατζιδάκη. Athens 1991–92, I, 99–106.

 $^{^{28}}$ See A. Ludwich, BZ 1 (1892) 297 and idem, Apolinarii Metaphrasis Psalmorum. Leipzig 1912, p. XXIV, n. 2.

²⁹ L. Allatius, De libris ecclesiasticis graecorum dissertationes duae. Paris 1645 (repr. in: idem, De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis graecorum dissertationes et observationes variae. Paris 1646, 62–63).

³⁰ See Sajdak 1919–20: 44 and Follieri 1957: 103–105. The verse was also imitated by Philes, ed. Ae. Martini, Manuelis Philae carmina inedita. Naples 1900, 140, no. 96, v. 71: σίγησον, 'Ορφεῦ, λῆρον εἰδὼς τὴν λύραν.

The first nine folia of Esc. R. III. 17 (s. XIV) contain various poems by Philes³¹. Then follows a small sylloge of poems: fols. 9°–10° (1) an epigram on St. Mary of Egypt, inc. ὁ νοῦς τὸ σῶμα (probably by Geometres, see Appendix I); (2) Prodromos, Tetr. 237a; (3) Pisides St. 61b (=Q. 8); (4) Chr. Mityl. 108; (5) Pisides St. 61c (=Q. 9); (6) Pisides St. 88; (7) an epigram on an image of John Chrysostom, attributed to Geometres; (8) an anonymous pattern-poem; (9) an anonymous poem; (10) Psellos 10; (11) – (12) two anonymous riddles; and (13) Chr. Mityl., a synaxarion distich³². Because the manuscript incorrectly ascribes nos. 1 and 3–4 to Prodromos, the heading of no. 7, τοῦ Γεωμέτρου, might be equally incorrect³³. Cougny attributes no. 8 to Geometres as well, but that is a mere guess³⁴.

For the two satirical poems attributed to Geometres in Athous Dion. 264 (s. XVII), fol. 337°, see Appendix III, pp. 315–316.

³¹ See Stickler 1992: 217–218.

 $^{^{32}}$ Nos. 8–11 were edited by Miller 1855–57: App. 51–54. For no. 13, see Kurtz 1903: XIX–XX.

³³ Ed. E. MILLER, Catalogue des manuscrits grees de la bibliothèque de l' Escurial. Paris 1848 (repr. Amsterdam 1966), 47, and COUGNY 1890: III, 284.

³⁴ COUGNY 1890: III, 241. On this pattern-poem, see HÖRANDNER 1990: 39–40 and WESTER-INK 1992: 295. Incidentally, the pattern-poem attributed to Psellos and edited by WESTERINK 1992: no. 27 can also be found under the name of Manuel Straboromanos: ed. P. GAUTIER, REB 23 (1965) 201 (vv. 11–12).