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Κήπος ἀειθαλής

Studi in ricordo di Augusta Acconcia Longo

III

a cura di

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THE EUGENIAN RECENSION OF *STEPHANITES*
AND *ICHNELATES*: PROLOGUE AND PARATEXTS*

The Eugenioan recension of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* is named after Eugenio of Palermo, the well-known poet, translator and senior official active at the Norman court of Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century (born c. 1130, died after 1202), who is mentioned in a dedicatory epigram in a number of manuscripts that transmit the text of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*¹. Since the epigram identifies Eugenio of Palermo as ἀμυρᾶς («admiral», «emir»), a title he acquired in 1190 under king Tancred (1189–94) and lost when the Hohenstaufens took over, the Eugenioan recension dates to 1190–1194. The dedicatory epigram is not the only prefatory text in the manuscripts that belong to the Eugenioan recension: there is a whole set of paratexts that form the basis of this study. These paratexts include metrical headings (PT 1), the dedicatory epigram (PT 2), a prologue (PT 3), a caption to a no longer extant miniature (PT 4), a summary of the contents of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (PT 5), and three scholia (S 1–3). PT 1–3 and 5 and S 1–3 were published by Vittorio Puntoni in 1889 in a mangled state and, frankly, in such a bewildering fashion that the texts are nearly incomprehensible². There are also a number of paratexts in the first introductory chapter of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*: these rubrics (R 1–9), apart from the first one, were published by Lars Olof Sjöberg in 1962 in an equally unsatisfactory manner³. I shall republish all these paratexts, the most important of which is the prologue (PT

* I refer to the two principal editions using the names of the respective editors, Puntoni and Sjöberg, followed by page and line numbering. I refer to the manuscripts of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* using the sigla of Sjöberg.

¹ For the life of Eugenio, see E. JAMISON, *Admiral Eugenio of Sicily: His Life and Work and the Authorship of the Epistola ad Petrum and the Historia Hugonis Falcandi Siculi*, London 1957, and V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Eugenio da Palermo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XLIII, Roma 1993, pp. 502–505.

² V. PUNTONI, *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης. Quattro recensioni della versione greca del Kalīla wa-Dimna*, Firenze 1889, pp. VI–IX.

³ L.-O. SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text*, Uppsala 1962, pp. 84–85.

3), and provide a contextualizing introduction that aims to define the Eugenic recension (§ 1-4), shed light on its paratexts (§ 5-10), and clarify the intentions of its creator, Eugenios of Palermo (§ 11-13).

THE EUGENIAN RECENSION

I. STATUS QAESTIONIS

But first things first: what is the Eugenic recension? *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (the Greek translation of the Arabic masterpiece *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, which in its turn derives, via a Middle Persian translation, from the Indian *Panchatantra*)⁴ has come down to us in a great number of manuscripts, many of which attribute the translation to Symeon Seth and a few of which date it to the reign of Alexios Komnenos⁵. Puntoni, the first to study the text tradition in great detail, divided the manuscripts into four groups: two long redactions (I-II) and two short ones (III-IV), the last of which is the Eugenic recension⁶. Puntoni assumed that the long redactions were closer to the original translation by Symeon Seth, that no. III was a shortened version, and that the Eugenic recension (no. IV) derived from no. III but with material added to it from no. II. Puntoni knew of two Eugenic manuscripts, *Leid. Vulc.* 93 (L1) and *Vat. Barb. gr.* 172 (B2), and had noted that both manuscripts tend to insert the additional material at the «wrong» spot: «wrong» meaning in a different order from the Arabic original and the translations in the long redactions I-II. Take the sequence of paragraphs 17-24: redactions I and II have these in numeral order, redaction III has a «lacuna»

⁴ The best general introduction to the Arabic tradition is by F. DE BLOIS, *Burzōy's Voyage to India and the Origin of the Book of Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, London 1990. See also B. KRÖNUNG, *The Wisdom of the Beasts. The Arabic Book of Kalīla and Dimna and the Byzantine Book of Stephanites and Ichnelates*, in *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. by C. CUPANE - B. KRÖNUNG, Leiden 2016, pp. 427-460. For *Stephanites and Ichnelates* from the perspective of translation studies, see H. CONDYLIS-BASSOUKOS, *Stephanites kai Ichnelates, traduction grecque (XI^e siècle) du livre Kalīla wa-Dimna d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' (VIII^e siècle): étude lexicologique et littéraire*, Louvain 1997, and J. NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption. Die byzantinisch-neugriechischen und spanischen Adaptionen von Kalīla wa-Dimna*, Wiesbaden 2003.

⁵ On Symeon Seth, see now P. BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, *Galen's Reception in Byzantium: Symeon Seth and his Refutation of Galenic Theories on Human Physiology, in Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 55 (2015), pp. 431-469: 436-442.

⁶ See V. PUNTONI, *Sopra alcune recensioni dello Stephanites kai Ichnelates*, in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie*, an. 283, ser. IV, 2/1 (1886), pp. 113-182.

between § 17 and § 24, and redaction IV (the Eugenic recension) fills this lacuna up by inserting §§ 18-23 *after*, not before § 24, and then copying § 24 again⁷. Since the Eugenic recension was utterly derivative in Puntoni's view, he failed to understand what Eugenios of Palermo could have done to deserve the accolades of the dedicatory epigram⁸.

Sjöberg radically changed all this. He rightly observed that the oldest manuscripts of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* offer the short version (Puntoni's no. III), and concluded that the short version is therefore likely to be closer to the original translation than all the other versions. He divided the manuscripts into two main redactions, A (Symeon Seth) and B (non-Symeon Seth), with further subdivisions of A into α , β , γ , and B into δ , ϵ , ζ , η , θ and ι . In Sjöberg's reconstruction, the A redaction comprises chapters I-VII and IX short whereas the B redaction results from a gradual process of accretion and revision, starting with B δ and B ϵ :

B δ adding chapters IX long, X long and XI;

B ϵ adding *prolegomena* I-III, chapters VIII, X short and XII-XV, and additional material in chapters I-VII, while the other versions (B ζ , B η , B θ and B ι) are further contaminations of B δ and B ϵ ⁹.

As one can see, the most notable differences between the two main branches of redaction B (B δ and B ϵ) are additions in chapters I-VII (B ϵ), the presence of *prolegomena* I-III and chapters VIII and XII-XV (B ϵ), the presence of chapter XI (B δ), and the translation of chapters IX and X, short in B ϵ and long in B δ . There are also considerable differences in the way chapters IX and X (the two chapters B δ and B ϵ have in common) are translated¹⁰.

Where does this leave the Eugenic recension? Here Sjöberg was somewhat hesitant. At points he clearly seems to be arguing that B ϵ is Puntoni's no. IV (the Eugenic recension), but as he too had noted that the principal Eugenic manuscript, L I, offered the additional material of B ϵ as insertions, he in the end decided that the Eugenic recension was

⁷ See PUNTONI, *Στεφανίτης και Ιχνηλάτης* cit., p. 72, app. crit.

⁸ See PUNTONI, *Sopra alcune recensionii* cit., p. 170. JAMISON, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* cit., pp. 8-21, and J.Th. PAPADEMETRIOU, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of Stephanites kai Ichmelates*, [Unpublished PhD thesis], University of Illinois 1960, follow Puntoni and end up in the same quagmire.

⁹ See SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., pp. 67-78 and *passim*.

¹⁰ See S. VAN RIET, *Les fables arabes d'Ibn al-Muqaffa en traductions grecques et latines*, in *Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter*, hrsg. von A. ZIMMERMANN - I. CRAEMER-RUEGENBERG, Berlin-New York 1985, pp. 151-160: 152-154, and NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption* cit., pp. 45-46.

a precursor to Bε. In his view Eugenios of Palermo added the *prolegomena* (the three introductory chapters), but nothing more¹¹. All the rest that we find in Bε manuscripts was gradually added to the Eugenic recension at various stages.

However, there is such a thing as Ockham's razor. An interpretative model that needs multiple translations instead of just one to explain for the genesis of Bε is needlessly complicated. It is on grounds of explanatory economy that Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis argues, rightly in my view, that it makes more sense to see the whole of Bε as the Eugenic recension¹².

The latest contribution to the discussion is by Alison Elizabeth Noble. While offering by far the best description of the Leiden manuscript, L1, she rather arbitrarily decided to see anything written by the main scribe (hand A) as the true Eugenic recension (thus reducing it to the addition of the *prolegomena* and the filling up of «lacunas» in chapters I-IV)¹³. In her view, anything written by hand C (additions towards the end of chapter IV and in chapters V and VII, plus chapters VIII, X and XII), should be considered the work of later translators. This too cries out for the razor of Ockham. Noble's main objection seems to have been that the additions by hand A to Symeon Seth's translation of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* are incorporated into the main text while those by hand C are found in the margins, but if she had studied the nature of hand A's additions, she would have noticed that, as rightly argued by Puntoni, they are in fact insertions. Take for instance the sequence §§ 47-49 where Symeon Seth offers only § 47 and § 49c: hand A initially made the mistake of putting § 48 and § 49a-b after § 49c, but then realizing that this made little sense, deleted the text of § 49c in its initial position (wedged between § 47 and § 48) and copied it again, this time in the right place, after § 49a and b¹⁴. This is an obvious scribal error and it is not the kind

¹¹ SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., pp. 68 and 105-110. Please note that his statement on p. 68 that the additions in L1 originally comprised only the three *prolegomena* and § 93b-97b is factually incorrect. The additions in the main hand of L1 are, apart from the *prolegomena*, §§ 18-23, 39a-b, 41-42a, 48-49b, 58b-59b and 93b-95a: see A.E. NOBLE, *Cultural Interchange in the Medieval Mediterranean. Prolegomena to a Text of the Eugenic Recension, I-II*, [Unpublished PhD thesis], Queen's University Belfast 2003: I, pp. 72-103.

¹² See NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption* cit., pp. 38-42, 61-81 and 126-129.

¹³ See NOBLE, *Cultural Interchange* cit., I, p. 73 and *passim*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 45; II, pp. 18 n. 32, 19 n. 35; see also PUNTONI, *Στεφανίτης και Ιχνηλάτης* cit., pp. 123-124, app. crit.

of mistake a translator looking at the Arabic would make while adding material left out by Symeon Seth. An interesting case is also the position of § 81 at the very end of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*: for one reason or another, while adding Eugenic material, hand A had skipped §§ 80-82 in chapter III, but having come to regret this omission, he added the fable (§ 81) without its frame narrative (§§ 80 and 82) when he reached the end of the text¹⁵.

In general, I agree with Niehoff-Panagiotidis that B ϵ is the closest we can get to the Eugenic recension, but since the two principal B ϵ manuscripts, L1 and B2, are clearly inserting Eugenic material rather than transmitting the Eugenic recension in its full glory and since the other B ϵ manuscripts (see the next section) show clear signs of contamination, the sad conclusion must be that we do not possess a single manuscript that preserves the authentic Eugenic recension. Its beauty can only be glimpsed at, but through a glass and darkly. In fact, as will become abundantly clear when we turn to the prefatory material in B ϵ manuscripts, B ϵ is at several removes from the Eugenic archetype.

2. B ϵ MANUSCRIPTS

Leid. Vulc. 93 (L1) and *Vat. Barb. gr.* 172 (B2) are not the only B ϵ manuscripts¹⁶. There is *Oxon. Bodl. Auct.* T.5.10 (O3), a direct apograph of L1 as Noble has shown: it contains exactly the same chapters and paragraphs and breaks off at the exact same spot as the Leiden manuscript, and has § 81 at the very end, followed by Manasses' *Σχέδη τοῦ Μυός*, just as in L1¹⁷. What is more, there are corrections by a later hand

¹⁵ The presence of §§ 80-82 in all later versions, B ζ , B η , B θ and B ι , proves that these paragraphs must have been in the Eugenic recension, but were omitted in B ϵ : see NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption* cit., p. 41 n. 131.

¹⁶ For a thorough description of both manuscripts, see NOBLE, *Cultural Interchange* cit., passim. *Leid. Vulc.* 93 dates to the early 15th c.; N. WILSON, *From Byzantium to Italy. Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, London 2017², p. 45, has identified its main scribe as Girard of Patras. *Vat. Barb. gr.* 172 dates to the late 16th century (not 15th century, as SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., p. 42, incorrectly states): see P.A. AGAPITOS, *Αφήγησις Λιβίστρου και Ῥοδάμνης. Κριτική ἔκδοσις τῆς διασκευῆς α*, Αθήνα 2006, pp. 81-82.

¹⁷ For the *Σχέδη τοῦ Μυός* in L1 and O3, see J.Th. PAPADEMETRIΟΥ, *Τὰ Σχέδη τοῦ Μυός: New Sources and Text*, in *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 58 (1969), pp. 210-222, and M. ΠΑΡΑΘΗΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρομοῦ τὰ Σχέδη τοῦ Μυός*, in *Παρνασσός* 21 (1979), pp. 376-399. Both editors agree that O3 is an apograph of L1. For the attribution to Manasses, see M.D. LAUXTERMANN, *Gatti e*

in L1, and this hand is identical to that of the scribe of O3¹⁸.

Sjöberg considers these three manuscripts (L1, B2, and O3) to be the original carriers of branch Bε while the remaining manuscripts all show varying degrees of contamination¹⁹. He does not specify the nature of this «contamination», but looking at his table of contents, it is clear that he views branch Bζ as the main contaminating source²⁰. The «contaminated» Bε manuscripts are *Par. Suppl. gr.* 692 (P3), *Par. Suppl. gr.* 1233 (P4), *Bucurest.* 292 (R), *Athous Iviron* 1132 (A4), *Hieros. Patr.* 208 (J), and *Const. Zographieion* 43 (I)²¹.

In his study of the manuscripts of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, however, John-Theophanes Papademetriou reaches a radically different conclusion. Rather than suspecting contamination, as Sjöberg does, he views P3 and P4 as Bθ manuscripts and J and I as Bζ manuscripts (A4 is «unclassified», and R was unknown to him). Of course, the classification of manuscripts depends on the degree of contamination: the more Bζ elements there are, the stronger the case for classifying them as genuine Bζ manuscripts. And looking at the evidence for J and I, I agree that these two manuscripts may well belong to the category of Bζ rather than Bε²². As for P3 and P4, Papademetriou is mistaken²³. It is true that P3 shares many features with Bθ manuscripts: it has chapter XI after XIV, it has the long version of chapters IX and X, and it has §§ 17a-24c in the order of Bθ²⁴, but it has §§

topi. La Catomiomachia come dramma, parodia, testo scolastico e favola di animali, in M.P. FUNAIOLI, *Teodoro Prodromo: La battaglia dei topi e del gatto*, Roma (in press) (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici), n. 70.

¹⁸ For *Oxon. Bodl. Auct.* T.5.10 (= *Misc.* 272), a 16th-century manuscript, see NOBLE, *Cultural Interchange* cit., I, pp. 50-51 and 52-60.

¹⁹ See SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., pp. 68-69.

²⁰ SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., pp. 71-78, esp. n. 6, 12, 17, 21, 35.

²¹ *Par. Suppl. gr.* 692 dates from 1586, *Par. Suppl. gr.* 1233 from the mid 19th century, *Bucurest.* 292 from 1652, *Athous Iviron* 1132 (4834) from the turn of the 17th century, *Hieros. Patr.* 208 from 1599, and *Const. Zographieion* from 1801. For a description of these manuscripts and references to the secondary bibliography, see SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., passim; add M.I. MANOUSAKAS, *Ἀλληλογραφία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας (1641-1647) μετὰ τοὺς ἡγεμόνες τῆς Βλαχίας καὶ τῆς Μολδαβίας*, in *Θησαυρολόγια* 15 (1978), pp. 7-29: 20-21, for information on Panos Mavrangeos, the scribe of *Bucurest.* 292.

²² See PAPADEMETRIOU, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition* cit., pp. 43-45. Please note that Bζ and manuscripts J and I have the same lacunas in *prolegomenon* II: see SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., p. 81.

²³ PAPADEMETRIOU, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition* cit., pp. 70-71.

²⁴ SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., p. 72, failed to notice that P3 has § 17a-24c in the order of Bθ.

58b–59b in chapter II (B0 manuscripts do not)²⁵ and, more importantly, it has clear signs of contamination in the *prolegomena*. As observed by Sjöberg, the scribe of P₃ initially omitted *prolegomenon* II, §§ 7–8 because Bε manuscripts have a lacuna at this point, and added the two paragraphs at a later stage, when he came across another manuscript, clearly a B0 one²⁶. There are numerous corrections and additions in the margins next to *prolegomena* I–III: e.g. in line PUNTONI 17.9, after τῶν λόγων αὐτῆς, the scribe of P₃ adds καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐγράφη καθ' ἐν κεφάλαιον in the margin of fol. 10r, a reading found in all other versions, but omitted in Bε. The scribe of P₃ is clearly collating two manuscripts: a Bε one and a B0 one. P₄ is identical to P₃, but here all the marginal additions and emendations have been incorporated into the main text. In other words, P₄ is an apograph of P₃: for further evidence, see the discussion of the prefatory texts below.

P₄ is not a direct apograph of P₃ because the scribe of P₄, Minoïdis Minas²⁷, tells us on fol. 105r–v that he copied a (lost) manuscript of the Iviron monastery and collated it with P₃, noting that the two are very similar and suggesting that both manuscripts, the Iviron one and P₃, go back to a common exemplar²⁸. However, in the light of the marginal additions in P₃ incorporated in P₄, it is vastly more likely that the lost Iviron manuscript was a copy of P₃, which we know belonged to the Iviron monastery until the early nineteenth century. That is to say, P₄ is a copy of a copy of P₃.

One thing is certain, though: P₃ and P₄ are the result of contamination between Bε and B0; they are not authentic B0 manuscripts, as Papademetriou assumed²⁹.

²⁵ PAPADEMETRIOU, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition* cit., p. 71, states that P₃ and P₄, like all other B0 manuscripts, omit § 58b–59b. This is simply not true. See *Par. Suppl. gr.* 692, fol. 44r–45v, and *Par. Suppl. gr.* 1233, fol. 53r–v.

²⁶ See SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., p. 68 n. 1.

²⁷ For the life of Minas (1788–1859), see G. TOUSIMIS, *Κωνσταντῖνος Μηνᾶς, Μηνοῦδος: ἕνας Ἐδεσσαῖος λόγιος τοῦ 1821*, in *Μακεδονικά* II (1971), pp. 403–405.

²⁸ See SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., p. 39, and Ch. ASTRUC – M.L. CONCASTY, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, III: Le Supplément grec*, 3, Paris 1960, pp. 407–409.

²⁹ Papademetriou's mistake is unfortunately repeated in an otherwise excellent account of B0 manuscripts: L. STEPHOU, *Die neugriechische Metaphrase von Stephanites und Ichnelates durch Theodosios Zygomalas*, Madrid 2011, pp. 100–142.

3. SOUTHERN ITALIAN WITNESSES

Of all the manuscripts that contain the whole or parts of *Stephanites and Ichneutes*, there is only one that can be located without a doubt in Southern Italy, and it is an early one: *Messan.* 161 (D), copied in the thirteenth century³⁰. The scribe of this liturgical manuscript filled up a blank with two fables, one from the very end of *prolegomenon* III, § 10b (PUNTONI 45.16-47.11) and the other from chapter I, § 29 (SJÖBERG 170.2-171.4 = PUNTONI 90.12-92.2)³¹.

Since Sjöberg denies the existence of redaction B (non-Symeon Seth manuscripts) before the year 1400³², he tends to date evidence for B as late as possible or, as in this case, to bend the evidence. Contrary to what he states, the manuscript from Messina is not an Aβ manuscript³³. If one compares the readings of D at the end of I, § 29 (as reported in Sjöberg's own critical apparatus) with those of A manuscripts and B manuscripts, it is clear that D belongs to redaction B³⁴. Redaction B is much older than Sjöberg wants us to believe.

It is worth noting, however, that though the Messina manuscript belongs to redaction B, its readings in I, § 29 differ from those of L1 and B2 (the «authentic» Eugenic manuscripts)³⁵. By the look of it, D is not

³⁰ For date and provenance, see A. MANCINI, *Codices graeci monasterii Messanensis S. Salvatoris*, Messina 1907, pp. 218-219, and L. TARDO, *Un manoscritto calcofonico del sec. XIII nella collezione melurgica bizantina della Biblioteca Universitaria di Messina*, in *Eis mνήmēn Σπυριδωνος Λάμπρου*, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1935, pp. 170-176. Since the manuscript has a poem (on fol. 10v) by Niphon the abbot of S. Angelo di Brolo, a monastery in Val Demone, it is quite likely to have been copied there.

³¹ The first of these two is the famous fable of the man chased by a unicorn, also found in *Barlaam and Ioasaph*: for a comparison of the two versions, see R. VOLK, *Medizinisches im Barlaam-Roman: Ein Streifzug durch den hochsprachlichen griechischen Text, seine Vorläufer, Parallelen und Nachdichtungen*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006), pp. 145-193: 171-176. For metrical adaptations of the fable, see, apart from the beginning of Bergadis' *Apokopos* (vv. 19-62), Michael Choniates' poem εἰς τὸν μονόκερῶν: ed. S. LAMBROS, *Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, II, Ἀθήνα 1880, p. 393, and Manuel Philes, *Esc.* nos. 248-252: ed. E. MILLER, *Manuelis Philae carmina*, I-II, Paris 1855-1857: I, pp. 127-129.

³² SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichneutes* cit., pp. 59-61.

³³ As rightly observed by NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption* cit., p. 39 n. 121.

³⁴ Compare SJÖBERG 171.1-3 with PUNTONI 91.28-92.2. Puntoni's edition is based on a Bη manuscript (F2 in Sjöberg); he reports other readings in the critical apparatus, including those of V1, a Bι manuscript. The readings of D are similar to those of F2 and V1, but not to any of the A manuscripts.

³⁵ See the critical apparatus of PUNTONI *ad locum*.

a Eugenic manuscript. Or might that be a misconception of what constitutes a Eugenic manuscript? (see below, § 4 *Stylistic Registers*).

As Simone Van Riet has shown with great clarity and verve (only to be disregarded by all and sundry), the medieval Latin translation of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* was produced in the Hohenstaufen Kingdom of Sicily³⁶. She has many valid arguments, but I will single out the one that clinches the debate. Throughout chapter II, which deals with the trial of Ichnelates, the presiding judge is called κριτής in Greek and as one would expect, «iudex» in Latin; however, at one point (§ 70, SJÖBERG 198.19), this κριτής is called a στρατηγός, which is perfectly understandable in the context of the Byzantine judiciary, but must have posed a problem for the Latin translator. The easy solution would have been to translate it once again as «iudex», but the Latin translator went instead for «stratigotus», a typically Southern Italian term³⁷. The *stratigotus* was a judicial official in the Kingdom of Sicily, equivalent to a town governor or a bailiff: documentary evidence is abundant for the Hohenstaufens, and the Normans before them, but the title disappears during the subsequent Angevin period³⁸. The translation of στρατηγός as «stratigotus» is therefore localized and datable: it is Southern Italian, and given the date of the Greek original, shortly before the Hohenstaufens assumed power, the Latin translation must be thirteenth-century.

Since Sjöberg denies the existence of redaction B before the year 1400, it comes as little surprise that he dates the Latin translation to the fifteenth century (as if a fifteenth-century translator would still be familiar with the Southern Italian title «stratigotus» two centuries after its disappearance)³⁹. Though he accepts that the Latin translation is close to the Eugenic recension (because it offers more or less the same material as B2, a B_e manuscript)⁴⁰, he nonetheless thinks it is *sui generis*. The main reason for viewing the Latin translation as an isolated case, is that it offers the fable of *The Man who Found a Treasure* (*prolegomenon* II, § 2a) in a ver-

³⁶ VAN RIET, *Les fables arabes d'Ibn al-Muqaffa* cit., pp. 156-159. For the Latin text, see A. HILKA, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1928, pp. 59-165.

³⁷ Ed. HILKA, *Beiträge* cit., p. 113.32.

³⁸ See B. PASCUTA, *Stratigotus*, in *Federico II: Enciclopedia Fridericiana*, II, Roma 2005, pp. 802-803.

³⁹ See SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., p. 115.

⁴⁰ See SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., p. 116. He also detects similarities with VI, a B_i manuscript that is very close to the Eugenic recension.

sion that is nowhere else attested but in P_I (*Par. gr.* 2231)⁴¹. P_I is a thirteenth-century A_β manuscript which, apart from Symeon Seth's translation, also has the *prolegomena* (the only chapters Sjöberg is willing to give Eugenios of Palermo credit for)⁴². However, Sjöberg failed to notice that the Latin translation and P_I are not alone in offering the fable of *The Man who Found a Treasure* in a short version: in fact, this is the version found in all Arabic manuscripts of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* that have been published so far⁴³. There does not appear to be an Arabic original for the long version that B_ε and the other B branches transmit, which makes one wonder where they found it. Is the long version perhaps a Byzantine elaboration? Whatever the case, given the fact that P_I and the Latin translation are our earliest witnesses for the *prolegomena*, it is highly likely that the short version of *The Man who Found a Treasure* is in fact truly Eugenic.

The thirteenth-century Latin translation produced in the Kingdom of Sicily is the closest we may come to the contents of the original Eugenic recension. Like B_ε, it contains *prolegomena* I–III and chapters I–VII, VIII, IX short, X short, and XII–XV. Sadly enough, since popular literature in the middle ages tends to have an open text tradition, in which alterations of all sorts (adaptations, omissions, additions) are common, the Latin translation of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* is of limited value for the

⁴¹ See SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., pp. 115–116. NOBLE, *Cultural Interchange* cit., I, pp. 104–109, and II, p. 47, denies any connection between the Latin translation and the Eugenic recension because the paragraphing is different (as if that is of any importance) and because the Latin version has two extra stories (derived from Aesop and *Thousand and One Nights*), has *prolegomenon* II, § 7–8 (a lacuna in B_ε manuscripts), and uses the Arabic names of the two jackals (but please note the end of *prolegomenon* III: «liber iste qui dicitur *Kililes et Dimmes*, id est *Stephanitis et Ignilatis*»).

⁴² There has been some needless speculation that *Par. gr.* 2231 (P_I) has a connection with Philagathos of Cerami or his circle: see C.H. HASKINS, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Cambridge, Mass. 1924, pp. 176–178; cf. C. CUPANE, *Filagato da Cerami, φιλόσοφος e διδάσκαλος. Contributo alla storia della cultura bizantina in età normanna*, in *Siculorum Gymnasium* 31 (1978), pp. 1–28: 20–22 and 24. In fact, the manuscript dates from the first half of the thirteenth century and the donor is called Georgios Kerameas, not Kerameus: Κεραμέου is the genitive of Κεραμέας, a family name common in Thessaloniki: see below, n. 114.

⁴³ As I do not read Arabic, I rely on translations here: A. MIQUEL, *Ibn al-Muqaffa': Le livre de Kalila et Dimna*, Paris 1980, p. 10; M.M. MORENO, *La versione araba del Libro di Kalilah e Dimnah*, San Remo 1910, pp. 34–35; W. KNATCHBULL, *Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai*, Oxford 1819, p. 49. The medieval Spanish translation, too, offers the short version: A.G. SOLALINDE, *Calila y Dimna. Fábulas: antigua versión castellana*, Madrid 1917, p. 5.

text constitution as such. Indeed, the *Stephanites and Ichneletes* itself is a far cry from what Ibn al-Muqaffa' may have written, just as Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kalīla wa-Dimna* bears little resemblance to the *Panchatranta* (the Indian source text where it all began).

4. *STYLISTIC REGISTERS*

According to Niehoff-Panagiotidis, the language of the Eugenic recension (Bε) is more colloquial and lowbrow than that of Symeon Seth (Aα, Aβ, Aγ) and of redaction Bδ⁴⁴. This is generally correct, but what he failed to take into account is that the language and style of Bε are not necessarily identical to what the translators in the service of Eugenios of Palermo may have produced. Take for instance the beginning of *prolegomenon* II (PUNTONI 16.8–17.13)⁴⁵. If one compares the version of Bε (not only L1 and B2, but also P3, R and A4) with that of the oldest text witness, P1, and versions Bζ, Bθ and Bη, the differences are striking.

Some are due to scribal errors. As noted above, Bε omits καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐγράφη καθ' ἐν κεφάλαιον in 17.9 (attested in all other versions). P1 likewise omits 17.10–12 (found in all other versions, with lexical differences). Bε, Bζ and Bθ have a curious «autobiographical» addition in 16.9–10: τοῖς δὲ ἄφροσι ὡς κἀγὼ: not in P1, version Bη, or any Arabic source. In line 16.10–11, P1 and version Bθ have the correct text: τοῖς δὲ νομομαθεῖσι νέοις τε καὶ ἄλλοις, while the other versions, Bε, Bη, and Bζ, offer a nonsensical reading: τοῖς δὲ νεομαθεῖσι καὶ νέοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.

Vastly more important than scribal errors, however, are deliberate stylistic changes:

– In line 17.5–6, P1 and the other three versions (with some minor differences) read: ὡςπερ ἐγράφη παρὰ γνωστικῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνθρώπων; this becomes in Bε: καθὼςπερ παρὰ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει λόγου τε καὶ σοφίας τῆ γραφῆ παρεδόθη.

– In lines 16.12–17.1, P1 reads ὅταν δὲ νόμου ἡλικίας γέωνται while Bζ, Bη and Bθ have ὅταν δὲ (τῆς) νομίμου ἡλικίας γέωνται; but Bε has

⁴⁴ See NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption* cit., pp. 61–94. See also ID., *La contribuzione di Eugenio da Palermo alla letteratura δημοτική in ambito italiano*, in *O Italiώτης Ελληνισμός από τον Ζ' στον ΙΒ' αιώνα: Μνήμη Νίκου Παναγιωτάκη*, Αθήνα 2001, pp. 43–55.

⁴⁵ The comparison begins at 16.8 (and not at 16.5) because P1 misses the first lines of *prolegomenon* II due to material loss: see SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichneletes* cit., pp. 82–83 n. 1.

ὅταν δὲ τέλειοι γένωνται. P1's lexical collocation γίγνομαι νόμου ἡλικίας, «to reach adulthood», is more colloquial than the similar expression in Bζ, Bη, and Bθ, and definitely more lowbrow than what Be offers⁴⁶.

– In line 16.12, where Be has ἀποστοματίζειν, P1 and Bζ, Bη, and Bθ have ἐκτηθίζειν: the former is learned Greek and the latter vernacular Greek⁴⁷.

– In line 17.2-3, P1 and Bζ and Bη read τὸν θησαυρὸν τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐθησαύρισαν λόγου αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶν in Bζ and Bη): the use of λόγου / λόγῳ plus genitive for the indirect object is a well-known lexicalized feature of vernacular Greek⁴⁸. Be offers the obsolete dative instead: ὁ παρὰ γονέων καταλειφθεὶς θησαυρὸς τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ.

As we see there are significant differences in style and language between P1 (the oldest manuscript), Bζ, Bη, and Bθ, on the one hand, and Be on the other. The use of a low style in most manuscripts does not necessarily mean that the majority vote is right. It cannot be excluded that Be preserves the «original» text and that the other manuscripts offer

⁴⁶ See E. KRIARAS, *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημόδους γραμματείας, 1100-1669*, I-XXI, Θεσσαλονίκη 1969-2019: XI, s.v. νόμος. The expression is a corruption of γίγνομαι τῆς ἐννόμου ἡλικίας.

⁴⁷ The verb ἐκτηθίζω and the adverb ἐκθήθου are curiously overlooked in the major dictionaries; but see C. DU FRESNE DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae & infimae Graecitatis*, I-II, Lugduni 1688, s.v. στήθος; A. KORAI, *Ἄτακτα*, I-IV, Paris 1828-1832: IV, p. 385; P. MACKRIDGE, *Γλωσσάρι στην ανώνυμη μετάφραση δέκα κομωδιῶν του Carlo Goldoni*, s.vv. εκθηθίζω, κτηθίζω, and *Γλωσσάρι Κοκκινάκη-Kotzebeue*, s.v. εκτήθου (both available at <http://www.academia.edu>); D.I. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Γραμματική τῆς ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου τοῦ Πόντου*, Ἀθήναι 1958, p. 347 (ἐχθηθίζω, ἐχθηθῶ). The oldest attestations are the *Paralipomena de s. Pachomio (Acta Sanctorum Maii*, III, Parisiis 1866, *Appendix*, p. *52B): ἔθος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ νύκτα, πρὸ τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὸν, ἐκτηθίζειν αὐτὸν τινα ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν; *Ptochoprodromika*, III.273-20 (ed. H. EIDENEIER, *Πτωχοπρόδρομος: κριτική έκδοση*, Ηράκλειο 2012, p. 191): Ὀππιανὸν ἐκτήθισα, πείναν οὐδὲν φοβοῦμαι; *Synaxarion tou timimenou gadarou*, 58 (ed. U. MOENNIG, *Das Synaxarion tou timimenou gadarou: Analyse, Ausgabe, Wörterverzeichnis*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 102 (2009), pp. 109-166: 139): ἐγὼ τὸ νομοκάνονον ἐξεύρω τον ἐκτήθου; *Kakopantremeni*, 12 (ed. I. BEIJERMAN - A. VAN GEMERT, *Uitgehuwelijkt aan een Oude Man: Een vroegnieuwgrieks gedicht*, Amsterdam 2006, p. 46, app. crit.): κί αν έναι μπουεζάμενο, εκτήθου μάθετέ το; *Bertoldos* (ed. A. ANGELOU, *Ὁ Μπεροτόλδος καὶ ὁ Μπεροτόλδινος*, Ἀθήναι 1988, p. 47, line 28): ἐγὼ τὸ ἐκτήθισα εἰς τὸν νοῦν μου πάντα.

⁴⁸ The oldest attestations are: *Ptochoprodromika*, IV.308 (ed. EIDENEIER, *Πτωχοπρόδρομος* cit., p. 215): καὶ λόγου μου νὰ λέγουσιν «ρωμίανσε τὴν πόρταν»; *Ptochoprodromika*, V.6 [ed. A. MAIURI, *Una nuova poesia di Teodoro Prodromo in greco volgare*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 23 (1920), pp. 397-407: 399]: νὰ σ' ἐνθυμίση λόγῳ μου νὰ μὲ χειραγωγῆσης; *Digenes Akrites E*, 1373 (ed. E. JEFFREYS, *Digenes Akritis: The Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions*, Cambridge 1998, p. 340): τὴν κόρην τὴν ἐφύλαγα λόγῳ τοῦ Γιαννακίου. For more information, see KRIARAS, *Λεξικό* cit., IX, s.v. λόγος.

an adaptation, though, given the date of P_I, this must have happened at an early stage in the text transmission. But it is equally possible that the B_ε version is the later adaptation of a text that was closer to the spoken idiom than usually thought. The point is that scholarship has been so busy reconstructing the contents of the Eugenic recension that it has neglected the study of the text itself. We know its contents, but not its linguistic nature or textual embodiment⁴⁹. The only way out of this conundrum is good old-fashioned philology. This means looking at *all* manuscripts, not just the ones that belong to the B_ε branch.

PROLOGUE AND PARATEXTS

5. THE B_ε MANUSCRIPTS AGAIN

The reason why the B_ε manuscripts have been given preferential treatment is that they at least preserve the prologue and other prefatory texts of the Eugenic recension (though, as we shall see, one of these is also found in B_ζ). There are five manuscripts: L₁, B₂, P₃, R and A₄. As we have seen, there are two apographs: O₃ (a copy of L₁) and P₄ (a copy of a copy of P₃).

In case there is still any doubt about the derivative nature of P₄, let us look at two obvious lacunas in P₃. In lines PT 3.2-4, τὸν ἐν προσο-
χῆ ὄντα δυνατὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων κτήσασθαι τὸ ὠφέλιμον, ὥσπερ δὴ
καὶ τοῦναντίον συμβαίνειν εἶωθε τὸν μὴ ζῶντα προσεκτικῶς, P₃ omits
κτήσασθαι τὸ ὠφέλιμον, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τοῦναντίον because of haplography
(ἐναντίων and τοῦναντίον), thus rendering the text incomprehensible.
This, however, did not scare Minoïdis Minas, the famous falsifier and
scribe of P₄, who simply rewrote the text⁵⁰. This is what he made of it:
τὸν ἐν προσοχῆ ὄντα δυνατὸν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ συμβαίνει καὶ τὰναντία παθεῖν
μὴ ζῶντα προσεκτικῶς (at fol. 4v). In line PT 3.24, P₃ forgets to copy the
word πόνω in πολλῶ πόνω: as it is fairly easy to guess what has been
omitted, Minas did write πολλῶ τῷ πόνω (at fol. 5v), but then swept away

⁴⁹ As VAN RIET, *Les fables arabes d'Ibn al-Muqaffa* cit., p. 160, rightly points out: «Une analyse *qualitative* du recueil de fables (...) devrait être entreprise (...); on ne peut pas se contenter de classer les manuscrits grecs, quantitativement, selon leur contenu».

⁵⁰ For Minas as a falsifier and forger of manuscripts, see J. CONINGTON, *De parte Babrianarum fabularum secunda*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, n.F. 16 (1861), pp. 361-390, and J. VAIO, *A New Manuscript of Babrius? Fact or Fable?*, in *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977), pp. 172-183.

by his own inventiveness added *καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖ προθυμία* (which is quite horrible Greek, by the way). In all other cases, where P₃ omits material without it being apparent, P₄ too has the same lacuna.

In general, Minoidis Minas has a tendency to rewrite what he has in front of him, usually because he obviously thinks it is too vulgar (it does not come as a surprise that in the language debate of the nineteenth century Minas was firmly on the side of those who wished to archaize the language): so the hapax *ἀλληγόρευσαν* (PT 3.30) becomes the standard *ἀλληγόρησαν* (at fol. 6r) and *τοῖς δὲ νουνεχέσι καὶ ἐχεμύθοις εἰκότως ἂν προσδεχθήσονται* (S 1.3-4) is «corrected» to *τοῖς δὲ νουνεχέσι καὶ λόγων ἐμπείροις εὐλόγως ἂν προσδεχθεῖεν* (at fol. 4r) because one cannot have *ἂν* without optative (the horror!), *εὐλόγως* sounds more elevated than *εἰκότως*, and *ἐχεμύθοις* has another meaning than the dictionaries give. But as we will see below in § 11, Minas does not even shirk from adding whole lines to the text. In other words, P₄ is not only an apograph, it is also utterly unreliable.

Discarding O₃ and P₄ because they are just apographs, we are left with the following manuscripts for the five prefatory texts (PT 1-5) and the three scholia (S 1-3) that we find at the beginning of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*: *Leid. Vulc.* 93, fol. 1r-3v (L1), *Vat. Barb. gr.* 172, fol. 5r-v (B2), *Par. Suppl. gr.* 692, fol. 4r-5v (P3), *Bucurest.* 292, fol. 42v-43v (R), and *Athous Iviron* 1132, fol. 123r-125r (A4).

Three of these manuscripts, L1, B2 and P3, offer all the texts, and in the following order: PT 1, S 1, PT 2, S 2, PT 3a, S 3, PT 3b, PT 4, and PT 5. In L1, PT 4 is written in the lower margin of fol. 3r; in B2, it is written beneath a miniature of bees collecting honey; and in P3, it is attached to PT 3. The other two manuscripts, R and A4, have a mere selection, but oddly add the beginning of *prolegomenon* II, § 1 to the prefatory material: R has PT 1 + PT 2 (written as one text), S 1, S 2, PT 3a (the first four lines), PT 5, followed by *prolegomenon* II, § 1; A4 has PT 1, PT 2, S 1 + *prolegomenon* II, § 1 (written as one text).

Theodosios Zygomalas' rewording of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (dating to the year 1584) forms an indirect witness. It is a language-internal translation, turning the lowbrow Byzantine Greek of the original into a mixture of vernacular and slightly higher registers. Zygomalas used a B0 manuscript for his translation: *Warsaw Zamoyiski Cim.* 156 (Z) copied in 1569, which has marginal notes in his hand⁵¹. However, he also had

⁵¹ STEPHOU, *Die neugriechische Metaphrase* cit., pp. 118-142.

access to a manuscript that offered at least three of the prefatory texts: PT 2 + PT 1 (written as one text) and PT 5⁵². This (lost?) manuscript must have offered a version that combined Bε and Bζ because, whereas the text of PT 2 + 1 is close to P₃ (Bε), the text of PT 5 is practically identical to J (Bζ). For more information, see below.

6. MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

There are but few texts that have suffered in textual transmission as much as the prologue by Eugenios of Palermo has. In L₁, B₂ and P₃, the three manuscripts that transmit the whole text, the prologue (PT 3) is divided into two by a scholion (S 3): lines 1–19 (PT 3a) and 19–46 (PT 3b). Whoever conflated the text of the prologue with the scholion, must have found the latter in the lower margin of a page, right after την ἑλληνικὴν σοφίαν ἐκ μυθικῶν πλασμάτων ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν ἐπαιδεύθημεν εἴπερ πιστευτόν τῷ λέγοντι (PT 3.17–19), followed on the next page by οὕτως: «Ὁ μῦθος ἐκ ποιητῶν προῆλθε, γέγονε δὲ καὶ ῥητόρων» (PT 3.19–20). What he next did, beggars belief: while copying, he inserted the scholion into the main text so that the sentence was severed into two: «We have been taught that Greek wisdom had its beginning in fictional tales if we are to believe the one who said» and «thus: “The fable originated with poets, but it is also used by orators”», with the scholion right in the middle. Then, dissatisfied with the word οὕτως, left dangling by his own intervention, he changed it to οὗτος: οὗτος ὁ μῦθος ἐκ ποιητῶν προῆλθε, «this fable originated with poets» – a line that, by pure coincidence, has twelve syllables. So what he did was put it on top of PT 3b as a metrical heading, and the next bit became the beginning of PT 3b: γέγονε δὲ καὶ ῥητόρων. This clearly lacked a subject, so he added the word χορός, which he derived from a marginal note that identified the source quoted in the main text, namely the section on μῦθος in Aphthonios’ *Progymnasmata*, including its title: ὄρος μύθου. ὄρος became χορός, and the result was utter and total nonsense: «There was also a chorus of orators». Puntoni left the text in this sorry state, and it is this lack of editorial intervention that explains why the prologue has oddly been overlooked by generations of Byzantinists.

⁵² Ed. STEPHOU, *Die neugriechische Metaphrase* cit., pp. 187–188. If one compares Zygomalas’ version with PT 2 + PT 1, one can recognize the following lines: Zyg 1 = PT 2.1; Zyg 2 ≈ 2.2; Zyg 5 ≈ 2.3; Zyg 6 ≈ 2.4; Zyg 9 ≈ 2.8; Zyg 10 = 2.9; Zyg 12 ≈ 2.12; Zyg 13 ≈ PT 1.2; Zyg 14 = PT 1.3.

Please note that since all B_e manuscripts offer the same nonsensical text at this point, B_e forms an hyparchetype of the Eugenian recension, which is at least at two removes from the original text: archetype > intermediary node at which the scholia were added > B_e hyparchetype in which the scholia were inserted into the main text, leading to great confusion.

Other silly mistakes that are shared by all manuscripts and, therefore, go back to a common hyparchetype, are lacunas at PT 2.4 (see below), PT 3.22 (omission of complementizer), PT 3.31 (omission of deontic verb), and S 3.1: ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιβλίῳ προκειμένην ἔννοιαν καὶ σοφίαν <...> καὶ τὴν τοῦτου ἀκρόασιν ἀνακόπτων οὐκ ἔλαθε φιλοδοξίαν νοσῶν, where we need an explicit subject and a verb that governs ἔννοιαν καὶ σοφίαν, and horrible textual errors, such as PT 2.8 τοῦ καὶ ἀμηρᾶ καὶ ῥηγὸς Σικελίας (instead of τοῦ), which turns Admiral Eugenios into the King of Sicily (if only Henry VI had known whom he was dealing with when he released Eugenios from captivity in 1196) and PT 3.5-6 μὴ ἐνεγκέναι (instead of μετενεγκέναι) where the source text leaves no doubt that Jacob did in fact transfer his possessions to the land of promise.

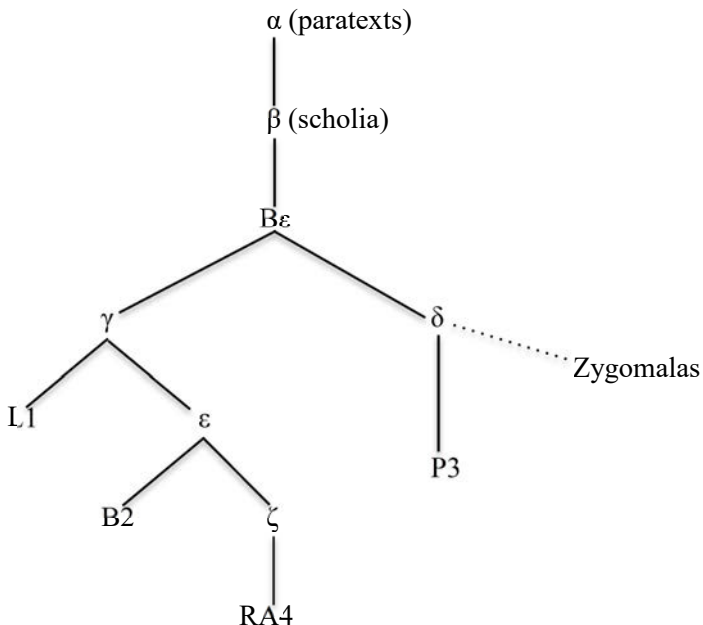
It is reasonable to assume that R and A₄ go back to a common exemplar since they both have *prolegomenon* II, § 1 as part of the prefatory material. Unfortunately, since A₄ offers only three short texts, there is not much material for comparison with the other manuscripts. There is slightly more evidence for R. It shares a number of common errors with B₂: S 1.3 σφοδιάζονται (instead of ἐφοδιάζονται), PT 3.4 τῶν μήτωντα B₂ and τῶν μη τῶν τὰ R (τὸν μὴ ζῶντα L₁ and P₃) and PT 5.3 ἡ βίβλος (instead of ἡ ἰνδικὴ βίβλος). B₂, R and A₄ appear to be close. L₁ has a separative error against all other witnesses in S 1.1: ὅτι δὲ πλείστην instead of ὅτι καὶ πλείστην.

L₁ and B₂ share a number of common errors against P₃, including S 2.6 συλλεγούσης (for συλλεγούση), PT 3.13 ᾠήθη μὲν (for ᾠήθημεν), PT 3.27-28 ἀναξίως (for ἀναξίους) and PT 3.32 ποιήσεσιν (for ποιήμασιν). At PT 3.1, both readings can be defended: χρήσασθε P₃ χρήσασθαι L₁B₂; the difference is between direct and indirect speech. P₃ too is not free of errors: for example, PT 3.6 πατριαρχικὰ (instead of πατρικὰ), PT 3.14 καὶ τι ὄν (instead of καὶ τισιν), S 3.1 ἐν δὲ τῷ βιβλίῳ (instead of ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιβλίῳ), and it has quite a few lacunas, at PT 3.3, 3.17, 3.24 and 3.36.

Evidence for the hyparchetype branching out into two manuscript groups: L₁, B₂, R and A₄, on the one hand, and P₃, on the other, is also found at PT 2.4 where the hyparchetype appears to have had a lacuna:

αἰνιγματωδῶς συντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις / πρὸς βιωτικὴν <...>. R leaves the lacuna as is, L1 and B2 repeat the words of the preceding line: αἰνιγματωδῶς συντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις / πρὸς βιωτικὴν συντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις, and A4 comes up with an excellent conjectural emendation: πρὸς βιωτικὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀνθρώπων. P3 chooses another tactic. It deletes PT 2.6 ἐξ ἀραβικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρώδους ὕθλου and combines the latter part of this verse with the fragment (πρὸς βιωτικὴν) in PT 2.3, which leads to the rather nonsensical line πρὸς βιωτικούς καὶ βαρβαρώδεις ὕθλους. Zygomalas' translation offers an almost identical line: πρὸς βιοτικούς παροιμιώδεις ὕθλους, which means that he must have had access to a manuscript similar to P3 (not P3 itself because that was copied two years after Zygomalas' translation).

A graphic representation of the textual genesis and development of the prologue and paratexts looks as in the picture below. Given the vast amount of contamination in manuscripts of *Stephanites and Ichneletes*, things may be more complicated than I suggest here:



PT 5 is also found in the Bζ branch of *Stephanites and Ichneletes*, which, according to Sjöberg, is represented by four manuscripts: *Monac. gr.* 551, s. XIV (M2), *Upsaliensis* 8, s. XV (U), *Par. Suppl. gr.* 118, s. XV (P2) and *Oxon. Bodl. Laud.* 8, s. XVI (O2)⁵³. If Papademetriou is right that *Hieros. Patr.* 208 (J) and *Const. Zographion* 43 (I) also belong to this branch of the manuscript tradition (see above § 2), there are two more⁵⁴. Zygomalas offers PT 5 in a version that is very close to J: the only real difference is that he «translates» περιτράχηλος as πετράχηλος (otherwise not attested, as far as I know)⁵⁵. Comparing the Bζ version (including J and I) with that of the Be manuscripts is a saddening experience: the Greek is so much worse in Be. Burzōy's mission (ἀποστολή) to India becomes ἡ περὶ τοῦ Περζουῆ ἐπιστολή πρὸς Ἰνδῖαν in L1, B2 and P3 (and ὁ τοῦ Περζουῆ λόγος in R), and L1, B2, P3 and R omit καὶ διάγνωσις τῶν ἐκεῖσε in line 2. There can be little doubt that Bζ (and manuscripts I and J) are infinitely closer to the original text of the Eugenian recension than the Be manuscripts. But if that is the case, what does this say about the Greek of all the other paratexts, for which we do not have the help of Bζ to set things right?

7. SCRIBAL REWORKING

There are so many scribal errors and lacunas in the Be hyparchetype, and some of them of such a serious nature, that the conclusion can only be that its scribe was utterly incompetent. To make things worse, looking at the Greek of the prologue (PT 3) one cannot help but suspect that the scribe did not faithfully copy the text, but reworked it to a certain extent. The Greek is not up to the high standards of Eugenios of Palermo, a well-educated author, who, to judge by his poems and hymns, must undoubtedly have been capable of writing in an elevated and

⁵³ See SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichneletes* cit., p. 69.

⁵⁴ While all other transcriptions are based either on autopsy or digital images, I unfortunately had no access to J and I and, therefore, had to rely on the transcription of PT 5 in A.I. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, I, ἐν Πετροῦπόλει 1891, p. 287, and ID., *Δύο κατάλογοι Ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Γένους Σχολῆς καὶ τοῦ Ζωγραφεῖου*, in *Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 14 (1909), pp. 101-153: 152.

⁵⁵ Cf. πετραχήλι, «stole», which many derive, incorrectly, from περιτραχήλιον (instead of ἐπιτραχήλιον: for the latter etymology, see *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, I-VIII, hrsg. von E. TRAPP (...), Wien 1994-2017, s.v. πετραχήλιον).

agreeable prose style⁵⁶. As the prologue is Eugenios' only literary composition in prose to have come down to us, we cannot compare it with his other writings and gauge its stylistic merits or rather demerits. But I seriously doubt that the next sentence is representative of Eugenios' *usus scribendi*: οὕτω μέντοι καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τοῖς ποιήμασι τοῖσδε <δέον> μὴ μέμψιν ἐπάγειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ ἀνάξιον ἠγεῖσθαι τὴν ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ θεολογικοῖς ποιήμασιν ἐπιβαίνουσιν γλῶτταν ἡμῶν καὶ ταῖς μυθικαῖς καταχραίνειν καὶ βαρβαρώδεσιν ἀγροικίαις καὶ τὸ πιστοῦς ὄντας ἀνωφελέσιν ἐκπονεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀναγνώσμασιν (PT 3.30–35). This is sloppy Greek: dative instead of accusative, articular infinitive after preposition, unattested use of ἐπιβαίνω, pedantic γλῶττα, dangling τό, hyperbatons galore, and, more generally, a sense that the author tries too hard to impress. He aims to write decent Greek, low-to-middlebrowish, but it is fair to say that his stylistic reach exceeds his grasp.

We may not have other prose writings by Eugenios of Palermo, but we do have his poetry, and one thing is certain: he cannot have concluded his prologue with the kind of prosodic and metrical errors we find there (PT 3.42–46)⁵⁷. The prologue ends with five verses, and three of these are problematic. Line 42 is hypermetric; but the problem is solved by changing δὲ to δ'. The beginning of line 46 is unprosodic and unmetrical, but most of the difficulties are solved by emendating the words τὰ δ' ἐναντία ὡς (ε long, αντ short, hiatus after α) to τὰναντία δ' αὖ ὡς (with a deplorable dichronon in the ending of τὰναντία)⁵⁸. The worst case by far is line 43: ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν βάτῳ ῥόδα ἐκφύονται. Apart from the obvious prosodic errors and the two cases of hiatus (generally avoided by the real Eugenios of Palermo), this line has a caesura right in the middle (rather than after the 5th or the 7th syllable – a caesura nowhere else attested in Eugenios) and a proparoxytone line ending (all lines have a

⁵⁶ For his poetry, see M. GIGANTE, *Eugenii Panormitani versus iambici*, Palermo 1964, esp. pp. 16–22 («de Eugenii scribendi genere deque usu sermonis»). For his hymns, see A. LUZZI, *Hymnographica Eugeniana inediti, giambici e ritmici, in una interessante silloge italogreca tramandata nel ms. Scorial. X.IV.8 (gr. 403)*, in *Studi bizantini in onore di Maria Dora Spadaro*, a cura di T. CREAZZO (ET AL.), Roma 2016, pp. 277–297.

⁵⁷ For prosody and metre in Eugenios of Palermo's poetry, see K. HORNA, *Metrische und textkritische Bemerkungen zu den Gedichten des Eugenios von Palermo*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 14 (1905), pp. 468–478, and GIGANTE, *Eugenii Panormitani cit.*, pp. 10–11.

⁵⁸ τοὐναντίον δ' αὖ ὡς would have been even better, but I feared it would be too far away from the reading of the manuscripts. There is no hiatus after αὖ in medieval Greek.

paroxytone ending in Eugenios). It is out of the question that Eugenios of Palermo would have made so many awful metrical mistakes in just five lines. He is much too good for that. This is the work of someone messing with his poetry, deliberately changing the words and altering the rhythms, performing the worst botch job ever.

If there are still doubts, please consider how nonsensical line 43 is in its present form: «for roses grow even among the bramble». What is that even supposed to mean? True enough, roses do occasionally grow in the vicinity of brambles, but does the rare sight of roses growing amidst brambles justify the unusual metaphor? In fact, Eugenios of Palermo alludes to a well-known medieval saying indicating that good may come from bad. The saying takes two forms: (i) one may collect or cull «roses from thorns» (ρόδα ἐξ ἀκανθῶν)⁵⁹ or (ii) «roses grow among thorns»⁶⁰. For the latter variant, see for instance *Gnomologium Vaticanum*: καὶ γὰρ τὰ ρόδα ἐν ἀκάνθαις φύεται; *Life of Aesop* G: καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀκάνθαις τὰ καλὰ φύεται ρόδα; Joseph Bryennios: καθάπερ ἐν ἀκάνθαις ρόδα φύονται τε καὶ αὐξάνονται⁶¹. The obvious literary parallel leaves no doubt that Eugenios of Palermo must have referred to «thorns», not «brambles» in the metrical conclusion to his prologue. Divination has become a thing of the past, but were one nonetheless inclined to venture a conjectural emendation, one might think of something like κὰν γὰρ ἀκάνθαις καλὰ φύεται ρόδα, which has four virtues absent from the text as transmitted in the Be manuscripts: it is decent Greek, it is metrically correct, it makes sense, and it is supported by literary parallels with other medieval texts, especially version G of the *Life of Aesop*.

⁵⁹ See, for instance, P. GALLAY (ed.), *Gregor von Nazianz: Briefe*, Berlin 1969, p. 132 line 8 (no. 183): καὶ ὄντως ρόδα ἐξ ἀκανθῶν, ὡς ἡ παροιμία, συλλέγομεν, and J.-L. VAN DIETEN, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung des Panoplia Dogmatike des Nikeitas Choniates*, Amsterdam 1970, p. 65 line 40: ὡς ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ρόδα τρυγήσαι.

⁶⁰ Ph. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΗΣ, *Αἱ παρὰ τῷ Θεσσαλονίκῃς Ἐνσταθίῳ δημῳδαὶ παροιμίαι καὶ παροιμῳδαὶ φράσεις*, in *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 10 (1931), pp. 3-29: 12-13 [repr. in *id.*, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, VI, Ἀθήναι 1955, pp. 361-362].

⁶¹ L. STERNBACH, *De Gnomologio Vaticano inedito*, in *Wiener Studien* 9 (1887), pp. 175-206: 187 [repr. in *id.*, *Gnomologium Vaticanum e codice Vaticano 743*, Berlin 1963, p. 13 (no. 22)]; B.E. PERRY (ed.), *Aesopica*, I, Urbana 1952, p. 63 (§ 88a); N. TOMADAKIS (ed.), *Ἰωσήφ Βρυεννίου ἀνέκδοτα ἔργα κρητικά*, in *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 19 (1949), pp. 131-154: 143, lines 142-143.

8. PREFATORY TEXTS

The B ϵ manuscripts open with five prefatory texts. The first is a blurb text telling prospective readers what a marvelous book *Stephanites and Ichnelates* is: (i) it is the work of Perzoue (Burzōy, the Persian translator), (ii) it is full of pleasure, and (iii) it conveys wisdom, but in a roundabout way. The text is written down as an ornamental heading in manuscripts L1 and B2, but it is highly unlikely that it was ever anything else than a paratext pitching *Stephanites and Ichnelates* to potential readers. In fact, it is highly unlikely that PT1 formed part of the original Eugenic recension: it looks like a later intrusion.

The second text is a dedicatory epigram indicating that the translation of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* had been commissioned by Eugenios of Palermo, emir of the king of Sicily and Calabria and a man of knowledge (γνωστικός)⁶². The translators hired by Eugenios clearly lacked his poetic talents because language and versification leave much to be desired. The third text is the prologue by Eugenios of Palermo: it is by far the most important of the prefatory texts and will be discussed in detail in §§ 11, 12 and 13.

The fourth text is a caption to an image that showed Perzoue in conversation with Chosroes (Khusrau I Anurshirwan) when the former was sent on a mission to retrieve the text of the *Panchatranta* (the ultimate source text of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*). It relates to the beginning of *prolegomenon* 1 (PUNTONI 3.10–4.2)⁶³. In P3, the caption is mistakenly attached to the preceding text (the prologue); in L1, it is copied in the lower margin of the page as if the scribe was not sure where to put it. In B2 (fol. 5v), it is written below an image, but not the image one would expect. It is an exquisite drawing of beehives, trees in blossom, and bees swarming around and extracting nectar, which illustrates the end of the prologue (PT 3.44) where we read that «the bee sits on roses». Curiously enough, B2 does have an image of Perzoue and Chosroes in conversation, but on the next page where *prolegomenon* 1 begins.

⁶² *Prolegomenon* 1, § 1 (PUNTONI 3.10), likewise, introduces Perzoue (= Burzōy, the Persian translator) as a γνωστικόν ἄνδρα. *Prolegomenon* II, § 1 (PUNTONI 17.5–6, app. crit.) states that *Stephanites and Ichnelates* is a collection of Indian fables written down παρὰ γνωστικῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνθρώπων.

⁶³ It is worth noting that the scribe of O3 (the apograph of L1) put the text of PT 4 next to PUNTONI 3.10–12 (in the margin of fol. 5v), apparently because he understood that there is a link with the beginning of *prolegomenon* 1.

Since the three main manuscripts of the Eugenic recension, L1, B2 and P3, offer the caption among the prefatory texts, after PT 3 and before PT 5, it is highly likely that the image of Perzoue and Chosroes in conversation originally formed the frontispiece of this translation. If so, it would have been an appropriate tribute to Eugenios of Palermo because what Perzoue had been to Chosroes, he was to Tancred: a trusted and loyal servant of the king and an intellectual, a true *γνωστικός*, spending time and money on procuring the translation of oriental wisdom.

Among all the manuscripts of *Stephanites and Ichneutes*, B2 and L1 are the only two with lavish illustrations. It is reasonable to assume that the presentation copy produced at the behest of Eugenios of Palermo, too, was richly illustrated and that the Bε branch to which B2 and L1 belong, at least in this respect preserves an authentic tradition. This is not to say that the original illustrations of the Eugenic recension looked anything like the images in B2 and L1: the sketches in L1 are the work of an unexperienced draughtsman and the miniatures of B2, though much finer in execution, are clearly post-Byzantine. But the mere fact that B2 and L1 are illustrated, however badly or incongruously, strongly suggests that the Eugenic recension was too. Further evidence is provided by *Messan.* 161 (D), the thirteenth-century excerpt from Messina, which offers the text of two fables and some rough drawings next to these⁶⁴. Illustrating non-religious narrative texts appears to have been common in Southern Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: apart from the famous «Madrid Skylitzes» (*Matrit. Vit.* 26-2), copied and lavishly illustrated in Messina in the mid 1140s⁶⁵, one may cite the oldest Greek translation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* preserved in the early eleventh-century manuscript New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M 397 (once kept in the Grottaferrata library), which has a number of illustrations of Southern Italian provenance⁶⁶, and the Homeric illustrations in the renowned *Venetus A* (*Marc. gr.* 454), which were added to the manuscript in Sicily during the second half of the twelfth century⁶⁷.

⁶⁴ See MANCINI, *Codices graeci* cit., p. 219: «animalia (...) rudi calamo adumbrata».

⁶⁵ For the date and place of composition, see S. LUCÀ, *I Normanni e la «rinascita» del sec. XII*, in *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60 (1993), pp. 1-91: 36-57, and *id.*, *Dalle collezioni manoscritte di Spagna: libri originari o provenienti dall'Italia greca medievale*, in *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 44 (2007), pp. 39-96: 79-81.

⁶⁶ See E. HUSSELMAN, *A Fragment of Kalilah and Dimnah: From MS. 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, London 1938.

⁶⁷ See M.L. GAVAZZOLI TOMEA, *Miniature di confine: il ciclo troiano dell'Homeros Venetus A* (*Marc. gr.* 454), in *Aevum* 86 (2012), pp. 457-492.

The fifth prefatory text offers a concise summary of the book's contents (ἀνακεφαλαίωσις). This table of contents is found not only in Be, but also in Bζ manuscripts. It is important for two reasons. Firstly, the title given to chapter 3 of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, namely ἡ περιτράχηνος περιστέρα («the collared dove»), undoubtedly goes back to the Arabic original, not the Greek translation. It is the title unanimously given to this chapter in the Arabic tradition: the chapter is so named after its first fable which deals with a collared dove and several other animals⁶⁸. In none of the versions of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, however, is the dove identified as a *collared dove*, as it is in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. The dove is even omitted at its first occurrence in *Stephanites and Ichnelates*: whereas the fable in which it features, is called in Arabic «the story of the collared dove, the gazelle, the crow, the rat, and the tortoise», the Greek reads τὸ τοῦ κόρακος καὶ τοῦ μυῶς καὶ τῆς δορκάδος καὶ τῆς χελώνης παράδειγμα – no dove there, let alone a collared one⁶⁹. This curious omission must go back to Symeon Seth because it is shared by all manuscripts (both redactions A and B), and it was evidently not rectified by the translators employed by Eugenios of Palermo. Since the table of contents (PT 5) does not correlate with *Stephanites and Ichnelates* at this point, the conclusion can only be that the Eugenic translators adopted it from an Arabic manuscript of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and did not bother to check it against the actual text of chapter 3.

The second peculiarity to notice is that the table of contents states that the book contains «Perzou's mission to India and his exploration of the things over there» (= *prolegomena* I and III)⁷⁰ and «the Indian book which he brought from India, consisting of two treatises, the first *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, the second *The Collared Dove*». In Symeon

⁶⁸ See MIQUEL, *Le livre de Kalila et Dimna* cit., p. 133: «colombe au collier»; DE BLOIS, *Burzōy's Voyage to India* cit., p. 62: «ring-dove». The first to publish the Greek text, P.F. AURIVILLIUS, *Prolegomena ad librum Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*, Uppsala 1780, p. 7 (note b), failed to understand the meaning of περιτράχηνος περιστέρα because he was not aware of the Arabic tradition.

⁶⁹ For the Arabic original, see MIQUEL, *Le livre de Kalila et Dimna* cit., p. 133; KNATCHBULL, *Kalila and Dimna* cit., p. 192. For the Greek text, see SJÖBERG 201.4-5, cf. PUNTONI 157.5-6.

⁷⁰ The original order of the *prolegomena* in the Arabic tradition was II, I and III: the preface of Ibn al-Muqaffa' (II) followed by *Burzōy's voyage to India* (I) and *Life of Burzōy* (III). See DE BLOIS, *Burzōy's Voyage to India* cit., p. 63. The Arabic source of the table of contents seems to reflect this order by mentioning only the two Burzōy chapters and not Ibn al-Muqaffa's preface.

Seth's translation, the first of these two treatises is divided into two chapters: (1) Lion and Ox and (2) Trial of Ichnelates. The table of contents, however, leaves no doubt that there was an alternative chapter division in which the whole story of the two jackals, Stephanites and Ichnelates, was considered to be one long chapter. As the table of contents is a translation of an Arabic original, it follows that this alternative tradition, though not attested in the few Arabic versions so far published, must be Arabic as well⁷¹.

The restructuring of the chapters was therefore not a whim of the Eugenic translators: they just followed the example of the Arabic original they were translating. Three of the Bε manuscripts, L1 (and its apograph O3), B2 and R, preserve the alternative chapter division: for example, L1, fol. 30v: λόγος α' (beginning of chapter 1), fol. 77r: λόγος δεύτερος (chapter 3), and fol. 67r: no separation whatsoever between chapters 1 and 2⁷². The other Bε manuscripts have the usual sequence of chapters through contamination with Symeon Seth manuscripts. Of the four manuscripts that belong to the Bζ version, U and P2 have no chapter division at all; O2 has the usual Symeon Seth order; but M2 has the same chapter division as L1, B2 and R: fol. 227r ἀρχὴ τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῦ Στεφανίτου καὶ Ἰχνηλάτου· βιβλίον α' (chapter 1), fol. 238r no separation between chapters 1 and 2, and fol. 241v βιβλίον δεύτερον τὸ λεγόμενον ἢ περιτράχηλος περιστέρα (chapter 3). Though M2 evidently gets its numbering from the Eugenic recension, it is not clear whether M2 derives its title for the second chapter, ἢ περιτράχηλος περιστέρα, from the table of contents, or whether it alone of all manuscripts preserves the original Eugenic title of this chapter.

To summarize, the prefatory texts in Bε and Bζ allow us to reconstruct the archetype to a certain extent. It consisted of 13 chapters: 1 (1 + 2 in Symeon Seth), 2 (3), 3–9 (4–10), 10–13 (12–15) [the Eugenic recension omits chapter 11]. While its first chapter was named *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, chapters 2 to 13 bore the generic title of «*The Collared*

⁷¹ It is worth noting that the Trial of Ichnelates (chapter 2 in Symeon Seth) was written by the Arabic translator, Ibn al-Muqaffā', as a sequel to chapter 1, which may have caused confusion about whether it was a separate chapter or just the end of the preceding story: see DE BLOIS, *Burzōy's Voyage to India* cit., p. 61.

⁷² NOBLE, *Cultural Interchange* cit., II, pp. 1–37, mentions the chapter headings of O3 and B2, but not those of L1. For the chapter division in R, see O. CICENCI, *Deux variantes grecques de l'œuvre Stephanites et Ichnilates*, in *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 10 (1972), pp. 449–458: 455.

Dove» after the first fable of the second chapter: chapter 1 makes up c. 41% of the text, chapters 2 to 13 c. 59%⁷³. Before *Stephanites and Ichnelates* and *The Collared Dove*, it had three introductory chapters (*prolegomena*) that offered information about the creation of the book and the Arabic translation. The book opened with prefatory material: a dedicatory epigram in honour of Eugenios of Palermo (PT 2), a prologue offering information on the Greek translation (PT 3), a frontispiece showing Perzoue and Chosroes in conversation (probably as a silent tribute to Eugenios of Palermo and king Tancred) with a caption underneath (PT 4), and a table of contents (PT 5).

9. SCHOLIA

As argued above, the three scholia derive from a later stage in the manuscript tradition: they are situated somewhere between the archetype and the hyparchetype of the B manuscripts. The first scholion relates to the dedicatory epigram and reflects on the idea of *ωφέλεια* (PT 2.4), the benefit that intelligent people may reap from reading *Stephanites and Ichnelates*. It also stresses the complicated structure of the narrative: the book «is very tightly constructed» (κατασκευηὴν ὅτι καὶ πλείστην ἔχον ἐντός). The second scholion summarizes the contents of the prologue (ἐκ τοῦ προλόγου): it emphasizes that benefit may be gained from all kinds of sources including pagan wisdom (τῶν μὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφων), just as the bee culls its nectar from everywhere. The third scholion is the most interesting. It deals with a passage in the prologue where Eugenios of Palermo states that the Indian stories of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* «have a dark and twisted meaning and teach us through enigmas and parables» (PT 3.11–13). As the scholiast explains, this is because their author, being overly ambitious (φιλοδοξίαν νοσῶν), confronts his readers with «a circuitous narrative» (δρόμους καὶ περιδρόμους)⁷⁴, as if «he wishes to interrupt the story line» (ὡς τὸν εἰρμόν τῶν ἡγουμένων διασπῆσαι βουλόμενος), while «making the stories even more curious for inquisitive readers»

⁷³ I have counted the pages in Hilka's edition of the medieval Latin translation of the Eugenic recension (Sjöberg edits Symeon Seth's translation, Puntoni's edition includes chapter 11 – so both are useless). In HILKA, *Beiträge* cit., pp. 87–115 contain chapter 1 (1 and 2) and pp. 115–155 contain chapters 2–13 (3–10 and 12–15): i.e. 28 and 40 pages respectively.

⁷⁴ For a similar metaphorical use of *δρόμοι καὶ περιδρόμοι*, see D.V. ΚΑΙΜΑΚΙΣ, *Φιλόθεου Κόκκινου δογματικά έργα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1983, p. 46 line 23.

(πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας περιεργότερους καὶ τοὺς λόγους προβάλλεται). This pertinent observation obviously relates to the Chinese box structure of oriental storytelling which most Byzantine readers were not used to and, therefore, must have found confusing. It is worth noting that whereas Symeon Seth had removed most of the frame narrative to make the text more recognizable for Byzantine readers, Eugenios of Palermo's team of translators re-introduced the frame stories in chapters 1-7⁷⁵. This left at least one reader – the scholiast – puzzled and at a loss, so much so that he even questioned the ethics of the author of these intricate stories and thought they suffered from overwrought literary ostentatiousness.

10. RUBRICS

L1, B2 and P3 (and their apographs O3 and P4) have a number of rubrics at the beginning of *prolegomenon* 1⁷⁶. Since none of the other manuscripts that transmit the *prolegomena* have these rubrics, they cannot be a feature of the archetype; but since these B ϵ manuscripts all share the same lacunas (see R 3.3 and 9.5-6) and scribal errors (see R 2.6, 3.2, and above all, R 7.1 and 9.2), it is clear that the rubrics were introduced at a stage prior to the B ϵ hyparchetype. In other words, the rubrics find themselves in the same limbo as the scholia: somewhere between archetype and hyparchetype. The rubrics may very well have been introduced by the same person who wrote the scholia, but it could equally have been someone else. Whoever added the rubrics, must have had enough of the whole enterprise rather quickly because the rubrics abruptly stop after *prolegomenon* 1, § 6.

Some of the rubrics serve as mere structural elements indicating what is to follow (R 1 and 4) and some serve a similar purpose, but also add an interpretative layer (R 2-3 and 8-9), while others subtly orchestrate the readers' response to what is being said (R 5-7). Skipping the first category and moving on to the second, I should single out the elab-

⁷⁵ See NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption* cit., pp. 117-129.

⁷⁶ See SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichneutes* cit., pp. 83 and 84-85. In L1, the rubrics are found at fol. 4v (R 1), 5r (R 2), 5v (R 3), 6r (R 4), 6v (R 5-6), 7r (R 7-8) and 7v (R 9); in B2 at fol. 6r (R 1), 6v (R 2-4) and 7r (R 5-9); and in P3 at fol. 6r (R 1-2), 6v (R 3), 7r (R 4-7) and 7v (R 8-9). In L1 and B2 the rubrics are in red; in P3 they are in black and they are either incorporated in the main text or put in the margins. Contrary to what SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichneutes* cit., p. 85, states, L1 does have R 4: it is found in the lower margin of fol. 6r.

orate metaphor in R 2 which undeniably shows that the rubricator had familiarized himself with the writing style of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*; his knowledge of rhetoric in his remark in R 3 that the Indian friend of Perzoue displays his character (ἡθοποιεῖται) in the monologue that follows (PUNTONI 6.1–7.13); and his «anagogical» interpretation in R 8, indicating that Byzantine readers did indeed interpret *Stephanites and Ichnelates* allegorically. The third category is rather unusual. It begins with a maxim saying that friendship often shows daring in the face of envy (R 5) and ends with another maxim indicating that true friendship is characterized by shared wisdom and lack of dishonesty (R 7). Wedged in between these two maxims, there is a surprisingly personal statement (R 6): προσσχὼν τέλος ἄριστον ἐνταῦθα, φίλε, / οἱ φιλοῦντες μάθετε φιλεῖν τοὺς φίλους, «seeing a happy ending here, friend: friends, learn to love your friends». The rubricator addresses the readers first in the singular (as he also does in R 7.1: ξένε, and in R 8.5: φίλε) and then in the plural: φίλε and οἱ φιλοῦντες, probably for metrical reasons. Vastly more important than the grammatical anacoluthon, however, is that he envisages the reading audience as an assembly of friends who need guidance in the intricate rules of friendship and may find it in *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, a book that indeed discusses the topic of friendship in various guises⁷⁷. In fact, almost all the rubrics (with the exception of R 1 and R 4) deal with the subject of friendship, its rules and its secret delights: it is all about male bonding. The most likely setting for the reading out of this text, including the rubrics, would be a gathering of like-minded spirits in a *theatron* – a literary network⁷⁸. As is well known, networking in Byzantium finds its moral justification in the concept of φιλία, «friendship», the social and cultural ties that bind the ruling class together and keep others out⁷⁹. The same appears to apply here. I would argue, therefore, that the rubrics allow us a rare glimpse into the reading habits of «friends», social equals who come together and discuss literature with one another in a friendly environment.

⁷⁷ See KRÖNUNG, *The Wisdom of the Beasts* cit., pp. 430–431.

⁷⁸ For the *theatron* in Palaiologan times, see the excellent study by N. GAUL, *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik: Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten in der frühen Palaiologenzeit*, Wiesbaden 2011 (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 10), pp. 17–53; see also I. TOTH, *Rhetorical Theatron in Late Byzantium: The Example of Palaiologan Imperial Orations*, in *Theatron: Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, hrsg. von M. GRÜNBAERT, Berlin 2007 (Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr., 13), pp. 429–448.

⁷⁹ See, for example, E. LIMOUSIN, *Les lettrés en société: «φίλος βίος» ου «πολιτικός βίος»?*, in *Byzantion* 69 (1999), pp. 344–365.

Sjöberg failed to notice that the last five rubrics (R 5–9) are in verse, although they are clearly copied as such in L1 and O3⁸⁰. Metrical rubrics are typical of fictional narratives in the middle ages. The scholarly discussion has largely been whether rubrics are structural elements that go back to the author or later additions by scribes⁸¹. This presupposes that there is a neat distinction between original and copy, which there is not in the pre-modern era. Rather than thinking in terms of authorial intention and scribal intervention, we should view the various stages of textual transmission and reception as mediated through textual communities that create new readings and, thus, new texts. The rubricator turns his copy of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* into a text to be shared with his friends and to be read and interpreted at their literary gatherings, and thus it becomes *their* text.

EUGENIOS OF PALERMO

II. TRANSLATION

In the dedicatory epigram (PT 2.5), *Stephanites and Ichnelates* is said to have been «translated» (μεταβληθεῖσα) into Greek by Eugenios of Palermo. As so often in dedicatory epigrams, this does not mean that he translated the text himself, but that he commissioned a translation: Byzantine Greek does not distinguish between «making something» and «having something made»⁸². In lines 11–12, however, Eugenios of Palermo is said to have «given» the text «to us» as «a gift of instruction», thus emphasizing his role as a donor rather than translator. The prologue is even clearer. Eugenios of Palermo explains at PT 3.16–17 that he «transferred (the text) into Greek» (πρὸς τὴν ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν διεπορθμεύσαμεν), i.e., he had it translated, «employing some men well acquainted with the Arabic language to assist [him] in [his] wish (to see it translated)» (τισιν ἀνδράσι χρησάμενοι ἀντιλαμβανομένοις τῇ ἡμῶν προθυμίᾳ, εὖ εἰδόσι τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων γλώσσης). In more mundane terms, Eugenios of Palermo hired a team of translators to translate *Stephanites and Ichnelates*. Since

⁸⁰ But it did not escape the notice of Ioannis Vassis who lists them in his second incipitarium: I. VASSIS, *Initia carminum byzantinorum. Supplementum 1*, in *Παρεκβολαί 1* (2011), pp. 187–285.

⁸¹ See P.A. AGAPITOS, *Genre, Structure and Poetics in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances of Love*, in *Symbolae Osloenses* 79 (2004), pp. 7–101: 24–26, 87–88.

⁸² See M.D. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts*, I, Wien 2003 (Wiener byzantinistische Studien, 24), p. 159.

a contemporary source describes him as «a man as fully expert in Greek as in Arabic, with a knowledge also of Latin» and since we know that Eugenios translated Ptolemy's *Optics* from Arabic into Latin⁸³, there can be no doubt that he could have translated *Stephanites and Ichnelates* himself. The reason he did not is simply the fact that as ἀμπαῖς of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily he had better things to do.

In the old days before Sjöberg, when people still thought that Symeon Seth had translated the whole lot, the general impression was that Eugenios of Palermo had at best procured a copy of the text and that the prologue could therefore not be by him: the person speaking there had to be Symeon Seth⁸⁴. Now that we know that there were at least three translators: Symeon Seth, the anonymous translator of version Bδ, and Eugenios of Palermo's team of translators, the problem no longer exists.

It is worth noting that the mistake of first attributing the whole *Stephanites and Ichnelates* to Symeon Seth and then getting confused about the dedicatory epigram and the prologue is old. In his language-internal translation of the dedicatory epigram, Theodosios Zygomalas took the drastic measure of deleting the name of Eugenios of Palermo altogether and flippantly replacing it with that of Symeon Seth, thus turning the latter into «the admiral and king of Sicily»⁸⁵. Minoïdis Minas' approach was slightly more subtle: in his adaptation of the dedicatory epigram in manuscript P4, he added the name of Symeon Seth as translator, but at least allowed Eugenios of Palermo to stay as donor⁸⁶. In the prologue, however, he unscrupulously added a few lines of his own (at PT 3.14-15) because he struggled to understand why Symeon Seth, being the translator, would have needed to hire a team of translators: ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ, πράγματος ἄλλως δυσχεροῦς τοῦ καλῶς μεθερμηνεύειν, οὐ μόνῃ τῇ ἡμετέρα ἐτερογλώττῳ γνώσει ἐπέποιθμεν, ἀλλ' ἀνδράσι χρῆσάμενοι (P4, fol. 5v),

⁸³ For the quotation, see W. BERSCHIN, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, Washington 1988, p. 234. For the translation, see A. LEJEUNE, *L'Optique de Claude Ptolémée dans la version latine d'après l'arabe de l'émir Eugène de Sicile*, Louvain 1956.

⁸⁴ See HASKINS, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* cit., pp. 175-176; JAMISON, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* cit., p. 17; PAPADEMETRIOU, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition* cit., pp. 109-111.

⁸⁵ Ed. STEPPOU, *Die neugriechische Metaphrase* cit., p. 187.

⁸⁶ P4 offers after line PT 2.5: παρὰ Συμεῶν ἀκούοντος μεγίστρου, / κτήμα δ' ὑπῆρχεν ἀνδρὸς τῶν διασήμων / λέγω τοῦ σοφοῦ, etc. (at fol. 4r).

«therefore, since translating well is generally difficult, I did not only rely on my own linguistic expertise, but also used other people, etc.»⁸⁷.

Although Eugenios of Palermo did not translate *Stephanites and Ichnelates* himself, but employed others, it is worth looking into his own views on the problems of translating Arabic. In his preface to the Latin translation of the Arabic version of Ptolemy's *Optics*, he writes: «The universal forms of speech having particular instances, i.e. idioms, it is not easy, especially in a faithful translation, to translate from one language to another; and particularly for one who wishes to translate from Arabic into Greek or Latin, the difficulty is compounded by the fact that there are major differences between these languages, both in verbs and nouns and in literary composition»⁸⁸. The reference to universals and particulars (idioms) bears out the renewed interest in Aristotelian thought among twelfth-century grammarians and shows that Eugenios of Palermo was familiar with scholastic discussions concerning the relation between concepts and things⁸⁹. It also reflects the sobering reality that, since the tower of Babel, the universal language was replaced by a plethora of local idioms, each with its own set of rules. Eugenios sees in this linguistic differentiation the main stumbling-block for translators, especially if they wish to stay close to the original texts, because, while the universal concepts remain the same, the ways in which they are expressed differ from language to language. As he points out, translating from Arabic into Greek and Latin is particularly difficult because of the differences in grammar and «composition», the way in which discourse is structured and given form.

Whereas Eugenios of Palermo, in the prologue to his translation of Ptolemy's *Optics*, presents Arabic, Greek and Latin as equivalent inasmuch as all three languages, despite their differences, derive from the very same source, his attitude toward Arabic is noticeably less positive in the prologue to *Stephanites and Ichnelates*. In lines PT 3.32–34, he

⁸⁷ ἐπέποιθμεν is a mistake for the Homeric pluperfect ἐπέπιθμεν. In general Minas has a penchant for pedantic Greek: in PT 4.1, he substitutes ἀνάξ (Homer again!) for βασιλεύς with a blatant disregard for stylistic register.

⁸⁸ Ed. LEJEUNE, *L'Optique de Claude Ptolémée* cit., p. 5: «(...) universa genera linguarum proprium habent ydioma, et alterius in alterum translatio, fideli maxime interpreti, non est facilis, et presertim arabicam in grecam aut latinam transferre volenti tanto difficilior est quanto maior diversitas inter illas, tam in verbis et nominibus quam in litterali compositione, reperitur».

⁸⁹ See V. LAW, *The History of Linguistics in Europe from Plato to 1600*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 158–165.

expresses his fear that people may censure him for «tarnishing [his] tongue, engaged in Hellenic and theological writings, with boorish and barbaric fables (μυθικαῖς καὶ βαρβαρώδεσιν ἀγροικίαις)». This is duly repeated in the dedicatory epigram (PT 2.5-6): *Stephanites and Ichneletes* was «translated into the Greek language from Arabic and barbaric nonsense (ἐξ ἀραβικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρώδους ὕθλου)». Since «barbaric» can mean both «non-Greek» and «uncivilized», it is not always clear what being a βάρβαρος stands for in our sources⁹⁰. In the dedicatory epigram, which is not by Eugenios of Palermo, there is an almost onomatopoeic equation of «Arabic» and «barbaric». In the prologue, which is by him, things are less clear: on the one hand, there is the connection with boorishness, lack of *paideia*, not belonging to the intellectual elite; on the other, the mysophobic idea of his «tongue/language» (τῆν... γλῶτταν ἡμῶν) being «tarnished», as if the original text was somehow a source of contamination, is a form of othering.

The difference between the two prologues may be a matter of age (Eugenios was c. 20 to 30 when he translated Ptolemy's *Optics* and in his early sixties when he commissioned *Stephanites and Ichneletes*) or worsening relations between the two largest linguistic communities in Sicily due to the steady advance of the third competitor, Latin⁹¹. But the most likely explanation is that Ptolemy's *Optics* is an originally Greek text on a serious scientific subject while *Stephanites and Ichneletes* is not: it is Indian/Arabic wisdom conveyed in the form of fables and fictional tales. In the case of the former, it is easy to pretend that there is a universal language for subjects, such as refraction of light; in the case of the latter, fictionality fundamentally undermines whatever ethical message is conveyed.

The Indian/Arabic wisdom is also suspect because it is not Christian. At the very beginning of the prologue (PT 3.1-7), Eugenios of Palermo comes up with the classic excuse for showing interest in pagan thought: just as the Israelites despoiled the Egyptians from their gold and silver in the *Book of Exodus*, so too have Christians the right to plunder pagan wisdom as long as it serves a Christian agenda⁹². His source for

⁹⁰ See A. KALDELLIS, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 292-295.

⁹¹ For the use of the three languages at court, see A. METCALFE, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam*, London-New York 2003, pp. 99-113.

⁹² See J.S. ALLEN, *The Despoliation of Egypt in Pre-Rabbinic, Rabbinic and Patristic Traditions*, Leiden-Boston 2008.

the topos, Gregory of Nazianzos' homily *On Easter* (PG 36, col. 652A-B), adds another instance of robbing the heathens: Rachel stealing her father's household idols and Jacob eloping with her and taking his livestock and possessions against the will of her father, Laban. Towards the end of the prologue, Eugenios of Palermo alludes to arguably the most famous text on the topic: Basil the Great's *Address to young men on the right use of Greek literature*. In § 4.7-10 of this essay, St. Basil advises the students to extract from pagan texts what is useful but to discard what is harmful, just as bees cull nectar from flowers but leave the fragrance and the colour for others (read: non-Christians) to enjoy, or just as gardeners are eager to pick roses but stay away from the thorns⁹³. At line PT 3.44, Eugenios derives the metaphor of the nectar-culling bee from St. Basil⁹⁴. And at lines PT 3.35-36 and 45-46 τὸ ἐκ μυθεύσεως καρπούμενοι ὄφελος τὸ βλαβερὸν ἐς κόρακα εἰκότως ἀπορρίψωμεν and τὸ χρήσιμον ζητήσων ὡς τερπνὸν ῥόδον, τὰναντία δ' αὖ ὡς ἀκάνθας ἐκτρέπου, he clearly echoes St. Basil's admonition: καὶ καθάπερ τῆς ῥοδωνιάς τοῦ ἄνθους δρεψάμενοι τὰς ἀκάνθας ἐκκλίνομεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ὅσον χρήσιμον καρπωσάμενοι, τὸ βλαβερὸν φυλαξόμεθα⁹⁵.

Nonetheless, despite the sanction of these two church fathers, showing interest in secular learning was not without its dangers and many Byzantine intellectuals were in fact accused of paganism⁹⁶. This is why Eugenios expresses his fear in lines PT 3.34-35 that people may question his faith because of his interest in «useless writings», such as *Stephanites and Ichmelates*. And this is also why he specifies that his «tongue», still virginally untainted, is usually «engaged in theological writings»⁹⁷.

⁹³ *Basilio di Cesarea, Discorso ai Giovani*, (...) a cura di M. NALDINI, Firenze 1984 (Biblioteca Patristica, 3), pp. 92-94. See also N. WILSON, *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature*, London 1975, pp. 23 (lines 4.34-51) and 48.

⁹⁴ The industrious nectar-culling bee is already mentioned at PT 3.7-9, with an explicit reference to *Proverbs* and an implicit reference to Isocrates, *Ad Demonium*, and Gregory of Nazianzos, *Funeral Oration on Basil the Great*: see below n. 148. In the last source, the person compared to a bee collecting honey from everywhere is St. Basil himself.

⁹⁵ This passage in Basil the Great's *Address* has inspired Amphilochios of Ikonion's *For Seleukos*, lines 38-47, another patristic source Eugenios of Palermo may have known: *Amphilochii Iconiensis Iambi ad Seleucum*, ed. E. OBERG, Berlin 1969 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 9), p. 30.

⁹⁶ See LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry* cit., pp. 96-98 and 105-107.

⁹⁷ These theological writings may be his hymns (for which see LUZZI, *Hymnographica Eugeniana* cit.) or his (lost) *Life of St. Agatha* (for which, see GIGANTE, *Eugenii Panormitani versus* cit., p. 12).

Eugenios of Palermo refers to the language of the translation as ἡ ἑλληνικὴ γλῶττα (PT 3.24–25), ἡ ἑλλάς γλῶσσα (PT 3.16) and ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶττα (PT 3.14). It is clear that this stands for learned Greek, the artificial language that imitates the rules of classical Greek in post-classical times, just as ἡ ἑλληνικὴ σοφία (PT 3.17) is ancient wisdom, not Byzantine, and Eugenios' ἑλληνικὰ ποιήματα (PT 3.32) are secular writings that imitate ancient literary models. There are of course various degrees of learned Greek, from high to low, but as I pointed out in § 4, most versions of the Eugenic recension contain a surprising number of vernacular elements, and even in the version with the highest stylistic register, Be, the Greek is still fairly lowbrow – not quite ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶττα then, though it is not Rhomaic either (as the vernacular is called in the middle ages)⁹⁸.

Regardless of the stylistic register, it is worth noting that *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is translated into Greek, and not into Latin. This is remarkable because all other translations produced in Sicily in the twelfth century are from Greek or Arabic into Latin: *Stephanites and Ichneutes* is the exception to the rule⁹⁹. These translations include philosophical and scientific texts that catered to the needs of scholars in the Latin West (Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolemy, and Proclus), but also an apocalyptic text, the so-called *Sibilla Erithea* (Erythraean Sibyl), which Neilos Doxapatres had reportedly translated from Chaldean into Greek, and Eugenios of Palermo subsequently from Greek into Latin¹⁰⁰. There are two versions of this apocalyptic text, both dating from the later years of the reign

⁹⁸ At the end of *prolegomenon* II, § 8, where Ibn al-Muqaffa' explains that when he saw that Burzōy had translated the Indian original into Persian, he decided to translate it from Persian into Arabic, a few manuscripts add that it was then translated into Greek. *Vat. gr.* 2098 (V4) uses the word ἑλληνιστί: see HILKA, *Beiträge* cit., p. 64; but P3 (*Par. Suppl. gr.* 692, fol. 15r) has ῥωμαϊκῶς.

⁹⁹ See D. MOLININI, *The First Sicilian School of Translators*, in *Nova Tellus* 27 (2009), pp. 193–205: 198. For Latin translations replacing Greek originals, as evidenced by the lack of Greek copies, see S. LUCA, *La produzione libraria*, in *Byzantino-Sicula*, VI: *La Sicilia e Bisanzio nei secoli XI e XII. Atti delle X Giornate di studio della Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini (Palermo, 27–28 maggio 2011)*, a cura di R. LAVAGNINI – C. ROGNONI, Palermo 2014 (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici. Quaderni, 18), pp. 131–174: 165–166.

¹⁰⁰ For the title of the *Sibilla Erithea*, see O. HOLDER-EGGER, *Italienische Propheetien des 13. Jahrhunderts*, in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 15 (1890), pp. 143–178: 155 (long version); Ch. JOSTMANN, *Sibilla Erithea Babilonica. Papsttum und Prophetie im 13. Jahrhundert*, Hannover 2006 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften*, 54), p. 498, app. crit. (short version).

of Frederick II: the short one from 1241, the long one from 1249. Although the *Sibilla Erithea* in its present state has nothing to do with Norman Sicily, it cannot be excluded that it goes back to an older text which did have a connection with Eugenios of Palermo¹⁰¹. The text which first Doxapatres and then Eugenios are said to have translated, is called a βασιλογραφεῖον, a prophetic book predicting the future of emperors, which allegedly was kept in the treasury of Manuel I Komnenos. If any of this is true, one may understand why the ruler of Sicily (William II?) would have been interested in the book. But the point is that he would have wanted to read it in Latin – not in Greek, let alone Chaldean. Sjöberg's supposition that Eugenios of Palermo had been asked to produce a mirror of princes for a Norman heir-apparent¹⁰², is therefore highly unlikely. If *Stephanites and Ichnelates* had been commissioned for use at court, the translation would have been in Latin, not Greek¹⁰³.

Given the choice of language, there can be no doubt that the target audience consisted of Greek-speaking intellectuals in Sicily and Calabria. The dedicatory epigram expressly states that Eugenios of Palermo presented the translation of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* «to us» (PT 2.11: πρὸς ἡμᾶς): this collective *we* must be «us Greeks in Southern Italy» (for more information, see below, § 13).

¹⁰¹ This is denied by JOSTMANN, *Sibilla Erithea* cit., pp. 196–246; but see JAMISON, *Admiral Eugenios of Sicily* cit., pp. 21–32; P.J. ALEXANDER, *The Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses in the Medieval West and the Beginnings of Joachimism*, in *Prophecy and Millenarianism: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves*, ed. by A. WILLIAMS, Harlow 1980, pp. 53–106: 72–73, 91–92; and W. BRANDES, *Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat: Apokalyptische Schriften und Kaiservaticinien als Medium antikaiserlicher Propaganda*, in *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, hrsg. von W. BRANDES – F. SCHMIEDER, Berlin 2008 (Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr., 16), pp. 157–200: 175–177.

¹⁰² SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* cit., pp. 108–109.

¹⁰³ Things may have been different for occasional poetry, such as Eugenios of Palermo's panegyric to William II (no. 24; see C. CUPANE, *Eugenios von Palermo: Rhetorik und Realität am normannischen Königshof des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *Dulce Melos, II: Akten des 5. internationalen Symposiums «Lateinische und griechische Dichtung in Spätantike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit»* (Wien, 25.–27. November 2010), hrsg. von V. ZIMMERMANN-PANAGL, Pisa 2013, pp. 247–270) or the poems celebrating William II and his mother which the Alexandrian poet Ibn Qalāqis wrote when he visited the island in 1168 (ed. A. DE SIMONE, *Splendori e misteri di Sicilia in un'opera di Ibn Qalāqis*, Messina 1996, pp. 70–72; see also J. JOHNS, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān*, Cambridge 2002, p. 233 n. 87). There is a slight chance that these were actually performed in the presence of the king (though how much he will have understood is another matter). But listening to a court poet declaiming in Greek or Arabic one afternoon in Palermo is not the same thing as reading a serious text on the future of empires or the right governance.

12. ALLEGORY

The prologue signals at two points that the right approach to *Stephanites and Ichnelates* is to understand it allegorically. The first is in lines PT 3.11–13, where we read that the Indian fables «have a dark and twisted meaning and teach us by means of story-telling through enigmas and parables»: σκοτεινὸν δὲ καὶ παρηλλαγμένον λόγον ἐπέχοντα καὶ δι' αἰνιγμάτων τε καὶ παραβολῶν ἱστορικῶς ἡμᾶς ἐκπαιδεύοντα. This alludes to the beginning of *Proverbs* which states how «a man of understanding» (ὁ νοήμων) will benefit from listening to Solomon's sayings: νοήσει τε παραβολὴν καὶ σκοτεινὸν λόγον, ῥήσεις τε σοφῶν καὶ αἰνίγματα, «he will understand a parable and dark language; the words of the wise and their enigmas» (*Prov.* 1:6). Rhetoric and Christian hermeneutics alike consider enigmas, riddles, parables, myths and, in fact, any form of obscure fabulation as texts with a surface meaning (ἱστορικῶς) and a deeper allegorical message¹⁰⁴. It is clear from his choice of words that Eugenios of Palermo thinks this is also true of the fictional stories in *Stephanites and Ichnelates*: they teach us, but with a twist.

The second passage in which Eugenios of Palermo is arguing for an allegorical interpretation of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* is more straightforward. In lines PT 3.25–30, he draws an analogy with the *Song of Songs* which the church fathers allegorized symbolically: πρὸς τὴν κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Λόγου νύμφευσιν ἑτεροτροπολογικῶς ἀλληγόρευσαν¹⁰⁵, because they refused to take its sensual and even erotic contents in a literal sense (ἱστορικῶς). The implicit message here is that one should understand *Stephanites and Ichnelates* allegorically like the church fathers did with the *Song of Songs*. In lines PT 3.35–41, Eugenios of Palermo states that man – a mixed bag of carnal and spiritual desires – should not seek the flesh but strive after the spirit, thus immortalizing the former. Likewise, when reading *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, one ought to discard what is detrimental to the spirit and retain what is useful if one wishes to reap the benefits of this marvellous book. Here there is an implicit contrast between the body of the text and its spirit, its inner meaning.

¹⁰⁴ See P. ROLOS, *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel*, Washington 2005, pp. 140–145.

¹⁰⁵ The choice of words is interesting: Eugenios of Palermo alludes to *Cant.* 3:11 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ νυμφεύσεως αὐτοῦ and appears to be familiar with its interpretation by Ps. Athanasius' *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* (6th c.?): ὅτε γὰρ γέγονε νύμφευσίς τοῦ Λόγου πρὸς ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐνώσεως, τότε καὶ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκην πεποίηκε (PG 28, col. 357A).

In Byzantium allegory takes two forms: (i) allegorical interpretations of fictional texts, such as the Homeric epics¹⁰⁶, and (ii) Christian hermeneutics, especially with reference to the *Song of Songs*¹⁰⁷. The difference between the two is that while fictional texts do not pretend to be true outside the realm of fiction, the Christian canon by its very nature lays claim to truth. An allegorical reading of the *Iliad* detects, layer by layer, possible interpretations; an analogical reading of the *Song of Songs* allows the text to reveal its divine truth. As from the eleventh century, however, these two allegorical traditions begin to merge: despite the vehement protests of Tzetzes, some allegorists recognize Christian truths and ethics in fictional texts¹⁰⁸. A good example, and one that brings us back to Norman Sicily, is the allegorical interpretation of Heliodoros' *Aethiopica* by «Philippos the Philosopher» who can most probably be identified with Philagathos of Cerami¹⁰⁹. Philagathos' allegoresis is first

¹⁰⁶ See H. HUNGER, *Allegorische Mythendeutung in der Antike und bei Johannes Tzetzes*, in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 3 (1954), pp. 35-54; P. CESARETTI, *Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio*, Milano 1991; ROILOS, *Amphoteroglossia* cit., pp. 114-139.

¹⁰⁷ See E. JEFFREYS, *The Song of Songs and Twelfth-Century Byzantium*, in *Prudentia* 23 (1991), pp. 36-54, and ROILOS, *Amphoteroglossia* cit., pp. 203-208 and 222-223.

¹⁰⁸ See P. ROILOS, *Unshapely Bodies and Beautifying Embellishments: The Ancient Epics in Byzantium, Allegorical Hermeneutics, and the Case of Ioannes Diakonon Galenos*, in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 64 (2014), pp. 231-246.

¹⁰⁹ The authorship is disputed. L. TARÁN, *The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus' Aethiopica*, in *Σοφίης μαθήτορες / «Chercheurs de sagesse». Hommage à Jean Pépin*, publié sous la direction de M.-O. GOULET-CAZE - G. MADEC - D. O'BRIEN, Paris 1992, pp. 203-230 [repr. in ID., *Collected Papers*, Leiden 2001, pp. 74-108], and A. ACCONCIA LONGO, *Filippo il filosofo a Constantinopoli*, in *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 28 (1991), pp. 3-21, and EAD., *La «questione» Filippo il Filosofo*, in *Néa Póμη* 7 (2010), pp. 11-39, attribute the text to a 5th-century or 6th-century Neoplatonic philosopher. Others identify the author with Philagathos of Cerami. Apart from the homonymy (we know that Philagathos was called Philippos before entering the monastery and bore the honorific title of «philosopher») and the fact that the text has come down to us in a Southern Italian manuscript, there are three reasons for identifying him as the author: (i) striking lexical and stylistic parallels between the *hermeneia* and the homilies: see CUPANE, *Filagato da Cerami* cit., pp. 16-20; (ii) identical patterns in the prose rhythm of the *hermeneia* and the homilies: see M.G. DULUŞ, *Allegorizing Love in the Twelfth Century: Philagathos of Cerami and the Allegorical Exegesis of Heliodorus' Aethiopica*, [Unpublished MA thesis], Budapest 2007 (available online: http://www.etd.ceu.hu/2007/dulus_mircea.pdf), pp. 46-48, and (iii) the low literary status of Heliodoros' novel and the lack of evidence for its use in the educational system before the Byzantine period (see R. HUNTER, «Philip the Philosopher» on the *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus, in *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel*, ed. by S. HARRISON - M. PASCHALIS - S. FRANGOULIDIS, Groningen 2005 [Ancient Narrative. Supplementum 4], pp. 123-138: 123-124) and, in contrast, the serious scholarly engage-

tropological (ethical) and then anagogical (spiritual), arguing that Heliodoros' novel teaches us the four cardinal virtues and that it forms the story of the soul's reunion with the mind, elevation to higher wisdom and return to the divine. Though the concepts are Neoplatonic, the allegory's Christian intent is hardly concealed. Philagathos himself draws an implicit comparison with the Christian hermeneutical tradition by quoting the *Song of Songs* at the very beginning of his interpretation¹¹⁰. In a later text, John Eugenikos's *protheoria* to Heliodoros, there is an explicit link with the *Song of Songs*: bigots who think that the novel, despite its allegorizing message, is inappropriate for young students, should also object to the *Song of Songs* because it «novelizes» the sacred union of Christ and His bride (δραματογραφοῦσα) and «represents» the words and acts of divine love «in a rather graphic manner» (εικονογραφοῦσα)¹¹¹.

Both in Eugenios of Palermo's prologue and in John Eugenikos' *protheoria*, the reference to the *Song of Songs* is clearly meant as a defensive measure. Its aim is to preempt possible criticisms. If reading and enjoying the *Song of Songs* is justified as long as one distinguishes between surface message and allegorical meaning, then, so the argument goes, there is nothing wrong either with reading Heliodoros' *Aethiopica* or *Stephanites and Ichnelates*.

Although Eugenios of Palermo states that *Stephanites and Ichnelates* ought to be read allegorically, he does not offer an allegorical interpretation himself. I know of three attempts to allegorize the text. In R 8, the rubricator offers an «anagogical» reading of PUNTONI 8.3–8, a passage he calls a «parable» because it contains a comparison: «a wise man (...) is like a person who builds his house on solid rock». His anagogical interpretation goes as follows: the wise man is none other than Perzoue and the rock on which he builds his house is his trusted friend who will help him find the treasure he is looking for. The second instance is a story in Pachymeres about how Michael VIII Palaiologos, eager to restore the peace in the church, convoked a meeting with bishops and monks in

ment with the text in Byzantine times (Photios, Psellos, John Eugenikos, and others): for which see J.R. MORGAN, *Heliodoros*, in *The Novel in the Ancient World*, ed. by G. SCHMELING, Leiden 1996 (Mnemosyne. Supplementum 159), pp. 417–456: 422–424.

¹¹⁰ Ed. N. BIANCHI, *Il codice del romanzo: tradizione manoscritta e ricezione dei romanzi greci*, Bari 2006, pp. 49–57: 50, lines 31–32. See H. GÄRTNER, *Charikleia in Byzanz*, in *Antike und Abendland* 15 (1969), pp. 47–69: 67–68.

¹¹¹ Ed. H. GÄRTNER, *Johannes Eugenikos: Protheoria zu Heliodoros Aithiopia*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 64 (1971), pp. 322–325: 325, lines 43–47; see also *id.*, *Charikleia in Byzanz cit.*, pp. 64–69.

1279 and tried to get them on his side by opening his speech with a fable from *Stephanites and Ichneutes*, so well-known that they all understood the message¹¹². Unfortunately Pachymeres does not tell us which fable exactly, only that the emperor's audience knew it and therefore understood its morale, which was that those that attack (i.e. the anti-unionists) should not come before those that do nothing (i.e. the silent majority).

The third allegorical interpretation is even more interesting. It is a dedicatory epigram in *Par. gr.* 2231 (P1), written by a certain Georgios Kerameas for Andronikos Palaiologos, the father of Michael VIII (the family were apparently huge fans of *Stephanites and Ichneutes*)¹¹³. Given the fact that the family name Kerameas is attested in Thessaloniki and that the handwriting dates to c. 1220–1250, the poem is likely to have been composed when Andronikos was the military governor of Thessaloniki (from 1246 till his death)¹¹⁴. It begins by saying that if one were to judge the book by its Arabic title, *Λίλε καὶ Δέμνε*, one would call it a toy (*λίλιον*) with which the little ones (*νινία*) play – a text for children written in the common language (vv. 1–4)¹¹⁵. In the book, various kinds

¹¹² *Georges Pachymères: Relations historiques*, II, éd. (...) par A. FAILLER, Paris 1984, p. 587.10–12 (VI, 18).

¹¹³ *Par. gr.* 2231, fol. 91r–v. The poem has been edited twice: A.V. RYSTENKO, *Parižskie spiski «Stefanita i Ichmilata»*, in *Letopis' Istoriko-filologičeskago obščestva pri Imperatorskom Novorossijskom universitete* 16 (1910) [= *Vizantiisko-Slavianskoe Otdelenie*, 9], pp. 1–42: 19–20, and HASKINS, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* cit., pp. 176–177 (Haskins' edition is reprinted in CUPANE, *Filagato da Cerami* cit., pp. 22–23).

¹¹⁴ Georgios Kerameas has nothing to do with Philagathos of Cerami (Κεραμίτης or Κεραμεύς, not Κεραμέας): see n. 42. For the connection with Thessaloniki, see *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, erstellt von E. TRAPP [ET AL.], I–XII + *Addenda* (...) [und] *Abkürzungsverzeichnis* (...), Wien 1976–1996 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, I/1–2; I/1–12 Add.; I/Reg.): nos. 11634–11641 and 92362–92363. For the date of Andronikos Palaiologos' death (after 1248, but before 1252), see R. MACRIDES, *George Akropolites, The History. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Oxford 2007, pp. 243–244, 252–253 and 353. Ch. MESSIS, *Débats intellectuels et choix littéraires: itinéraire dans la Constantinople de la première moitié du XIV^e siècle*, in *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Round Tables*, ed. by B. KRŠMANOVIĆ – L. MILANOVIĆ, Belgrade 2016, pp. 82–85: 84–85, arbitrarily dates the manuscript to c. 1300 and identifies Andronikos Palaiologos with the homonymous author of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*.

¹¹⁵ For the rendering of the Arabic title in P1, see SJÖBERG, *Stephanites und Ichneutes* cit., p. 151. Lines 1–2 read εἴποις λίλιον ἄν τὴν παροῦσαν πυκτίδα / ᾧ νινία παίζουσιν ἐκ θυμηδίας (εἴτης and ὀ νυνία in the manuscript and the two editions). The scribe copied the same two lines twice on the last page of the manuscript, fol. 111v, with the same spelling errors. *λίλι* means «toy» or «ornament» in Greek; it is not attested in medieval Greek, but its diminutive, *λιλούδιον*, is found in *Digenes Akrites* E

of animals (monkeys, lions, elephants, etc.) are presented as talking characters, although animals «cannot speak or reason» (οἷσπερ οὐκ ἔστι λόγος) (vv. 5–11). However, if one were to view the characters as «rational creatures» (λογικά), there is much to learn from them (vv. 12–14): a remarkable observation because it appears to anticipate the modern notion that reading fiction requires the ability to suspend disbelief. What these talking animals teach us, is virtue (vv. 14–18). Andronikos Palaiologos is told to treasure this book as «a calyx protecting a rose», «a sea-shell holding a pearl», «a leather purse full of gold» or «a wooden box containing precious stones» (vv. 19–28): the metaphors emphasize that the text may seem insignificant at first sight, but will reveal its precious contents to the attentive reader who «opens up» the text with the tools of allegory¹¹⁶. The epigram then continues by saying that if Andronikos listens to the moralizing message of *Stephanites and Ichneletes* and reads its fables as vignettes of virtue, his deeds will show him to be an efficient assistant of the emperors (John Vatatzes and Theodore Laskaris) and his words of wisdom will be the pride of his relatives and the solace of his humble servants (vv. 28–36)¹¹⁷.

Georgios Kerameas manifestly applies a tropological reading to the fables of *Stephanites and Ichneletes*: for him allegory is a lesson in ethics, and talking animals have a message for us humans. Andronikos Palaiologos' son, Michael VIII, too, draws a moralizing lesson from *Stephanites and Ichneletes*: when the church is under attack, the faithful cannot sit back and relax. And in a similar fashion the anonymous rubricator's allegorical interpretation centers on the importance of friendship, a moral imperative if there ever was one. Although Eugenios of Palermo's prologue does not specify whether he had in mind the tropological/ethical type of allegory (rather than, say, the anagogical/theological variant) when he advocated the usefulness of reading between the lines, a tropological interpretation is highly likely because *Stephanites and Ichneletes* (like *Kalīla wa-Dimna* before it) does have a social dimension: one cannot read these brilliant fables without being constantly reminded of good and evil.

1489: τὸ χαλινάριον της πλεκτὸν μὲ τὰ χρυσὰ λιλούδια, «its bridle was plaited with golden ornaments» (not necessarily «flowers», as JEFFREYS, *Digenis Akritis* cit., p. 349, translates). Νυί (or νηί) means «little child» or «pupil (of the eye)» in Greek; it is attested in Byzantine Greek with the meaning of «doll»: see TRAPP (ed.), *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* cit., s.v. νυίον.

¹¹⁶ See ROLOS, *Amphoteroglossia* cit., p. 135.

¹¹⁷ Read ἔξ ἀνθρώκων in v. 23, προσεγγίζουσι σοὶ in v. 33 (with the manuscript), and φανῆς in v. 34. Please note the genitive plural in v. 23: ἰάσπεων (as if from ἰασπις, *ἰάσπεως rather than ἰασπιδος).

13. AUDIENCE

Allegorical interpretations of canonical authors, such as Homer and Hesiod, obviously fulfill an educational purpose since they play a central role in the Byzantine school curriculum. But to judge by the introduction to Philagathos of Cerami's interpretation of Heliodoros' *Aethiopica*, even extracurricular texts were occasionally allegorized at school. The narrator, Philippos, meets two friends outside the sea walls of Reggio who ask him to come to the defense of Charikleia (the heroine of Heliodoros' novel; also short for the novel itself)¹¹⁸. They tell him that many students of literature are reading the novel «near the entrance to the sanctuary» (περὶ τὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προπύλαια) and are making fun of the text¹¹⁹. Initially hesitant to discuss the novel at his age and as a monk¹²⁰, Philippos is finally persuaded to join their friends who are assembled «before the gates of the church» (πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ νεῶ)¹²¹. After praying to the Holy Virgin, he sits down in a low chair «at the threshold of the holy gate» (παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς ἱερᾶς πύλης οὐδόν) and begins to speak¹²². This fictional setting can be understood at three different levels: metaphorical, allegorical, and historical. The fact that the readers of *Charikleia* are sitting outside the church may be interpreted as a metaphor for «outer wisdom», θύραθεν σοφία, the usual term for secular learning. Allegorically, it may be argued that Philippos' discourse forms an initiation into higher wisdom and leads the reader from outside the church into its inner sanctum: please note that halfway through the text, right before the spiritual allegory begins, Philippos tells his audience that the preceding moralizing interpretation has led them «within the gates of the story» (εἴσω τῶν τῆς ἱστορίας πυλῶν)¹²³.

¹¹⁸ Ed. BIANCHI, *Il codice del romanzo* cit., p. 49, lines 1–21. The fictional opening scene is modelled on Ps. Plato's *Axiochus*: see A. BRINKMANN, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs Axiochos*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, n.F. 51 (1896), pp. 441–455: 442–443.

¹¹⁹ Ed. BIANCHI, *Il codice del romanzo* cit., p. 49, lines 13–16; quotation: line 13.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50, lines 22–35. The words νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἀνθεικλῶσθημεν (lines 27–28) seem to suggest that Philippos had recently donned the monastic habit («the habit of our philosophy») and assumed his monastic name Philagathos. See also ACCONCIA LONGO, *La «questione» Filippo il Filosofo* cit., pp. 16–17.

¹²¹ Ed. BIANCHI, *Il codice del romanzo* cit., p. 50, lines 35–43; quotation: line 43.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 50, lines 43–46; quotation: line 46.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 53, lines 104–105. For a similar metaphorical use of «being outside the church» (uninitiated) and «inside the church» (initiated), see the heading of Makrembolites' novel in *Flor. Laur. Acquisti e Doni* 341, stating that the novel is

But a third reading is to take the setting literally. As is well known, in Byzantium schools are often found in or near churches¹²⁴. A good example are the late twelfth-century teaching arrangements at the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople as described by Nicholas Mesarites: the school children were taught in a colonnaded forecourt to the east of the church while intellectuals of all sorts and ages would be engaged in heated scholarly debates in the *pronaos* (portico) of the church itself¹²⁵. Similarly, the group of friends gathered in twelfth-century Reggio are reading and discussing *Charikleia* near the entrance to the church and listen to Philippos sitting on his professorial chair next to the holy gate, which I take to be the central doorway to the narthex. In other words, they appear to be assembled in the portico of a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Like the unruly crowd of scholars and students gathered in the *pronaos* of the Holy Apostles, Philippos' audience appear to be past their school days. At least one of the two friends who urge Philippos to come to the rescue of Charikleia is already employed in the service of the king¹²⁶, and there is no indication that the other friends are considerably younger than this civil servant. So the gathering of friends in the portico of the church is more like a reading circle or a literary *theatron* than a real classroom: in Byzantium education does not stop with school but continues into adulthood.

If the fictional setting of Philagathos of Cerami's allegorical treatise is indeed suggestive of an informal educational environment, such as a reading circle or a literary *theatron*, then this raises the possibility that Eugenios of Palermo commissioned the translation of *Stephanites and Ich-*

complicated and difficult to understand «for those who are not in the know and far from the church» (πρὸς μὴ εἰδότας καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἐκκλησίας): see the discussion by ROILIS, *Amphoteroglossia* cit., pp. 137–138.

¹²⁴ See, for instance, N. KALOGERAS, *Locating Young Students in Byzantine Churches*, in *Religious Education in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. by I. TANASEANU-DÖBLER – M. DÖBLER, Leiden–Boston 2012, pp. 163–181: 170–177 (please note that the material and literary sources point to the use of church premises for educational purposes, not to the creation of «church schools», as the author seems to think).

¹²⁵ See G. DOWNEY, *Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47 (1957), pp. 859–918: 865 n. 1, 894 n. 1; for the text, see *ibid.*, pp. 898–900 (§ 7–11) and 916–917 (42–43.1–3). See also M. ANGOLD, *Nicholas Mesarites: His Life and Works (in Translation)*, Liverpool 2017, p. 79. Mesarites uses a neuter variant form of πρόναος; (τὸ) πρόναον.

¹²⁶ Ed. BIANCHI, *Il codice del romanzo* cit., p. 49, lines 6–7: Νικόλαον (...) τὸν βασιλικὸν ἐπιγραφέα.

nelates for a similar audience. As I explained above in § 10, the emphasis on «friendship» in the rubrics and the fact that the rubrics appear to address an audience, strongly suggest that the readership of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* consisted of social equals who would come together and discuss literature with one another in a friendly environment: in other words, a reading circle or a literary *theatron*.

The versified coda to Eugenios of Palermo's prologue corroborates the idea that the Eugenian recension served an educational purpose. There are not that many prose texts with epilogues in verse: the only genre in which the phenomenon is fairly common are schedographic exercises, such as Manasses' *Σχέδη τοῦ Μυός*; there are also three letters by John Tzetzes, the quintessential schoolmaster, with verse at the end; and a few other educational texts¹²⁷. One of these educational texts with a versified epilogue is the aforementioned *protheoria* by John Eugenikos to Heliodoros' *Aethiopica* – another allegorical interpretation¹²⁸. Seeing that versified epilogues are typical of texts written for educational purposes, a case can be made that this is also true of Eugenios of Palermo's prologue.

In order to gain a better understanding of the target audience, it is worth comparing the Greek translation of Ibn al-Muqaffa's preface to *Kalīla wa-Dimna* with that of the Arabic original. The text in *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (*prolegomenon* II) differs significantly from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, not only because of the problems of acculturation inherent in any translation, but also because the translation appears to target a rather different audience. In the original text, Ibn al-Muqaffa' explains that intellectuals have a drive to explore and learn, that nothing is off limits – including stories with talking animals – and that great wisdom is to be found in all cultures and religions¹²⁹. There is nothing of this kind in the Greek translation¹³⁰. Ibn al-Muqaffa' then continues by saying that the Indian story-tellers chose the device of talking animals for two reasons: (i) it allowed them to speak freely and explore a whole range of subjects, and

¹²⁷ For versified epilogues, see E. FOLLIERI, *Per l'identificazione del grammaticòs Leone Siculo con Leone da Centuripe*, in *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 24 (1987), pp. 127–141 [repr. in EAD., *Byzantina et Italograeca. Studi di filologia e di paleografia*, Roma 1997, pp. 399–411: 403–404]. See also N. ZAGKLAS, *Experimenting with Verse and Prose in Twelfth-Century Byzantium*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 71 (2017), pp. 229–248: 236–237.

¹²⁸ Ed. GÄRTNER, *Johannes Eugenikos* cit., p. 325, lines 56–57.

¹²⁹ See MIQUEL, *Le livre de Kalila et Dimna* cit., p. 9, and KRÖNUNG, *The Wisdom of the Beasts* cit., p. 427.

¹³⁰ The Greek translator omits the whole passage: compare PUNTONI 16.6–8.

(ii) it allowed them to address readers of all sorts because the Indian fables combine wisdom and pleasure: the philosophers admire the fables for their wisdom, the frivolous for their wit, and the students, if they study the fables assiduously, will acquire knowledge that will serve them for the rest of their lives¹³¹. The Greek translation omits the first reason altogether, but retains the second¹³². What does this tell us about *Stephanites and Ichneutes* vs *Kalīla wa-Dimna*? While the Arabic original presents the Indian fables as a source of infinite wisdom all intellectuals, regardless of their vocation and social status, should be interested in, as a vehicle of free speech and as a means of opening up dialogue between cultures, the Greek translators merely emphasize its importance for scholars (be they true scholars, dumbwits or students).

The intellectual horizon of the Eugenic recension of *Stephanites and Ichneutes* is definitely more limited than that of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. And the reason for this is fairly easy to guess. While Ibn al-Muqaffa' and his peers built their professional careers on a display of intellectual ability, urbanity and wit¹³³, Greek *paideia* played no role whatsoever at the Norman court in the later twelfth century and the career prospects for those who knew their Homer and Plato were rather bleak. This means that education no longer served as a means of social mobility, but only as a mark of intellectual distinction within a small Greek-speaking elite¹³⁴. Schools remained as important as ever, but since the *paideia* they offered had no obvious social benefits, it turned inwards: it became school-oriented rather than outward-looking.

To sum up, I would argue that when the dedicatory epigram tells us that Eugenios of Palermo donated the translation to «us», this «we» is a circle of friends reading and discussing literature in private: highly educated Greeks living in Sicily and Calabria, proud of their culture, but at the point of extinction due to the latinization of the elite. In a curious adulatory poem, Roger of Otranto recounts how he wished to make the acquaintance of Eugenios of Palermo, but was not allowed access

¹³¹ See MIQUEL, *Le livre de Kalila et Dimna* cit., p. 9, and KRÖNUNG, *The Wisdom of the Beasts* cit., p. 427.

¹³² See PUNTONI 16,8–12.

¹³³ See KRÖNUNG, *The Wisdom of the Beasts* cit., pp. 439–440, for the ideal of the *adib* (the cultured and urbane intellectual) in Abbasid court circles.

¹³⁴ For the sad story of the demise of Greek culture in Southern Italy, see A. PETERS-CUSTOT, *Les grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine (IX^e-XIV^e siècle): une acculturation en douceur*, Rome 2009 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 420).

because he was not educated and cultured enough¹³⁵. This suggests that there were others who did gain access to the great man because they at least met the criteria to become members of his inner circle. *Stephanites and Ichnelates* is his gift to them.

PT 1-5, S 1-3, AND R 1-9

14. TEXT AND EDITION

As I hope to have made clear in § 6, § 7 and § 10, the B manuscripts offer a text that is problematic, to say the least. There is little point in reconstructing the text beyond the hyparchetype, and I have sought to restrict textual corrections to the absolute minimum, making an exception for (i) government (e.g. ὅσπερ, not οὐσπερ in PT 2.10 because the relative pronoun is the subject of the clause), (ii) case agreement (e.g. εἰδόσι, not εἰδότας in PT 3.15 because it goes with ἀνδράσι), and (iii) metre (e.g. δ', not δὲ in PT 3.42 because the line would otherwise be hypermetric). Wherever the text is corrupt beyond redemption, I put cruces to indicate the textual problem and leave the text as is; the same goes for lacunas: these are indicated but not filled up with attempts at creative writing. The spelling is normalized: spelling errors are not shown in the critical apparatus (e.g. Ἰταλίας in PT 2.9), unless the spelling variation in fact reflects two different readings: e.g. χρήσασθε (2nd pl. aorist imperative) vs. χρήσασθαι (aorist infinitive) in PT 3.1. I have not harmonized the spelling of γλῶσσα (3x) vs γλῶττα (4x) and μέλισσα (2x) vs μέλιττα (1x). There is no apparatus fontium; but the five times that Eugenios of Palermo explicitly refers to a source (PT 3.1-2 λέγει τις τῶν θείων ἀνδρῶν; PT 3.7 ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐκδιδασκόμεθα; PT 3.7-8 ὁ Παραομιαστῆς ἐκπέμπει; PT 3.18-19 τῷ λέγοντι οὕτως; and PT 3.40-41 παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐκδιδασκόμεθα), I have identified these sources in a footnote.

The texts offer a number of new or uncommon words. The words ἀλληγορεύω instead of ἀλληγορέω, «to allegorize» (PT 3.30), ἑτεροτροπολογικῶς, «symbolically» (PT 3.30), and μύθεισις, «fabulation» (PT 3.35), do not appear to be attested elsewhere. The word περιπράχηνος, a variant for the more common περιτραχίλιος, appears to be rare (PT 5.4-5)¹³⁶. Ἰνδῆς for Ἰνδός (R 9.5) is rare as well. It occurs elsewhere in *Stephanites and*

¹³⁵ Ed. GIGANTE, *Eugenii Panomitanii* cit., pp. 12-14. Read πρὸς ὄψιν, not πρόσ-
οψιν in line 6.

¹³⁶ περιπράχηνος has 154 hits in the online *TLG*; περιπράχηνος only four.

Ichnelates: PUNTONI 6.1 ὁ Ἰνδῆς, 7.14 τῷ Ἰνδεῖ; and the *Byzantine Alexander Poem*, one of the worst poems ever, has Ἰνδεῖς¹³⁷. Though not found in any of the standard dictionaries¹³⁸, the word ἀκάμαντος (R 8.8) does exist: most editors hasten to «correct» it to ἀκάματος¹³⁹, but see John Chortasmenos' *Monody on Asan*: ἄνω τὸν ἀκάμαντον δίφρον ἐλαύνων¹⁴⁰, or a Palaeologan book epigram on Pollux' *Onomastikon*: ὡς αὐτὸς ἀκάμαντον ἔξω τὴν πόσιν¹⁴¹. The word ἐγέμυθος is used at S 1.3-4 with the meaning of «wise, sensible»: though not attested in standard dictionaries, this meaning is common in Byzantine texts¹⁴².

The form λεγέντα (PT 3.10) instead of λεχθέντα is not attested elsewhere, but is extremely common in compound verbs with λέγω: συλλεγέντα, ἐκλεγέντα, etc. The form πασῶν instead of πάντων in πασῶν πραγμάτων (R 3.4) is typical of vernacular Greek¹⁴³.

Other uncommon features include the medial meaning of ἠθοποιῶμαι, «to show one's character», at R 3.1 – a meaning I failed to find a parallel for. The use of ἀντιλαμβάνομαι plus dative, meaning «to assist», at PT 3.15 is almost certainly a mistake for συναντιλαμβάνομαι. The use of transitive συντείνω πρὸς at PT 2.3-4 is odd if not wrong: αἰνιγματωδῶς συντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις / πρὸς βιωτικὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀνθρώπων, «directing the actions (i.e. the adventures narrated in *Stephanites and Ichnelates*) toward the benefit of mankind in an enigmatic fashion»; συντείνω πρὸς is also used at S 2.4-5 and R 3.2, but intransitively: «to contribute to (some-

¹³⁷ See lines 4693, 4922, 4940: ed. W. AERTS, *The Byzantine Alexander Poem*, I-II, Berlin-New York 2014 (Byzantinisches Archiv, 26). Aerts wrongly assumes that Ἰνδεῖς is the plural of *Ἰνδεύς.

¹³⁸ TRAPP (ed.), *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* cit., makes an exception for the adverb: see the entry ἀκαμάντως. Ἀκάμαντος is an innovative form conflating ἀκάμας, gen. ἀκάμαντος, and ἀκάματος.

¹³⁹ See, for instance, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte*, [hrsg. von] W. HÖRANDNER, Wien 1974, p. 239, at VIII.196, app. crit.

¹⁴⁰ *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370-ca. 1436/37): Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften*, [hrsg. von] H. HUNGER, Wien 1969, p. 227, line 2. The subject is the Sun driving his chariot along the firmament; Chortasmenos imitates Homer, *Il.* 18.239, ἥελιον δ' ἀκάμαντα.

¹⁴¹ Ed. A.M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae* (...), II, Florentiae 1768, p. 469 (line 6). The epigram can be found in many manuscripts, all preserving the same redaction of the *Onomastikon*: see E. BETHE, *Pollucis Onomasticon*, I, Leipzig 1900, pp. XI-XIII.

¹⁴² See, for instance, the *Souda: Suidae Lexicon*, I-V, ed. A. ADLER, Leipzig 1928-1938, s.v. ἐγέμυθος: ὁ φρονιμώτατος.

¹⁴³ See D. HOLTON - G. HORROCKS [ET AL.], *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, I-IV, Cambridge 2019: II, § 5.13.1.2.

thing)». There does not seem to be a parallel for the use of *τολμῶ* plus genitive (instead of *κατατολμῶ*), meaning «to dare against», at R 5.1.

The edition of the prefatory texts (PT 1-5), scholia (S 1-3) and rubrics (R 1-9) is based on the following manuscripts:

(Bε)	(Bζ)
L1 = <i>Leid. Vulc.</i> 93	M2 = <i>Monac. gr.</i> 551
B2 = <i>Vat. Barb. gr.</i> 172	U = <i>Upsaliensis</i> 8
P3 = <i>Par. Suppl. gr.</i> 692	P2 = <i>Par. Suppl. gr.</i> 118
R = <i>Bucurest.</i> 292	O2 = <i>Oxon. Bodl. Laud.</i> 8
A4 = <i>Athous Iviron</i> 1132	

(Bε or Bζ)

J = *Hieros. Patr.* 208

I = *Const. Zographeion* 43

The edition takes into account the previous ones by Puntoni and Sjöberg¹⁴⁴ and incorporates emendations suggested by Jamison and Minoidis Minas¹⁴⁵.

[PT 1] Τὴν βίβλον ταύτην Περζουὲ πόνος ἔσχεν.
Ἡδονῆς ἀνάπλευα τὰ τῆδε σκόπει.
Λόγοι σοφιστῶν μετασηματισθέντες.

L1, B2, P3, R, A4

1. ἡ βίβλος αὕτη R | 3. σοφιστῶν : σοφοὶ A4

[PT 2] Μυθικὴ βίβλος ἐξ Ἰνδικῆς σοφίας
προσενεχθεῖσα πρὸς περσικὴν παιδείαν,
αἰνιγματωδῶς συντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις
πρὸς βιωτικὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀνθρώπων,
5 μεταβληθεῖσα πρὸς γλῶτταν τῶν Ἑλλήνων

L1, B2, P3, R, A4

4. πρὸς βιωτικὴν ὠφέλειαν ἀνθρώπων A4 : post πρὸς βιωτικὴν lacuna R, πρὸς βιωτικὴν συντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις L1B2, πρὸς βιωτικούς καὶ βαρβαρώδεις ὄθλους P3 | 5. ante μεταβληθεῖσα add. contra metrum ἢ P3A4, ἢ L1B2R |

¹⁴⁴ PUNTONI, *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης* cit., pp. vi-ix (PT 1-3 and 5; S 1-3); Sjöberg, *Stephanites und Ichneutes* cit., pp. 84-85 (R 2-9).

¹⁴⁵ JAMISON, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* cit., p. 19 (PT 2); for the emendations of Minas, see P4 = *Par. Suppl. gr.* 1233, fol. 4r-6r (PT 1-5 and S 1-3) and 7v-10v (R 1-9).

ἕξ ἀραβικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρώδους ὕθλου
 παρὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ, ἐνδόξου καὶ μεγάλου,
 τοῦ καὶ ἀμηρᾶ τοῦ ῥηγὸς Σικελίας
 Καλαβρίας τε, πρίγκιπος Ἰταλίας,
 10 ὅσπερ εὐρηκῶς ὡς γνωστικὸς τοῖς πᾶσι
 τοῦτο δέδωκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ βιβλίον
 ὅσπερ δώρημα διδασκαλίας πλέον,
 εὐγενῆς Εὐγένιος ὁ τῆς Πανόρμου.

6. om. P3 | 8. τοῦ ῥ. Jamison : καὶ ῥ. codd. | 9. καλαβρίας : ἀταλαβρίας A4 |
 10. ὅσπερ Jamison : οἷσπερ codd., γνωστικὸς scripsi : γνωστικούς codd. |
 πᾶσιν L1

[PT 3] «Χρήσασθε ἕξ Αἰγυπτίων σκευὴ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ», λέγει τις τῶν
 θείων ἀνδρῶν¹⁴⁶, ὅτι τὸν ἐν προσοχῇ ὄντα δυνατὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνα-
 ντίων κτήσασθαι τὸ ὠφέλιμον, ὅσπερ δὴ καὶ τοῦναντίον συμβαίνειν
 εἴθε τῷ μὴ ζῶντι προσεκτικῶς. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μακάριον Ἰακώβ φασὶ
 5 τὰ ἕξ Ἀσσυρίων αὐτῷ κτηθέντα ἐν τῇ γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας μετενεγκέ-
 ναι, καὶ Ῥαχὴλ, τὴν πατριαρχικὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὰ πατρικὰ εἰδῶλα
 κλέψασαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐκδιδασκόμεθα¹⁴⁷. καὶ ὁ Παρομιμαστής
 ἐκπέμπει πρὸς μέλιτταν, καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἄνθους τὸ χρήσιμον κτᾶσθαι
 μιμουμένοις αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς παραινέσεως ἐγκελεύεται¹⁴⁸. οὕτω δὴ καὶ
 10 ἡμεῖς τὰ ἕξ Ἰνδικῆς λεγέμενα μυθοπλαστίας εὐρηκότες τῇ τῶν Ἀ-

L1, B2, P3, R (versus 1-4)

1. χρήσασθαι L1B2R | Αἰγυπτίων B2 | 3. κτήσασθαι τὸ ὠφέλιμον, ὅσπερ δὴ
 καὶ τοῦναντίον ex haplographia om. P3 | 4. τῷ μὴ ζῶντι scripsi: τὸν μὴ ζῶντα
 L1P3, τῶν μήνυοντα B2, τῶν μὴ τῶν τὰ R | 5-6. μετενεγκέναι scripsi : μὴ
 ἐνεγκέναι codd. | 6. πατρικὰ : πατριαρχικὰ P3 | 7. κλέψασα B2, ἀπὸ : ὑπὸ
 L1B2 | 8. κτᾶσθαι Minas: κτᾶται codd. | 10. λέγοντα B2 | τῇ : τὴν L1B2 |

¹⁴⁶ GREG. NAZ., *Or.* 45 (PG 36, col. 652A): χρῆσαι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων σκευὴ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ.

¹⁴⁷ GREG. NAZ., *Or.* 45 (PG 36, col. 652B): εἰ μὲν τις εἶ Ῥαχὴλ, ἡ Λεία, ψυχὴ πατριαρχικὴ καὶ μεγάλη, καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα κλέψον, ἅπερ ἂν εὐρησ, τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς, οὐχ ἵνα φυλάξῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀφανίσῃς· εἰ δὲ Ἰσραηλίτης σοφός, πρὸς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας μετένεγκε. Cf. *Gen.* 31:17-21.

¹⁴⁸ *Prov.* 6:8a ἢ πορεύθητι πρὸς τὴν μέλισσαν καὶ μάθε ὡς ἐργάτις ἐστὶν τὴν τε ἐργασίαν ὡς σεμνὴν ποιεῖται; cf. ISOCR., *Ad Demonicum*, 52.1 ὅσπερ γὰρ τὴν μέλιτταν ὀρῶμεν ἐφ' ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ βλαστήματα καθιζάνουσαν, ἀφ' ἐκάστου δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα λαμβάνουσαν, οὕτω δεῖ καὶ τοὺς παιδείας ὀρεγομένους μηδενὸς μὲν ἀπίρως ἔχειν, πανταχόθεν δὲ τὰ χρήσιμα συλλέγειν, and GREG. NAZ., *Or.* 43 (PG 36, col. 512A) μηδὲ τῷ φιλοπόνῳ τῆς μελίσης ἀπολειφθῆναι συλλεγοῦσης ἐκ παντὸς ἄνθους τὰ χρησιμώτατα.

15 ράβων γλώσση ἐγκείμενα, σκοτεινὸν δὲ καὶ παρηλλαγμένον λόγον
 ἐπέχοντα καὶ δι' αἰνιγμάτων τε καὶ παραβολῶν ἱστορικῶς ἡμᾶς ἐκ-
 παιδεύοντα, οὐκ ᾤθημεν τοῖς τῆς λήθης ἐνθάψαι βυθοῖς, ἀλλ' εἰς
 τὸ φανερόν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώττῃ ἀναγαγεῖν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πσιν
 20 ἀνδράσι χρῆσάμενοι ἀντιλαμβανομένοις τῇ ἡμῶν προθυμίᾳ, εὖ εἰδόσι
 τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων γλώσσης, ἐξ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἐλλάδα γλώσσαν διε-
 πορθμεύσαμεν· οὕτω γάρ τοι καὶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν σοφίαν ἐκ μυθικῶν
 πλασμάτων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν ἐπαιδευθῆμεν εἴπερ πιστευτέον τῷ
 25 λέγοντι οὕτως· «Ὁ μῦθος ἐκ ποιητῶν προῆλθε, γέγονε δὲ καὶ ῥητό-
 ρων· Αἰσώπειόν τε προσαγορευόμενον καὶ Συβαριτικόν, Κίλικίον τε
 καὶ Κύπριον διὰ τὸ ἀρχῆθεν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων συστήναι τὰ μυ-
 θικά»¹⁴⁹. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν εἰδότες <ὅτι> πρὸς ἠθικὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ
 προσοχὴν τῶν ἐν βίῳ συμπιπτόντων πραγμάτων ὀνησιφόρα φανή-
 30 σονται τὰ μυθεύματα, πολλῶ πόνῳ ταῦτα συναγροχότες τῇ ἑλληνικῇ
 25 μετηνέγκαμεν γλώττῃ· καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἄσματος τῶν Ἀσμά-
 των πραγματείαν ἐξ αἰσθητῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔρωτικῶν, πραγμάτων
 ὁ θεϊότατος Σολομὼν συνεστήσατο, ἦν οἱ θεοφόροι πατέρες, ἀναξι-
 οὺς ἠγούμενοι τὰς φωνὰς τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἱστορικῶς οὕτω καὶ
 30 χαμερπῶς ἐκλαμβάνεσθαι, πρὸς τὴν κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Λόγου νύμφευ-
 σιν ἑτεροτροπολογικῶς ἀλληγόρευσαν. οὕτω μέντοι καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχά-
 νουσι τοῖς ποιήμασι τοῖσδε <δέον> μὴ μέμψιν ἐπάγειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 διὰ τὸ ἀνάξιον ἠγεῖσθαι τὴν ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ θεολογικοῖς ποιήμασιν
 ἐπιβαίνουσαν γλώτταν ἡμῶν καὶ ταῖς μυθικαῖς καταχραίνειν καὶ
 35 βαρβαρώδεσιν ἀγροικίαις καὶ τὸ πιστοὺς ὄντας ἀνωφελέσιν ἐκπο-
 νεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀναγνώσμασιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκ μυθεύσεως καρπούμενοι ὀ-

12. δι' Μίνας : om. codd. | 13. ᾤθη μεν L1B2 | 14. τούτῳ Μίνας : τούτων
 codd., καὶ πσιν : καὶ τι ὄν P3 | 15. εἰδόσι Μίνας: εἰδότας codd. | 16. γλώττης
 P3 | 17. τοι om. P3 | 18. τὴν ἀρχὴν L1B2 : ἀρχὴν P3 | πιστέον Punctoni |
 19. λέοντι B2 | tertium scholium (S 3) insertum est inter λέγοντι et οὕτως in
 codd. | οὕτως scripsi : οὗτος codd. | προῆλθεν L1B2 | τε post προῆλθε add.
 P3 | γέγονε δὲ scripsi : γέγονε τε codd. | 19-20. χορός post ῥητόρων codd. |
 20. τε¹ om. B2 | 22. ὅτι vel ὡς addendum puto | 24. πόνῳ om. P3 | 27-28.
 ἀναξίως L1B2 | 30. ἀλληγόρευσεν P3 | 31. δέον vel δεῖ vel χρῆ addendum
 puto | 32. τὴν : τοῖς P3 | ποιήμασιν : ποιήσεσιν L1B2 |

¹⁴⁹ The reference is to ΑΡΗΤΗΘΝΙΟΣ' *Progymnasmata* (ed. M. PATILLON, *Corpus Rhetoricum*, I, Paris 2008, p. 112): "Ὅρος μύθου· Ὁ μῦθος ποιητῶν μὲν προῆλθε, γεγένηται δὲ καὶ ῥητόρων κοινὸς ἐκ παραινέσεως. ἔστι δὲ μῦθος λόγος ψευδῆς εἰκονίζων ἀλήθειαν. καλεῖται δὲ Συβαριτικὸς καὶ Κίλιξ καὶ Κύπριος, πρὸς τοὺς εὐρόντας μεταθεῖς τὰ ὀνόματα· νικᾷ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰσώπειος λέγεσθαι τῷ τὸν Αἰσωπον ἄριστα πάντων συγγράφαι τοὺς μύθους.

φελος τὸ βλαβερὸν ἐς κόρακας εἰκότως ἀπορρίψωμεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν
 ἡμετέραν φύσιν ἐκ νοερᾶς καὶ αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας ὁ Τεχνίτης καὶ
 Λόγος συνεστήσατο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὴν σάρκα προθέμενος ἀποτυγχάνει
 τοῦ πνεύματος, ὁ δὲ οἰκειούμενος τῷ πνεύματι καὶ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν τὴν
 40 λυομένην σάρκα πρὸς ἀθανασίαν μείζονα οὐσιοποιεῖ, ὥσπερ παρὰ
 τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐκδιδασκόμεθα¹⁵⁰.

οὕτω δ' ἀναγνούς καὶ σὺ τούσδε τοὺς λόγους
 – ἔπει καὶ ἐν βάτῳ ῥόδα ἐκφύονται†,
 ἀλλ' ἡ μέλισσα τοῖς ῥόδοις ἐφιζάνει –
 45 τὸ χρήσιμον ζητήσον ὡς τερπνὸν ῥόδον,
 τὰναντία δ' αὖ ὡς ἀκάνθας ἐκτρέπου.

36. εἰς L1B2 | εἰκότως om. P3 | 42. δ' scripsi metri causa: δὲ codd. | 43. ver-
 sus plane peccat contra metrum | 44. μέλιττα P3 | ἐφιζάνει : ἐκφυζάνει B2 |
 46. τὰναντία δ' αὖ scripsi metri causa: τὰ δὲ ἐναντία L1B2, τὰ δ' ἐναντία P3

[PT 4] Ἐλθόντος ἐνταῦθα Περζουὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς συμβουλευέται ὡς φιλοσόφῳ περὶ
 τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ βιβλίου.

L1, B2, P3

[PT 5] Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις τῆς παρουσίας πραγματείας αὐτῆ· πρῶτον μὲν ἡ
 τοῦ Περζουὲ ἀποστολὴ πρὸς Ἰνδίαν καὶ διάγνωσις τῶν ἐκεῖσε·
 ἔπειτα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ βίβλος ἦν ἐκόμισεν ἐξ Ἰνδίας, δύο μὲν ἔχουσα πραγ-
 ματείας, μία μὲν ἡ τοῦ Στεφανίτου καὶ Ἰγνηλάτου, ἕτερα δὲ ἡ περι-
 5 τράχηλος περιστερά, καὶ ὅσα περιέχουσιν ἀμφότεραι τροπικὰ μυθεύ-
 ματα.

M2, U, P2, O2, J, I, L1, B2, P3, R

1. ἀνακεφαλαίωσις : ἀρχὴ I | αὐτῆ om. R | πρώτη M2UP2O2 | 1-2. ἡ τοῦ
 Περζουὲ ἀποστολὴ scripsi : ἡ Περζουὲ ἀποστολὴ J, ἀποστολὴ Περζουὲ I, ἡ περὶ
 τὸν Περζουὲ ἀποστολὴ M2UP2O2, ἡ περὶ τοῦ Περζουὲ ἐπιστολὴ L1B2P3, ὁ τοῦ
 Περζουὲ λόγος R | 2. καὶ διάγνωσις τῶν ἐκεῖσε om. L1B2P3R | 3. ἡ Ἰνδικὴ
 βίβλος : Ἰνδικὴ βίβλος JLP3, ἡ βίβλος B2R | ἔχουσαν L1B2P3 | 4. μίαν μὲν
 τὴν L1B2P3, μία μὲν τὴν R | ἕτεραν L1P3 | 4-5. περιτραχήλιος L1B2R,
 τὴν περιτραχήλιον περιστερὰν P3 | 5. καὶ ὅσα περιέχουσιν : περιέχουσι δὲ
 L1B2P3R | ἀμφότερα M2P2JLP3R

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Paul, *1 Cor.* 15:42-53.

- [S 1] Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐγράφη κατασκευὴν ὅτι καὶ πλείστην ἔχον ἐντός·
καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀπλουστέροις μῦθοι μὲν λογισθήσονται καὶ ὕθλοι καὶ
πρὸς οὐδὲν ὀνήσιμοι ἑφοδιάζονται, τοῖς δὲ νουνεχέσι καὶ ἐχεμύ-
θοις εἰκότως ἂν προσδεχθήσονται διὰ τὴν ἐκ τούτων προσγινομένην
5 ὠφέλειαν.

L1, B2, P3, R, A4

1. κατασκευὴν L1B2, κατασκευὴ P3, κατασκευὴ R | ὅτι καὶ : ὅτι δὲ L1 |
πλείστην A4 | 3. ἐφοδιάζονται : σφοδιάζονται B2R

- [S 2] Ἐκ τοῦ προλόγου τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου. Ἡ τοῦ τοιούτου προλόγου
κατασκευὴ δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν ὅτι τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι καὶ πειθομένῳ παν-
τὶ βιβλίῳ, λέγω δὴ καὶ τῶν μὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφων, ὠφέλεια ἐκ
τοῦ πείθεσθαι τούτῳ προσγίνεται, πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ γῶσιν τούτῳ
5 συντείνουσα ὡς τῇ μελίσση προσεικότι ἐκ παντὸς φυτοῦ καὶ βοτά-
νης τὰ κρείττονα συλλεγούση.

L1, B2, P3, R

1. ἐκ τοῦ προλόγου τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου om. R | 3. ὠφέλεια Minas : ὠφέλειά
τε codd. | 4. τούτῳ¹ Minas : τοῦτο codd. | ἢ ante πρὸς codd. | τούτῳ² scripsi
: τοῦτο codd. | 5. προσεικότι Minas : προσεικότα codd. | 6. συλλεγούσης
L1B2R

- [S 3] Ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιβλίῳ προκειμένην ἔννοιαν καὶ σοφίαν <...> καὶ τὴν
τούτου ἀκρόασιν ἀνακόπτων οὐκ ἔλαθε φιλοδοξίαν νοσῶν, ἐφ' οἷς
ἀλισκόμενος μυρίους προβάλλεται δρόμους καὶ περιδρόμους προτάσ-
σων, ὡς τὸν εἰρμόν τῶν ἡγουμένων διαστήσαι βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ
5 ποιητὴς τῶν παρόντων οὐ διδάσκει τὰ διωρισμένα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς
ἔρωτῶντας περιεργότερους καὶ τοὺς λόγους προβάλλεται.

L1, B2, P3

1. ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιβλίῳ : ἐν δὲ τῷ βιβλίῳ P3 | lacunam statui post σοφίαν |
3. προβάλλεται scripsi : προβάλληται codd. | 5. τὰ διωρισμένα scripsi : τὰ μὴ
ὄρισμένα codd. | 6. προβάλλεται scripsi : προβάλληται L1B2, προσβάλληται P3

- [R 1] Ἐκβολὴ τοῦ Περζουὲ καὶ διατριβὴ ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς πρὸς τὰς τοῦ
βασιλέως αὐτῶς μετὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων τούτου.

L1, B2, P3

2. τούτων P3

- [R 2] Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Περζουὲ τῷ φίλῳ αὐτοῦ καταμόνας τὰ ἀνέκφορα φανερώς πιστεύσας ὡς φιλεῖται φιλῶν καὶ ἀποσεῖται τὸν αὐτοῦ δισταγμόν. καὶ ὡσπὲρ τις γεωργὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τί τῶν ἀγρίων μεταφυτεύσει δένδρων βουλόμενος ἐντυγχάνει τινὶ χωρίῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ κατὰ
5 τὸν τούτου σκοπὸν καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐκριζοῖ πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἐπιφύῃ ἢ ἀναφυῆν ἀκανθῶδες, εἴθ' οὕτως πονεῖ περὶ ὧν βούλεται μετακεντρίξειν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Περζουὲ πᾶν ὅσον εἰς δειλίαν ἀποτιναξάμενος ἐκ τοῦ φιλεῖν καὶ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ θησαυρῷ ἀνελπίστῳ τῷ φίλῳ περιτυχῶν ἀνέλκει τὸν ποθοῦμενον θησαυρόν.

L1, B2, P3

3. τοῦ τί : του τί L1, τουτί B2 | 6. ἐπιφύῃ scripsi : πεφύῃ codd. | ἀναφυῆν : ἀνεφυῆν L1B2 | ἀκανθῶδες Sjöberg

- [R 3] Ἥθοποιεῖται τῷ φίλῳ ῥήμασιν ἠπίοις πρὸς τε φιλικὴν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἐντυχίαν καὶ πρὸς γνῶσιν συντείνουσι τοῦ προκειμένου σκοποῦ <καὶ> σαφήνειαν. ἐνδείκνυσι δὲ ἴτον σκοπὸν ἴ διὰ τῶν ἐγκειμένων ἐνταῦθα ἀρετῶν ὑπερνεκῶντα πασῶν πραγμάτων τὸν κεκτημένον
5 αὐτάς.

L1, B2, P3

2. συντείνουσι scripsi : συντείνουσα codd. | 3. καὶ σαφήνειαν scripsi : σαφήνειαν L1B2, τὴν σαφήνειαν P3 | 4. τῶν κεκτημένων B2

- [R 4] Ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσιν ὁ φίλος τοῦ Περζουὲ πόσαι ἀρεταὶ εἰσίν, ἃς ὀφείλει διατηρεῖν ὁ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος, αἵτινες εἰσίν αὐταί.

L1, B2, P3

1. δείκνυσι L1 | πόσων ἀρετῶν B2

- [R 5] Τὸ φιλεῖν τετόλμηκε πολλάκις φθόνου.

L1, B2, P3

- [R 6] Προσοχῶν τέλος ἄριστον ἐνταῦθα, φίλε, οἱ φιλοῦντες μάθετε φιλεῖν τοὺς φίλους.

L1, B2, P3

1. προσοχῶν scripsi : προσχῶν codd., προέχων Sjöberg

- [R 7] ἴ"Ω παγίδα ἄριστα ἴ τὰ τῆδε, ξένε· μὴ παγίδα νόει μοι τὴν γνῶσιν ταύτην· τὸ γὰρ φιλικὸν πρὸς φιλικὴν καρδίαν σοφοῖ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ σκεδάννυσι δόλους.

L1, B2, P3

1. ὄ L1 : ὠ B2, ὦ P3 | παγίδα P3 : παγίδ L1, παγίδι B2

- [R 8] Παραβολικῶς ἀποδεικνύει πάλιν
 τὸν σοφὸν ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς πέτραν λέγων
 τὴν οἰκίαν στήσαντα ὥσπερ ἐχέφρων.
 ἦν δ' ἀναγωγὴν τῆς παροιμίας ταύτης
 5 αὐτὸν Περζουὲ κατανόει, ὃ φίλε,
 τὴν δὲ πέτραν ἄριστα τὸν τούτου φίλον,
 ὡσὰν νουνεχῶς προσερείσας τὴν γνῶσιν
 ἀκαμάντως ἔτυχε τοῦ ποθουμένου.

L1, B2, P3

1. παραβλικῶς B2

- [R 9] ὦ φίλιας ἄριστον, φιλεῖν φιλεῖσθαι!
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ φιλεῖν †προδιδουῖναι† πολλάκις
 ἀνὴρ ἰσχυρὸς, ἰσχυρογνώμων μᾶλλον,
 καὶ θανεῖν προκρίνοιτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ φίλου.
 5 εἰ δὲ παρ' Ἴνδει, καὶ ταῦτα φυλῆς ἄλλης,
 <...>
 καὶ πάντα καινόν· ὑπερβαίνει γὰρ λόγου.

L1, B2, P3

1. φιλεῖν : φιλιῶν P3 | 5-6 lacunam statui

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