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Alexander Kazhdan and Simon Franklin

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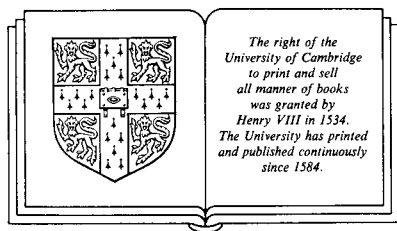
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*Studies on Byzantine
Literature of the
Eleventh and Twelfth
Centuries*

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Prooemium

The essays in this book are based on articles written in Russian before my departure from the Soviet Union in 1978. I am fortunate in having this opportunity to present them to a wider audience of my western colleagues.

In my approach to Byzantine literature I have been chiefly concerned with three questions. The first is traditional and, so to speak, documentary: the examination, or re-examination, of dates and facts. When was Eustathius promoted to the see of Thessalonica? Was the uncle of Theodore Prodromus really John II, metropolitan of Kiev? The importance of this kind of investigation is self-evident, even though individual factual arguments do not substantially alter our general impression of Byzantine literature and literati.

The second question is more controversial. I perceive Byzantine literati, or at any rate the greatest among them, as being involved in the real life of their time. Nor was this involvement only political (although many of them were in fact politicians, or wrote about political events): they belonged to various groups in Byzantine society, and their writings thus reflect various social concepts and moral tenets. One of my major goals has been the 'social localization' of Byzantine writers. Some of my specific conclusions may, I admit, be somewhat fragile, but the problem remains intriguing and worthy of study.

The third question is purely literary. Is Byzantine literature merely a collage of traditional stereotypes and borrowed situations, or did Byzantine authors use their imagery to serve their own particular purposes? Without hesitation I accept that the latter was the case. In some of these essays I have tried to analyse how this imagery worked: how, for example, Nicetas Choniates used the

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imagery of colour to express his own attitude towards people and events. The literary analysis of Byzantine texts is still at an embryonic stage. My own contribution is far from adequate to the scale of the problem, but no progress is possible without initial, perhaps over-tentative, steps.

The tasks of social localization and literary analysis are not simple. Byzantine literature is far removed from our own model of literary activity. Its hints and allusions frequently escape us. It can seem so monolithic, so homogeneous, so static and unvarying. How can one best penetrate this façade? How can one 'crack the code', so as to discover the individuality behind the formulae? The method I have generally applied is one of comparison: not the traditional comparison of Byzantine copies with their ancient originals, which seeks to demonstrate the degree of Byzantine mimesis or plagiarism; but a comparison between authors of one and the same period; a comparison of their attitudes, their ethical values, and their artistic methods. Chrysoberges and Mesarites both describe the same rebellion, but how very different are the tales they tell: different not in their political stance, but in their style. By 'style' I do not mean merely grammar, or the distinction between the vernacular and the learned, but a system of imagery, a mode of presentation, which reflects the author's perception of life. I have tried to treat writers in pairs, or in even larger groups, since it is more instructive and productive to discover contemporary contrasts than to show lexical and formulaic continuity over time.

I give pride of place not to the genre, but to the writer. In order to construct a portrait of Eustathius, I combine the evidence of his historical works, his speeches and letters, his sermons and pamphlets, his commentaries on Homer and on John of Damascus. I attempt to demonstrate that Zonaras the canonist developed the same ideas as Zonaras the historian. An author – even a Byzantine author – deserves to be regarded as an entity, not to be torn to pieces in the interests of proving the eternal stability of genres. Since I have concentrated on authors rather than on genres, and since I have tried to present Byzantine literati in relation to each other, I have felt it necessary to stay within fairly strict chronological limits. This book deals mainly with the twelfth century, although there are occasional excursions into the late eleventh century. My aim has been to show the pattern of Byzantine literature over a limited span of time. The

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pattern as presented here is far from complete: many individuals and many subjects are not discussed. The gaps in this collection are not difficult to spot. But this book is not intended to be a work of reference. We already have several good reference books on Byzantine literature. But there exists no proper *history* of Byzantine literature. I hope these essays may be seen as a contribution to that as yet unwritten history.

The idea of the book was born in the hospitable confines of the *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme*, in Paris, and was supported by the Cambridge University Press. The National Endowment for the Humanities breathed life into the project by supplying funds for the translation. To all these institutions, and to their representatives who have dealt with the project, I am happy to acknowledge my sincere gratitude. I am grateful, too, to my 'American home', *Dumbarton Oaks*, where I found not only an abode, but also the warmth so desirable for one whose life was so radically changed on the eve of his sixtieth year.

All the articles have been thoroughly rewritten. I believe that the reader will be interested in the subject, not in Kazhdan's scholarly biography, so the essays have been revised and brought up to date. Some texts which I originally used in manuscripts have now been published, and some new editions have appeared to replace those on which I first based my arguments. The appropriate adjustments have been made. Recent scholarship is also taken into account, as are a number of books and articles which were not available in Moscow libraries. In some cases I have introduced additional evidence, corrected errors, or excluded what I now consider to be superfluous. I have also tried to eliminate the repetitions which are to some extent inevitable in a collection of this kind.

Dr Simon Franklin not only translated the original articles, but also worked closely with me on their revision. He checked my Greek references and quotations; in certain places he has restructured my text; he criticized my arguments, and provided alterations and improvements. In short, this book has been produced jointly; it has evolved and emerged through fruitful collaboration.

Dumbarton Oaks, Spring 1982

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AASS 'Address'	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> R. Browning, 'An Unpublished Address of Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202', <i>Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines</i> , v (1978), pp. 48–63
ADSV Attal.	<i>Antichnaya drevnost' i sredniye veka</i> Michael Attaleiates, <i>Historia</i> , ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1853)
Beck, <i>Kirche</i>	H. G. Beck, <i>Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich</i> (Munich, 1959)
BNJ Browning, 'Patriarchal School'	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i> R. Browning, 'The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century', <i>Byz.</i> , xxxii (1962), pp. 167–202; xxxiii (1963), pp. 11–40; repr. in Browning, <i>Studies</i> , pt. x
Browning, <i>Studies</i>	R. Browning, <i>Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education</i> (London, 1977)
Bryen.	Nicephorus Bryennius, <i>Historiarum libri quattuor</i> , ed. P. Gautier (Brussels, 1975)
BS	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
Byz.	<i>Byzantion</i>
Byz. Forsch.	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
Cec.	Cecaumenus, <i>Sovety i rasskazy</i> , ed. G. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972)

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<i>Comm. ad Hom.</i>	Eustathius of Thessalonica, <i>Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem; Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam</i> (Leipzig, 1825–30; page-refs. to the <i>editio princeps</i> , Rome, 1542–50)
<i>Conquête</i>	Robert de Clari, <i>La conquête de Constantinople</i> (Paris, 1924)
<i>De Mang.</i>	Theodore Prodromus, <i>De Manganis carmina</i> , ed. S. Bernardinello (Padua, 1972)
Dölger, <i>Regesten</i>	F. Dölger, <i>Regesten der Kaiserurkunde des oströmischen Reiches</i> , 5 vols. (Munich, 1924–65)
Downey	Nicholas Mesarites, <i>Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles</i> , ed. and trans. G. Downey, <i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> , XLVII (1957)
EEBS	<i>Epetēris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn</i>
EEPT ^h	<i>Epistēmōnikē Epetēris tēs theologikēs scholēs tou Panepistēmiou Thessalonikēs</i>
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i>
<i>Esp.</i>	Eustathius of Thessalonica, <i>La Espugnatione di Tessalonica</i> , ed. S. Kyriakides (Palermo, 1961)
<i>Fontes</i>	W. Regel, <i>Fontes rerum byzantinarum</i> , 2 vols. (St Petersburg, 1892–1917)
Grumel, <i>Regestes</i>	V. Grumel, <i>Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople</i> , 1, i–iv (1932–71)
<i>Hist. Ged.</i>	Theodore Prodromus, <i>Historische Gedichte</i> , ed. W. Hörandner (Vienna, 1974)
Hunger, <i>Literatur</i>	H. Hunger, <i>Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner</i> , 2 vols. (Munich, 1978)
IRAIK	<i>Izvestiya russkogo arkhelogicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>

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- (before 1969: *Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*)
- Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy* A. P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav gospodstvuyushchego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974)
- Krumbacher K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (2nd ed., Munich, 1897)
- Laurent, *Corpus* V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, v, 1–3 (Paris, 1963–72)
- Leo Diac. Leo the Deacon, *Historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828)
- Lyubarsky, *Psell* Ya. N. Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell. Lichnost' i tvorchestvo* (Moscow, 1978)
- Malaces *Euthymiou tou Malakē mētropolitou Neōn Patrōn ta sōzomena*, ed. K. G. Bonis (Athens, 1937)
- Mich. Ak. *Michaēl Akomīnatou tou Chōniatou ta sōzomena*, 2 vols., ed. S. Lampros (Athens, 1879–80)
- Miklosich-Müller F. Miklosich, J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90)
- Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I: *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1958)
- Neue Quellen* A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und Kirchenunion*, I–III, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1922, no. 5; 1923, nos. 2, 3; repr. in A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (London, 1973)
- Nic. Chon. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin, New York, 1975)
- Nic. Chon., *Orat. et ep.* Nicetas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin, New York, 1972)

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Nic. Greg.	Nicephorus Gregoras, <i>Byzantina historia</i> , 3 vols., ed. L. Schopen, I. Bekker (Bonn, 1829–55)
<i>Opusc.</i>	Eustathius of Thessalonica, <i>Opuscula</i> , ed. G. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt, 1832)
<i>Orat.</i>	Nicephorus Chrysoberges, <i>Ad Angelos orationes tres</i> , ed. M. Treu (Breslau, 1892)
<i>Palastrevolution</i>	Nicholas Mesarites, <i>Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos</i> , ed. A. Heisenberg (Würzburg, 1907)
PG	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca</i>
Psellus, <i>Chron.</i>	Michael Psellus, <i>Chonographia</i> , ed. E. Renauld, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926–8)
REB	<i>Revue des Etudes Byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i>
RESEE	<i>Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes</i>
Sathas, MB	C. Sathas, <i>Mesaiōnikē bibliothēkē</i> , 6 vols. (Venice, Paris, 1872–94)
Scyl.	John Scylitzes, <i>Synopsis historiarum</i> , ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, New York, 1973)
Scyl. Cont.	Scylitzes Continuatus, <i>Hē synecheia tēs Chronographias tou Iōannou Skylitsē</i> , ed. E. Th. Tsolakes (Thessalonica, 1968)
Theoph. Cont.	Theophanes Continuatus, <i>Chronographia</i> , ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838)
Valk	Eustathius of Thessalonica, <i>Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes</i> , 1–, ed. M. van der Valk (Leiden, 1971–)
VV	<i>Vizantiyskiy Vremennik</i>
ZhMNP	<i>Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya</i>
Zon.	John Zonaras, <i>Epitome historiarum</i> , ed. M. Pinder, M. Büttner-Wobst, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1841–97)
ZVRI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>