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**ARETHAS OF CAESAREA AND THE SCHOLIA ON
PHILOSTRATUS' *VITA APOLLONII* IN LAUR. 69.33**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2012

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by

Ryan Bailey

(USA)

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

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Budapest, __ May 2012

Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank first and foremost Niels Gaul for his guidance and supervision, without which this thesis may never have been completed, and for saving me from myriad blunders in transcription, accentuation, and translation. I would also like to thank all those who so kindly helped me acquire source materials when articles or books were not available in libraries in Budapest, above all Melanie Bartczak, who spent a significant amount of time scanning and sending me a great number of documents. Also helpful in this regard were Niels Gaul, who lent me articles and books from his personal library; Lorenzo DiTommaso, who sent me dozens of articles and chapters; Ellen Aitken, Aaron Ricker, and Amanda Loud, who sent me scans when I was in a bind; and Phil Hart, who managed to access and send me several important volumes to which I had not been able to gain access. Finally, I thank my family for their love and support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A&A	<i>Antike und Abendland</i>
AC	<i>Archeologia Classica</i>
Aug	<i>Augustiniam</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , ed. H. Temporini and W. Hasse. Berlin, 1972–
BAlt	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
BCLSMF	<i>Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques</i>
BFPL	Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège
BM	<i>Bibliotheca Mathematica</i>
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CAB	Corpus philosophorum medii aevi: Commentaria in Aristotelem byzantine
CCM	<i>Cahiers de civilisation médiévale</i>
CIMAGL	<i>Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin</i>
CA	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CS	Collected Studies (Variorum Reprints)
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CW	<i>Classical World</i>
DK	H. Diels, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , rev. W. Kranz. 2 vols. Berlin, 1972–1973
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
GBRS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
GLRBP	E. A. Sophocles, <i>Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100)</i> . New York, 1900
HÉMM	Hautes études médiévales et modernes
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JA	<i>Journal of Archaeology</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JASCSA	<i>Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCPH	<i>Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik. Abteilung 1, Jahrbücher für classische Philologie</i>
JHD	<i>Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora</i>

<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJP</i>	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JPh</i>	<i>Journal of Philology</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LCM	Loeb Classical Monographs
LSCP	London Studies in Classical Philology
LSJ	H. G. Liddel, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
MBCB	Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava
<i>NJahrb</i>	<i>Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik</i>
PA	Philosophia antiqua
<i>Phil</i>	<i>Philologus</i>
<i>PGL</i>	G. W. H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Oxford, 1961
PTA	Papyrologica Texte und Abhandlungen
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
<i>RHS</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire des sciences</i>
RPM	Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale: Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici</i>
<i>RTP</i>	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i>
<i>RUB</i>	<i>Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles</i>
SAPERE	Scripta antiquis posterioris ad ethicam religionemque pertinentia
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
SC	Sources chrétiennes
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
SGLG	Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TL</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCSup	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

INTRODUCTION

The list of scholiastic corpora which scholars have attributed to the bibliophile Arethas (ca. 850–† post 932), archbishop of Caesarea from the year 902 or 903 until his death, is extensive and imposing. More often than not modern scholars have been content to accept the conjectural attributions made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century without ever questioning or even knowing the reasons behind them. The attribution to Arethas of the scholia on Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii* serves as just one example of this uncritical scholarly trend. To choose just one example from among a handful modern references to this corpus of scholia, Thomas M. Banchich in a short essay arguing for the attribution of a scholion on Eunapius to Arethas stated the following:

In addition, while ἱστορία seems to have interested Arethas primarily as a repository of rhetorical material, Eunapius, especially in an expurgated form, would have had the further attractions of an account of Julian the Apostate, whose *Adversus Christianos* [sic] Arethas attacked, and of sketches of some of the third and fourth centuries' leading intellectuals, Arethas' interest in whom is illustrated by his notes on Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii* and Porphyry's *Vita Pythagorae*.¹

References such as these are common, but the road to discovering how and why the scholia on the *Vita Apollonii* came to be associated with Arethas proves a long and tortuous serpent. Banchich cited the authority of Paul Lemerle, who in turn cited the authority of Sokrates Kougeas, who in turn “recalled that A. Sonny supposed that the marginal notes in the manuscript of the Life of Apollonios of Tyana Laur. 69, 33 came directly from a copy annotated by Arethas.”² The editor of Arethas' minor writings, L. G. Westerink, included the *Vita Apollonii* in a comprehensive list of texts annotated by Arethas, citing in favor of its inclusion only the short footnote in which Adolf Sonny claimed that Laur. 69.33 was copied by the same scribe who copied Urb. gr. 124, which contains the *Orations* of Dio Chrysostom

¹ Thomas M. Banchich, “Eunapius and Arethas,” *GRBS* 24 (1983): 183. It must be noted, however, that it was Porphyry's polemical work that bore the title *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*, whereas Julian's was titled *Κατὰ Γαλιλαίων*. As for Banchich's reference to Arethas' scholia on Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, no scholar, so far as I am aware, has ever associated Arethas with scholia on this text. Banchich seems to have confused Pophyry's text with Hierocles' commentary on the *Golden Verses of Pythagoras*, which Arethas is thought to have furnished with scholia, which were later copied into what scholars consider to be an apograph of a manuscript from the library of Arethas, i.e., Vindob. phil. gr. 314.

² Paul Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism: Notes and Remarks on Education and Culture in Byzantium from Its Origins to the 10th Century*, trans. Helen Lindsay and Ann Moffatt, *Byzantina Australiensia* 3 (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), 268; trans. of *Le premier humanisme byzantin: Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X^e siècle*, Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 6 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1971).

and scholia similarly attributed to Arethas.³ E. Zardini, in her reconstruction of the library of Arethas, likewise included the *Vita Apollonii* on the basis of Sonny's footnote.⁴ Sonny's codicological observation was insightful, but on its own it is insufficient proof of Arethas' ownership. Due to the lack of convincing argument and corroborative evidence, some scholars, e.g., N. G. Wilson, have rightly been hesitant to attribute this corpus of scholia to Arethas, and hence to include the *Vita Apollonii* among the works that made up Arethas' private library.⁵ That in practically every modern account of the library of Arethas no mention is made of Philostratus' work is testament to this overall reticence and uncertainty, if not to a general ignorance of this early hypothesis.⁶

This thesis presents a detailed investigation of the understudied and partially unedited corpus of scholia on Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*. With the exception of a few scattered references to a handful of individual scholia on the *Vita Apollonii*, there remains no singular study devoted to this corpus as a whole. This study seeks to determine the validity of the hypothesis that Laur. 69.33 is an apograph of a manuscript from the library of Arethas, and hence the supposition that Arethas was responsible for the scholia that appear in its margins. There are in fact very good reasons for attributing many of the scholia on the *Vita Apollonii* to Arethas, but these have never been clearly stated, in large part for the reason that a number of scholia in the margins of Laur. 69.33 have remained unedited.

The first chapter, "The Library and Scholia of Arethas of Caesarea," contains an overview of the eight codices that now survive from the personal library of Arethas; its purpose is to elucidate Arethas' scholiastic habits from his own codices and to provide a solid foundation for an analysis of the scholia on the *Vita Apollonii* and the status of Laur. 69.33 as an authentic transcript of a codex owned by Arethas. The second chapter, "The Scholia on Philostratus' Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τῶανέα Ἀπολλώνιον in Laur. 69.33," examines the proposals of Adolf

³ See L. G. Westerink, ed., *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis Scripta minora*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1968–1972), 2:XII–XV.

⁴ Eugenia Zardini, "Sulla biblioteca dell'arcivescovo Areta di Cesarea (IX–X secolo)," in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongressus, München, 1958*, ed. Franz Joseph Dölger and Hans-Georg Beck (Münich: C. H. Beck, 1960), 675.

⁵ N. G. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen: A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium*, ed. Ihor Ševčenko and Cyril Mango (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975), 7.

⁶ See, e.g., N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, rev. ed. (London: Duckworth, 1996), 120–35; Antonio Bravo García, "Aretas, semblanza de un erudito bizantino," *Erytheia* 6 (1985): 241–53; Boris L. Fonkič, "Scriptoria bizantini: Risultati e prospettive della ricerca," *RSBN* 17–19 (1980–1982): 99–108; E. Gamillscheg, "Autoren und Kopisten: Beobachtungen zu Autographen byzantinischer Autoren," *JÖB* 31 (1981): 379–84; Jean Irigoien, "Survie et renouveau de la littérature antique à Constantinople," *CCM* 5 (1962): 300–301; J. Bidez, "Aréthas de Césarée éditeur et scholiaste," *Byz* 9 (1934): 391–408. The *Vita Apollonii* is similarly absent from many of the older reconstructions of Arethas' library, see, e.g., Adolf von Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter*, TU 1.1–2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1882), 34–46.

Sonny and Rudolf Mueller concerning the scholia on the *Vita Apollonii* and their relation to Arethas and considers additional evidence provided by some of the previously unedited scholia. The third chapter, “The Christian Polemic against Philostratus and Apollonius of Tyana,” presents and analyzes most of the previously unedited scholia and places the scholiast’s polemic against Philostratus and Apollonius of Tyana within the long, protracted, and surprisingly variegated reception history of the *Vita Apollonii*.

Scholia are presented with their lemmata preceded by two references, e.g., *schol in VA V.20.2* (= Kayser, 93,14). The initial references are to the chapter, section, and paragraph divisions in the most recent Loeb edition of Christopher P. Jones, whose section divisions occasionally differ from those of F. C. Conybeare, the editor of the previous Loeb edition.⁷ These references are supplemented with the equivalent pages and line numbers for each lemma in the edition of C. L. Kayser, which Kayser used to number the scholia presented in his “Notae in Philostrati libros de Tyanensi Apollonio” and “Corrigenda and Addenda.” Those scholia that Kayser did not include in his edition have been identified as such (i.e., “ined.”). I have included in an appendix the bulk of the previously unedited scholia with references to the pages and line numbers in Kayser’s edition in order that it may be used as a supplement to his edition of the scholia. The following editorial conventions and sigla are used in the scholia presented in this thesis:

- [...] Square brackets enclose letters or words lost or partially lost due to physical damage to the manuscript (F)
- {...} Braces enclose letters or words that are to be deleted
- <...> Angle brackets enclose letters or words that are to be added
- † Obeli mark corrupt words or passages
- F Florentinus Laurentianus 69.33 (s. x)
- L Lugdunensis B.P.G. 73D (s. xiv)
- π Parisinus graecus 1801 (s. xiv)
- S Florentinus Laurentianus Conv. Soppr. 155 (ca. 1400)
- Bek G. J. Bekker, *Specimen variarum lectionum et observationum in Philostrati Vitae Apollonii librum primum* (Heidelberg: A. Oswald, 1818), 109–30
- Kay C. L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt: Philostrati junioris Imagines, Callistrati Descriptiones* (Zurich: Meyeri et Zelleri, 1844), 179–99, 79*–80*
- Muel R. Mueller, *De Lesbonacte grammatico* (Dissertatio inauguralis, Universitate Gryphis-waldensi, 1890), 110–11

⁷ Christopher P. Jones, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 2 vols., LCL 16–17 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005–2006).

I

The Library and Scholia of Arethas of Caesarea

Before analyzing the scholia on the *Vita Apollonii* and examining the hypothesis that Laur. 69.33 is an apograph of a manuscript once owned and annotated by Arethas it is first necessary to outline Arethas' scholiastic habits. Arethas' procedures as a reader and scholiast are best illuminated through the eight codices that survive from his personal library, although there are certainly additional scholiastic corpora for which Arethas was responsible. "His collection of books," noted N. G. Wilson, "important as it seems to us through the accident of its partial preservation, may not have been remarkable in its own day, except in so far as any private collection not consisting of copies made by the owner himself argues a degree of wealth."¹ It is clear from the exorbitant prices of Arethas' deluxe manuscripts that he was independently wealthy; his most expensive codex amounted to more than a third of the per annum income of high-ranking court officials, such as the *prōtopatharios*, whose annual salary was fixed at 72 gold nomismata.² Arethas' collection of books may not have been as spectacular as that of Photios, but unlike Photios, whose codices if and where they still survive scholars have not been able to identify, Arethas' codices afford a privileged perspective of a tenth-century reader, bibliophile, and scholiast at work. But just as Arethas was not your average book collector, neither was he your average scholiast. In fact, several modern scholars have characterized Arethas' own contributions as a scholiast as below average or worse.³

1.1 D'ORVILLE 301 (EUCLID)

The earliest of the eight codices from the library of Arethas appears to be D'Orville 301, written in the year 888 by the cleric Stephan.⁴ The codex contains Euclid's *Elements* in the widely-distributed revision of the fourth-century Greek scholar and mathematician Theon of Alexandria, and it is therefore not of great importance as a witness to the original text of

¹ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 135.

² See N. G. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium," 3–4; Niels Gaul, "The Manuscript Tradition," in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 75–76.

³ E.g., Wilson concluded his discussion of Arethas as a reader with the following summation: "In short Arethas enjoys a more flattering reputation than he deserves" (*Scholars of Byzantium*, 135).

⁴ The scribe Stephan has been the object of a detailed palaeographical study; see A. Aletta, "Su Stephano, copista di Areta," *RSBN* 41 (2004): 73–93.

Euclid. The colophon on fol. 387v—one of four surviving colophons in the hand of Arethas—contains two short notes with information concerning the production, ownership, and cost of the codex.⁵

ἔγγραφη χειρὶ Στεφάνου κληρικοῦ μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ´
 ἔτει κό(σμου) | ϞτϞζ´.
 ἔκτησάμην Ἀρέθας Πατρεὺς τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον νο(μισμάτων) ιδ´.

In the first of the two notes Arethas provides the following information: “It was written by the hand of the cleric Stephan in the month of September, indiction 7, in the year of the world 6397”; and in the second, “I, Arethas of Patras, obtained the present book for 14 nomismata.” The colophon is followed by an epigram on Euclid that looks to be written in the hand of Arethas as well.⁶

Three elements in the second note of the colophon require further comment. First, no information regarding the status of Arethas can be obtained from this note, as he styles himself simply as “Arethas of Patras.” This feature could indicate that Arethas was still a layman at the time, since in each of the later colophons he styles himself by indicating his clerical status, e.g., as δῖόκωνος (in Clarke 39 and Urb. gr. 35) and ἀρχιεπίσκοπος (in Par. gr. 451).⁷ Second, in the three other colophons Arethas gives figures for both the salary of the

⁵ Transcriptions of the colophon vary, see Alfred Hackman, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars quarta codices viri admodum reverendi Thomae Tanneri, S.T.P., episcopi Asaphensis, complectens*, repr. with corrections from the 1860 ed., Quarto vol. IV (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1966), 104 no. 17179; Ernest Maass, “Observationes palaeographicae,” in *Mélanges Graux: Recueil de travaux d’érudition classique dédié à la mémoire de Charles Graux*, ed. Eugène Benoist and Abel Bergaigne (Paris: E. Thorin, 1884), 751; Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 10 vols. (Boston, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1934–1945), 2:11 no. 51; E. Follieri, “Un codice di Areta troppo a buon mercato: Il Vat. Urb. gr. 35,” *AC* 25 (1973–1974): 264; Boris L. Fonkič, “Scriptoria bizantini: Risultati e prospettive della ricerca,” *RSBN* 17–19 (1980–1982): 100; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 260. Both Lake and Lake and Lemerle resolve the final abbreviation as νο(μίσματα), but while they are correct to read a plural in the duplication of the majuscule *nu* superscripted by an *omicron* (so V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. [Leipzig: Verlag von Veit & Comp., 1911–1913], 2:349), I tend to agree with Follieri and Fonkič in resolving the abbreviation as it occurs here with the plural genitive of price νο(μισμάτων). For facsimiles of D’Orville 301, see E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 223 no. 53; Louis Théophile Lefort and Joseph Cochez, *Palaeographische album van gedagteekende Grieksche minuskel handschriften uit de IXe en Xe eeuw = Album paleographicum codicum graecorum minusculis litteris saec. IX et X certo tempore scriptorum*, *Philologische studiën, Albumreeks 1* (Leuven: Philologische studiën, 1932), pl. 6; Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 2:pls. 94 and 104; N. G. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands: Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*, repr. ed., *Mediaeval Academy Books 81* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1995), pl. 13; Aletta, “Su Stephano,” pl. 4.

⁶ The text of the epigram on Euclid is slightly different from the one that has been published in *Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova: Volumen tertium*, ed. E. Cougny (Paris: Didot, 1890), 309. Where Cougny’s text reads βροτοῖς, πάντα τε ἀτρεκέως ἐξέρεεινε in line 2 of the epigram, the same line as Arethas has written it on fol. 387v runs πάντ’ ἀτρεκέως ἐξέρεεινε βροτοῖς. This is the second of the two epigrams on Euclid written in the hand of Arethas; the first, a two-line epigram, appears on fol. 5v (see Hackman, *Catalogi*, 104 no. 17179; cf. Westerink, *Arethae Scripta minora*, 2:XV).

⁷ Perria, “*Arethaea* II,” 57.

scribe and the cost of the parchment. Here, however, only one figure is given, and judging from the costs of parchment listed in the other codices it is certain that 14 nomismata is far too high a price to refer to the cost of the parchment alone; the price must therefore refer to the salary of the scribe, or possibly to the cost of the codex as a whole.⁸ Third, among the manuscripts of Arethas that preserve colophons the wording of the Bodleian Euclid is unique. According to Paul Lemerle the singular use of ἐκτεσάμην could indicate that Arethas did not commission the work (as he did the other codices), but merely that he purchased the codex ready-made; however, Arethas' mention of the scribe Stephan in the colophon speaks against such a view.⁹

Several of the scholia written by the hand of Arethas were evidently culled from other ancient sources, but there are approximately fifty scholia in D'Orville 301 that do not appear in any other manuscript of Euclid, indicating that they may be his own additions.¹⁰ These notes, consisting primarily of brief expositions on problems pertaining to the interpretation of the text, were written on several different occasions, as evinced by variations in the color of the ink.¹¹ They are for the most part straightforward and do not stand out among the scholia on Euclid.¹² One scholion shows Arethas redrawing a diagram and noting its superiority to that drawn by the scribe, but overall Arethas appears relatively comatose in his scholia on Euclid when compared to, say, his scholia on Plato or Lucian, but this is doubtless a product of the content of the *Elements*, in which there is little-to-nothing to excite the characteristic temper of Arethas.

By far the most interesting scholion begins on fol. 119v and bears the title ὑπόμνημα σχόλιον εἰς τὰς τῶν λόγων σύνθεσιν τε καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν Λέοντος in the top margin of fol. 120r.¹³ According to the scenario that Byzantinists commonly envision, the note derives from

⁸ According to N. G. Wilson the 14 nomismata “were perhaps only for the transcription” (“Books and Readers in Byzantium,” 3).

⁹ Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 260.

¹⁰ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 121. The approximate figure appears to be based on J. L. Heiberg's siglum B, described as “scholia codicis B manu ipsi codici aequali, sine dubio plerumque Arethae” in the preface to his *Euclidis Elementa, vol. V: Elementorum qui feruntur libri XIV–XV et scholia in Elementa cum prolegomenis criticis et appendicibus* (Leipzig: Teubner: 1888), X. Many of the notes written by Arethas are paralleled in the “Schol. Vind.”; see T. L. Heath, *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements, Volume I: Introduction and Books I, II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 72.

¹¹ Perria, “Arethaea II,” 78.

¹² See Heath, *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, 64–74; Bernard Vitrac, “Les scholies grecques aux *Éléments* d'Euclide,” *RHS* 56 (2003): 275–92.

¹³ The scholion, on definition 5 of book VI of the *Elements*, was first brought to the attention of scholars by J. L. Heiberg (“Der byzantinische Mathematiker Leon,” *BM* 1 [1887]: 33–34), who subsequently published the Greek text in his *Euclidis Elementa, vol. V, 714,17–715,7* (“Appendix scholiorum III”). In his apparatus Heiberg suggested that the abbreviation σχό(λιον) may also be read σχο(λικόν) (so Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 197 and n. 83).

a lecture on the addition and subtraction of fractions delivered by Leo the mathematician and attended by Arethas, who later incorporated the note in his copy of Euclid.¹⁴ However, N. G. Wilson has rightly pointed out that the note is in the hand of the copyist and was not written by Arethas.¹⁵ The short lecture note is one among a lengthy series of supplementary notes and diagrams that were added to the end of book VI, spanning fols. 118r–122r¹⁶; the size of the commentary and the elaborate diagrams likely necessitated their placement here rather than in their respective margins in book VI. The additions commence in majuscule script after the two lines in minuscule and two diagrams that conclude book VI on fol. 118r; the change of scripts was likely intended to signal the change from text to commentary. That Wilson is correct in his assertion is attested by the fact that the scribe Stephan reverted back to his characteristic minuscule after the note headed $\Lambda\eta\mu\mu\alpha \gamma'$ that begins fol. 120v. But despite the fact that the scholion was not written in Arethas' own hand, this of course does not mean that Arethas had never heard Leo's lecture, nor that Arethas could not have ordered its inclusion in D'Orville 301. But if it is maintained, as Lemerle himself has suggested,¹⁷ that Arethas had some part in the scholion's inclusion in his manuscript of Euclid, then Lemerle's proposition that the Euclid was purchased ready-made rather than by commission cannot be upheld.

1.2 E. D. CLARKE 39 (PLATO)

In 1801 the English naturalist and world traveler Edward Daniel Clarke (1769–1822) reached the Monastery of Saint John—the “Monastery of the Apocalypse”—on the island of Patmos in search of rare manuscripts. After spotting a copy of the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, Clarke left his travel companion, one Mr. Riley, to haggle over the manuscript with one of the monks and continued to explore the monastery's treasures. Moments later he discovered a single volume bound in wood containing twenty-four dialogues of Plato. Clarke described the dilapidated condition of the manuscript at the time of his discovery: “The cover was full of worms, and falling to pieces: a paper label appeared at the back, inscribed, in a

¹⁴ See, e.g., Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Beck, 1891), 622; John E. Murdoch, “Euclides Graeco-Latinus: A Hitherto Unknown Translation,” *HSCP* 71 (1966): 299 n. 98; Judith Herrin, “Mathematical Mysteries in Byzantium: The Transmission of Fermat's Last Theorem,” *Dialogos: Hellenic Studies Review* 6 (1999): 28. Leo's use of Greek letters as algebraic symbols has been understood as a sign of significant progress in Byzantine mathematics; see K. Vogel, “Buchstabenrechnung und indische Ziffern in Byzanz,” in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongressus*, 660–62; but cf. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 83–84.

¹⁵ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 83, 121; followed by Perria, “Arethaea II,” 60. The confusion appears to have been caused by Heiberg's sigla B, which he used to identify, sometimes incorrectly, scholia written by the hand of Arethas.

¹⁶ The scribe began the text of book VII on fol. 123r, leaving fol. 122v blank, on which Arethas subsequently composed scholia to the adjacent text.

¹⁷ Lemerle stated that “he [sc. Arethas] inserted” the note (*Byzantine Humanism*, 197).

modern hand, Διάλογοι Σωκράτους; but the letters of *Plato's* name, separated by stars, appeared very distinctly as a head-piece to the first page of the Manuscript, in this manner: Π•Λ•Α•Τ•Ω•Ν•Ο•Σ.”¹⁸

The colophon that Clarke went on to describe, with an unwarranted delight that his discovery had nearly bested a dated Greek manuscript mentioned by Jacques Philippe d’Orville, which in fact turns out to be D’Orville 301,¹⁹ remains intact.²⁰

ἐγράφη χειρὶ Ἰω(άννου) καλλιγράφου | εὐτυχῶς Ἀρέθαι διακόνωι
 Πα|τρει νομισμάτων βυζαντίων δέκα κ(αὶ) τριῶν μηνὶ νοεμβρίωι
 ἰδικτιῶνο(ς) ἰδ’ ἔτει κόσμου ςυδ’ βασιλείας Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχ(ρίστο)υ
 υἱοῦ Βασιλείου τοῦ ἀειμνήστου.
 ἐδόθ(η) | ὑπ(ὲρ) γραφῆς νο(μίσματα) ἰγ’ ὑπ(ὲρ) περιγραμ(η)ῶν νο(μίσματα)
 ἦ’.

The Bodleian Plato was written by the hand of John the calligrapher in the year 895, i.e., “in the month of November, indiction 14, in the year of the world 6404, during the reign of the Christ-loving Leo.” As indicated by the manner in which Arethas styles himself, by this time he had become a deacon, a position that he still held in 901 when he was indicted for impiety, apparently on account of his preoccupation with classical authors.²¹ The commissioned codex cost a total of 21 Byzantine nomismata; Arethas paid John *kalligraphos* 13 nomismata for his scribal work and allocated an additional 8 nomismata for the cost of the parchment.

Clarke 39 (= B of Plato) contains tetralogies I–VI, according to the numeration of the first-century edition of the Alexandrian astrologer and Platonist philosopher Thrasyllus, from

¹⁸ E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, Volume 6, Part 2: Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land, Section 2*, 4th ed. (London: Cadell and Davies, 1818), 47.

¹⁹ Clarke incorrectly stated that “[t]he manuscript mentioned by *Dorville* on *Chariton* is one year older” (*Travels*, 47). However, the manuscript that D’Orville actually refers to in his *editio princeps* of *Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe* is in fact the Bodleian Euclid (D’Orville 301), which, as mentioned above, bears a date of 888, seven years earlier than Clarke 39; see Jacques Philippe d’Orville, *ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ Αφροδισιέως τῶν περὶ ΧΑΙΡΕΑΝ καὶ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΡΟΗΝ ΕΡΩΤΙΚΩΝ ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΙ Η* (Amsterdam: Petrus Mortier, 1750), *49–*50.

²⁰ There is little variation among the several published transcriptions, see Hackman, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, 309 no. 18400; Maass, “Observationes palaeographicae,” 751–52; Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 2:11 no. 52; Follieri, “Un codice di Areta,” 265; Fonkič, “Scriptoria bizantini,” 100; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 247. The only minor point of contention concerns the reading of the final letter, i.e., the price of the parchment. Hackman initially suggested reading ἰ (10 nomismata); Lake and Lake never offered their own conjecture, but instead left the cost of the parchment in lacuna. However, the vast majority of scholars (e.g., Kougeas, Fonkič, Follieri, Lemerle, etc.) have followed Maass in reading ἦ’. For facsimiles of Clarke 39, see Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 224 no. 54; Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 2:pls. 95 and 104; Kougeas, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας*, pl. II (= Lefort and Cochez, *Album palaeographicum*, pl. 9); L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pl. III; Wilson, *Medieval Greek Bookhands*, pl. 14; I. Hutter, “Marginalia decorata,” in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies in Greek Handwriting*, ed. Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, 2 vols., *Bibliologia* 31A–B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 2:721–22 pls. 1–2.

²¹ See Westerink, *Arethae Scripta minora*, 2:49–55, 108–11 (nos. 66 and 72).

which all medieval manuscripts of Plato are derived.²² It is commonly noted, although there is little in the way of a scholarly consensus, that Clarke 39 represents the first volume of what was once a two-volume set of an “Arethas edition” of the complete works of Plato.²³ The second volume is said to consist of the now mutilated codex Vat. gr. 1 (= O of Plato), which once contained all of tetralogies VII–IX, but today contains only parts of tetralogy IX (the *Laws*, *Epinomis*, *Letters*, *Definitions*, and *spuria*). Friedrich Lenz championed this hypothesis in 1933 and argued that Clarke 39 and Vat. gr. 1 were written by the same scribe and that scholia in Arethas’ own hand could be identified in the margins of Vat. gr. 1.²⁴ L. A. Post subsequently demonstrated, and his arguments have convinced the majority of scholars, that the scribe of Vat. gr. 1 was neither John *kalligraphos* nor Baanes.²⁵ Clarke 39 and Vat. gr. 1 were clearly not written by the same scribe, and the scribe of the latter was not a scribe known to have worked for Arethas, but this in itself is not evidence enough to speak against the hypothesis that these two codices were once part of a two-volume set. A definitive palaeographical study of Vat. gr. 1 remains a desideratum.

²² See John M. Cooper’s introduction in *Plato: Complete Works* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett, 1997), viii–xii.

²³ As for E. H. Gifford’s proposal that Arethas returned to correct the main text of *Phaedo* 96a–c after reading Eusebius’ excerpt of the same passage in his copy of Par. gr. 451 (“On Some Corrections in the Clarke MS. of Plato,” *CR* 16 [1902]: 16–17; idem, “Arethas and the *Codex Clarkianus*,” *CR* 16 [1902]: 391–93), John Burnet has shown that they may well have come from elsewhere (“Arethas and the *Codex Clarkianus* (Plato, *Phaedo*, 96 a–c),” *CR* 16 [1902]: 276) and N. G. Wilson has noted that at least three of the corrections were written by John *kalligraphos* and not Arethas (*Scholars of Byzantium*, 122).

²⁴ Friedrich Lenz, “Der Vaticanus Gr. 1, eine Handschrift des Arethas,” *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1933): 193–218. Many scholars remain open to the idea of a two-volume set of Plato, see, e.g., Bidez, “Aréthas de Césarée,” 392; A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus, première partie: Le Codex 239 de Photios I, étude paléographique et critique*, BFPL 78 (Paris: Faculté de philosophie et lettres, 1938), 271; J. Irigoin, “Les manuscrits grecs (1931–60),” *Lustrum* 7 (1962): 80; Édouard des Places, in his introduction to Plato’s *Laws*, *Platon: Œuvres complètes, tome XI, première partie, Les Lois I–III* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1951), ccvii–ccix; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 248–50. It must be noted as well that the hand of Arethas has been identified by some scholars in the margins of a third manuscript of Plato, Par. gr. 1807, the so-called “Paris Plato” (= A of Plato). T. W. Allen first suggested a possible link between Arethas and the Paris Plato (“Palaeographica III: A Group of Ninth-Century Greek Manuscripts” *JPh* 21 [1893]: 55); identification of the hand of Arethas in this manuscript still remains open to debate, see Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 249–50, esp. n. 34; Gerard Boter, *The Textual Tradition of Plato’s Republic*, MBCB 107 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 46, 85; cf. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 129 and n. 11. It is also thought that Vat. gr. 1 served as the exemplar for Par. gr. 1807 from *Laws* 746b (on fol. 201r) until the end of the codex; see Henri Dominique Saffrey, “Retour sur le *Parisinus graecus* 1807, le manuscrit A de Platon,” in *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists: Proceedings of the Meeting of the European Science Foundation Network “Late Antiquity and Arabic Thought: Patterns in the Constitution of European Culture” Held in Strasbourg, March 12–14, 2004*, ed. Cristina D’Ancona, PA 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 4 and n. 6.

²⁵ L. A. Post initially suggested on the authority of E. M. Thompson (*An Introduction*, 222) that the scribe of Vat. gr. 1 was in fact Baanes, the scribe of two codices of Arethas, Par. gr. 451 and Harley 5694 (“The Vatican Plato,” *CQ* 22 [1928]: 14). Post later retracted this statement on the authority of T. W. Allen (“Miscellanea: III. *Vaticano Greco* I,” *CQ* 22 [1928]: 75) in his subsequent monograph *The Vatican Plato and Its Relations*, Philological Monographs 4 (Middletown, Conn.: American Philological Association, 1934), 9. N. G. Wilson, although he incorrectly stated that T. W. Allen had identified the scribe of Vat. gr. 1 as Baanes, showed that this scribe, although neither John *kalligraphos* nor Baanes, was unquestionably one and the same as the unknown scribe of Par. gr. 2935 (“Some Palaeographical Notes: II. A Paris Manuscript of Demosthenes,” *CQ* 10 [1960]: 200–202).

The majority of Arethas' scholia are not of his own composition but were compiled from other ancient texts and commentaries.²⁶ Most of the scholia in Clarke 39 are devoted to the *Theaetetus* and the *Gorgias*; those on the *Theaetetus* correspond closely to scholia found in other manuscripts of Plato and those on the *Gorgias*, although they are unique to Clarke 39, were likely derived from a lost commentary by Proclus.²⁷ The scholia on the other texts of tetralogies I–VI are in large part extracts from other ancient works. Arethas utilized Pollux' *Lexicon* for his notes on *Euthyphro* 2a and *Phaedo* 59e and the Roman historian Suetonius' *Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι παιδῶν* for his notes on *Theaetetus* 146a and *Lysis* 206e.²⁸ With the exception of the citation of Diogenian's lexicon as the source of his note on *Lysis* 206d, Arethas never cited his sources by name.

The scholia on Plato that are entirely of Arethas' own composition are few in number, and with the exception of some of his remarks on Plato's syntax they are far from scholarly. Occasionally he notes certain correspondences with passages from biblical literature. For example, the query of Socrates at *Euthyphro* 15a, concerning what advantage the gods could possibly derive from the gifts they receive from humans, prompted Arethas to note in the margin that this was in harmony with the biblical notion that "every good and perfect gift is from above" (James 1:17).²⁹ Many of Arethas' own remarks, however, are devoted to castigating Socrates for what he perceived as inconsistencies in philosophic argumentation. In *Phaedo* 114c Socrates is made to conclude his discussions of the topography of Tartarus and the judgments of dead who have lived impiously with reference to the altogether different fate of those who have lived pious lives purified by philosophy. "Because of all these things we have recounted," Socrates said to Simmias, "we ought to do our best to acquire virtue and wisdom in life. For the prize is fair and the hope great." This paraenetic conclusion provoked Arethas to shout, "What is the matter with you? You who just cannot give to virtue any other purpose than itself! Singing a palinode, as it were, you betray virtue's unsaleability to leisure

²⁶ On the scholia in Clarke 39, see esp. Henri Alline, *Histoire du texte de Platon* (Paris: É. Champion, 1915), 246–58; William Chase Greene, *Scholia platonica*, Philological Monographs 8 (Haverforiae: Societas Philologica Americana, 1938), xix–xxv (comments), 417–80 (scholia).

²⁷ Alline, *Histoire*, 257; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 121; E. R. Dodds, *Plato: Gorgias* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 60–61. Robert S. Brumbaugh, unaware of this reasonable conjecture, attributed a number of scholia on the *Gorgias* to Arethas himself, see "Logical and Mathematical Symbolism in the Platonic Scholia," *JWCI* 24 (1961): 45–58, esp. 52–53.

²⁸ Alline, *Histoire*, 251; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 121.

²⁹ *Schol. in Euthyphr.* 15a (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν κτλ.) συνοφδὸν τῷ "πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ" καὶ ἐξῆς (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 419). The reference to James 1:17 (πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δῶρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστιν) was first noticed by C. G. Cobet, "Scholia Platonis a Christiano scripta," *Mnemosyne* 2 (1874): 88 and later attributed to Arethas by M. Schanz, "Arethas verfasser von scholien zu Platon," *Phil* 34 (1876): 374; cf. Alline, *Histoire*, 250.

in the hereafter. Now, have you merely forgotten or are you just ignorant of what you have said previously?”³⁰

Arethas singled out Socrates’ dishonesty in philosophic argumentation a second time at *Charmides* 159c, upbraiding the participant in Plato’s dialogue for “playing tricks with the reasoning.” He called out Socrates by name, addressing him directly in the vocative case, “You are cheating in argument, Socrates, confusing the noble Charmides by sophistry.”³¹ Earlier in the same dialogue (155d) Arethas reserved his vociferation for the author of the dialogue. When Socrates expressed his love-pangs for the young Charmides after catching a glimpse inside the youth’s cloak, Arethas cried out, “Damn you, Plato, for so cunningly proffering this statement to pure souls!”³² But while one can perhaps sympathize with Arethas in his discursive qualms with *Phaedo* 114c and *Charmides* 159c, Arethas is shamelessly unfair in his satirical eisegesis of *Apology* 27d. In defense of the charge of atheism, Socrates explained that it would be absurd to assert the existence of the offspring of the gods, the *daimones*, and not of the gods themselves, and equally absurd to assert the existence of mules, and not of horses and asses. This statement prompted Arethas’ oft-quoted remark, “You are quite right, Socrates, to compare the gods of the Athenians to horses and asses.”³³ But, of course, Socrates had done no such thing.

There are in addition numerous scholia in the hand of Arethas that are concerned with syntax, grammar, and Attic Greek usage. This feature of Arethas’ scholia is frequently under-emphasized, if mentioned at all, doubtless because notes of this kind are less sensational than Arethas’ polemical scholia. Nonetheless, they are a consistent feature of Arethas’ scholiastic activity, particularly concerning Aelius Aristides and Lucian. Whether or not the grammatical scholia of the Bodleian Plato are of Arethas’ own composition is difficult to decide, but it is

³⁰ *Schol. in Phaed.* 114c (ὅστε ἀρετῆς) ὁ μηδενὸς ἄλλου χάριν τὴν ἀρετὴν διατεινόμενος χαρακτηρίζειν τι πέπονθα; ὡς περὶ παλινφθίαν ἄδεις καὶ τῆς εἰσέπειτα ῥαστώνης τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπεμπολεῖς ἄπρατον· ἀλλ’ ἢ τῶν πρὶν λήθεσο ἢ οὐκ ἐνόησας; (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 426); cf. Alline, *Histoire*, 250

³¹ *Schol. in Charm.* 159c (πότερον οὖν κτλ.) ἐπηρεάζεις τῷ λόγῳ, ὃ Σωκράτης (*sic* Greene), σοφιστικῶς τὸν καλὸν παρακρουόμενος Χαρμίδην. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ ἰκανῶς τὸν περὶ σωφροσύνης ἀποδέδωκεν λόγον, ἀλλ’ οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ ὄλῳ καὶ παντὶ διαφέροντα. μέρος γ’ οὖν καὶ τὸ ἡσυχῆ τι καὶ κοσμίως πράττειν σωφροσύνης. ἡσυχῆ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀταράχως φημί· σὺ δὲ ὁμωνύμως τὸ ἡσυχῆ ἀντὶ τοῦ νοθρῶς ἐκδεχόμενος δῆλος εἰ σοφιστεύων τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 454); cf. Maass, “Observationes palaeographicae,” 759; Alline, *Histoire*, 250; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 123.

³² *Schol. in Charm.* 155d (τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱματίου) ἀπόλοιο δῆτ’ ὃ Πλάτων οὕτως ἐπιβούλως ψυχᾶς ἀφελέσει τὸν λόγον προενεγκῶν (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 454); cf. Schanz, “Arethas,” 375; Maass, “Observationes palaeographicae,” 759; Alline, *Histoire*, 250; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 123.

³³ *Schol. in Apol.* 27d (ὁμοίως γὰρ ἄν κτλ.) καλῶς γε σὺ ποιῶν, Σώκρατες, ὄνοις καὶ ἵπποις τοὺς θεοὺς Ἀθηναίων (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 422); cf. Schanz, “Arethas,” 375; Alline, *Histoire*, 251; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 122–23. Alline is incorrect that the following note on *Apol.* 31c concerning the *daimōn* of Socrates shows Arethas expressing “un naïf étonnement”; the marginal note functions as a sort of lemma and should not end with a question mark (cf. Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 423).

simply untrue, as Henri Alline suggested, that Arethas had little concern for grammar; the mere fact that Arethas has taken the time to write out a quantity of grammatical scholia is testament to the contrary.³⁴ To list just a few examples, Arethas highlighted an assortment of syntactical constructions, e.g., *κακουργεῖν τὴν πόλιν* at *Euthyphro* 3a, *ἀλλ’ οἶει κτλ.* at *Euthyphro* 15a, *ἀπὸ τούτου ἔσχε τὸ ὄνομα* at *Cratylus* 403e, *ἐθαύμασα Σωκράτους* at *Theaetetus* 142c, among many others.³⁵ A number of grammatical features incited marginalia by Arethas as well, e.g., the notes on the introduction of the accusative case rather than the dative at *Euthyphro* 5a and the use of the indicative mood in place of the subjunctive at *Phaedo* 103c.³⁶ Plato’s Attic usage was doubtless of interest to Arethas (as it would be to any Byzantine scholar), who noted the Attic usage of *πολλοῦ γε δεῖ* for *οὐδαμῶς* at *Euthyphro* 4a and the Attic usage of the partitive genitive at *Phaedrus* 227b.³⁷ Arethas noted as well Plato’s use of the rhetorical mode of metalepsis at *Euthyphro* 4d.³⁸

1.3 URB. GR. 35 (PORPHYRY, ARISTOTLE)

Arethas’ next purchase appears to have been Urb. gr. 35, which contains the oldest and best copies of Porphyry’s *Isagoge* and Aristotle’s *Organon*. The colophon lacks a precise date, but since Arethas again styles himself as *διάκονος* the manuscript must have been copied before the year 902 or 903, when Arethas was appointed as archbishop of Caesarea.³⁹ The colophon is unfortunately lacunose, but the identification of the copyist, the cost of the parchment, and the number of quaternions are preserved.⁴⁰

³⁴ Alline was open to the idea that Arethas was responsible for many of the grammatical scholia, but suggested that the majority were composed prior to the writing of Clarke 39 for the reason that Arethas was much more interested in philosophy and theology than in grammar (*Histoire*, 253).

³⁵ Many of the marginal notes of this type are mere expansions of the compendium *σημείωσαι*: *Schol. in Euthyphr.* 3a (*κακουργεῖν τὴν πόλιν*) *σημείωσαι διὰ τὴν σύνταξιν* (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 417); *schol. in Euthyphr.* 15a (*ἀλλ’ οἶει κτλ.*) *σημείωσαι διὰ σύνταξιν* (*ibid.*, 419); *schol. in Crat.* 403e (*ἀπὸ τούτου ἔσχε τὸ ὄνομα*) *σημείωσαι διὰ σύνταξιν* (*ibid.*, 426); *schol. in Theaet.* 142c (*ἐθαύμασα Σωκράτους*) *σημείωσαι διὰ σύνταξιν* (*ibid.*, 427).

³⁶ *Schol. in Euthyphr.* 5a (*κράτιστον . . . λέγοντα*) *σημείωσαι πῶς οὐ πρὸς δοτικὴν ἀπέδωκεν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ’ αἰτιατικὴν ἐπήνεγκεν, οἷον “κράτιστόν ἐστι μαθητῆ σφῆ γενέσθαι αὐτὰ ταῦτα λέγοντα”* (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 418); *schol. in Phaed.* 103c (*οὐκ ἄν ποτέ φαμεν ἐθελῆσαι*) *σημείωσαι ὀριστικὸν ἀντὶ ὑποτακτικοῦ* (*ibid.*, 425).

³⁷ *Schol. in Euthyphr.* 4a (*πολλοῦ γε δεῖ*) *ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδαμῶς* (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 418); *schol. in Phaedr.* 227b (*τῶν λόγων*) *Ἀττικὴ ἢ σύντ[αξις] . . .* (*ibid.*, 449; this is one of those unfortunate scholia that have had portions cut off during the process of rebinding).

³⁸ *Schol. in Euthyphr.* 4d (*οὐδὲν δὲν πράγμα κτλ.*) *μετάληψις ἢ στάσις αὕτη, καὶ μετάληψις ἄγραφος; οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ ῥητοῦ τὴν παραγραφὴν ποιεῖται. ἢ μέντοι ἀντίθεσις ἀντεγκληματικὴ ἀντεγκαλεῖ γὰρ φεύγων ὡς ἄξιός παθεῖν τοῦτο ὁ τεθνηκὼς ὡς ἀνδροφόνος* (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 418).

³⁹ Fonkič, “Scriptoria bizantini,” 100; Perria, “*Arethaea* II,” 62.

⁴⁰ Transcriptions of the colophon vary wildly due to subsequent damage to the final folio (441v); the transcription above is Follieri’s reconstruction (“Un codice di Areta,” 278–79), which is reproduced by Fonkič (“Scriptoria bizantini,” 100). The earlier transcription of Lake and Lake contains significant differences, and like Follieri they assumed two lacunae, but chose not to resolve them: [. . .] *γρηγορίου υποδιακονου αρεθα*

[ἐγγράφη χειρὶ] Γρηγο(ρίου) ὑπ(ο)διακό(νου) Ἀρέθα(τι) διακό(νωι)
 [νο(μισμάτων) ἰ' περγαμη(ναί)] νο(μισμάτων) ς' τετράδ(ια) νε'.

The codex was “written by the hand of Gregory, sub-deacon, for Arethas, deacon.” Gregory’s hand is one of the oldest examples of an inclined minuscule; according to Follieri’s calculated reconstruction, his scribal salary would have amounted to approximately 10 nomismata, which fits the lacuna nicely.⁴¹ The parchment, which amounted to 55 quaternions, totaled 6 nomismata.⁴²

The manuscript contains a large number of scholia written in Arethas’ own hand, but these scholia cover only fols. 2v–18r (*Isagoge*) and 21v–29r (up to *Categories* 4b15); it is unclear why Arethas gave up at this point.⁴³ Both corpora of scholia contain a significant amount of material drawn from earlier commentators. Arethas used the commentaries of David and Ammonius for the *Isagoge* scholia and the commentaries of Simplicius, Elias, and Philoponus for the *Categories* scholia, but Simplicius is the only commentator cited by name in the scholia. In a number of scholia these earlier commentaries are reproduced verbatim, but more often than not the commentaries have been reworked, rewritten, and merged together. While the scholia are written in Arethas’ own hand, Arethas’ own distinctive Greek style is nowhere in evidence, and it is therefore probable that all of these commentators were already merged together in Arethas’ source, which he appears to have followed closely.⁴⁴

There is a clear danger in attributing the ideas and concepts presented in these scholia to Arethas himself.⁴⁵ Even the scholia that were not drawn from extant commentaries appear

διακονῶ [. . .] νομισμασι τετραδιοις νε' (*Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 9:1 no. 333). Other scholars assume no lacunae and hence resolve the words differently, e.g., Γρηγό(ριος) ὑποδιάκο(νος) Ἀρέθ(α) διακό(νου) νο(μισματῶ) ς' τετράδια νε' (Kougeas, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας*, 100), so Lemerle but with Ἀρέθα(τι) διακό(νωι) (*Byzantine Humanism*, 251 n. 41). For facsimiles of Urb. gr. 35, see Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 9:pls. 606–608; Perria, “*Arethaea* II,” pls. 1–2.

⁴¹ Aubrey Diller, “The Age of Some Early Greek Classical Manuscripts,” in *Serta Turyniana: Studies in Greek Literature and Palaeography in honor of Alexander Turyn*, ed. John L. Heller (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 515 and n. 8. For Follieri’s tabulation of the cost of the parchment as 10 nomismata, see “Un codice di Areta,” 262–79, esp. 277–79.

⁴² Lemerle mistook the cost of the parchment for the salary of the scribe (*Byzantine Humanism*, 251); cf. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 124.

⁴³ The most recent and complete edition is that of Michael Share, ed., *Ἀρέθα Καισαρείας σχόλια εἰς τὴν Πορφυρίου Εἰσαγωγὴν καὶ τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους Κατηγορίας = Arethas of Caesarea’s Scholia on Porphyry’s Isagoge and Aristotle’s Categories (Codex Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 35): A Critical Edition*, CAB 1 (Athens: Academy of Athens, 1994). There are further scholia written in a thirteenth-century hand, see Adam Bülow-Jacobsen and Sten Ebbesen, “*Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus* 35: An Edition of the Scholia on Aristotle’s *Sophistici Elenchi*,” *CIMAGL* 43 (1982): 45–120.

⁴⁴ See Share’s introduction, *Arethas of Caesarea’s Scholia*, xi–xv.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., the two recent studies of John P. Anton, “Neoplatonic Elements in Arethas Scholia on Aristotle and Porphyry,” in *Néoplatonisme et philosophie médiévale: Actes du Colloque international de Corfou, 6–8 octobre 1995 organisé par la Société Internationale pour l’Etude de la Philosophie Médiévale*, ed. Linos G. Benakis, RPM 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 291–306 and Marwan Rashed, “Les *marginalia* d’Aréthas, Ibn al-Tayyib et les dernières gloses alexandrines à l’*Organon*,” in *Scientia in margine: Études sur les marginalia dans les*

to derive from an unknown commentary from the same school and era, as they have a great deal in common with the sixth-century Alexandrian tradition. John P. Anton described “Arethas’ essentially Neoplatonic approach to Aristotle,” but this Neoplatonizing tendency is more than likely a product of Arethas’ sources, rather than of Arethas himself.⁴⁶

1.4 PAR. GR. 2951 + LAUR. 60.3 (AELIUS ARISTIDES)

Just as the year 902 or 903 can be considered the *terminus ante quem* for Arethas’ codex of Aristotle on the basis of Arethas’ description of himself as δῖόκονος, the same date can be considered the *terminus post quem* for Arethas’ codex of the Atticist writer Aelius Aristides, since Arethas signed some of the scholia Ἀρέθ(α) ἀρχ(ι)επ(ισκόπου).⁴⁷ Arethas’ codex, which was later divided into two parts, perhaps as early as the twelfth century, is now shared between two manuscripts, Par. gr. 2951 and Laur. 60.3. The Aristides unfortunately lacks a colophon and therefore a precise date and cost are wanting. However, the scribe has been confidently identified on palaeographic grounds as John *kalligraphos*, the copyist of the Bodleian Plato.⁴⁸

The annotations, written in Arethas’ own hand, follow the earlier Sopater scholia, which Arethas modified as he copied, but there are a number of scholia that are unquestionably of Arethas’ own composition. He once refers to the defeat of the Byzantine army by Symeon of Bulgaria, an historical datum which prompted N. A. Bees to suggest that the note must have been composed sometime during the year 906 or 907, which subsequently caused scholars to abandon the prior conjectural dating of the manuscript to the year 917.⁴⁹

manuscripts scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance, ed. Danielle Jacquart and Charles Burnett, HÉMM 88 (Genève: Droz, 2005), 57–73; cf. note 27 *supra*.

⁴⁶ Arethas’ conception of the rational soul was certainly opposed to Aristotle’s (see esp. L. G. Benakis, “Ἡ γένεσις τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς στὸν Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ στὴ χριστιανικὴ σκέψη: Μὲ ἀφορμὴ ἓνα νέο κείμενο τοῦ Ἀρέθ(α),” *Φιλοσοφία* 2 [1972]: 327–36), but the apparent dichotomy between the ideas presented in Arethas’ scholia on Aristotle and the ideas presented in Arethas’ own writings do not necessitate Anton’s notion that this opposition is indicative of a later formulation or change of mind on the part of Arethas. Anton correctly listed the sources of one of the scholia in question, *schol. in Cat.* 2a11–19 (= Share, 168,11–18), as a pastiche of the writings of Simplicius, Ammonius, Philoponus, and Olympiodorus; however, he ignored the implications of this apparent textual dependency (“Neoplatonic Elements,” 302–3).

⁴⁷ Friedrich Lenz, *Untersuchungen zu den Aristeidesscholien*, *Problemata*, Forschungen zur klassischen Philologie 8 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1934), 60 (other scholia are signed simply with Ἀρέθ(α), see *ibid.*, 25).

⁴⁸ This identification was initially made by Bruno Keil, *Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia: Volumen II Orationes XVII–LIII continens* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898), VII–IX and later confirmed by N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 124.

⁴⁹ *Schol. in Or.* 49 (= Keil, 2:189,13) (ἦνίττετο κτλ.) τοῦτο πραγματικῶς νῦν ὁράται ἐπὶ Συμεῶνι τῷ Βουλγάρῳ καὶ τῷ κακοδαιμόνῳ Ῥωμῳίῳν προεστῶτι. Cf. S. B. Kougeas, “Ἐρευνᾶν περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφίας κατὰ τοὺς μέσους χρόνους: Α’. Αἱ ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις τοῦ Ἀρέθ(α) λαογραφικαὶ εἰδήσεις,” *Λαογραφία* 4 (1912–1913): 267; N. A. Bees, “Αἱ ἐπιδρομαὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων ὑπὸ τὸν τζάρον Συμεῶν καὶ τὰ σχετικὰ σχόλια τοῦ Ἀρέθ(α) Καισαρείας,” *Ἑλληνικά* 1 (1928): 337–70. Arethas again references the Bulgarians in his scholion on Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* VII.121 (= Sonny, 105); for Arethas as the author of the scholia on Dio

Arethas regularly referred to contemporary events, circumstances, and topographical markers in his scholia. Aristides' mention of a bronze statue of Athena incited the following detailed remark from Arethas: "I believe this is the one set up in the Forum of Constantine, at the porch of the council-chamber, or senate, as they call it now; facing it, on the right-hand side of the porch as you go in, is Thetis, the mother of Achilles, with a crown of crabs. The common folk of today call the Athena 'Earth' and Thetis 'Sea,' being misled by the marine monsters on her head."⁵⁰

A handful of Arethas' polemical scholia in Laur. 60.3 have been edited only very recently by Luana Quattrocelli. All of these polemical remarks, although they may be of intrinsic interest, are of no textual or historical value, much like the polemical scholia on Plato. For example, Arethas has the following to say about the author Aristides: "A conceited person and a boaster and always talking about himself: all of this comes from a weak wit and from vanity."⁵¹ After a lengthy tabulation of dreams, visions, diseases, and cures in *Or.* 47.54–56, Aristides reflected on Asclepius' directive for him to fast. Arethas responds in characteristic fashion, speaking directly to the author, "What is the need, Aristides, of such a never-ending business?" He upbraids Aristides for suggesting that Asclepius ("your god Asclepius") truly possessed the power to make him free from disease: "Is it not clear even to the foolish that a delay in the return to health is characteristic of the man who observes that nature manages itself and returns to health of its own accord . . . ? But you, who are never able to see, perhaps because your reason suffers along with your body, you invent heaps of nonsense and ghosts of ghosts that produce only empty gnashing of teeth."⁵²

1.5 HARLEY 5694 (LUCIAN)

Arethas reserved his most vitriolic marginalia for another Atticist writer, Lucian of Samosata. Harley 5694 also lacks a colophon, but the codex was clearly commissioned by

Chrysostom in Urb. gr. 124, see § 2.2 *infra*. For the various dates assigned to this codex, see Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 255–57 n. 52.

⁵⁰ *Schol. in Or.* 50.408 (= Keil, 2:224,11) (ἡ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀθηνᾶ·) Ἀρέθα· δοκεῖ μοι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν τῷ φόρῳ Κωνσταντίνου ἀνακειμένη καὶ τοῖς προφυλαίοις τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ὃ σένατόν φασι νῦν, ἧς ἀντικρὺ ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσιούσι τῶν προφυλαίων καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀνάκειται Θέτις, καρκίνοις τὴν κεφαλὴν διαστεφής· ὧν οἱ νῦν ἰδιῶται τὴν μὲν γῆν φασὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, θάλασσαν δὲ Θέτιν, τοῖς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐνύδροις ἐξαπατώμενοι κνωδάλοις. Cf. Maass, "Observationes palaeographicae," 758; S. B. Kougeas, "Ἐρευναι περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφίας," 240–41; the translation is by R. J. H. Jenkins ("The Bronze Athena at Byzantium," *JHS* 67 [1947]: 31), who cites two other descriptions of the same statue from the writings of George Kedrenos and Niketas Choniates.

⁵¹ Luana Quattrocelli, "Aelius Aristides' Reception at Byzantium: The Case of Arethas," in *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*, ed. William V. Harris and Brook Holmes, CSCT 33 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 288.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 287–88.

Arethas and like Par. gr. 451 and GIM 231 shows his preference for extremely wide margins (many of which went unused in Harley 5694). The scribe has been identified as Baanes, the *notarios* who copied Par. gr. 451 for Arethas in 914. A rough date of 912 or 913 is generally assigned to Harley 5694 on the basis of Paul Lemerle's suggestion that a scholion on *Charon* 17 mentions the death of Emperor Leo VI, but as N. G. Wilson has noted, the text of Lucian could have been transcribed at an earlier date.⁵³ In fact this note does not appear in the margins of Harley 5694 (Rabe's E) but in the margins of Vindob. phil. gr. 123 (tenth century; Rabe's B) and Vat. gr. 1322 (thirteenth century; Rabe's Δ).⁵⁴ Despite its absence from Harley 5694, however, there still remains some possibility that the note mentioning Leo VI's death was Arethas' contribution.

Lucian's *Charon* is not one of the nineteen works included in Harley 5694,⁵⁵ but it is certain that Arethas read and annotated other works of Lucian that are not found in this manuscript. Mosq. 315, a sixteenth-century collection of the minor writings of Arethas,⁵⁶ preserves two lengthy scholia on *Juppiter tragoedus* (another text that is not present in Harley 5694) independently of the Lucianic text; these same comments appear as marginal scholia in manuscripts of Lucian.⁵⁷ The scholion on *Jup. trag.* 38 appears in Vat. gr. 1322 with the signature Ἀρέθου; four additional scholia bear this same ascription in a number of manuscripts of Lucian.⁵⁸ Based on the presence of these two scholia among the writings of Arethas in

⁵³ Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 265; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 124.

⁵⁴ For the note, see Hugo Rabe, *Scholia in Lucianum* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1971), 122,12–21.

⁵⁵ Harley 5694 contains the following works: *Pro lapsu inter salutandum* (fols. 1r–2r); *Apologia* (fols. 2r–6r); *Harmonides* (fols. 6r–7r); *Hesiodus* (fols. 7r–8v); *Scythia* (8v–11v); *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* (11v–25v); *Dispades* (25v–27r); *De mercede conductis* (27r–39v); *Anacharsis* (fols. 39v–50v); *De syria dea* (fols. 50v–60v); *De saltatione* (fols. 60v–73r); *Lexiphanes* (fols. 73r–78r); *Eunuchus* (fols. 78r–80r); *De astrologia* (fols. 80r–83v); *Amores* (fols. 83v–98r); *Pro imaginibus* (fols. 98r–104r); *Pseudologista* (fols. 104r–110v); *Hermitimus* (fols. 110v–133r); *Prometheus* (fols. 133r–134v).

⁵⁶ On this manuscript, see Christian Friedrich von Matthaei, *Index codicum manvscriptorum graecorum bibliothecarum mosqvensium sanctissimae Synodi ecclesiae orthodoxae graecorossicae* (Petropoli: Typis Academiae scientiarum, 1780), 49 no. 302; Archimandrite Vladimir, *Систематическое описание рукописей Московской синодальной (патриаршей) библиотеки* (Moscow: Sinodal'naja tip., 1894), 672 no. 441; J. Compnass, *Denkmäler der griechischen Volkssprache für sprachwissenschaftliche Übungen und Vorlesungen* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1911), 3–8; M. A. Šangin, "Византийские политические деятели первой половины X в.," *Vizantiiskij Sbornik* 1 (1945): 228–30; Patricia Karlin-Hayter, "Texts for the Historical Study of the *Vita Euthymii*," *Byz* 28 (1958): 273–75; Jean Darrouzès, "Inventaire des épistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle," *RÉB* 18 (1960): 115–17; Westerink, *Arethae Scripta minora*, 1:IX–XVIII.

⁵⁷ These scholia have been edited by Hugo Rabe in "Die Lukianstudien des Arethas," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1904): 643–56 and idem, *Scholia in Lucianum*, 71,25–75,4 (*schol. in Jup. trag.* 38) and 78,17–82,19 (*schol. in Jup. trag.* 47) and Westerink, *Arethae Scripta minora*, 1:333–39 (nos. 54 and 55).

⁵⁸ See *schol. in Jup. trag.* 3 (= Rabe, 58,27–59,4 in manuscripts ΔCVOΩ); *schol. in Jup. trag.* 42 (= Rabe, 76,3–24 in manuscript Δ); *schol. in Parasit.* 41 (= Rabe, 159,24–158,11 in manuscripts Vφ); *schol. in Per.* 13 (= Rabe, 218,20–220,21 in manuscript R). On the various manuscripts, see Hugo Rabe, "Die Ueberlieferung der Lukianscholia," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1902): 718–36.

Mosq. 315, one can be assured not only that these scholia were composed by Arethas, but that Arethas owned and annotated an additional codex (or codices) containing other texts by Lucian that do not appear in Harley 5694. Moreover, regardless of whether the instances of the ascription Ἀρέθῃα were copied or added by the scribes of the codices of Lucian, there is little reason to doubt Arethas' authorship of these scholia. Many scholars have been overly and anomalously cautious with regard to the attribution of the signed scholia on Lucian to Arethas, but such reticence appears to be unwarranted in light of both the examples provided by Mosq. 315 and Arethas' occasional habit of signing his own scholia.⁵⁹

Lucian of Samosata was an author whom, as M. J. Edwards correctly observed, "Byzantine custodians of eloquence could not afford to bury. One expedient was to bell the cat, to crowd the margins of his text with expostulation where he fell short of the Christian standard of piety or virtue."⁶⁰ Arethas' scholia on Lucian cover a wide range of topics from grammar and syntax to antiquarian interests and classical scholarship, but more than anything else Arethas' scholia on Lucian showcase his penchant for polemic and invective.⁶¹ A number of examples from Arethas' scholia on Lucian are cited in the chapters that follow.

1.6 PAR. GR. 451 (EARLY CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS)

Par. gr. 451, informally known as the "the Arethas Codex" among scholars of early Christianity, is famous for being the earliest known collection of early Christian apologetic literature. The codex contains Clement's *Protrepticus* (1r–56v) and *Paedagogus* (57r–154v), Pseudo-Justin's *Epistula ad Zenam et Serenum* (155r–163v) and *Cohortatio ad Graecos* (163v–187v), Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica* (188r–322r), Athenagoras' *Legatio pro Christianis* (322v–348r) and *De resurrectione mortuorum* (348v–367v), and finally Eusebius' *Contra Hieroclem* (368r–401v). The codex preserves the earliest and best witnesses of each text and subsequently served as the exemplar for a handful of later manuscripts. Adolf Harnack demonstrated from a codicological analysis of these manuscripts that Par. gr. 451,

⁵⁹ E.g., M. J. Edwards stated in reference to the scholion on *Jup. trag.* 47 only that the scholiast was "named by a scribe as Arethas" ("Lucian of Samosata in the Christian Memory," *Byz* 80 [2010]: 147); similarly Paul Lemerle used scare quotes and referred to them as "signed" scholia (*Byzantine Humanism*, 265 n. 102).

⁶⁰ Edwards, "Lucian of Samosata," 143.

⁶¹ The best analysis of Arethas' scholia on Lucian is the recent monograph of Giuseppe Russo, *Contestazione e conservazione: Luciano nell'esegesi di Areta*, BAlt 297 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011); cf. Helm, *De Luciani scholiorum fontibus* (Dissertatio inauguralis, Philipps-Universität Marburg, 1908); Richard Winter, *De Luciani scholiis quaestiones selectae* (Dissertatio inauguralis, Universität Leipzig, 1908); Jean Schneider, "Les scholies de Lucien et la tradition paroemiographique," in *Lucien de Samosate: Actes du colloque international de Lyon organisé au Centre d'études romaines et gallo-romaines, les 30 septembre–1^{er} octobre 1993*, ed. A. Billault (Lyons: De Boccard, 1994), 191–204; D. E. Hahm, "The Ethical Doxography of Arius Didymus," *ANRW* II.36.4 (1990): 2947–74.

which now lacks four quires (λ'–λγ') between fols. 187v and 188r, once contained Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*, from which all extant copies derive.⁶² The codex enjoys special status as the most expensive and luxurious of Arethas' surviving codices. The colophon contains the usual information.⁶³

ἔγγραφη χειρὶ Βαάνου(ς) νοτ(αρίου) | Ἄρέθα ἀρχ(ι)επισκόπ(ωι) Καισαρεί(ας)
 Καππαδοκί(ας) ἔτει κόσμου | ςυκβ'.
 νο(μισμάτων) κ' περιγαμην(αὶ) νο(μισμάτων) ς'.

The codex was written by the hand of the *notarios* Baanes, the copyist of Arethas' codex of Lucian, "in the year of the world 6422," i.e., between September 913 and August 914. Altogether the codex cost Arethas a total of 26 nomismata, twenty for Baanes' scribal work and another six for the parchment.

The colophon on fol. 401v is followed by a lengthy scholion, beginning on fol. 402r, on Clement's *Paedagogus* (I.5.15), written in Arethas' own hand in an uncharacteristically large majuscule script. In later manuscripts of the *Paedagogus* the scholion appears adjacent to its respective text and bears the signature Ἄρέθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου; altogether a total of four scholia bear the signature Ἄρέθα, two in Arethas' own hand and two only in apographs.⁶⁴ It is possible that Arethas' scholia on *Juppiter tragoedus* that appear in Mosq. 315 were once written in the same fashion at the end of a now lost codex of Lucian's works. Most of the scholia are devoted to the works of Clement and were copied into the margins by Baanes; according to Otto Stählin these scholia may have been composed as early as the fifth century.⁶⁵ The majority of Arethas' own contributions to the scholia are again far from

⁶² Harnack's hypothesis was confirmed by Oscar von Gebhardt, "Zur handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung der griechischen Apologeten: 1. Der Arethascodex, Paris. Gr. 451," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 1.3 (1883): 163; cf. Miroslav Marcovich, "Codex Arethae and Tatian," *JÖB* 44 (1944): 307–12.

⁶³ There is little variation among the several published transcriptions, see Maass, "Observationes palaeographicae," 749–50; Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 4:9 no. 136 (note, however, the incorrect conjectures in their reading of the second note); Follieri, "Un codice di Areta," 267; Fonkič, "Scriptoria bizantini," 101; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 271; Karl Mras, *Eusebius Werke: VIII. Die Praeparatio Evangelica*, GCS 43.1 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954), XV. For facsimiles of Par. gr. 451, see Kougeas, *Ὁ Καισαρεία Ἄρέθα*, pls. I, III, VII; Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 4:pls. 230–231; Lefort and Cochez, *Album palaeographicum*, pl. 18.

⁶⁴ For the scholia that were attributed to Arethas by later scribes, see *schol. in Paed.* I.5.15 (= Stählin, 321,32–323,23) and *Paed.* II.10.99 (= Stählin, 332,1–6); the scholion on *Paed.* I.5.15 that begins on fol. 402r does not bear a signature as the critical apparatus of Stählin (= 321,32) and Marcovich (= 210,11) suggest; see the facsimile of this folio in Kougeas, *Ὁ Καισαρεία Ἄρέθα*, pl. VII. For the scholia signed by Arethas himself, see *schol. in Paed.* II.4.41 (= Stählin, 328,26–28) and *Paed.* II.10.110 (= Stählin, 333,8–17)

⁶⁵ Otto Stählin, *Untersuchungen über die Scholien zu Clemens Alexandrinus*, Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Nürnberger Gymnasiums (Nürnberg: J. L. Stich, 1897), 45–48; but cf. Edwards' comments ("Lucian of Samosata," 150 n. 13). The scholia were first edited by Otto Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus, Band I: Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, GCS 12 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905), 293–340; the scholia on Clement and several other texts in Par. gr. 451 were reedited in separate volumes by Miroslav Marcovich, *Clementis Alexandrini*

scholarly, and in this respect the corpus resembles Arethas' scholia in the Bodleian Plato. For example, when Clement recommends a diet that includes bulbs, Arethas responds, "Father, what a word has escaped the barrier of your teeth. What more difficult and indigestible food can there be?"⁶⁶

1.7 VALLIC. GR. F 10 (79) (NOMOCANON)

The second of three codices containing Christian literature from among the surviving manuscripts of Arethas' library is Vallicellianus graecus F 10 (79),⁶⁷ a collection of texts dealing with matters of ecclesiastical law. Vallic. gr. F 10 lacks a colophon, but as the codex is now mutilated at the end it is possible that a colophon once existed.⁶⁸ The codex is therefore difficult to date. All that can be said for certain is that it was written after Arethas became archbishop of Caesarea, as one of the scholia refers to Saint Basil as ὁ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶς Καισαρείας φωστήρ.⁶⁹ The scholia deal with a wide range of topics and are written in Arethas' own hand, although in Vallic. gr. F 10 Arethas has not signed any of the scholia with his own name.⁷⁰ A number of the scholia are concerned with Emperor Leo VI and the controversial tetragamy, against which Arethas was vehemently opposed.⁷¹ But while significant progress has been made on the codicological aspects of Vallic. gr. F 10, a considerable portion of its scholia still remain unedited.⁷²

1.8 GIM 231 (THEOLOGICAL MISCELLANY)

The final dated manuscript that survives from the library of Arethas is GIM 231 (Matthaei 394 = Vladimir 231), which was brought from the Athonite monastery of Dionysiou to the Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Musej in Moscow. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Christian Friedrich von Matthaei detached a portion of the codex (eighteen leaves) and brought it to Dresden, but the Dresden fragment (Da 12) was later returned to Moscow,

Protrepticus, VCSup 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 179–217; idem, *Clementis Alexandrini Paedagogus*, VCSup 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 207–29; cf. idem, *Athenagorae qui fertur De resurrectione mortuorum*, VCSup 53 (Leiden Brill, 2000), 51–63.

⁶⁶ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 125.

⁶⁷ For facsimiles see A. Menschini, *Il codice Vallicelliano di Areta*, Università di Padova, Istituto di studi bizantini e neogreci, Quaderni 4 (Padova: La garangola, 1972), pls. I and IIb; Lidia Perria, "Arethaea: Il Codice Vallicelliano di Areta e la *Ciropedia* dell'Escorial," *RSBN* 25 (1988): pls. Ia–b, IIa–c.

⁶⁸ Perria, "Arethaea II," 67.

⁶⁹ Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 272 and n. 132.

⁷⁰ So Menschini, *Il codice Vallicelliano*, 16.

⁷¹ On the tetragamy, see esp. R. J. H. Jenkins and B. Laourdas, "Eight Letters of Arethas on the Fourth Marriage of Leo the Wise," *Hellenika* 14 (1956): 293–370; repr. in R. J. H. Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries*, CS 1 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1970), 293–370.

⁷² According to Paul Lemerle, P. Karlin-Hayter and J. Koukoules were in the process of studying the unedited scholia, but, so far as I am aware, no study has been published (*Byzantine Humanism*, 272 n. 133).

after the leaves had been heavily damaged during World War II.⁷³ The codex is a miscellany of theological and polemical Christian treatises from the fifth to the ninth century; some of the larger works include Theodore Abu-Qurrah's *De unione et incarnatione* and *Opuscula* (fols. 33r–71r), Timotheus presbyter's *De receptione haereticorum* (fols. 86r–103r), Cyril's *Apologeticus contra Theodoretum* (fols. 107r–133v), and Photios' *Amphilochia* (fols. 143r–169r). The codex does not have the appearance of being a work commissioned by Arethas, as a note in his own hand on fol. 35v shows him unable to identify the author of the text he was reading. However, Arethas may have instructed Stylianos to add at least the material from the *Amphilochia*, since Stylianos rather than Arethas wrote most of the scholia on Photios into the margins.⁷⁴ The colophon, on fol. 6r of the former *Dresdensis*, contains information on the scribe and date of the codex, but unlike each of the other colophons it is written in the hand of the scribe and not by Arethas.⁷⁵

Στυλιανὸς διάκονος ἔγραψα Ἀρέθαι ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Καισαρείας
Καππαδοκίας ἔτει κόσμου | ςϞϞ᾽ ἰνδικτιῶνο(ς) πέμπτῃς μηνὶ | ἀπριλίῳ
συμπληρωθέντος τοῦ τεύχους.

The codex was copied for Arethas by the deacon Stylianos “in the year of the world 6440, indiction 5, in the month of April,” i.e., in the year 932. This is the last known mention of Arethas of Caesarea and now the *terminus post quem* for his death. The scholia evince an aged Arethas, around eighty years old, whose eyesight was failing him and who was more doctrinaire than ever in his judgments. Arethas occasionally struggled in deciphering the script of Stylianos and supplied a number of unnecessary textual emendations.⁷⁶ What is most surprising about the scholia in GIM 231 is the harshness of Arethas' criticisms against Christian authors, but this is perhaps due to the fact that the theological issues discussed by these authors were more pertinent to the religious controversies of his own day than those discussed by the authors in Par. gr. 451. Arethas reproached Cyril for using the term *hypostasis* to refer to the human nature of Christ. After instructing Cyril on the more recent theological developments Arethas hurled several insults that rival even his meanest scholia on Lucian. Not even Photios is spared from Arethas' invective. Only one of Photios' five

⁷³ See Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 265–66; L. G. Westerink, “Marginalia by Arethas in Moscow Greek MS 231,” *Byz* 42 (1972): 196–99.

⁷⁴ Westerink, “Marginalia by Arethas,” 196–97.

⁷⁵ All published transcriptions are in agreement, see Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 6:9 no. 218; Fonkič, “Scriptoria bizantini,” 101; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 266; Westerink, “Marginalia by Arethas,” 197. For facsimiles, see Kougeas, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας*, pl. V; Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 6:pls. 382–384; Lefort and Cochez, *Album palaeographicum*, pl. 25.

⁷⁶ See Westerink, “Marginalia by Arethas,” 199–200.

solutions to the question “Why was it God the son who became man?” (*Amphilochia* 184) is deemed sensible, the others are “gibberish and garbage.”⁷⁷ The codex also contains nine scholia to which Arethas affixed his own name, either Ἄρεθα or Ἄρεθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου, and two additional signatures among the scholia on Photios which Westerink has identified as *manu Styliani*.⁷⁸

* * *

A great number of manuscripts must have passed through the hands of Arethas, and a number of margins no doubt soaked up the ink of his quill. But one cannot assume that every manuscript in Arethas’ personal library was a costly, commissioned masterpiece of Byzantine calligraphy. Nor can one assume, given the tendencies of both Arethas and his scribes, that Arethas possessed manuscript copies of every literary work either quoted or alluded to in the scholiastic corpora which have been associated with him. It is clear, however, from the eight codices which have survived from his library, that Arethas made use of earlier commentaries whenever they were available to him. Sometimes the marginal scholia that derive from earlier commentaries or scholiastic corpora were written in the margins by the scribes of Arethas’ commissioned codices (e.g., the D’Orville 301, Clarke 39, Par. gr. 451), and other times Arethas copied them into the margins of his manuscripts himself (e.g., Urb. gr. 35, Par. gr. 2951 + Laur. 60.3).⁷⁹ The scholia of Arethas further elucidate his interests in grammar, syntax, and Attic Greek usage, as well as in antiquarian subjects and classical scholarship. But the hallmarks of Arethas’ scholia are most evident in his own contributions, which are typically devoid of any real scholarship. These scholia evince Arethas’ habit of referencing contemporary personages, places, and events as well as his penchant for polemical discourse and diatribe, particularly his predilection for directly addressing and engaging in apostrophic dialogue both the protagonists of the works he read and the authors themselves.

It is much more difficult to determine Arethas’ exact scholiastic role in those codices that are thought to be apographs of manuscripts which once formed a part of his library. This is partly for the reason that it is often unclear whether these codices are complete transcripts

⁷⁷ αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι σοφιστικαὶ σκῆψεις καὶ πρὸς τερετίσματα ἀποσκυβαλιζόμεναι (fol. 153r).

⁷⁸ See the scholia on fols. 26r, 27v, 29v, 46r, 47v (*bis*), 48v (*bis*), 66r (Ἄρεθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου), 153r [*manu Styliani*], 153v (Ἄρεθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου [*manu Styliani*]).

⁷⁹ N. G. Wilson has suggested that Arethas may have modelled his tiny half-majuscule script on a type which he had encountered in old books, “The Relation of Text and Commentary in Greek Books,” in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale “Il Libro e il Testo,” Urbino, 20–23 settembre 1982*, ed. Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli, Pubblicazioni dell’Università di Urbino, Science umane 1 (Urbino: Università degli studi di Urbino, 1984), 107; cf. idem, “A Chapter in the History of Scholia,” *CQ* 17 (1967): 244–56; idem, “Scholiasts and Commentators,” *GBRS* 47 (2007): 39–70.

of manuscripts from his personal library or merely codices that contain one scholion or more that derive, directly or otherwise, from a codex that he furnished with scholia. The scholia on Pausanias may well reflect the latter scenario (see § 2.1). But this is primarily for the reason that the palaeographic features of the original codices are irrecoverable and it is impossible to determine whether a given scholion was written by Arethas or by his scribe. In several cases the arguments for attributing scholia in later manuscripts to Arethas, and hence positing an original exemplar that belonged to Arethas, are based on either the presence of Arethas' name prefixing a scholion or prolegomenon or to the presence of quotations from authors whom Arethas is known to have read and cited elsewhere, or a combination of both. One exception in this regard is Vindob. phil. gr. 314, a tenth-century codex that contains what has been described as a "Platonic corpus." L. G. Westerink convincingly argued that this codex is an apograph of a manuscript owned and annotated by Arethas, which was made during his own lifetime, on the basis of both the character of the scholia and references in his letters.⁸⁰ Like Vindob. phil. gr. 314, Laur. 69.33 contains no scholia or prolegomena to which Arethas' name has been affixed, nor do its scholia contain any quotations from authors like Marcus Aurelius, whom Arethas often quoted or cited in his scholia—for which reason Arethas is thought to be responsible for the scholia on Dio Chrysostom and Epictetus.⁸¹ Due to the lack of any clear indicators the attribution of the scholia on the *Vita Apollonii* to Arethas has remained an open question. The following chapter examines the proposals of Adolf Sonny and Rudolf Mueller concerning the scholia on the *Vita Apollonii* and their relation to Arethas and considers additional evidence provided by some of the previously unedited scholia.

⁸⁰ The codex was copied by John *grammatikos* in the year 924 or 925; it contains the Epitome of Albinus, extracts from Olympiodorus and Diogenes Laertius, anonymous prolegomena to Platonic philosophy, and Hierocles' commentary on the *Golden Verses of Pythagoras*; see L. G. Westerink and B. Laourdas, "Scholia by Arethas in Vindob. phil. gr. 314," *Ἑλληνικά* 17 (1962): 105–31. For Arethas' role, see also L. G. Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy: Introduction, Text, Translation and Indices* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1962) L–LI and n. 142; cf. J. Whittaker, "Arethas and the *Collection philosophique*," in *Paleografia e codicologia greca: Atti del II colloquio internazionale, Berlin-Wolfenbüttel 17–21 ottobre 1983*, ed. Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato, 2 vols., Biblioteca di scrittura e cività 3 (Rome: Ed. dell'Orso, 1991), 1:513–21.

⁸¹ See Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 126–27.

II

The Scholia on Philostratus' Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον in Laur. 69.33

C. L. Kayser included over three hundred scholia among the “Notae in Philostrati libros de Tyanensi Apollonio” that follow his 1844 edition of *Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον* or *Vita Apollonii* (hereafter *VA*).¹ Kayser had knowledge of seventeen codices, but he collected scholia from only four, one from the tenth century, Laur. 69.33 (Kayser’s f; Boter’s F), and three from the fourteenth century, Par. gr. 1801 (Kayser’s π; Boter’s A), Laur. Conv. Soppr. 155 (Kayser’s s; Boter’s S), and Leiden, B.P.G. 73D (Kayser’s l; Boter’s L). A number of these scholia had been previously edited and published just over a quarter of a century earlier by G. J. Bekker from what he described simply as “codex Schellershemianus.”² This codex may now be identified as Laur. Conv. Soppr. 155, one of the many codices acquired by the Baron von Schellersheim, an avid collector of antiquities who was entrusted with the task of transferring several important classical manuscripts from the Badia to the Biblioteca Laurenziana in 1808 “to protect them from the greed of the French.”³ The scholia in these manuscripts vary in size, ranging from glosses of a single word to paragraphs of some length. With the exception of a number of mostly abrupt glosses that are unique to Par. gr. 1801, the bulk of the scholia are found in the margins of Laur. 69.33. A number of scholia are common to both Laur. 69.33 and the “Schellershemianus” in particular, but many are found only in Laur. 69.33. In addition, there are some thirty scholia in Laur. 69.33 that were never edited by Kayser (for reasons that are not entirely clear to me) and have remained unpublished.

¹ C. L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt: Philostrati junioris Imagines, Callistrati Descriptiones* (Zurich: Meyeri et Zelleri, 1844), 177–98 (“Notae in Philostrati libros de Tyanensi Apollonio”) and 79*–80* (“Corrigenda and Addenda”). Although Kayser was aware of seventeen manuscripts of the *VA* it appears that he only had full collations of six: Laur. Conv. Soppr. 155 (ca. 1400); Laur. 69.33 (ca. 1000); the Lugdunensis, B.P.G. 73D (14th cent.); Par. gr. 1696 (14th. cent.); Par. gr. 1801 (14th cent.); and the Vratislaviensis, BU, Rehd. 39 (15th cent. [subsequently lost in World War II]); see Gerard Boter, “Towards a New Critical Edition of Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius: The Affiliation of the Manuscripts*,” in *Theios Sophistes: Essays on Flavius Philostratus’ Vita Apollonii*, ed. Kristoffel Demoen and Danny Praet, MBCB 305 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 24.

² G. J. Bekker, *Specimen variarum lectionum et observationum in Philostrati Vitae Apollonii librum primum* (Heidelberg: A. Oswald, 1818), 109–30 (“Scholia codicis Schellershemiani in Philostrati Vitae Apollonii septem libros priores”). While I have not had the chance to inspect Laur. Conv. Soppr. 155, I have inspected its apograph Laur. 69.26 (Kayser’s fc; Boter’s G); Bekker’s edition runs almost exactly in parallel to this manuscript, and I presume even more so to Laur. Conv. Soppr. 155. A handful of the scholia edited by Bekker and subsequently by Kayser had already appeared in the notes to Olearius’ 1709 edition of the *VA*; see Gottfried Olearius, *Philostratorum quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig: T. Fritsch, 1709), *passim*.

³ John M. Moore, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 12; on the identity of the “Schellershemianus,” a label used by Kayser as well, see Boter, “Towards a New Critical Edition,” 24.

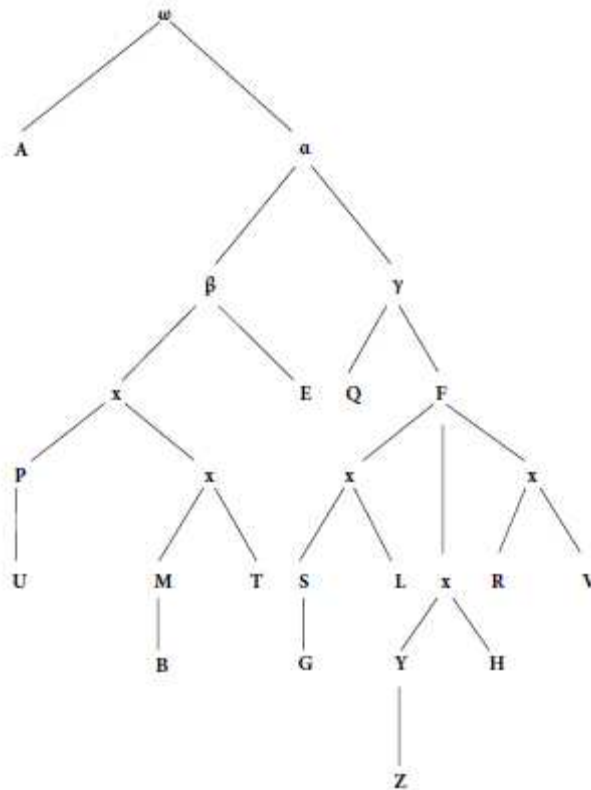


Fig. 1. Gerard Boter's *stemma codicum*

Full collation of the scholia from all surviving manuscripts of the *VA* has yet to be completed and a full understanding of the relationships between the scholia contained in these manuscripts is not possible at present. However, the general relationships between the four codices from which Kayser collected scholia are easily explained through Gerard Boter's recently published *stemma codicum* (fig. 1).⁴ Two characteristics are immediately apparent in this collection of scholia: (1) A and F rarely contain the same scholia,⁵ and (2) L and S rarely contain scholia that are not also found in F. The lack of any significant overlap in the scholia in A and F is certainly reflective of the two independent textual traditions they represent. It is also apparent that when L and S share scholia with F, these scholia derive ultimately from F. However, a significant number of scholia in F are not present in L or S. This would suggest that the scribe of the archetype of L and S or the scribes of L and S independently chose not to copy certain scholia into the margins of their manuscripts. In the majority of cases, although there are several exceptions, it is those scholia which do not contribute to an understanding of the text of the *VA* that do not appear in these later copies.

⁴ Boter, "Towards a New Critical Edition," 50.

⁵ This occurs only twice, if Kayser has listed the manuscripts correctly (occasionally he attributes scholia to F when they are nowhere to be found in this manuscript, e.g., the scholion he listed for *VA* III.58 (= Kayser, 65,10) (see § 3.4). One is a polemical scholion (see § 3.3), *schol. in VA* VIII.16 (= Kayser, 167,33); the other is a geographical scholion (see § 2.6), *schol. in VA* VIII.19.2 (= Kayser, 167,33).

To date there has been no detailed study of this rich body of scholia. There is but a single scholion from this collection that has been cited with any degree of frequency in modern scholarship. That scholion is found in the bottom margin of Laur. 69.33 (F) on fol. 90v and subsequently made its way into the margins of B.P.G. 73D (L).

Schol in VA V.20.2 (= Kayser, 93,14) (ἢ δὲ ἀγαλματοποιία κτλ.) τοὺς ἀγείροντας λέγει, ἦτοι ἀγύρτας, ὧν καὶ νῦν δεῖγμα οἱ κατάρατοι Παφλαγῶνες (παφιλατῶνες F) ᾠδὰς τινὰς συμπλάσαντες πάθη περιεχούσας ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς ὀβολὸν ᾄδοντες καθ' ἐκάστην οἰκίαν. ~ F (fol. 90v) L

This marginal comment was incited by Apollonius' characterization of the shipowner he encountered at the port of Piraeus. He accused the shipowner, who would not let him board his ship, of trafficking in images of the gods, a behavior wholly foreign to the image-makers of old who would never have thought to parade statues of the gods from city to city in hopes of turning a profit.⁶ The remark reminded the scholiast of a contemporary and equally contemptible example of such “beggars” and “vagabonds,” i.e., “the accursed Paphlagonians who make up songs about the adventures of famous men and sing them for pennies from door to door.” Modern scholars have taken this note concerning the activities of the “Paphlagonians” as an early, if not the earliest, attestation of the beginnings of the Akritan oral cycle.⁷

The scholion on the Paphlagonians, if the widely accepted conjecture is correct, is one of a handful of comments that contain information about the scholiast's present day. In a similar fashion the F scholiast clarifies Philostratus' reference to “Pamphylian wool” with the brief comment “which they now call Magnesian.”⁸ A marginal note to the description of the type of pearls found off the coast of Balara identifies them as “what are called by us” κοκκοφακία (F) or κοκκοβαφία (LS).⁹ A note to VA IV.21.2 similarly explains that the best

⁶ The scholion was not provoked by the word ἀγύρτις as has been suggested by Michael J. Jeffreys, “The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse,” *DOP* 28 (1974): 160 n. 99.

⁷ James A. Notopoulos, “Akritan Ikonography on Byzantine Pottery,” *Hesperia* 2 (1964): 108–10; Konstantinos Dimaras, *A History of Modern Greek Literature*, trans. Mary P. Gianos (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972), 24; Roderick Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 77; Elizabeth Jeffreys and Michael Jeffreys, “The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry,” *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986): 508; repr. in *Greek Literature of the Byzantine Period*, ed. Gregory Nagy, *Greek Literature* 9 (New York: Routledge, 2001), 138; G. M. Sifakis, “Looking for the Tracks of Oral Tradition in Medieval and Early Modern Greek Poetic Works,” *JHD* 27 (2001): 83 n. 29. According to Elizabeth and Michael Jeffreys the term “Paphlagonians” is used by the scholiast as slang for “windbags” rather than as a geographical marker; according to Sifakis this is not entirely clear.

⁸ *Schol. in VA III.15.4* (= Kayser, 49,25; cf. Bekker, 116–17) (Παμφύλων) ὃ νῦν Μαγνήσιον καλοῦσιν. ~ F (fol. 45r) LS.

⁹ *Schol. in VA III.57.1* (= Kayser, 64,22; cf. Bekker, 119) (μαργαρίτιδος) περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν κοκκοφακίων (F, κοκκοβαφίων LS) λεγομένων. ~ F (fol. 61r) LS; cf. Kougeas, “Ἐρευνᾶν περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφίας,” 259–60.

clothes made of saffron are now called μεχλάμια and asserts, as if to reinforce Apollonius' denunciation of the effeminacy of the Athenian men who were dancing at the Dyonisia, "the finest saffron-dyed robe is fitting for women."¹⁰ Finally, a helpful comment informing the reader that "the Athenians do this to this very day" accompanies Apollonius' encounter with certain Athenians who liked to suntan naked in the summertime.¹¹ Among Byzantine commentators and scholiasts Arethas in particular is known for his habit of referencing contemporary events and circumstances in his scholia, e.g., Symeon of Bulgaria's defeat of the Byzantine army (see § 1.4).

2.1 LAUR. 69.33 (PHILOSTRATUS)

Sokrates Kougeas singled out the marginal note on the Paphlagonians as an unknown and unused scholion of great significance and attributed its authorship, together with all of the scholia in Laur. 69.33, to Arethas.¹² Kougeas later outlined the evidence in support of this attribution in his monograph on Arethas. He referenced Adolf Sonny's earlier hypothesis about a possible codicological relationship between Laur. 69.33 and Urb. gr. 124 and pointed out the additional datum that a scholion of Arethas on Pausanias V.8.8 showed that he was familiar with Philostratus' work *On Gymnastics*.¹³ While it is reasonable to suggest that Arethas had some role in the manuscript tradition of Pausanias, it is by no means certain that he was responsible for all or most of the scholia, or, for that matter, the scholion on Pausanias V.8.8.¹⁴ As N. G. Wilson has pointed out, this scholion occurs solely in a manuscript (Par. gr. 1399) written and signed by Peter Hypsilas of Aegina in 1497 and may well be due to his

¹⁰ *Schol. in VA IV.21.2* (= Kayser, *73,20) (κροκωτοί) λεπτότατον ὕφασμα κροκοβαφές γυναιξίν ἀρμόδιον. οἶμαι δὲ ἃ νῦν φασι μεχλάμια τὰ μάλιστα κρόκινα ταῦτα εἶναι. ~ F (fol. 70r).

¹¹ *Schol. in VA IV.17* (= Kayser, *71,33) (γυμνοὶ ἐθέροντο) τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τότε Ἀθηναῖοι πράττουσι. ~ F (fol. 68v).

¹² S. B. Kougeas, "Ἐρευνᾶν περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφίας," 239–40. Ever since Kougeas' brief note, most scholars with very few exceptions have unquestioningly relayed the information that Arethas was the author of the scholia to the VA. See, e.g., the sources listed in notes 6 and 7 *supra*; J. Dräseke, "Arethas von Cäsarea," *NJahrb* 35 (1915): 259, 266; Zardini, "Sulla biblioteca dell'arcivescovo Areta," 675; Thomas M. Banchich, "Eunapius and Arethas," 183. The sole exception, so far as I am aware, is N. G. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium," 7.

¹³ S. B. Kougeas, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ: Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς πρώτης ἀναγεννήσεως τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*, Epilecta 1 (Athens: Vivliopoleion Eleutheroudakē kai Mpart, 1913), 43 n. 1 and 104.

¹⁴ Arethas was at the very least responsible for the scholion on Pausanias VII.21.10. Here Arethas, then bishop of Caesarea, simply noted in the margin of his manuscript—whether or not Par. gr. 1410 is a direct descendent of Arethas' Pausanias is unclear—next to Pausanias' description of Patras that this was his place of birth; the marginal note appears on fol. 194r of Par. gr. 1410: περὶ Πατρῶν τοῦ τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως Ἀρέθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας (*sic*) τόπου χωρογραφία. See Aubrey Diller, "Pausanias in the Middle Ages," *TAPA* 87 (1956): 86; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 268.

hand rather than Arethas'.¹⁵ However, regardless of who the scholiast might have been, he may never have read Philostratus' *On Gymnastics*. The scholion cannot be construed as an original comment since it was clearly copied from the *scholia vetera* on Plato. It appears that Pausanias' mention of the victory of the pancratiast Lygdamis of Syracuse incited the scholiast to copy out the note on *Laws* 795b concerning the pancratium, which concludes with the words ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Φιλοστράτου Περὶ γυμναστικῆς.¹⁶

Even if Arethas had been familiar with Philostratus' *On Gymnastics*, it is no small leap to infer from this that he either composed or compiled the scholia on the VA. Paul Lemerle's warning bears repeating here: "Far too easily scholars have leapt the barrier which separates Arethas' showing, by a quotation or an allusion, that he knew, directly or otherwise, a particular author or work, from the quite different situation where he would have been the 'editor' of the text or the scholiast, or both."¹⁷ Arethas' only uncontested reference to Philostratus is in his scholion on the rhetorician Lesbonax of Mitylene, mentioned by Lucian in *Salt*. 69: "He means that Lesbonax of whom several wonderful declamations survive, rivaling those of Nicostratus and Philostratus who were conspicuous among the more recent sophists, and especially his love letters, which drip with great verbal charm."¹⁸ The scholion suggests first-hand knowledge not only of the writings of Lesbonax, but of Nicostratus and Philostratus as well. But all that can be said with certainty from the sources available is that Arethas probably read some of Philostratus' works and that, as the owner of Par. gr. 451, he was at least familiar with the VA from the citations in Eusebius' *Contra Hieroclem*.

As for the hypothesis of Sonny's that Kougeas invoked, it has more merit than the Pausanias scholion. Sonny noted that Laur. 69.33 was written in a hand that was very similar to Urb. gr. 124—which contains prolegomena and scholia on the orations of Dio Chrysostom and is considered as well to be an apograph of a manuscript once owned and annotated by Arethas—and that both manuscripts shared common characteristics such as the color of the

¹⁵ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 127.

¹⁶ The scholion in Par. gr. 1399 has τῶν instead of τοῦ, see Friedrich Spiro, "Ein Leser des Pausanias," in *Festschrift Johannes Vahlen, zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag, gewidmet von seinen Schülern*, ed. Wilhelm von Hartel (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1900), 137; otherwise the scholion is virtually a word for word copy of the scholion on *Laws* 795b (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 327) with material added at the end. The *scholia vetera* contain an additional reference to Philostratus' *On Gymnastics* in another scholion on the pancratium, evidently incited by Socrates' mention of the pancratiast Polydamas in *Republic* 338c, which concludes with the similar phrase ταῦτα Φιλόστρατός φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ γυμναστικῆς (Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 194–95).

¹⁷ Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 255.

¹⁸ *Schol. in Salt*. 69 (= Rabe, 189,11–15) (Λεσβῶναξ) τοῦτον λέγει Λεσβῶνακτα, οὗ καὶ ἄλλα μελέται ῥητορικὰ φέρονται θαυμάσια καὶ ἐνάμιλλοι Νικοστράτου καὶ Φιλοστράτου τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωτέροις σοφισταῖς διαπρεπόντων, μάλιστα δὲ αἱ ἐρωτικὰ ἐπιστολαὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀποστάζουσαι ἡδονήν. The translation is from Christopher P. Jones, "The Survival of the Sophists," in *East & West: Papers in Ancient History Presented to Glen W. Bowersock*, ed. T. Corey Brennan and Harriet I. Flower, LCM 14 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 116; cf. Russo, *Contestazione*, 79–80.

ink, the quality of the parchment, and the size and patterns of ruling.¹⁹ Sonny ascribed both manuscripts, in part relying on Bandini's catalogue, to the eleventh century, but they may both be more plausibly ascribed to the tenth.²⁰ However, if in fact both manuscripts were products of the same scriptorium this by itself is not enough evidence to conclude that Laur. 69.33 is also an apograph of a manuscript once owned and annotated by Arethas. The modern attribution of the prolegomena in Urb. gr. 124 to Arethas, for which Sonny is also largely responsible, was incited primarily by the ascription Ἀρέθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου that prefixes the prolegomena,²¹ which is likely to be correct even if it was added by a later scribe (see §§ 1.4–6, 8). Sonny went a step further and attributed the scholia to Arethas as well for the reason that two scholia contain references to Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*, which Arethas also referenced in two of his scholia on Lucian, in addition to a few other indirect indicators.²²

¹⁹ A. Sonny, "Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Dion Chrysostomos," *JCPH* 133 (1886): 95 n. 2. Since this work is no longer so easily accessible and since it is often cited incorrectly, I quote Sonny's remark here in full: "von sehr ähnlicher hand wie der Urbinas 124 ist der cod. Laur. 69, 33 (des Philostratos vita Apollonii enthaltend) geschrieben, der von Bandini in das elfte jh. gesetzt wird. auch in bezug auf farbe der tinte, qualität des pergamentes und grössenverhältnisse stimmen beide hss. überein. im Laur. finden sich ebenfalls zahlreiche marginalscholien von erster hand, und ich habe grund zu der vermutung, dasz ihr verfasser mit dem der scholien im Urbinas identisch, dh. Arethas ist." Sonny further conjectured that the examples of symmetrical scholia in the margins of Urb. gr. 124 were the remnants of the archetype which contained scholia written in Arethas' own hand (*Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta* [Kiev: Zavadzkiianis, 1896], 91). Arethas was certainly not the first to write out scholia in such a manner. However, Perria has noted the rigorous symmetry of the scholia written out in Arethas' own hand ("Arethaea II," 75) and Hutter has described such scholia as the "hallmark" of the Arethas *mise en page* ("Marginalia decorata," 98). The scribe of Laur. 69.33 more often than not showed little concern for the aesthetic layout of the scholia he copied, but some folia contain scholia written βοτρῳόδη (to borrow a term from the Greek Magical Papyri) or in inverted triangles, and once in the form of a cross. Given the scribes' overall lack of concern for the layout of the scholia, it is probable that the symmetrical scholia are not of his own design, but retain the symmetrical form present in the codex from which he copied; see, e.g., fol. 4r (symmetrical; cf. Laur. 60.3 fol. 187r), fol. 8r (cross), fol. 108v (vertical). That there was a scribe in the latter half of the tenth century commissioned with the task of copying multiple works from the library of Arethas is not too far-fetched, especially since Otto Stählin noted that the scribe of Urb. gr. 124 was identical with the scribe of Laur. 5.3 (containing Clement's *Stromateis*) and that this very scribe also wrote parts of Mut. α S 5. 9 (olim Mut. III. D. 7)—the only indisputable apograph of a manuscript owned and annotated by Arethas, namely Par. gr. 451, the "codex apologetarum" (*Clemens Alexandrinus, Band 1: Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, GCS 12 [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905], xl and n. 1). However, it is to be noted that the minuscule scripts in both Laur. 5.3 and Mut. α S 5, 9 are (unlike the script in Laur. 69.33) written at an angle and the scholia in the latter are written in tiny majuscules (also unlike Laur. 69.33). Suffice it to say that further investigation of the scribe or scribes of these codices remains a desideratum.

²⁰ Wilson (*Scholars of Byzantium*, 126) assigned Urb. gr. 124 to the tenth century. As for Laur. 69.33, which A. M. Bandini had assigned to the eleventh century (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, 2 vols. [Florence: Typis Caesareis, 1764–1770], 2:648), Boter assigned a rough date of ca. 1000 ("Towards a Critical Edition," 24), while it has been placed more precisely in the latter half of the tenth century by Daniele Bianconi, "La controversia palamitica: Figure, libri, testi e mani," *Segno e Testo* 6 (2008): 340.

²¹ A. Sonny, *Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta*, 85. J. de Arnim attributed the prolegomena to Arethas but did not make note of the signature in his edition *Dionis Prusaensis, quem vocant Chrysostomum, quae exstant omnia*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Weidmannos, 1893–1896), either in his introduction (1:VIII) or in the apparatus criticus to the prolegomena (2:325).

²² From the scholia on Dio, see *schol. in Or.* XX.8 (= Sonny, 113) and *Or.* XXXII.15 (= Sonny, 116); from the scholia on Lucian, see *schol. in Salt.* 63 (= Rabe, 189,4–5), *schol. in Pr. im. tit.* (= Rabe, 207,4–7). There is one scholion that marks a passage from Dio as "useful against the iconoclasts," a known target of Arethas' acidic invective.

The *Meditations* or *Εἰς ἑαυτόν* is a work which Arethas is known to have possessed and may well have saved from extinction. In a letter now preserved only in Mosq. 315 Arethas wrote to Demetrios, the metropolitan of Herakleia, and presented him with the gift of a fresh copy of the *Meditations*, a transcript made from the old, worn-out, and all-but-forgotten manuscript that was in his possession.²³ The attribution to Arethas of the scholia on Dio Chrysostom in Urb. gr. 124 has been accepted by many scholars, and a few scholia in Laur. 69.33 appear to be written by the same scholiast.

Although the scribe of Laur. 69.33 remains unknown, one of its subsequent owners has recently been identified. That owner was none other than the Byzantine astronomer and historian Nikephoros Gregoras (ca. 1295–1360), one of the main protagonists of the hesychast controversy, who was responsible for the excerpts from the VA that are found in two other manuscripts (Escorialensis X.I.13 and Palat. Heidelberg. gr. 129).²⁴ It was Gregoras who fleshed out the original *inscriptio* + Βί(ος) Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως by adding συγγραφεὶς παρὰ Φιλοστράτου τοῦ Λημνίου + within the decorative rubrication on fol. 1r. Daniele Bianconi has suggested that this is the only visible trace of the intervention of Gregoras in Laur. 69.33,²⁵ but Gregoras also appears to be responsible for writing the compendium σημ(είωσαι) in the margins on at least five separate occasions. His tall and thin initial lunate sigma is quite distinct and unmistakable; the sigmas in each of the compendia are virtually identical to the initial sigma of συγγραφεὶς in Gregoras' addition. The passages of interest that Gregoras appears to have marked with σημ(είωσαι) are the following: (1) fol. 78v, at VA IV.38.3 (καίτοι πολιτικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ θηρίον κτλ.), Apollonius' characterization of Nero as a beast; (2) fol. 97v, at VA V.35.1 (καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κτλ.), the beginning of Apollonius' speech to the emperor Vespasian—which in this instance, perhaps significantly, breaks a spell of silence (σιωπή); (3) fol. 158v, at VA VIII.7.22 (ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς μὲν ὄλων γενέσεώς κτλ.), Apollonius' description of the Indians' account of the demiurge; (4) fol.

²³ A. Sonny, "Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte von M. Aurelius Eἰς ἑαυτόν," *Phil* 54 (1895): 181–83; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 266–67; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 130; William Lameere, "L'empereur Marc Aurèle," *RUB* 4 (1975): 373–76 n. 13.

²⁴ I. Pérez Martín, "El Escorialensis X.I.13: Una fuente de los extractos elaborados por Nicéforo Gregorás en el Palat. Heidelberg. gr. 129," *BZ* 86–87 (1993–1994): 20–30. It would be interesting to know which passages Gregoras excerpted in these manuscripts; unfortunately neither Pérez Martín (p. 29) nor Alejo Revilla and Gregorio de Andrés Martínez in their catalogue of the Escorial collection provide this information (see *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*, 3 vols. [Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1936–1968], 2:255 no. 10, fol. 253r–v). More excerpts from the VA are found in a Palaiologan anthology with commentary (Vat. gr. 926 fols. 53v–56r); cf. Paul Canart, "Pour un répertoire des anthologies scolaires commentées de la période des Paléologues," in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies in Greek Handwriting*, ed. Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, *Bibliologia* 31A–B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 449–62.

²⁵ Bianconi, "La controversia palamitica," 341

164v, at VA VIII.7.44 (πᾶν γάρ, ὃ τι ἀκραιφνές, καρδία ἴσχει κτλ.), Apollonius on the futility of hepatoscopy; and (5) fol. 173v, at VA VIII.28 (λόθε βιώσας κτλ.), Apollonius' endorsement of the Epicurean maxim, "Live unobserved, and if that cannot be, slip unobserved from life."²⁶ Gregoras' interest in the VA was likely sparked by his broader interests in Pythagoreanism and Neoplatonism.²⁷

2.2 RELATIONSHIP TO URB. GR. 124 (DIO CHRYSOSTOM)

The prolegomena in Urb. gr. 124 are primarily concerned with Dio's orations on kingship (*Or.* I–IV). N. G. Wilson commented on Arethas' possible interest in these particular orations: "As Arethas had the delicate task of expressing opinions on a matter of state, namely whether remarriage is permissible, to a man who still used the title of Roman emperor, Dio's vicissitudes in his relations with Domitian and his successors had an obvious interest."²⁸ The attribution of the prolegomena in Urb. gr. 124 to Arethas turns out to be more secure than previously thought. It is confirmed not only by the ascription Ἀρέθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου, but by content as well. Both Sonny and J. de Arnim singled out three historical data that are unique to the prolegomena and irreconcilable with the information provided by Photios in his summary of Dio's orations (*Bibliotheca*, codex 209): (1) the origin of the Dio's nickname "Chrysostom"; (2) the assertion that the orations on kingship were composed for Vespasian; and (3) the assertion that Dio was sent into exile by Nero. The identification of Arethas as the author of the prolegomena and scholia in Urb. gr. 124 has implications for the identity of the scholiast of the VA and, significantly, the identification of Arethas as a reader of the VA in turn has implications for understanding the sources behind the prolegomena to Dio.

Photios noted that Dio gained a reputation for being clever in his speeches and that he earned the sobriquet Chrysostom or "Golden-mouthed" in his own day on account of the beauty of his orations.²⁹ Arethas was aware of this anecdote and explicitly stated that it was false. He preserved an onomastic etiology that is considerably different: "Dio was called Golden-mouthed, not so much to accord with his eloquence, as on account of a certain

²⁶ There are more marginalia that may be due to Gregoras and require further attention, cf. fols. 12v, 20v, 59v, 78r, 83r, 114r.

²⁷ See, e.g., L. G. Westerink, "Proclus, Procopius, Psellus," *Mnemosyne* 10 (1942): 275–80; E. R. Dodds, "Theurgy and Its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *JRS* 37 (1947): 55–69.

²⁸ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 126. For Arethas' views on the controversial tetragamy of Leo VI, which was a target of Arethas' invective in Vallic. gr. F 10 (79) (see § 1.8), see esp. Jenkins and Laourdas, "Eight Letters of Arethas," 293–370.

²⁹ Χρυσόστομον δ' αὐτὸν οἱ λόγοι τῆ κατ' αὐτὸν γενεᾷ δεδώκασιν ἐπωνομάζειν (de Arnim, 2:320,16–18).

physical peculiarity the name of which was altered in the direction of greater respectability. For he was not at all fortunate in the effluvia that issued from his mouth, as indeed many others report and in particular the man of divine utterance.”³⁰ Arethas went on to cite a humorous iambic trimeter attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus. The poem relates Dio’s dismay over the fact that his wife had never told him about his bad breath and his wife’s assumption that halitosis was merely a symptom all men held in common. Arethas concluded that “instead of Foul-mouthed (Ὀζόστομος), through euphemism (εὐφήμως) he was called Golden-mouthed (Χρυσόστομος).” Arethas made the very same statement in a scholion on Lucian’s *Hermotimus* (34), where Lycinus described the unfortunate bad breath of the Silician tyrant Gelon: “This is said about Dio of Prusa, whom for the same reason the Hellenes through euphemism (κατ’ εὐφημισμὸν) named Golden-mouthed.”³¹

The second peculiar datum in the prolegomena is Arethas’ false assertion that Dio composed the orations on kingship for the emperor Vespasian. Arethas claimed concerning the kingship orations that the emperor Vespasian “had grasped the practical wisdom which characterizes them” and later suggested that Dio met Vespasian “in Alexandria on the Nile” and “after instructing him in many of the matters pertaining to a king, he finally worked out for him the present discourses on kingship.” But it is commonly held that these orations were composed for Trajan.³² Photios simply noted that Dio flourished during the time of the emperor Trajan and made no mention of Vespasian (*Bibliotheca*, codex 209). Philostratus stated in his *Lives of the Sophists* that Dio lived at the time when Apollonius and Euphrates were teaching philosophy, but in this work he refers to Dio as *amicus* to Trajan and makes no mention of Vespasian (*VS* I.7). The sole piece of evidence linking Dio and Vespasian is *VA* V.27–38, where Apollonius meets with Vespasian in Alexandria, together with Dio and Euphrates, who advised the would-be emperor on the ideal form of constitution. Many scholars construe Dio’s encounter with Vespasian as a piece of pure Philostratean fiction.³³

³⁰ Χρυσόστομος δὲ κατὰ τὸν λόγον οὐχ οὕτως ὅσον διὰ τι σύμπτωμα ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσχημονέστερον μεταποιούμενον ἐκλήθη. τῇ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἀποφορᾷ οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖ ἐχρήτο, ὡς δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, καὶ ὁ τοῦς λόγους θεῖος ἀπαγγέλλει ἀνὴρ (de Arnim, 2:328,1–5); trans. H. Lamar Crosby, *Dio Chrysostom: V. Discourses 61–80*, LCL 385 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), 415.

³¹ *Schol. in Herm.* 34 (= Rabe, 242,15–17) (μὴ πεπειρᾶσθαι ἄλλου ἀνδρός) τοῦτο περὶ Δίωνος ἱστοροῦσι τοῦ Προυσαέως, ὃν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατ’ εὐφημισμὸν Χρυσόστομον Ἕλληνας ἀνόμασαν. Cf. Russo, *Contestazione*, 192.

³² See esp. John Moles, “The Date and Purpose of the Fourth Kingship Oration of Dio Chrysostom,” *CA* 2 (1983): 251–78.

³³ See, e.g., E. L. Bowie, “Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality,” *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978): 1660–62; J. L. Moles, “The Career and Conversion of Dio Chrysostom,” *JHS* 98 (1978): 84–85; Graham Anderson, *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 178–79; Harry Sidebottom, “Dio of Prusa and the Flavian Dynasty,” *CQ* 46 (1996): 447–48.

But all historicity aside, this is the best external evidence for Arethas as a reader of the VA, since he could not have derived this information from any other source now known.³⁴

Finally, the author of the prolegomena falsely asserted that Dio had been exiled by Nero. It was, however, Domitian who had exiled Dio, and Dio ventured to return only after Domitian's death. According to Arethas, however, Dio indulged in the force of his language and "after expressing himself freely in the presence of Nero on behalf of his own friends, he was sentenced to lifelong exile (καὶ πρὸς Νέρωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παρρησιασάμενος φίλων ἀειφυγία κατεδικάσθη), and he remained under this sentence until the Roman state obtained Vespasian as emperor." This same information is repeated using the same language in a scholion on *Or.* III.13: τὴν πρὸς Νέρωνα παρρησίαν λέγει, ἦπερ χρησάμενος ἀειφυγία κατεδικάσθη. More significantly, the same information is repeated using similar language in a scholion on the VA:

Schol. in VA V.27.1 (= Kayser, 95,35; cf. Bekker, 123) (Δίωνες μὲν καὶ Εὐφράται· τὸν Προυσαέα λέγει Δίωνα τὸν Χρυσόστομον καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνδρας φιλοσόφους μὲν, ἀειφυγία δὲ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καταδικασθέντας ὅτι αὐτὸν ἤλεγξαν δημοσία οὐκ αἰσίως βασιλεύοντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ κύων Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος τούτου λουτρεῶνι ἐκτισμένῳ. ~ F (fol. 93v) LS

The scholion accompanies Philostratus' initial introduction of Dio Chrysostom and Euphrates in Egypt with Apollonius and Vespasian. The scholiast notes, "He means the philosophers Dio Chrysostom of Prusa and Euphrates, who were sentenced to lifelong exile (ἀειφυγία . . . καταδικασθέντας) by Nero because they disgraced him in public as one who ruled inauspiciously, just as Demetrius the Cynic had similarly done in the bathhouse built by Nero himself." Philostratus described the bathhouse parrhesia of Demetrius and his expulsion by Nero earlier in *VA* IV.42.1–2. It could be maintained that the scholiast of the *VA* relied on Arethas' prolegomena for his comment, given Sonny's hypothesis concerning the contiguity of the two codices, but the apparent influence of the narrative of the *VA* on Arethas'

³⁴ Jacques Schamp is overly critical of Aldo Brancacci's position that Arethas thought the kingship orations were dedicated to Vespasian (*Rhetorike philosophousa: Dione Crisostomo nella cultura antica e bizantina*, Elenchos 11 [Rome: Bibliopolis, 1985], 236). Schamp ventures an improbable interpretation of the Dio-Vespasian relationship as it appears in the prolegomena, resulting in his equiparation of Arethas' exemplum of Nestor with Apollonius ("Rhetor, Philosoph und 'Stunkmund': Dions Bild in der eigenen und in späterer Zeit bis zum Ende von Byzanz," in *Dion von Prusa: Der Philosoph und sein Bild*, ed. H.-G. Nesselrath and Eugenio Amato, *SAPERE* 13 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009], 276–79). This is untenable, especially if it is maintained that Arethas is the author of the scholia on the *VA*. The suggestion (p. 274) that Baanes was the scribe of the codex from which Urb. gr. 124 was copied is groundless.

construction of the prolegomena would suggest that both are due to Arethas. Moreover, the misattribution of Nero as the cause of Dio's exile appears to be a misreading of the VA.³⁵

There are additional parallels between the scholia on the orations of Dio in Urb. gr. 124 and the scholia on the VA in Laur. 69.33. In addition to similar constructions and citations in grammatical scholia, e.g., the use of *προστυπακουστέον* and the citation of the same Homeric exemplum (*Odyssey* XII.73),³⁶ each corpus contains a scholion describing the design and purpose of the *κηρύκειον* (spelled *κηρύκιον* in both sources). The scholiast of the VA notes, "The *kērykeion* was a wand of moderate length arranged at the end on top in serpents positioned turning towards each other in the shape of the letter *phi*. Heralds would travel carrying them for protection." The scholion in Urb. gr. 124 contains the same information, with the addition of an etymology explaining that the name is derived from the word *κῆρυξ*.

Schol. in Or. VII.9

ράβδοι τινὲς τὰ κηρύκια
ἄνωθεν ἔχουσαι γνώρισμα
εἰδῶλα ὄφρων ἐναλλάξ ἀν-
εμβαλλομένων ἀλλήλοις, ὡς
οἱ κήρυκες πρὸς πρεσβείαν
ἀποστελλόμενοι ἔφερον
ἀσφαλείας χάριν τοῦ μὴ
τινα κακόν τι αὐτοῖς δρᾶσαι
τῶν συναντώντων· ἀφ' ὧν
κηρύκων καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν
ἔχει.

Schol. in VA V.15.1

κηρύκιον ράβδος ἦν μετρίου
μήκους, ἄνω πρὸς τῇ ἀρχῇ
ὄφεις ἐσχηματισμένη ἀν-
εμβαλλομένους ἀλλήλοις
εἰς τύπον τοῦ φ στοιχείου.
ταῦτα οἱ κήρυκες φέροντες
ὄδευον τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς χάριν.
~ F (fol. 89r) LS

ἐσχηματισμένοι (fo. -μένον) Kay

EM s.v. κηρύκιον

... τὸ κηρύκιον ράβδος ἦν
μετρίου μήκους, ἄνω πρὸς τῇ
ἀρχῇ ὄφεις ἐσχηματισμένους
ἀντεμβαλλομένους ἀλλήλοις
εἰς τύπον τοῦ φ στοιχείου.
ταύτην οἱ κήρυκες φέροντες
ὄδευον τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς χάριν.

ἔχουσα post ὄφεις add. Gaisford

The presence of a nearly identical passage in the article *κηρύκιον* in the twelfth-century *Etymologium Magnum* suggests the existence of a common source. The scholion on the VA appears to have been copied directly from that source (and Laur. 69.33 may preserve the more original reading *ἐσχηματισμένη*), whereas in the scholion on *Or.* VII.9 this source has been rewritten, in part to accommodate the plural *κηρύκεια* in Dio's oration. Arethas often composed scholia by rewriting his sources, e.g., his use of Lesbonax in his scholion on *Theaetetus* 173d, but he often copied his sources verbatim and without citation.³⁷ Moreover, a

³⁵ See Sonny, *Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta*, 86–87; cf. Schamp, "Rhetor," 279–80.

³⁶ For *προστυπακουστέον*, see, e.g., *schol. in VA* III.25.2 (= Kayser, 54,3) and *schol. in Or.* III.80,3 (= Sonny, 99), 107,5 (= *ibid.*) [cf. 115,3 (= *ibid.*)]; XXX.44 (= Sonny, 114). For the use of the exemplum of *Od.* 12.73, see *schol. in VA* II.24 (= Kayser, 35,20; cf. Bekker, 115–16) and *schol. in Or.* I.44 (= Sonny, 96).

³⁷ See, e.g., Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 121; cf. § 1.2 *supra*.

number of Arethas' scholia have been shown to overlap to varying degrees with the articles in the *Etymologium Magnum*.³⁸

2.3 SCHOLIA ON GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX

The range of grammatical scholia on the VA is comparable to Arethas' scholia on grammar and syntax in the Bodleian Plato (see § 1.2) and the scholia on Lucian, both having an abundance of substitution scholia. By far the most interesting and convoluted grammatical scholia are those in which Arethas appears to make use of Lesbonax the grammarian's *Περὶ σχημάτων* or *On Rhetorical Figures*.³⁹ Rudolph Mueller, in a doctoral dissertation completed under the supervision of Ernst Maass in 1890, first noticed that Arethas had reworked Lesbonax's material in his grammatical scholion on *Theaetetus* 173d, apparently following what he labeled recension A.⁴⁰ Mueller identified a second example among the scholia on the VA, which he attributed to Arethas, independently of Sonny, on the basis of Arethas' use of Lesbonax in E. D. Clarke 39 and the presence of a handful of polemical scholia in Kayser's edition of the scholia on the VA.⁴¹ The latter scholion runs as follows:

Schol. in VA VII.2.1 (= Kayser 130,9) (ἑαυτοῦ ζωνωμότας: [sic Kay]) τῷ πληθυντικῷ ἐνικὸν ἐπήνεγκε ῥῆμα. τοῦτο δὲ Θηβαϊκὸν φασι καὶ Πινδαρικόν, ὅτι συνεχῶς αὐτῷ χρῆται Πίνδαρος πληθυντικῷ ἐπιφέρων ἐνικὰ (F, ἐνικὰ ἐπιφέρων Kay) ῥήματα, οἷον “Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμεῖ Ἀθηναίοις” ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμοῦσι καὶ Ὅμηρος “διοίγετο δὲ σάρκες” ἀντὶ τοῦ διοίγοντο. ~ F (fol. 128v)

The scholiast begins with the statement, “He has put a singular verb with the plural (noun). They call this Theban and Pindaric because Pindar frequently makes use of it by putting singular verbs with plural (nouns),” and follows this up with two examples, “such as, ‘The Lakedaimonians war (sg.) with the Athenians’⁴² instead of ‘war’ (in the plural) and Homer,

³⁸ Peter Becker, *De Photio et Aretha lexicorum scriptoribus* (Bonn: Typis Caroli Georgi Typographi Academici, 1909), 80–81; Sonny, *Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta*, 93; Mario Manfredini, “Gli scolii a Plutarco di Areta di Cesarea,” *Sicilorum Gymnasium* 28 (1975): 348.

³⁹ The most recent edition is that of David L. Blank, “Lesbonax, ΠΕΡΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΩΝ,” in *I frammenti dei grammatici Agathokles, Hellanikos, Ptolemaios Epithetes: In appendice i grammatici Theophilos, Anaxagoras, Xenon*, ed. Franco Montanari, SGLG 7 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 129–216. The identity of Lesbonax the grammarian is uncertain; it is probable, however, that he was neither the philosopher, nor the sophist Lesbonax of Mitylene mentioned in Arethas' scholion on *Salt*. 63, nor the Lesbonax mentioned in the letters of Apollonius of Tyana (*Epist.* 22, 61).

⁴⁰ Rudolf Mueller, *De Lesbonacte grammatico* (Dissertatio inauguralis, Universitate Gryphiswaldensi, 1890), 106–8; cf. Greene, *Scholia platonica*, 435. Mueller hypothesized that all of the surviving copies of recension A of Lesbonax's treatise derive from a codex of Arethas. While this suggestion is somewhat overbold, most modern scholars have accepted his assertion that Arethas owned a copy of the treatise, see Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 263; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 133.

⁴¹ Mueller, *De Lesbonacte grammatico*, 108–12.

⁴² Pindar, frag. 246a Snell.

‘Flesh (pl.) was torn apart (sg.),’⁴³ instead of ‘torn apart’ (in the plural).” In Kayser’s edition the scholiast’s comment is directed at Philostratus’ use of the plural ξυνωμότας in his description of Nearchus the Mysian and his refusal to give up the names of his co-conspirators even under torture. But this is completely nonsensical since the passage from Philostratus, as Kayser himself admitted and Mueller later concurred, cannot be construed a *schema Pindaricum* by any stretch of the imagination.⁴⁴ If in fact Arethas knew the *Περὶ σχημάτων*, and his reworked scholion on *Theaetetus* 173d suggests as much, and if it was Arethas who used Lesbonax here as a source for the scholion on VA VII.2.1, as Mueller argued, this does not paint a very flattering picture of Arethas either as a scholiast or with respect to his knowledge of Greek. Scholars have criticized Arethas as an editor for his heaviness and his tendency to establish an inferior text.⁴⁵ However, it is inconceivable that Arethas would make such a gross oversight as this. Arethas took pains to compose in a style of Greek that modern scholars describe invariably as deliberately obscure and “abominably difficult.”⁴⁶ Arethas’ tortuous Greek style was even recognized in the middle ages; a scholiast commented on the uncharacteristic simplicity of his letter to the emir of Damascus with the statement, “It is simply phrased for the understanding of the Arabs.”⁴⁷ If one accepts the scenario proposed by Kayser and Mueller, one can only conclude that a scribe of Arethas rather than Arethas himself copied this scholion, in which case the scribe most likely did not copy it directly from the text of Lesbonax but from the margins of his exemplar of the VA.

Fortunately there is a more logical solution. The scholion appears without a reference mark in the bottom margin of fol. 128v, and the last words of the main text on this folio are indeed ἔαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας, but the scholion clearly was not intended to accompany these

⁴³ Pindar, *Lyr. frag.* 246b Maehler (*deest δέ*).

⁴⁴ Following the scholion Kayser noted, “Mentio Pindarici schematis ab h. l. aliena.” (*Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt*, 193, note to 130,7); Mueller subsequently confirmed Kayser’s assertion, “Mentionem Pindarici schematis ab h. l. alienam esse recte observavit Kayser” (*De Lesbonacte grammatico*, 4 n. 1).

⁴⁵ See N. G. Wilson, “Did Arethas Read Athenaeus?” *JHS* 82 (1962): 147–48. Perhaps the most critical scholar in this respect is A. Severyns, who hypothesized that Arethas edited Photios’ *Bibliotheca* and was responsible for the recension now labelled M (which descends from Marc. gr. 451), which is textually inferior to recension A (which descends from Marc. gr. 450). According to Severyns the editor (i.e., Arethas) was consistently careless and made numerous blunders (see Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 273–76).

⁴⁶ The quotation is from Robert Browning’s review of L. G. Westerink, *Arethae Scripta minora*, vol. I, *CR* 20 (1970): 332. Browning further characterized Arethas’ writing (p. 332) as “a tortuous, allusive, and equivocal Greek, whose complexity may well reflect the conflicts in its author’s mind”; see further the itemized list of grammatical peculiarities in Browning’s subsequent review of Westerink’s second Teubner volume, *CR* 25 (1975): 58.

⁴⁷ For contemporary reactions to Arethas’ obscure style, see Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 133–34. For the letter to the emir, see Westerink, no. 26, 2:133–45; Patricia Karlin-Hayter, “Arethas’ Letter to the Emir of Damascus,” *Byz* 29 (1959): 282–92; cf. Margaret Mullet, “Writing in Early Mediaeval Byzantium,” in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 179.

words. The solution to this problem is to be found on fol. 128r, which contains a lengthy polemical scholion on Apollonius' healing of a boy who had been bitten by a rabid dog. The scholion runs from approximately the middle of the right margin, at ἐλχθείς in the main text (VA VI.43.2), down into the bottom margin. The copyist of Laur. 69.33 clearly did not plan ahead and in his haste neglected to leave any room for a second scholion. After the scholion had been entered in the margins, any further scholia on a word or phrase from ἐλχθείς to the final words of the main text on fol. 128r (τοὺς ἥλικας) would have required writing in the margins above and reversing the proper sequence of the scholia or writing on the following folio. Scribes typically avoided both of these options, but the scribe of Laur. 69.33 was often careless about copying scholia (and even reference marks) in their appropriate places.⁴⁸ The scholion only makes sense as a comment on the word βώμιοι immediately following ἐλχθείς in VA VI.43.2: ἐλχθείς δ' ὁ κύων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος ὑπεκλίθη τοῖς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ποσίν, ὥσπερ οἱ βώμιοι τῶν ἱκετῶν κλαίων ("When Damis had dragged the dog along, it lay at the feet of Apollonius, weeping like a suppliant at an altar"). This is still not a traditional *schema Pindaricum*, but this scenario is much less problematic if it is maintained that Arethas composed the scholion using the text of Lesbonax. But while this may save Arethas from one blunder, it cannot absolve him of another, namely his attribution of the Pindaric fragment διοίγετο δὲ σάρκες to Homer.

Περὶ σχημάτων 14 (Rec. A)

†Θηβαϊκόν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σχῆμα ἀπὸ Βοιωτίας†, ὃ δὴ καὶ Πινδαρικὸν λέγεται, ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτῷ κέχραται. γίνεται δὲ οὕτως <***> “Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμεῖ Ἀθηναίους.” “μελιρρόθων δ’ ἔπεται πλόκαμοι” ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔπονται καὶ “διήγετο δὲ σάρκες” ἀντὶ τοῦ διήγοντο. Ὅμηρος “καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται” ἀντὶ τοῦ σεσήπασιν.

Περὶ σχημάτων 22 (Rec. B)

τὸ δὲ Θηβαϊκὸν ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι· τοῖς γὰρ πληθυντικοῖς ἀρσενικοῖς καὶ θηλυκοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐπιφέρουσι ῥήματα ἐνικά· φασὶ γὰρ “Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμεῖ Ἀθηναίους.” καὶ Πίνδαρος “ἔπεται πλόκαμοι” ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔπονται, καὶ “διήγετο σάρκες” ἀντὶ τοῦ διήγοντο, ὡς καὶ τὸ “τῆς δ’ ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαί.” τούτου δὲ τοῦ σχήματός ἐστι κτλ.

According to Mueller the error could only have arisen from a misreading of recension A, “where Homer’s name is placed in such a manner that a careless man could attribute it back to the foregoing example.”⁴⁹ Mueller and Maass set a lacuna after Θηβαϊκόν in recension A, positing an omission of a description of a first Boeotian schema, and suggested

⁴⁸ E.g., the scholion on VA III.50.1, the placement of which is off by five lines of text; see § 2.4 *infra*.

⁴⁹ “Causam autem, cur illi poetae exemplum scholii auctor vindicaverit, docet rec. A, ubi Homeri nomen ita positum est, ut ab homine neglegenti ad exemplum antecedens referri possit” (Mueller, *De Lesbonacte grammatico*, 108).

that recension B's reading of the Θηβαϊκὸν σχῆμα—introduced as the opposite of the preceding Κυμᾶιον σχῆμα—could only have arisen from the corrupted text prior to Λακεδαίμονιοι in recension A.⁵⁰ According to David L. Blank, this scenario cannot explain the phrase ὁ δὲ καὶ Πινδαρικὸν λέγεται which clearly equates the Θηβαϊκὸν with the Πινδαρικόν, suggesting that they were different names for the same schema.⁵¹ But whatever the relationship between recension A and B might be, it is clear that Arethas, who also equated these two schemata, knew the text of Lesbonax in the corrupt form of A.⁵² The attribution of the exemplum to Homer may have been an innocent parablepsis, but the same exemplum is used a second time in a scholion on VA VIII.7.9, and again Pindar's fragment is attributed to Homer. The description of the rhetorical figure is the same, but here it is labeled as the Δώριον σχῆμα: “In the Dorian schema one puts a plural noun together with a singular verb, according to which Homer wrote διοίγετο δὲ σάρκες.”⁵³ The repetition of this error suggests that it is the same scholiast, and since the rhetorical figure in VA VIII.7.9 is appropriately characterized (ἔστι τι . . . ψευδόσοφοί τε καὶ ἀγείροντες), there is no reason to believe that the same scholiast would so badly miss the mark at Philostratus' ἐαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας in VA VII.2.1. Arethas' dependence on Lesbonax for his scholion on *Theaetetus* 173d, when taken together with the convergences between the scholia on the VA and the prolegomena and scholia on Dio, increases the probability that these grammatical scholia are also due to Arethas.

The use of τὸ ἐξῆς in the grammatical scholia on the VA may also point to Arethas. Scholiasts commonly used τὸ ἐξῆς in grammatical scholia as a technical term to elucidate difficult passages, specifically to denote the order in which the scholiast thought the reader should understand the words of a sentence. The expression, literally meaning “the following,” took on the meaning “the sequence in which the words are to be taken is.”⁵⁴ In a study on the use of τὸ ἐξῆς in the Homeric scholia Harry L. Levy noticed fifteen instances where τὸ ἐξῆς introduced free paraphrases rather than the traditional *collocatio verborum*.⁵⁵ The scholiasts' presentations of their free paraphrases as τὸ ἐξῆς rather than λόγος or νοῦς—

⁵⁰ Ibid., 3.

⁵¹ Blank, “Lesbonax,” 161–62.

⁵² It is to be noted, however, that his definition parallels the definition in B: “for they put singular verbs with masculine and feminine plural nouns.” Arethas' manuscript of Lesbonax probably had something similar.

⁵³ *Schol. in VA VIII.7.9* (ἔστι τι . . . ψευδόσοφοί) Δώριον τὸ σχῆμα ἐνικῶ ῥήματι συντάττειν πληθυντικὸν ὄνομα, καθ' ὃ καὶ παρ' Ὁμήρω “διοίγετο δὲ σάρκες.” ~ F (fol. 155v) L.

⁵⁴ Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*, American Philological Association Classical Resources (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 120 (4.1.38).

⁵⁵ Harry L. Levy, “*To Hexês* in Homeric Scholia and Servius' *Ordo*,” *TAPA* 100 (1969): 237–54.

terms traditionally used to present free paraphrases elucidating the meaning or sense of a passage⁵⁶—led Levy to suggest that τὸ ἐξῆς was perhaps “on the way toward developing an extended meaning, that of the ‘gist’ of a passage.”⁵⁷

Five years later Levy found clear confirmation of this transformation in two scholia in Arethas’ theological miscellany, GIM 231, and in both instances the expression τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως appears to mean “the sense is understood thus.”⁵⁸ The expression is used four times in the scholia on the VA, but it appears that the traditional usage is still more or less retained in three of the four.⁵⁹ One scholion, however, is particularly worthy of note as it shows significant laxity—even more than in the examples Levy cited—in its usage of the technical term τὸ ἐξῆς. The passage is from Apollonius’ written apologia, in which he defended himself against the charge of conspiring with Nerva against Domitian (I use Kayser’s edition for Philostratus’ text since it follows Laur. 69.33):

VA VIII.7.32: Πῶς οὖν πιθανὸν ἠγήσαιτο ἄν τις ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμήσαι Νερούαν ἀγαπῶντα, εἰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἄρξοι, ἢ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγεσθαί μοι τὸν μηδ’ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἢ ξυνάπτειν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδ’ ἂν πρὸς ἄλλον, εἰ τοῦμὸν ἐνεθυμήθη, ξυνῆψεν; (ed. Kayser 160,10–13)

Schol. in VA VIII.7.32 (= Kayser, 160,10) (πῶς οὖν) τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως· πῶς ἂν οὖν Νερούαν (Νέρβαν Kay) ἠγήσαιτό τις ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμήσαι τὸν ἀγαπῶντα ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγεσθαί μοι ἢ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἄρξειν τὸν <μηδ’> (suppl. Kay) ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἢ πῶς ἐμοὶ γνώμην ξυνάπτειν ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλον συνῆψεν, εἰ τοῦμὸν ἐνεθυμήθη, τοῦτ’ ἔστι εἰ τὸν ἐμὸν ἐνεθυμήθη τρόπον, μηδὲν δηλονότι τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ ὑποβαλλόμενον. ταῦτα δὲ ῥητορικῆς ἐστὶ σκαιότητος πάντα καὶ δυστροπίας, οὐ φιλοσόφου ἀπραγμοσύνης ληρεῖν καὶ ἀπλότητος. ~ F (fol. 161r)

The scholion begins as a traditional *collocatio verborum*, but half-way through the scholiast switches gears and the scholion moves from “order” to “gist” and ends in polemic. The scholiast reworks Philostratus’ text with easier syntax up to εἰ τοῦμὸν ἐνεθυμήθη (“if he [sc. Nerva] had any consideration for me [sc. Apollonius]”), at which point his reordering ceases and he paraphrases the sense or gist of the preceding passage using words that are not present in Philostratus’ text, a change signaled by τοῦτ’ ἔστι, “that is, if he had any consideration for my way of life.” The scholiast concludes with a polemical remark against the wording of

⁵⁶ See Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship*, 245, 248. Note the scholiast’s use of ὁ νοῦς οὕτως in *schol. in VA III.14.3* (= Kayser, 48,30).

⁵⁷ Levy, “*To Hexês*,” 248.

⁵⁸ Harry L. Levy, “TO ἘΞΗΣ in Arethas,” *Byz* 43 (1973): 512–14; the two examples are from Westerink, “*Marginalia by Arethas*,” 205 (fol. 1v) and 206 (fol. 8v).

⁵⁹ E.g., *schol. in VA IV.32.2* (= Kayser, *78,28) (καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων κτλ.) τὸ ἐξῆς καὶ τὸν βίον τῶν ἐταίρων θεοῦ ἀνάγκην εἰπόντες οἱ ναῦται ἀφείλοντο ἀθεώτατα καὶ ἄκοντες (sc. οὐδ’ ἄκοντες, Kay). ~ F (fol. 75v). Cf. *Schol. in VA VI.11* (= Kayser, 113,32); VII.25 (= Kayser, 142,8).

Apollonius' defense, "But these are all examples of rhetorical awkwardness and peevishness in order to avoid speaking foolishly about the temperance and simplicity of a philosopher." This nontraditional use of τὸ ἐξῆς with exegetical interjections is another possible indicator of Arethas' hand in the scholia on the VA. Moreover, it is clear from the concluding remark that this is the same scholiast who authored many of the polemical scholia. A comprehensive analysis of Arethas' use of τὸ ἐξῆς among his various scholiastic corpora would prove a worthwhile undertaking, as he employed the expression often.⁶⁰

2.4 SCHOLIA REFERENCING CLASSICAL AUTHORS

The scholiast references classical authors in a number of ways and for a variety of reasons, sometimes to identify a proper name and sometimes in explanations of grammar and syntax. Philostratus' use of περιφρονεῖν in VA II.11.2 is clarified with a substitution scholion and a citation of Aristophanes' *Clouds* (225), a work also cited in the margins of Urb. gr. 124.⁶¹ The grammatical form of a sentence in VA VI.19.1 is highlighted as the same form that Hermogenes frequently employed in his work *On Types of Style*. Philostratus' description of Apollonius' style of speech incited a reference to the style of Thucydides. These scholia are for the most part not of great importance and often contain incorrect information. The scholiast correctly identified the Αἰλιανός in VA VII.16.1 as the prefect of the Praetorian Guard, Casperius Aelianus, but he continued by incorrectly conflating him with the author of the *Varia historia* and the lost *Περὶ προνοίας*.⁶²

To readers of Kayser's edition it would appear that the scholiast had at best only a superficial knowledge of the works of Lucian. Four scholia in Laur. 69.33 mention Lucian by name, but Kayser included only three of these in his edition. These three scholia are abrupt and mostly uninformative (or misinformative), each written with the same formulaic expression noting that Lucian also makes mention of certain characters, e.g., Damis, Demetrius, and Menippus: *Schol. in VA I.3.1* (= Kayser, 2,26; Bekker, 109) (Δάμις) τοῦτο τοῦ Δάμιδος ὡς ἀθέου Λουκιανὸς μέμνηται. ~ FS; *schol. in VA IV.25.1* (= Kayser, 75,7;

⁶⁰ For other examples, see K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933), 653,22 (on Rom 2:7); Share, *Arethas of Caesarea's Scholia*, 29,27–29 (no. 51, on Porphyry); cf. Russo, *Contestazione*, 164–66 (all of the examples from the scholia on Lucian are used in the traditional manner).

⁶¹ *Schol. in VA II.11.2* (= Kayser, 28,5) (περιφρονῶν) ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ πολλῆς φροντίδος ποιούμενος Ἀριστοφάνης: "ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον." ~ F (fol. 23v). Kayser incorrectly transcribed the line from Aristophanes as "ἀεροβατῶν καὶ περιφρονῶν τὸν ἥλιον." Arethas cited *Clouds* 386 in a scholion on Dio Chrysostom, *Or. IX.1* (= Sonny, 106–7).

⁶² Hermogenes: *schol. in VA VI.19.1* (= Kayser, 118,20); Thucydides: *schol. in VA 17.1* (= Kayser, 10,13); Aelianus/Aelian: *schol. in VA VII.16.1* (= Kayser, 138,12).

Bekker, 120) (Δημήτριος;) περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ κυνός, οὗ Λουκιανὸς μέμνηται. ~ FLS; *schol. in VA IV.25.2* (= Kayser, 75.11; Bekker, 120) (Μένιππος;) οὗ Λουκιανὸς μέμνηται. ~ FLS. The reference to Demetrius the Cynic is unproblematic, at least in this instance (cf. Lucian, *Tox.* 27; *Salt.* 63); however, the references to Damis and Menippus require some further explanation. The scholiast confused Menippus of Lycia with the homonymous cynic of Gadara, the protagonist of Lucian's satire; this mistake occurs even in the scholia on Lucian, but there the error is made in the reverse direction and the Menippus (of Gadara) in Lucian's *Icaromenippus* is confused with the Menippus (of Lycia) in the VA.⁶³ As for the equation of Damis with the unflinching atheist of *Jupiter tragoedus*, one can sympathize with the outrage in Kayser's fine academic Latin, "Schol. ridiculo errore respicit Luc. Jup. Trag. §. 16. et alios locos." But neither is this confusion wholly absent in antiquity.⁶⁴ However, excluding the possibility that this is a tongue-in-cheek remark (which, given the other examples, it does not appear to be), Arethas had a great deal to say about Damis in his polemical scholion on *Jup. trag.* 47, without once referring directly or indirectly to Apollonius' faithful disciple.⁶⁵

Arethas certainly was not the only reader of Lucian in the tenth century, but, if in fact these are his own notes—and there is no guarantee that they are; a commissioned scribe could simply have copied them from the exemplar into the margins of the manuscript—one would expect much more from a reader who copiously annotated his works. However, the formulaic expression with a relative pronoun plus μέμνηται and the proper name of an author occurs in several scholia of Arethas, and equally false attributions occasionally accompany these formulae. The scholia on Lucian contain a number of examples, but since uncertainty often

⁶³ The error occurs in a prolegomenon to the *Icaromenippus*: Ἰκαρομένιππος ὁ προκείμενος ἐπιγέγραπται λόγος διὰ μὲν το πτηνὸν εἰσάγεσθαι τὸν τῷ δράματι ὑποκείμενον εἰς Ἴκαρον τὸν Δαιδάλου ὑποφερόμενος, διὰ δὲ τὸ μεγαλόπραγμον καὶ περίεργον καὶ φασματώδες εἰς Μένιππον τὸν Κυνικὸν φιλόσοφον ἀρμοζόμενος, ὃς Πατάρων ὑπάρχων τῆς Λυκίας καὶ τὴν Ἀντισθένης δόξαν ὑποποιούμενος γενναῖος ἦν καὶ συγκεκροτημένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ οὐκ ἀδόκιμος οὐδὲ τὴν ὄψιν ὅσα πρὸς ὄραν εὐπρόσωπον ὑποφέρεται καὶ οὕτως ὥστε, εἰ πίστις ὑπεστί Φιλοστράτῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως ἀναγράφοντι βίον, ... ~ VφΔΩ (Rabe, 98, 8–17). The prolegomenon does not appear among the manuscripts of Rabe's Class II, and therefore it is difficult to attribute its authorship to Arethas. It is to be noted, however, that Arethas' lengthy scholion on *Jupiter tragoedus* (Rabe, 71,25–75,4), which is found independently of the text of Lucian in Mosq. 315, is also found in Rabe's manuscript Δ (= Vat. gr. 1322; Class V), where it is affixed by the signature Ἀρέθα. Of particular interest is the reference in the prolegomenon to Philostratus "the Tyrian," a collocation known otherwise only from Photios' *Bibliotheca* (codex 44)—recourse to Photios, however, is a common occurrence in the Class V manuscripts; see Rabe, *Scholia in Lucianum*, vi; idem, "Die Ueberlieferung der Lukianscholia," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1902): 718–36.

⁶⁴ See Graham Anderson, "Damis: The Dubious Disciple Discovered?" in *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 155–74. Anderson is unaware of this scholion on VA I.3.1, which essentially proves his initial, hypothetical scenario and makes his "more compelling explanation" (p. 168) seem something of a stretch.

⁶⁵ See Rabe, 71,25–75,4; idem, "Die Lukianstudien des Arethas," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1904): 643–56.

surrounds whether certain scholia on Lucian can be attributed to Arethas, it is perhaps best to confine the parallel examples to Harley 5694 (Rabe's E).⁶⁶

The aforementioned scholia of Arethas citing Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* provide excellent examples for comparison. Arethas referred to the *Meditations* in a scholion describing the context of Lucian's *Pro Imaginibus*: "This discourse is a written reply in defense of the panegyric on Panthea of Smyrna, mistress of the worthy emperor Verus, which Lucian also titled *On Images* (ὄν καὶ Εἰκόνες ἐπέγραψεν), whom Marcus Aurelius also mentions in his *Meditations*."⁶⁷ The construction of the final clause ἦς καὶ Μᾶρκος ὁ καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ἡθικοῖς αὐτοῦ μέμνηται is similar to the examples from the scholia on the VA. Scholars have never been confused over the identity of the woman Lucian identified merely as a beauty from Smyrna (*Imag.* 2) and a homonym of the wife of Abradatas (*Imag.* 10; cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* VI.1.45–46; VII.3.14), but this scholion remains the only ancient testimonium that expressly identifies Panthea—whom Marcus Aurelius indeed mentions in *Meditations* 8.37—as the dedicatee of Lucian's panegyric. Giuseppe Russo has recently noted that the awkward construction ὄν . . . Εἰκόνες would suggest that the scribes of the manuscripts that contain the scholion (ERVΦU) all derived its text from a manuscript that had the same reading, but the peculiarity may well be due to Arethas himself.⁶⁸

Arethas' scholion on *Salt.* 63 occurs only in Harley 5694 and is therefore likely to be his own addition. The scholion is intended to explain Lucian's mention of Demetrius the Cynic: "This Demetrius flourished during the time of Augustus, whom Marcus Aurelius mentions in his *Meditations*."⁶⁹ The scholion would make little sense as a whole if the relative pronoun referred back to its immediate antecedent, Augustus, despite the fact that Marcus Aurelius never mentions Demetrius the Cynic in the *Meditations*.⁷⁰ Marcus Aurelius makes mention of a Demetrius, but it is Demetrius the Platonist (8.25). Even though such an error may not paint the most flattering picture of Arethas as a scholar, this scholion shows that Arethas was not always careful when it came to cross-referencing the personalities in the

⁶⁶ Some examples from the scholia on Lucian are identical in form to the scholion on Damis, e.g., *schol. in Dial. mort.* V.1 (= Rabe, 253,11–12) (Νιρέυς) τούτου Ὅμηρος ὡς καλλίστου μέμνηται. However, since the scholion does not appear in Harley 5694 (which lacks the *Dialogi mortuorum*) and is not accompanied by the signature Ἀρέθα, there is no way to be sure that Arethas either composed or copied it.

⁶⁷ *Schol. in Pr. im. tit.* (= Rabe, 207,4–7) ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἀντιγραφή τοῦ εἰς Πάνθειαν τὴν Σμυρναίαν, γυναικὰ δὲ Οὐήρου τοῦ χρηστοῦ καῖσαρος, ἐπαίνου ἐστίν, ὄν καὶ Εἰκόνες ἐπέγραψεν, ἦς καὶ Μᾶρκος ὁ καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ἡθικοῖς αὐτοῦ μέμνηται.

⁶⁸ Russo, *Contestazione*, 89. It should be noted, however, that none of the other manuscripts are earlier than the thirteenth century. Rabe noted that the clause ἦς . . . μέμνηται does not appear in V (207,6–7 [apparatus]), but Russo notes its omission in both V and U.

⁶⁹ *Schol. in Salt.* 63 (= Rabe, 189,4–5) (Δημήτριον) Δημήτριος οὗτος ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἠκμαζεν, οὗ Μᾶρκος ἐν τοῖς Ἡθικοῖς αὐτοῦ μέμνηται.

⁷⁰ So Russo, *Contestazione*, 78–79.

texts he read and studied. This formulaic cross-reference is identical in form to another scholion on the VA identifying Python of Byzantium:

Schol. in VA VII.37 (= Kayser, 147,36): ... οὗ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Φιλιππικῷ μέμνηται.

Schol. in Salt. 63 (= Rabe, 189,5): ... οὗ Μᾶρκος ἐν τοῖς Ἑθικοῖς αὐτοῦ μέμνηται.

Of course Demosthenes does mention Python of Byzantium, but not in the *Philippics*. At any rate the fourth reference to Lucian paints a less embarrassing picture; it occurs in a scholion found only in Laur. 69.33, one that Kayser did not include in his edition.

Schol. in VA III.50.1 (ined.) (θεὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς εἶναι δόξειν οὐ τεθνεῶτα μόνον· ἱκανὸς τῷ λόγῳ παρασχεῖν τὸ πιστὸν καὶ Λουκιανὸς ὁ ἐκ <Σα>μοσάτων, ὃς ἐν τῷ Ψευδαλεξάνδρῳ γόητα περιφανῶς εἶναι φησὶν (φα(σιν) F) Ἴ�πολλώνιον, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὸν ψευδαλέξανδρον ἀπεικάζει. ~ F (fol. 60r)

As Apollonius prepared for his departure from India, the Brahmans embraced him and told him that he would be esteemed as a god, not merely after death, but during his lifetime.⁷¹ Here the scholiast notes, “Even Lucian of Samosata was competent enough to furnish the truth of the matter, who in *Alexander the False Prophet* says that Apollonius—to whom he also compared the pseudo-Alexander—was a notorious magician.” The scholion is a learned comment referencing a specific passage from the *Alexander* in which Lucian described the teacher of Alexander of Abonouteichos: “This teacher and admirer of his was a man of Tyana by birth, one of those who had been followers of the notorious Apollonius, and who knew his whole bag of tricks.”⁷² While the other scholia referencing Lucian seem to convey only a superficial knowledge of his works, this scholion indicates the complete opposite. The comment is of particular interest for its use of the term ψευδαλέξανδρος, which is unattested elsewhere either as the title of Lucian’s *Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ ψευδόμαντις* or in reference specifically to Alexander of Abonouteichos. Josephus used the term several times in reference to the pretended son of Herod the Great (*A.J.* 17.12.1; *B.J.* 2.7.1) and Lucian himself employed the term in *Adversus indoctum* 20, together with the terms ψευδοφίλιππος and ψευδονέρων. Both Josephus and Lucian used the term to describe a “sham Alexander,” i.e., a person who adopted the name Alexander on account of a strong resemblance in looks.

⁷¹ The scholion is written with a reference mark in the bottom margin of fol. 60r. However, the reference mark is off by approximately 5 lines, placed adjacent to the following sentence in which Philostratus described how Apollonius traveled with the Ganges on his right and the Hyphasis on his left.

⁷² Lucian, *Alex.* 5: ἦν δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐραστής τὸ γένος Τυανεύς, τῶν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ πάνυ συγγενομένων καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τραγωδίαν εἰδότης. ὄρας ἐξ οἷας σοι διατριβῆς ἀνθρωπον λέγω.

2.5 SCHOLIA OF ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST

A number of marginal notes reveal the scholiast's antiquarian interests, e.g., the aforementioned scholion on the *kērykeion*. Occasionally the scholia of Arethas preserve precious data of antiquarian interest,⁷³ but more often than not, as happens to be the case with the scholia on the *VA*, his scholia supply well-attested information readily available in many other sources. For example, the scholiast adjoins a note to Apollonius' description of Timomachus' famous painting of the madness of Ajax and correctly identifies the second of Timomachus' two known paintings, "This Timomachus was exceptional among painters, who became immensely famous after he painted the Colchian Medea as she dealt most cruelly with the children of Jason himself."⁷⁴ According to Pliny, Timomachus' *Medea* was an unfinished painting (*Nat. hist.* 35.145).

A few notes are concerned with Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, the first a lengthy scholion found only on fol. 1r of Laur. 69.33, now much faded and worn, on Philostratus' description of the philosopher-sage of Samos in *VA* I.1.1. The other notes clearly show that the scholiast was familiar with the Pythagorean regimen. The second note concerns the legendary Pythagorean period of silence. Philostratus mentioned that Apollonius performed certain rites alone at sunrise and that he revealed these rites "only to those who had kept silence for four years" (*VA* I.16.3). The scholiast remarks, "He probably means the Pythagoreans on account of the *tetraktys*."⁷⁵ According to Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Diogenes Laertius the Pythagoreans were obliged to observe a period of silence for five years before they could meet the master.⁷⁶ The third note concerns the Pythagorean diet:

Schol. in VA I.8.1 (= Kayser, 5,7) (τραγήματα) καὶ μὴν (μὲν Kay) τραγήματα πυκνοτέραις ἀναθυμιάσεσι πλέον ἀναθολοῦσι (ἀνθρώπου θολοῦσι Kay) τὸν νοῦν καὶ πρὸς ἀργίαν ὑπαλείφουσιν. ἐρέβινθος μὲν καὶ φακοὶ μελαγχολικῶ τῷ χυμῶ, κύαμοι δέ, εἰ μήπω τῷ πυθαγορικῶ ζήλω βδελυκτοὶ, κατεφαίνοντο (ἐφαίνοντο, Kay) παχέως αἶματα τῇ γενέσει τε καὶ ἐπιβλύσει. ~ F (fol. 3v)

⁷³ See esp. *schol. in Dial. Merc.* II.1 (= Rabe, 275,23–276,28) and VII.4 (= Rabe, 279,24–281,3); cf. G. E. Skov, "The Priestess of Demeter and Kore and her Role in the Initiation of Women at the Festival of the Haloa at Eleusis," *Temenos* 11 (1975): 136–47; N. J. Lowe, "Thesmophoria and Haloa: Myth, Physics and Mysteries," in *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, ed. S. Blundell and M. Williamson (London: Routledge, 1998), 149–73.

⁷⁴ *Schol. in VA* II.22.5 (= Kayser, 35,7; cf. Bekker, 115) (Τιμομάχου) ὁ Τιμόμαχος οὗτος τῶν περὶ (τὴν add. LS) γραφικὴν ἦν περιττός, ὃς καὶ τὴν Κολχίδα Μήδειαν γράψας τοῖς ἐξ Ἰάσονος αὐτοῦ τόκοις ἀπηνέστατα χρησαμένην κλέος ἀπειρέσιον ἀπηνέγκατο. ~ F (fol. 30v) LS.

⁷⁵ *Schol. in VA* I.16.3 (= Kayser, 9,35; cf. Bekker, 112) (τοῖς ἐτῶν τεττάρων σιωπᾶν γεγυμνασμένοις) ἴσως Πυθαγορείους λέγει διὰ τὴν τετρακτύν. ~ F (fol. 7v) S. This is not the complete reading of F; the scholion has faded and is difficult to read, but there are clearly two or three more words after τετρακτύν.

⁷⁶ See Gillian Clark, trans., *Iamblichus: On the Pythagorean Life*, TTH 8 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 31–32 (§ 17 [72–74]), 40 (§ 19 [90]).

Kayser read μὲν for what is clearly μῆν, despite his suggestion that the text be corrected to μῆν, and he appears to have mistaken the initial letters of the manuscript's ἀνθολῶσι for the *nomen sacrum* ἀνθρώπου. Kayser understandably concluded this difficult scholion with an elipsis, perhaps because of the (correctly transcribed) word ἐπιβλύσει. I have left this word as is, but it cannot be the verb ἐπιβλύειν as Kayser might have thought (the presence of τε καὶ suggests as much); if it is not an error for ἐπικλύσει, then it is an as yet unattested noun ἐπίβλυσις.⁷⁷ The latter seems more probable given the presence of several *hapax legomena* in this corpus. I have also removed the comma Kayser placed after his reading (correction?) ἐφάινοντο.

The scholiast comments on Apollonius' refusal to eat meat because it is impure and dulls the mind. According to Philostratus, Apollonius ate only dried fruits (τραγήματα) and vegetables (λάχανα) since “everything that the earth produced unaided was pure.” The scholiast notes, “Indeed, dried fruits cloud the mind even more with thicker juices and line it with laziness. The chickpea and lentils manifest in melancholic juices (i.e., black bile), while broad beans, if they were not yet abominations to the Pythagorean taste, manifest thickly in the formation and flow of the blood.” It appears that the scholiast was well acquainted with Pythagorean traditions, particularly concerning diet. His sources told him, contrary to Philostratus' statement, that there were indeed unaided products of the earth that someone like Apollonius, who “aspired to Pythagoras' way of life” (VA I.7.3), not only abstained from but abhorred. Pythagoras' aversion to broad beans (κύαμοι) was a well-known controversy in antiquity. Ancient authorities provided a wide range of reasons for Pythagoras' prohibition. According to Iamblichus, Diogenes Laertius, and others, Pythagoras shunned fava beans because they caused flatulence and disrupted dreams; for others the taboo on beans was due to their fleshy texture, or because they resembled testicles (or resembled the gates of Hades!), or because beans were oligarchical, since they were used to draw lots.⁷⁸ The scholiast, on the other hand, provides medical reasons which appear to be based on authors like Galen and may well be his own deductions. Galen recommended recipes for chickpeas, lentils, and broad beans that were specifically designed to reduce their capacity for producing thick

⁷⁷ The word clearly means “flow” or the like in this context; βλύσις is synonymous with βλυσμός (LSJ s.v. βλύσις) and the form ἐπιβλυσμός (“gushing forth”) is attested. This is one of several *hapax legomena* from the scholia on the VA; see, e.g., κοκκοφακία and μεχλάμια in § 2 *supra* and the examples *infra*.

⁷⁸ John Scarborough, “Beans, Pythagoras, Taboos, and Ancient Dietetics,” *CW* 75 (1982): 355–58; Kimberly B. Flint-Hamilton, “Legumes in Ancient Greece and Rome: Food, Medicine, or Poison?” *JASCSA* 68 (1999): 371–85; Christoph Riedweg, *Pythagoras: His Life, Teaching, and Influence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 36–39, 69–71; Clark, *Iamblichus*, 24–25 n. 61

juices, “for such food produces even thicker blood with larger amounts of black bile.”⁷⁹ Arethas owned a copy of Hierocles’ commentary on the *Golden Verses of Pythagoras*, which outlines the Pythagorean dietary prohibitions at length and mentions κύαμοι specifically. Arethas noted in the margin next to the prohibition against eating the “matrix” of an animal: τὸ μήτρων μὴ ἐσθίειν παρὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις διατάγμασιν.⁸⁰

In another scholion of antiquarian interest, not included in Kayser’s edition, the commentator discusses two fragments concerning Empedocles, another ancient philosopher who supposedly shunned beans. In his defense speech Apollonius likened his purgation of the plague at Ephesus to the deeds of Democritus of Abdera, Sophocles the Athenian, and Empedocles, in particular the latter’s ability to control the weather by stopping a storm cloud that threatened Acragas.⁸¹

Schol. in VA VIII.7.25 (ined.) (Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὃς νεφέλης ἀνέσχε·) ὡς μὲν ἀνέσχευ νεφέλην Ἐμπεδοκλῆς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑπολυγάζοντος· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀλήθειαν τὸ πρᾶγμα συγκροτεῖ, οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ χαλαζάριοι, οὕτω λέγειν, γοητείαις ἐσχολακότες, τοῦτο κατορθούμεν[οι]· εἰ δ’ ἐκπλήττη τὴν Ἐμπεδοκλέους νεφέλης ἀποπομπήν, αἰσχύνῃ τὸ ἡμίφλεκτον σάμβαλον ποιείτω σοι.
~ F (fol. 159v)

The scholiast remarks, “I cannot say how Empedocles held back the storm cloud, since time conceals the truth. But even if the deed applauds truth, then it would be of no use as long as there are hail-makers, so to say, who by devoting themselves to the magical arts are also successful in this respect. So if you marvel at Empedocles’ averting of the storm cloud, may the half-burnt sandal bring shame upon you.” Two terms require further comment. The compound χαλαζάριος is unattested elsewhere, but a number of compounds of this kind are attested, e.g., διφθεράριος (“parchment-maker”), ἰσικιάριος (“sausage-maker”), καμηλάριος (“camel-driver”), ὑποδηματάριος (“sandal-maker”). The Greek suffix -άριος derives from the Latin suffix *-arius*, which in the masculine termination formed nouns denoting an agent of use, e.g., *rete* (“net”) → *retiarius* (“net-fighter”); examples of this borrowing are attested

⁷⁹ Mark Grant, *Galen on Food and Diet* (London: Routledge, 2000), 97; for Galen’s recipes using lentils, beans, chickpeas, see pp. 96–100.

⁸⁰ Westerink and Laourdas, “Scholia by Arethas,” 127 (Vindob. phil. gr. 314 fol. 106r).

⁸¹ Empedocles was particularly known for his weather magic, in addition to this passage from Philostratus (= DK 31A17) he was credited with blocking a wind that made women barren and caused miscarriages (Plutarch, *Curios.* 515c and Clement, *Strom.* 6.3.30 = DK 31A14). Like Democritus, who is credited with freeing Abdera from a plague, and Apollonius, who freed Ephesus from a plague (see § 3.5), Empedocles is also said to have rid Selinus of a plague, see Ava Chitwood, *Death by Philosophy: The Biographical Tradition in the Life and Death of the Archaic Philosophers Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Democritus* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 46.

as early as the third century, e.g., ὑποσχεσάριος (“tax-farmer”).⁸² Here the *hapax legomenon* must mean something like “hail-maker” or “hail-driver” in reference to ancient weather magicians like the Telchines, who by means of their sorcery could produce clouds, rain, and hail at will, and hence, so the scholiast argues, cancel out the “white” weather-magic of Empedocles. Philostratus also described how the Indians possessed jars of wind and rain which they opened and released whenever India was afflicted with drought and bad weather (VA III.14.2).

A few rare compounds with χάλαζα favor such an interpretation, e.g., χαλαζοκοπεῖν in Theophrastus.⁸³ Recently David Jordan put forth a corrected reading of a magical amulet from Noto in southeast Sicily—not too far from Empedocles’ native city, Acragas—for the protection of a vineyard from hail. The operative lines read as follows: “I adjure the cloud-drivers (νεφ[ελ]ηλάτας) in the name of God: do not damage the vineyard with hail (μὴ χαλαζοκουπήσητε).”⁸⁴ Pseudo-Justin mentioned certain “cloud-drivers” or νεφοδιῶκται, who could reputedly “drive clouds wherever they wish by certain invocations to cast hail and immoderate rainfall.” Despite the proscription against the νεφοδιῶκται in the canons of the Quinisext Council, held at Constantinople in 692, “cloud-drivers” and various weather-magicians still crop up repeatedly in Byzantine literature.⁸⁵

The second peculiar term, the verb ὑπολυγάζεσθαι, is of especial interest since it is attested only in the writings of Arethas. The verb appears to be little more than a variant spelling of ὑπολυγίζεσθαι, “to be concealed.” Arethas used the verb with this same meaning in his oration, delivered on 4 May 902, in celebration of Emperor Leo VI’s translation of the relics of St. Lazarus from Cyprus to the Hagia Sophia. Arethas described a brilliant light that issued from the hanging torch lamps and blinded the procession as it entered the Great Church: “a brilliant light fell upon the holy precinct of the temple, which was at once

⁸² L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri, Vol. 1: Accidence and Word-Formation, Part 1, The Suffixes*, Publications of the Philological Society (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), 48–49; J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 495. According to Palmer and Adams, the existing diminutive suffix -άριον contributed to the acceptance of this particular Latinate suffixation into Greek.

⁸³ LSJ s.v. χαλαζοκοπέω.

⁸⁴ See David Jordan, “Cloud-drivers and Damage from Hail,” *ZPE* 133 (2000): 147–48. The previous editors read the name of a demon who apparently caused hailstorms Μιχαλαζοκου, see Gabriella Bevilacqua and Sergio Giannoble, “‘Magia’ rurale siciliana: Inscrizioni di Noto e Modica,” *ZPE* 133 (2000): 135–46.

⁸⁵ See Frank R. Trombley, “Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece,” *HTR* 78 (1985): 343.

concealed (ὕπολυγαζομένῳ) from the eyes of those who entered by its rays.”⁸⁶ The scholion attests the same form but with an active meaning.

Arethas also referenced the theories of Democritus and Empedocles in his refutation of the emperor Julian’s notion that Jesus came to destroy sin, but had instead multiplied the amount of evil in the world. He refuted Julian by arguing for the autonomy of the rational soul and briefly broached the topic of first principles: “the indivisibles (ἄτομοι) were extraordinarily surmised by Democritus of Abdera and indeed the famous *Sphairos* by Empedocles of Sicily, and their teachings concerning the hypostatizing of bodies were held in high regard.”⁸⁷ From Arethas’ references to the *Sphairos*, here and elsewhere, it is clear that he was interested in the figure of Empedocles, and it is also probable that he was familiar with Lucian’s satiric portrayal of his death in the *Icaromenippus*.⁸⁸ The final polemical remark in the scholion is directed at Apollonius. Diogenes Laertius recorded a legend that Empedocles cast himself into the volcano on Mount Etna in order to convince people that he had vanished and become a god (VIII.69). The “half-burnt sandal” mentioned in the scholion refers to the infamous bronze sandal of Empedocles that Etna belched forth after his failed attempt at self-divinization.⁸⁹

2.6 GEOGRAPHICAL SCHOLIA

Among the scholia on the *VA* there are a few geographical descriptions. Philostratus’ reference to Caphereus and the mountainous region of southeastern Euboea incites a simple description, “This Caphereus is at the extremity of Euboea. It is now called Xylophagos.”⁹⁰ The reference to the toponym Ξυλοφάγος, meaning “devourer of vessels,” is significant as it predates by two centuries the only other reference to this alternate name in the Tzetzes

⁸⁶ φῶς γὰρ ἄκρατον ὑπολυγαζομένῳ τῷ ἱερῷ τεμενίσματι ταῖς τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀθρόως προσπίπτον τῶν εισόντων βολαῖς καὶ οἰονεὶ ἀμύσσον τὰς κόρας τῷ δραστηρίῳ τοῦ φέγγους ἀπήμβλυνέ τε ὄφεις καὶ συνετάραττε, καὶ πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ οἰκείου τῷ ἐθισμῷ τοῦ ὀρωμένου σχολάζειν ἐπέτρεπεν (Westerink, no. 59, 2:14,22–28). For a summary of the oration and some historical notes, see R. J. H. Jenkins, B. Laourdas, and C. A. Mango, “Nine Orations of Arethas from Cod. Marc. gr. 524,” *BZ* 47 (1954): 5–8, 9–11; repr. in R. J. H. Jenkins, *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries*, CS 1 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1970), 1–40.

⁸⁷ [...] ὅπερ ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἐκάστου προόδου τῶν γενητῶν ἐστὶν ὄραν, ἀφ’ οὗπερ καὶ Δημοκρίτῳ τῷ Ἀβδηρίτῃ αἱ ἄτομοι κἂν ἐκτόπως ὑπετοπάσθησαν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ τῷ Σικελιώτῃ ὁ αἰοίδιμος Σφαῖρος ἀρχαῖ καὶ στοιχειώσεις τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑποστάντων ἐνομίσθησαν σωματῶν (Westerink, no. 24, 1:222,29–223,2).

⁸⁸ Arethas references Empedocles’ *Sphairos* a second time, see Westerink, no. 56, 1:346,27.

⁸⁹ For the legends of Empedocles and his bronze sandals, see Chitwood, *Death by Philosophy*, 20, 51, 183 n. 85.

⁹⁰ *Schol. in VA* I. 24 (= Kayser, 14,29; cf. Bekker, 114) (τὸν Καφηρέα ἀνέφυγε): οὗτος ὁ Καφηρεὺς ἐστὶν ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Εὐβοίας. Ξυλοφάγος νῦν λέγεται. Καφηρεὺς δὲ διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνέμων ἀντιπνοίας παρὰ τὸ κᾶπος (ἀπὸ κάπος F), ὃ σημαίνει τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅπου καὶ ὁ Νάυπλιος τοὺς φρυκτοὺς ἀνάμας ἔσφηλε τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ~ F (fol. 11v) S. See Bekker, *Specimen variarum lectionum*, 114 n. 9 and 114–15 n. 10; Kougeas, “Ἐρευναὶ περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφίας,” 245–46.

scholia on Lycophron (373). In a second geographical scholion the scholiast notes that the hill near the oracle of Trophonius in Lebadea was in his day the site of the *temenos* of a Christian martyr.⁹¹ A third geographical scholion describes the perilous estuary of the Hyphasis river:

Schol. in VA III.52 (ined.) (τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ὑφάσιδος κτλ.) τοῖς παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· εἰκὸς γὰρ ταῖς πέτραις τὸ ὕδωρ καταρρηγνύμενον, εἶτα πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀντωθούμενον τῇ παραποταμίᾳ λήξει, καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ ταύτης ταλαντευόμενον διὰ στενότητα πρὸς τὰς κατεπειξάσας αὐτῶ πέτρας, καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις συμβᾶν δίνην τε πολλὴν ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ δύσπλοα τὰ παρὰ κρητῖδα πάντα καὶ ἄπλοα. ~ F (fol. 60v)

Philostratus described the Hyphasis twice. At the beginning of book III he mentioned the jagged rocks that jut out of the water on each side and how “the current as it twists around them makes the river unnavigable (ποιεῖν τὸν ποταμῶν ἄπλουν).” Again, towards the end of book III, as Apollonius sailed away from India, Philostratus described the “narrow, rocky places and precipices,” how the river poured into the ocean, and how it was dangerous “for those who hugged the shore.” In this passage Philostratus informed the reader that he had described the river on an earlier occasion. This statement may have prompted the scholiast to go back to the beginning of book III and reread Philostratus’ first description. It appears that the scholiast relied exclusively on Philostratus’ two descriptions rather than an outside source. He writes, “For it is natural that the water which breaks down upon the rocks will then leave the riverside pushing away from them in the opposite direction, and again ebbing and flowing from there through the narrows towards the rocks which press down upon it, and this happens so often that the constant circular motion makes all the areas along the river’s edge dangerous for ships and unnavigable.”

* * *

The array of scholia in Laur. 69.33 on topics ranging from grammar and syntax to classical authors and antiquarian interests is what one would expect to find in a codex of Arethas. The occasional historical errors, the mistaken identities, and the scholastic slips, in addition to the polemical interjections and the peculiarities in Greek style, all point to the bishop of Caesarea as well. The independent studies of Adolf Sonny and Rudolf Mueller, when put together and viewed synoptically, lay a strong foundation for the hypothesis that

⁹¹ *Schol. in VA VIII.19.1* (= Kayser, 168,37) (ἐν γηλόφῳ) καθ’ ὃν νῦν τόπον τὸ χριστοφόρου (Kay, χριστοφορός F) τοῦ μάρτυρος τέμενος ἱδρυται. ~ F (fol. 171r) π; cf. Kougeas, “Ἐρευναι περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφίας,” 246–47.

Laur. 69.33 is indeed an apograph of a manuscript once owned and annotated by Arethas. The scholia in Laur. 69.33, those which show the scholiast both at his best and at his worst, supplement this hypothesis with convincing corroborative evidence. But the few polemical scholia presented thus far are merely the tip of what is a vast iceberg of invective salted with sarcasm, the “scholiastic” elements for which Arethas is best known. Kayser left out of his edition a significant number of the polemical scholia in the margins of Laur. 69.33. The next chapter presents and analyses these previously unedited scholia and places the scholiast’s polemic against Philostratus and Apollonius within the long, protracted, and surprisingly variegated reception history of the *VA* and of the figure of Apollonius of Tyana. The nature of these polemical remarks also evince the hand of Arethas.

III

The Christian Polemic against Philostratus and Apollonius of Tyana

Inadequate source materials frustrate any attempt to reconstruct the character or life of the historical Apollonius of Tyana.¹ However, from both Philostratus' biography and from secondary sources predating the *VA*—the aforementioned passage from Lucian's *Alexander* in particular (see § 2.4)—it is clear that prior to Philostratus' influential composition Apollonius already had a reputation as a magician. At the outset of his work, Philostratus stated that people in general and certain biographers in particular (presumably Moeragenes) did not know Apollonius for his philosophical wisdom, nor did they portray him as a philosopher, instead “they single out only this or that of his deeds, while because of his association with Babylonian magicians, Indian Brahmans, and the Naked Ones of Egypt, some think him a sorcerer and misrepresent him as a philosophic impostor, but in this they are wrong” (*VA* I.2).² Philostratus' attempt to distance Apollonius as far as possible from this preexisting sorcerer persona would prove ineffective. Apollonius' image as a sorcerer was set in stone for all future generations, partly by the pagan-Christian debates of late antiquity and partly by the traditions about Apollonius that circulated independently of Philostratus' biography. Sossianus Hierocles' anti-Christian pamphlet which compared Jesus to Apollonius incited a vitriolic response from Eusebius of Caesarea in his apologetic treatise *Contra Hieroclem*, but this work was not so much *contra* Hierocles as it was *contra* Philostratus' depiction of Apollonius in the *VA*. The purpose of this chapter is threefold. It is first designed to present the content and character of the previously unedited polemical scholia in the margins of Laur. 69.33, second, to highlight those features that are characteristic of Arethas' scholia, and third, to outline the reception history of the *VA*. A number of the polemical scholia overlap in argumentation with Eusebius' *Contra Hieroclem* to such a degree that it appears the scholiast was familiar with this work, which also points to Arethas' involvement.

3.1 APOLLONIUS OF TYANA IN LATE ANTIQUITY

A significant amount of controversy surrounds the date and authorship of the *Contra Hieroclem* (hereafter *CH*). Attestation for the work in late antiquity is wanting. The earliest

¹ See esp. E. L. Bowie, “Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality,” *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978): 1652–99.

² Trans. Christopher P. Jones, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 2 vols., LCL 16–17 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005–2006), 1:35.

reference to the *CH* is the short summary of Photios (*Bibliotheca*, codex 39)³ and the earliest manuscript evidence for its text is none other than Par. gr. 451, Arethas' famous collection of early Christian apologetic literature, copied by the scribe Baanes in 914 (see § 1.6). The piece in Par. gr. 451 bears the title *Reply of Eusebius, pupil of Pamphilus, to the work of Philostratus on Apollonius, occasioned by the comparison between him and Christ handed down by Hierocles*.⁴ Sometime during the start of the fourth century, shortly before or after the Great Persecution of 303, Sossianus Hierocles published a polemical treatise in two books titled *Φιλαλήθης* or *Lover of Truth*.⁵ Hierocles coined the title in mimesis of its forerunner, Celsus' *Ἀληθῆς λόγος* or *True Discourse*,⁶ and if one takes Eusebius' accusation of plagiarism seriously a significant portion of the work owed its existence to the arguments of Celsus. There may be some truth to this, but this claim is in fact part of Eusebius' rhetorical strategy. Since Origen before him had done such a fine job refuting Celsus' anti-Christian polemic, Eusebius averred, it was necessary to refute only what was new (*CH* 1.1).

Eusebius claimed that Hierocles, "alone among those who have ever written against us, has produced a formal contrast and comparison of Apollonius with our savior" (*CH* 1.2). Eusebius' comment on Hierocles' idiosyncratic concatenation incited several scholars, Tomas Hägg in particular, to cast doubt over the attribution of the *CH* to Eusebius of Caesarea and to suggest an alternative theory, namely that the work was later attributed to him either because of its polemical character or because an otherwise unknown early Christian sophist named Eusebius authored the work and it was incorporated by accident among the writings of the

³ ἀνεγνώσθη Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου ἀνασκευαστικὸν βιβλιδάριον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως Ἱεροκλέους λόγους (Photios, *Bibliotheca*, codex 39).

⁴ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΥΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΕΙΦΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΝ (Par. gr. 451 fol. 368r). Éric Junod has argued that the work would better be titled *Against the Writings of Philostratus in Favor of Apollonius* ("Polémique chrétienne contre Apollonius de Tyane," *RTP* 120 [1988]: 482).

⁵ Hierocles composed the *Lover of Truth* either shortly before 303 when he held the position of *vicarius Orientis* or shortly after the Great Persecution of 303 when he became *praeses* of Bythinia (after 311 he became *praeses* of Egypt); for the various arguments on the precise date of Hierocles' work, see Marguerite Forrat's introduction to Édouard des Places, ed., *Eusèbe de Césarée, Contre Hiéroclès: Introduction, traduction et notes*, SC 333 (Paris: Cerf, 1986), 18–20; John G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*, STAC 3 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebek, 2000), 253–54. The date of Eusebius' reply is even more hotly disputed, but the triumphal tone of *CH* 4 suggests that it was probably composed after the persecution had ended, ca. 312, rather than before the persecution began, see Forrat, *Eusèbe de Césarée*, 20–26; Tomas Hägg, "Hierocles the Lover of Truth and Eusebius the Sophist," *SO* 67 (1992): 144–45; Christopher P. Jones, "Apollonius of Tyana in Late Antiquity," in *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 50; cf. T. D. Barnes, "Sossianus Hierocles and the Antecedents of the 'Great Persecution'," *HSCP* 80 (1976): 240–43. On Hierocles' career, see Barnes, "Sossianus Hierocles," 243–45; Cook, *Interpretation*, 251–52; Herwig Maehler, "Zur Amtszeit des Präfekten Sossianus Hierokles," in *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts Published in Honor of H. C. Youtie*, ed. Ann Ellis Hanson, 2 vols., PTA 19–20 (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1976), 2.527–33 with pl. XXVII; Claude Vandersleyen, "La date de la prefecture de Sossianus Hierocles en Égypte (à propos di PCairo Boak 57049)," *JJP* 13 (1961): 109–22.

⁶ Hägg put forth the interesting proposal that the original title was *Φιλαλήθης λόγος* or *Truth-loving Discourse* ("Hierocles the Lover of Truth," 140–43).

pupil of Pamphilus.⁷ The argument is based on the notion that Porphyry had made the very same comparison in his now lost work *Against the Christians*, against which Eusebius wrote a lengthy refutation (also now lost). However, two of the three fragments in question, aside from the fact they compare Apollonius not with Jesus but with Paul and Jesus' disciples, are from Macarius Magnes' *Apocriticus*.⁸ The authentic fragment preserved by Jerome concerns Porphyry's equiparation of Apollonius' miracles with those of Jesus' disciples (*Tract. Ps.* 81). Hierocles may or may not have been the first to juxtapose Jesus and Apollonius, but it is clear from Eusebius' statement that this was the subject of the whole of book two of the *Lover of Truth* (*CH* 1.1), and there must have been some originality in such a sustained comparison.

Eusebius' clever strategy of isolating the subject matter of the second book of the *Lover of Truth* allowed him to shift the debate away from Hierocles' specific arguments and points of comparison and to focus solely on the text of Philostratus. Hierocles claimed that, despite the miracles attributed to Apollonius by Philostratus, pagans regarded Apollonius only as a man pleasing to the gods, whereas the Christians worshipped Jesus as a god on the basis of the less extraordinary miracles attributed to him by his credulous followers (*CH* 2.2). Christopher P. Jones has aptly characterized the dilemma Eusebius seized upon, "If what Philostratus said about Apollonius was true, then the man was a sorcerer in league with evil powers; if it was untrue, then Hierocles and other admirers of Apollonius were more credulous than the Christians."⁹ Eusebius set out to prove both points and worked through the text of Philostratus book by book and $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$ by $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$. He often chose one line of

⁷ Scholars have proposed a number of arguments against the attribution of the *CH* to Eusebius of Caesarea, chief among them are those concerning the style of the author of the *CH* and its anomalous position in the corpus of Eusebius' writings. However, two independent stylistic comparisons between the text of the *CH* and the writings of Eusebius show conclusively that the pupil of Pamphilus was most likely the author of the *CH*; see Salvatore Borzi, "Sull'autenticità del Contra Hieroclem di Eusebio di Cesarea," *Aug* 43 (2003): 397–416 and Jones, "Apollonius of Tyana in Late Antiquity," 49–52 (Jones was not aware of Borzi's article). It is likely, moreover, that Eusebius' lost refutation of Porphyry's *Against the Christians* was written in a similar style.

⁸ Adolf von Harnack, *Porphyrius, "Gegen die Christen": 15 Bücher Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate*, Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1916), 83 (fr. 60), 84–85 (fr. 63). It is by no means certain that Porphyry's polemic was the source of these passages from Macarius' *Apocriticus*; T. D. Barnes is rightly skeptical, "Porphyry *Against the Christians*: Date and the Attribution of Fragments," *JTS* 24 (1973): 428–30. In fact the most convincing candidate for the identity of the pagan interlocutor of Macarius' text is not Porphyry but Hierocles, see Elizabeth DePalma Digeser, "Porphyry, Julian, or Hierokles?: The Anonymous Hellene in Makarios Magnēs' *Apokritikos*," *JTS* 53 (2002): 466–502.

⁹ Christopher P. Jones, *Apollonius of Tyana: Letters of Apollonius, Ancient Testimony, Eusebius's Reply to Hierocles*, LCL 458 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 150; cf. John G. Cook, "Some Hellenistic Responses to the Gospels and Gospel Traditions," *ZNW* 84 (1993): 245–46. On the rhetorical strategies of Eusebius, see further Édouard des Places, "La seconde sophistique au service de l'apologétique chrétienne: Le Contre Hiéroclès d'Eusèbe de Césarée," *CRAI* 129 (1985): 423–27; Manfred Kertsch, "Traditionelle Rhetorik und Philosophie in Eusebios' 'Antirrhētikos gegen' Hierokles," *VC* 34 (1980): 145–71; Junod, "Polémique chrétienne contre Apollonius de Tyane," 475–82.

argumentation or the other, but on occasion he argued for both Apollonius as sorcerer and Philostratus as fantasy writer simultaneously. The accusations and avenues of attack found in the margins of Laur. 69.33 are often strikingly similar to those Eusebius ventured some six centuries earlier (see §§ 3.3–6).

It is a mistake, however, to place too much emphasis on the importance of Eusebius' refutation in the reception history of Philostratus' biography. It is simply untrue that a Christian could not have read Philostratus' work and still pardoned Apollonius of the charge of sorcery. Wolfgang Speyer argued on these grounds against the authenticity of a letter of Isidore of Pelusium (ca. 360/370–post 431), now considered authentic, that shows him to be surprisingly sympathetic to both Apollonius and Philostratus¹⁰:

Some people have deceived mankind with empty words, bringing in Apollonius of Tyana, who has produced many talismans in many places (πολλαχόσε πολλὰ τελεσάμενον), for the protection of dwellings, so they say. But they can show nothing of which he is the source. For those who have recorded the man's own words, and made exact note of everything about him, would not have omitted the celebrated deeds. You have Philostratus, who set out his history exactly, and you may see that in all likelihood his enemies devised an obviously false charge of magical practice against him.¹¹

The origin of the tradition of Apollonius' talismans (τελέσματα in most texts) is something of a mystery; the talismans are usually described as statues of animals that possess apotropaic and protective powers.¹² Eusebius appears to be the first author to refer to them, if this is how one understands his reference to the “magic devices (μηχανάς) set up in his name” (*CH* 44.2); it is even less clear whether the famous Adana inscription attests this same tradition.¹³ Around the same time as Isidore's letter the *Quaestiones et responsiones* of Pseudo-Justin raised the question as to how the talismans of Apollonius could be effective if God is the architect of creation. The author answers the question by divorcing Apollonius from his sorcerer persona: “As a man expert in natural powers and the sympathies and antipathies that they contain,

¹⁰ Wolfgang Speyer, “Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und Christen,” *JAC* 17 (1974): 58.

¹¹ Trans. Jones, “Apollonius of Tyana in Late Antiquity,” 53.

¹² See esp. J. Miller, “Zur Frage nach der Persönlichkeit des Apollonius von Tyana,” *Phil* 51 (1892): 581–84; Speyer, “Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana,” 47–63; W. L. Dulière, “Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollonius de Tyane,” *BZ* 63 (1970): 247–77; Maria Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History*, trans. Piotr Pieńkowski, *Problemi e ricerche di storia antica* 10 (Rome: “L'Erma” di Bretschneider, 1986), 85–127; Jones, “Apollonius of Tyana in Late Antiquity,” 49–64.

¹³ There is a significant amount of disagreement over how the lacunae of the Adana inscription should be restored, see Bowie, “Apollonius of Tyana,” 1687–88; Christopher P. Jones, “An Epigram on Apollonius of Tyana,” *JHS* 100 (1980): 190–94; R. Merkelbach, “Das Epigramm auf Apollonius von Tyana,” *ZPE* 41 (1981): 270; N. J. Richardson and Peter Burian, “The Epigram on Apollonius of Tyana,” *GRBS* 22 (1981): 283–85; Miroslav Marcovich, “The Epigram on Apollonius of Tyana,” *ZPE* 45 (1982): 263–65. As to the question of whether the inscription is reflective of the talismanic tradition, Dzielska has suggested as much, but she appears to contradict herself (*Apollonius of Tyana*, 101, cf. 64–73, esp. 68).

Apollonius used this expertise in making his talismans” (24.2). Apollonius did not operate his talisman’s by God’s authority since they worked through natural processes, Pseudo-Justin claimed, whereas Jesus performed his miracles through divine authority. Pseudo-Nonnus (fl. ca. 500?) similarly drew a distinction between magic (μαγεία) and sorcery (γοητεία), and further between sorcery and witchcraft (φαρμακεία), in his commentary on Gregory of Nazianzus’ first invective against Julian; he noted that magic is the invocation of good *daimones* to achieve some good purpose and that the talismans (here θεσπίσματα) of Apollonius were an example of this (PG 36:1021).

Isidore made it very clear that the legendary talismans were nowhere to be found in Philostratus’ narrative. But while some Christian authors were well-disposed to Apollonius’ talismans, many were not. Nilus of Ancyra († ca. 430), a contemporary of Isidore, claimed that Apollonius’ talismans typified evil magic and contained no heavenly benefit (*Epist.* 138). Basil of Seleucia (ca. 468) thought that anyone who knew Apollonius from those who wrote down his life would be aware of the repulsive and accursed talismans of this sorcerer, but the examples Basil cited from Apollonius’ life are inaccurate and it is clear that his source was not Philostratus.¹⁴ It was primarily in the East that Apollonius’ reputation as a sorcerer flourished, but this reputation does not appear to have been the direct result of Philostratus’ portrayal. With the exception of Arnobius of Sicca (fl. ca. 330), who may have known the talismanic tradition (*Adv. gen.* 1.52), his pupil Lactantius, who had read Hierocles’ polemic (*Div. inst.* 5.3.7–16, 20), and Augustine, attitudes towards Apollonius in the West were mostly positive. In a letter to Paulinus, bishop of Nola, Jerome offered a short synopsis of Apollonius’ life. His description contains inaccuracies similar to Basil’s, but unlike Basil he specifically cited the eight books of Philostratus as his source. Jerome introduced Apollonius with the words “whether he was a magician, as the vulgar say, or a philosopher, as the Pythagoreans say,” without weighing in on the issue himself, but later referred to him as a great man (*ille vir*) (*Epist.* 53).¹⁵ Positive appraisal of Philostratus and Apollonius reached its height in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (ca. 430–ca. 486), in which he introduced and presented his Latin translation of the *VA* to the courtier Leo (*Epist.* VIII.3).

With the exception of Eusebius those authors who appear to have read Philostratus’ *Vita* were either well-disposed to Apollonius or were disinterested in the sorcerer question;

¹⁴ Speyer thought that his source was Moeragenes (“Zum Bild des Apollonios,” 59–60).

¹⁵ See further N. Adkin, “Apollonius of Tyana in Jerome,” *Sacris Erudiri* 39 (2000): 67–79; Jones, “Apollonius in Late Antiquity,” 59–60.

those authors who were familiar with the independent tradition of Apollonius' talismans were often the most vocal and adamant about Apollonius' relation to sorcery.

3.2 APOLLONIUS OF TYANA IN BYZANTIUM

The works of prose authors such as Lucian, Philostratus, and Julian, whose works often outraged Christians, continued to be read and transmitted, despite the fact that they never achieved the status of required reading in the schools, because they were recognized as masters of Attic prose.¹⁶ It is particularly noteworthy that a catenist could comment on the Attic features of Luke 1:9 with the words “Philostratus makes use of this frequently in the *Life of Apollonius*,” without any additional remarks about the character of Philostratus' work or Apollonius.¹⁷ The manuscript, Laud gr. 33 (NT minuscule 50), has been dated to the eleventh century, but the note may well be more ancient. Photios summarized the VA twice in his *Bibliotheca*. The first summary is relatively brief (codex 44), but in the second he excerpted no less than 120 stylistic examples from the text of the VA (codex 241).¹⁸ While some learned Byzantine readers may have thought, as did Photios himself, that in terms of content the VA was a rather silly work, this did not weaken their appreciation of Philostratus' prose style.

Photios described Philostratus' style as clear, charming, aphoristic, and bursting with good taste due to his fondness for archaisms and syntactic innovations. But Photios was less enthusiastic about the content of the VA. His short summary highlighted several of the more fantastic events in Philostratus' narrative, e.g., the plague at Ephesus, the soul of the Egyptian king Amasis that was trapped in a lion's body, the resuscitation of a Roman girl, and how Apollonius freed himself from his fetters, vanished from court, and joined his companions moments later even though they were days apart. At the end of the synopsis Photios' seemingly unbiased academic review subsides and he expresses his own feelings about the text, “On the subject of the Indians our author fabricates an entire series of ridiculous and absurd statements.” Photios singled out as particularly unbelievable the story of the Indians'

¹⁶ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 25–26.

¹⁷ πολὺ τούτω καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον καταχρῆται τὸν Τυανέα. The comment is in reference to the phrase εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου (Luke 1:9). See J. A. Cramer, ed., “Supplementum et varietas lectionis ad cat. in Evang. S. Lucae e codd. Bodl. B et L,” in *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum: Tomus II. Catena in Evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis* (Oxford: E typographeo academico, 1841), 418,14–15. Cf. esp. N. G. Wilson, “The Church and Classical Studies,” *A&A* 16 (1970): 68–77.

¹⁸ Tomas Hägg has suggested that the size of some of the excerpts from the VA speaks against the notion that Photios was quoting his texts from memory, see “Photios at Work: Evidence from the Text of the *Bibliotheca*,” *GBRS* 14 (1973): 213–22; cf. Nigel G. Wilson, “The Composition of Photios' *Bibliotheca*,” *GBRS* 9 (1968): 451–55; idem, “Photios' *Bibliotheca*: A Supplementary Note,” *GBRS* 12 (1971): 559–60; idem, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 96.

jars of wind and rain (VA III.14.2; cf. § 2.5). “There is a great deal more nonsense like this,” Photios concluded, “utterly stupid. In his eight books he wasted all his labour in empty effort.”¹⁹

Photios also referenced the tradition of Apollonius’ talismans and drew the same distinction as Isidore of Pelusium centuries before; this is a point that scholars who have studied the afterlife of Apollonius have missed.²⁰ Prior to his summary of the text Photios assured his readers that nowhere does Philostratus assert that Apollonius worked any of the wonders (τελεσθηῖνοι) that legend ascribed to him.²¹ At the end of his summary he makes the same statement, only more explicitly: “Such are the fictions of Philostratus concerning Apollonius. He does not say, however, that he was a maker of talismans (τελεστής), whether he constructed any of the talismans (τελεσμάτων) that are commonly attributed to him by some.”²² Photios’ appraisal is not quite so negative as Eusebius’, whose reply Photios himself had read and recommended (*Bibliotheca*, codex 39). Nor did Photios weigh in himself on the claim that Apollonius was a sorcerer; he merely noted that, according to Philostratus, Apollonius did not practice magic, and was in fact an enemy of sorcerers and magicians.

Photios’ summary gives the impression that he had read the *VA* with the expectation of understanding the source of Apollonius’ talismans. By the tenth century the talismanic tradition had significantly trumped the Philostratean. Either Photios knew of the talismans as a part of popular culture or he may have recalled reading about them in the history of Hesychius of Miletus (*Bibliotheca*, codex 69). Hesychius reported that there was a statue of three storks in Constantinople, a sort of Byzantine *Ciconiae Nixae*, that Apollonius had erected during the reign of Philip of Macedon—a datum that caused W. L. Dulière to flag the passage as a later interpolation—and that the people of the city had credited with scaring

¹⁹ Trans. N. G. Wilson, *Photius, The Bibliotheca: A Selection, Translated with Notes* (London: Duckworth, 1994), 35.

²⁰ Dzielska mentions Photios’ summary, but she refers only to his negative comments and says nothing about his reference to Apollonius’ talismans (*Apollonius of Tyana*, 100).

²¹ For this sense of τελεῖν, see *GLBRP* s.v. τελέω. The term is used in this same sense by Isidore of Pelusium in the passage cited above (see § 3.1); cf. Jones, “Apollonius of Tyana,” 53 and n. 11.

²² ταῦτα μὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀναπλάττει, οὐ μέντοι γε ὡς εἶη τελεστής, εἴ τινα διετελέσατο τῶν ἐνίοις διαθρυλλουμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεποιήσθαι τελεσμάτων· φιλοσοφία δὲ καὶ βίου καθαρότητι (ed. René Henry, *Photius, Bibliothèque: Tome 1. Codices 1–84* [Paris: Société d’édition les Belles lettres, 1959], 29,18–21). Scholars may have missed Photios’ reference to the talismans of Apollonius for the reason that both Freese and Wilson in their English translations and Henry in his French translation—which is heavily influenced by Freese’s—rendered the operative words in a very general sense (J. H. Freese, *The Library of Photius: Volume I, Translations of Christian Literature, Series I: Greek Texts* [London: Macmillan, 1920], 38; Wilson, *Photius*, 35; Henry, *Photius*, 29). Freese translated τελεστής as “wonder-worker,” Wilson as “miracle-worker,” and Henry as “faiseur de miracles,” but cf. *GLBRP* s.v. τελεστής (“maker of talismans”). Similarly Freese translated τελεσμάτων as “wonders,” Wilson as “feats,” and Henry similarly as “merveilles,” but cf. *GLBRP* s.v. τέλεσμα (“talisman”).

away the storks, which supposedly dropped snakes into their wells and poisoned their water (*Orig. Const.* 25).²³ In the same era John Malalas (ca. 491–578) related a similar extra-Philostratean story about two voyages, one to Constantinople, where Apollonius constructed talismanic storks, a tortoise, and horses in statuary form, and one to Antioch, where he set up a bronze scorpion on a pillar and a talismanic mosquito, successfully driving scorpions and mosquitoes out of the city (*Chron.* 10.51).²⁴ Anastasius of Sinai knew similar stories about talismans of Apollonius that protected cities against four-footed animals and birds, but, unlike the disinterested narratives of Hesychius and Malalas, Anastasius considered the talismans to be the products of demons (*Quaest. et resp.* 20).²⁵

Opinions about Apollonius' talismans were even more varied in the ninth century. George Monachos (842–867) reported on the same talismans discussed by Malalas and, like Anastasius, he attributed them to demonic powers.²⁶ On the other hand George Synkellos († post 810) recounted the peculiar datum that Vespasian had received word about Apollonius' positive attitude towards Christ and wished to speak with him about Christ and the coming kingdom of God. Synkellos' following citation of his source as Philostratus, who according to Synkellos had written a precise account of Apollonius' history, cannot be taken seriously.²⁷ The Christianization of Apollonius reached its height in the astrological treatise titled the *Apotelesmata of Apollonius of Tyana*.²⁸ In this bizarre treatise Apollonius predicts (!) the birth of Christ, born in Bethlehem from a virgin, “who would save the human race . . . but not abolish the astrological effects (ἀποτελεσματικῆν) that I [sc. Apollonius] will make.” It comes as no great shock that a medieval text of astral magic would possess such a Christian

²³ Dulière, “Protection permanente,” 253; cf. Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 108.

²⁴ The seventh-century *Chronicon Paschale* preserves a nearly identical story (*PG* 92:601, 604). Cf. Dulière, “Protection permanente,” 254–55; Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 36, 108–9.

²⁵ Cf. Speyer, “Zum Bild des Apollonios,” 60–62.

²⁶ Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 109.

²⁷ Dulière, “Protection permanente,” 255–56; Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 111.

²⁸ Two Greek versions were published almost simultaneously, see F. Boll, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum: VII. Codices Germanici* (Brussels: Henrici Lamertin, 1908), 174–81 (an edition of BSB, Phillipps 1577 [173] fols. 72v–74v); F. Nau, “Apotelesmata Apollonii Tyanensis,” *Patrologia Syriaca* I.2 (1907): 1363–92 (an edition of Par. gr. 2419 fols. 247v–249v and the excerpts from this codex in Par. suppl. gr. 20, together with Par. gr. 2316 fols. 324v–325r and Par. suppl. gr. 1148 fols. 36r–40v); cf. Paul Magdalino, “Occult Science and Imperial Power in Byzantine History and Historiography (9th–12th Centuries),” in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Maria V. Mavroudi (Geneva: La Pomme d’or, 2006), 135. F. Nau thought that the text was genuine, although full of Christian interpolations, but this is clearly not the case. Jones assigned a rough date of 800–1200 on the basis of the *Apotelesmata*'s use of στοιχειώ in the sense of “enchant” or “bewitch,” which is not attested before Theophanes Continuatus in Sophocles' *GLRBP* (“Apollonius of Tyana,” 58). However, it can be placed comfortably at the beginning of this spectrum in the ninth century for the reason that during this era the magic of statues was a legitimate concern (see Magdalino, “Occult Science,” 135) and this specific sense of στοιχειώ was well-established by this time (see C. Blum, “The Meaning of στοιχειόν and Its Derivatives in the Byzantine Age,” *Eranos* 44 (1946): 316–25).

vener, but the author's proposal that Apollonius both predated Jesus and at the same time set up a Christian church in Tyana is special pleading indeed.

The traditions of Apollonius' talismans were widespread and spanned the Byzantine Empire in both space and time. After the tenth century the talismans are described by George Kedrenos, John Tzetzes, Niketas Choniates, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, and many others. Both Kedrenos in the eleventh and Tzetzes in the twelfth century reproduced Malalas' account and showed themselves to be well-disposed to Apollonius' talismans.²⁹ In the thirteenth century Niketas Choniates described in detail a statue of a bronze eagle that Apollonius had set up in the Hippodrome for protection from snakes.³⁰ But both Niketas and Nikephoros a century later held the view that Apollonius was a sorcerer and had created the talismans through demonic magic.³¹

It would appear that the vast majority of Byzantine authors who mention Apollonius had only a superficial knowledge of Philostratus' narrative, even (or especially) those who mentioned the author by name. Those who associated Apollonius with demons and sorcery did not do so for apologetic reasons, but because they saw a clear relationship between the apotropaic talismans attributed to Apollonius and popular traditions of magic. Some authors were well-disposed to Apollonius regardless of his sorcerer persona. Such a positive appraisal of the figure of Apollonius could explain why the vast majority of the polemical scholia in Laur. 69.33 do not appear in manuscripts L or S (and hence G), which are descendents of a lost archetype copied from Laur. 69.33 (see fig. 1, Boter's *stemma codicum*). Either the scribe of the archetype of L and S, or the scribes of L and S independently, considered the overly negative scholia as worthless for understanding the text of the VA—which indeed they are—and chose to preserve only those scholia on grammar, syntax, and classical literature, or the scribe(s) held Apollonius in high regard and disagreed with the prior scholiast's negative appraisal.

3.3 APOLLONIUS MAGUS IN THE MARGINS OF LAUR. 69.33

Apollonius was widely regarded as a sorcerer in Byzantium, but this reputation was not the direct result of careful reading or even casual perusal of Philostratus' biography, but

²⁹ Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 77, 111.

³⁰ See Cyril Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *DOP* 17 (1963): 61, 68; Anthony Cutler, "The *De Signis* of Nicetas Choniates: A Reappraisal," *JA* 72 (1968): 113–18; Helen Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes towards Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries," *DOP* 44 (1990): 57; Henry Maguire, "Profane Icons: The Significance of Animal Violence in Byzantine Art," *RES* 38 (2000): 27.

³¹ Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 110.

rather in the main the result of popular traditions that had their origins in late antiquity, late-antique traditions that were, as Isidore of Pelusium insisted and Photios later confirmed,³² completely divorced from the text of Philostratus. Moreover, in the Byzantine period the Jesus-Apollonius debate had ceased to exist; it was no longer necessary to defend the divinity of Jesus by denigrating Apollonius and downgrading his status from divine man (θεῖος ἀνὴρ) to conjure man (γόης). This is attested not only by the loss of a number of pagan works that had invoked the exemplum of Apollonius in their arguments against the Christians, e.g., Celsus' *True Discourse* and Porphyry's *Against the Christians*, but also by the dearth of manuscript evidence for the works of several early Christian apologists who countered these very same arguments, e.g., Eusebius' refutation of Porphyry's anti-Christian polemic and Macarius Magnes' *Apocriticus*.³³ But there would appear to be one exception. The Byzantine scholiast of the VA, although he may on occasion voice his appreciation for a well-composed dialogue,³⁴ takes every opportunity to expose the Cappadocian miracle worker as a fraudulent magician, pointing out along the way Philostratus' dishonesty in trying to distance Apollonius from his sorcerer-charlatan persona. At no point does the scholiast mention either the τελέσματα or ἀποτελέσματα of Apollonius or any of the other traditions that had origins independent of Philostratus' biography and that had circulated so widely. Moreover, the familiar late-antique comparisons between Jesus and Apollonius suddenly reemerge in the margins of this tenth-century manuscript (see § 3.4), and many of the scholiast's polemical arguments are strikingly similar to those Eusebius leveled centuries before in his *Contra Hieroclem* (see §§ 3.5–3.6).

In a group of approximately twenty polemical scholia, the commentator employs the term γόης and its derivatives, always in a derogatory sense and occasionally in conjunction with μαγγανεία, trickery or deceit through magical arts.³⁵ When Apollonius defended himself

³² For Isidore's statement, see Jones, "Apollonius," 53; Photios, *Bibliotheca*, codex 44.

³³ The *Apocriticus* was published in 1876 by P. Foucart, who relied on a transcript of a single manuscript in Athens made by C. Blondel, *Μακαρίου Μάγνητος, Ἀποκριτικὸς ἢ Μονογενῆς: Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt ex inedito codice* (Paris: E typographia publica, 1876). Neither Foucart nor anyone since has been able to relocate this manuscript.

³⁴ However, even when the scholiast voices his appreciation for Philostratus' Greek, it seems he cannot do so without some reservation; see, e.g., *schol. in VA IV.3.2* (ined.) (ὁρᾶτε κτλ.) καλὴ ἢ κοινολογία, εἴπερ ἀληθῆς ἢ τερατολογία. ~ F (fol. 62v).

³⁵ Many of these terms appear in the previously unedited scholia discussed here; the reader may consult the appendix for those listed as unedited. γόης ("sorcerer" or "magician"): *schol. in VA IV.1.1[b]* (ined.), III.50.1 (ined.), III.58 (ined.), IV.10.2 (ined.), V.35.3 (= Kayser, 100,12), V.42.2 (= Kayser, 104,10), VI.11.2 (= Kayser, 111,6), VI.11.17 (= Kayser, 114,28), VII.17.1 (= Kayser, 138,29), VIII.7.7 (= Kayser, 154,24), VIII.7.33 (= Kayser, 160,23); γοητεία ("sorcery" or "magic"): *schol. in VA IV.44.2* (ined.), VI.43.2 (= Kayser, 129,24), VII.35 (= Kayser, 147,1), VII.38.2 (= Kayser, 148,16), VII.39.1 (= Kayser, 148,19), VIII.7.9 (= Kayser, 154,35), VIII.7.25 (ined.), VIII.7.26 (= Kayser, 158,35), VIII.7.33 (= Kayser, 160,23); γοητικός ("skilled in witchcraft"):

soon after his arrest, he asked Aelianus, “If I am a sorcerer, how is it that I am brought to trial?” To this the scholiast responds, “But if you were not a sorcerer, then after being brought to trial by Domitian, you would not have escaped by disappearing,”³⁶ a disappearing act that could only be occasioned by γοητεία.³⁷ The scholiast misses few opportunities to associate Apollonius with magic and sorcery, but even as a sorcerer Apollonius falls victim to the additional pejorative ἀλαζών (“charlatan”)³⁸; a speech of “Apollonius Magus” (Ἀπολλωνίου γόητος) is “full of every kind of bufoonery (βωμολοχίας) and fraud”³⁹ and his counsel is “possessed of bewitchment and sycophancy.”⁴⁰ When Apollonius accomplishes some deed or other the scholiast consistently attributes it to sorcery, at the same time characterizing the acts of Apollonius as τερατεῖαι and τερατολογίαι, almost always in the derogatory sense of “fairy tales” or “tall tales.”⁴¹ The scholiast’s combative strategies closely parallel Eusebius’ polemical equations.

The scholia on the VA share in common several of the abusive terms hurled at Lucian and the characters of his satires in the significantly larger corpus of scholia on Lucian, e.g., from Rabe’s list of 39 *convicia*: 2. ἀλαζών; 4. βωμολόχος; 8. γόης; 18. κατάρατος; 21. μάταιος; 35. τερατολόγος.⁴² In the scholia on the VA most of these terms are used as adjectives and not as diatribe vocatives directed at the author or one of the author’s characters. The one exception is γόης, which the scholiast directs at Apollonius twice, once in a sarcastic remark that Apollonius will receive just reward for the counsel he offered

schol. in VA V.34.3 (= Kayser, 99,35; cf. Bekker, 124); μαγγανεία (“trickery,” esp. of magical arts): III.58 (ined.); μαγγανεύειν : IV.44.2 (ined.), IV.46.2 (ined.).

³⁶ *Schol. in VA VII.17.1* (= Kayser, 138,29) (εἰ μὲν γόης) ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ γόης, οὐκ ἂν δι’ ἀφανείας (Kay, δ(ια)φανείας F) Δομτιανὸς κρινόμενος διέδρας. ~ F (fol. 138r).

³⁷ *Schol. in VA VII.35* (= Kayser, 147,1) (νικῶν) πῶς νικῶν, ὅς, εἰ μὴ γοητεία ὡς καπνὸς ἠφανίσθη, εὔρεν ἂν ἀξίαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀλαζονείας τὴν δίκην; ~ F (fol. 147r). Christians considered Apollonius’ disappearance, above all of his other deeds, as evidence of his sorcery; the scholiast refutes the reappearance of Apollonius among his followers in *schol. in VA VIII.13.1* (= Kayser, 166,21), which also occurs only in F (fol. 168r).

³⁸ ἀλαζών (“charlatan”): *schol. in VA IV.1.1[a]* (ined.), VII.40 (= Kayser, 149,6); ἀλαζονεία (“imposture”): *schol. in VII.35* (= Kayser, 147,1), VII.36.4 (= Kayser, 147,29); βωμολοχία (“bufoonery”): *schol. in VA VI.11.2* (= Kayser, 111,6); cf. κατάρατος (“abominable”): *schol. in VA VI.20.7* (= Kayser, 120,26).

³⁹ *Schol. in VA VI.11.2* (= Kayser, 111,6) (οὐτως ἐλεξεν) λόγος Ἀπολλωνίου γόητος μεστὸς ἀπάσης βωμολοχίας καὶ κλοπῆς. ~ F (fol. 109r) LS.

⁴⁰ *Schol. in VA V.34.3* (= Kayser, 99,35; cf. Bekker, 124) (δοκεῖ δέ μοι κτλ.) συμβουλή Ἀπολλωνίου οὐ τοῦ δικαίου ἐχομένη ἠνομίμου· ἀλλὰ τοῦ γοητικοῦ καὶ κολακευτικοῦ. ~ F (fol. 97v) S.

⁴¹ τερατεῖα (“fairy tale”): *schol. in VA IV.10.2* (ined.), IV.46.2 (ined.), VI.43.2 (= Kayser, 129,24), VII.40 (= Kayser, 149,6); τερατολογία (“tall tale”): *schol. in VA II.27.1* (ined.), IV.3.2 (ined.); τερατεύεσθαι (to “announce marvelously” or “tell marvels”): *schol. in VA IV.11.1* (ined.). Cf. Harold Remus’ discussion of these terms and several others, “Does Terminology Distinguish Early Christian from Pagan Miracles?” *JBL* 101 (1982): 531–51.

⁴² Rabe, *Scholia in Lucianum*, 336 (“Index II.”). Barry Baldwin provides a thorough tally of each term, “The Scholist’s Lucian,” *Helikon* 20–21 (1980–1981): 219–34; repr. in *Studies on Greek and Roman History and Literature*, LSCP 15 (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1985), 394–409.

Vespasian, not from Vespasian but from Domitian,⁴³ and the other for the remark Apollonius made about the old women who practiced coscinomancy.⁴⁴ The scholiast responds to Philostratus' claim, that it is the more simple-minded folk who chalk up Apollonius' actions as those of a magician, with the diatribe vocative καταγέλαστε, a vociferation used by Plato (*Theaetetus* 149a), Dio Chrysostom (*Oration* X.2), and others: "More intelligent folk, you absurd man, say that these things are magic, not the less intelligent, as you have so foolishly stated."⁴⁵ More often the scholiast uses the personal names of the protagonists in polemical direct address, a characteristic feature of Arethas' scholia of which numerous examples could be cited. Twice the scholiast calls out Apollonius during his conversations with young men, e.g., when Apollonius disagreed with the rich young man of Rhodes for overvaluing money and wealth, the scholiast remarks, "Just as what is costly is dear to him, Apollonius, it is to you as well."⁴⁶ There is one additional scholion directed at Apollonius in this manner which Kayser left out of his edition.

Schol. in VA I.39.2 (ined.) (σοὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὃ βασιλεῦ, χρήματα, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄχυρα·) μέγα τοῦτο, ὃ Ἀπολλώνιε, εἴ γε μὴ κατ' ἐπίδειξιν ἦν· ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἄχυρα χρυσὸν βλέπουσι καὶ διδόμενα προθύμως λαμβάνουσι· καὶ χρώνται μὲν οὐδαμῶς, χρυσοῦ δὲ ταῦτα διδόασι. ~ F (fol. 18v)

When the Babylonian king opened his treasury in order to impress Apollonius, he responded to him, "To you, majesty, this represents wealth, but to me it is mere chaff." The king then asked Apollonius how best to make use of it, and he replied, "By making use of it (χρώμενος), for you are a king." The scholiast responds to Apollonius' initial remark, "A great thing, Apollonius, if this were not for show."⁴⁷ This comment is as close as the scholiast comes to a positive remark. The scholiast reserves his praise, when he is not patronizing the author (cf. *schol. in VA* IV.45.2), for those who have disagreements with Apollonius. For example, he

⁴³ *Schol. in VA* V.35.3 (= Kayser, 100,12) (οὐδε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κτλ.) εὐρήσεις, γόης, παρὰ Δομετιανοῦ τὸν μισθὸν τῆς νῦν σοὶ ἀρίστης βουλῆς. ~ F (fol. 98r).

⁴⁴ *Schol. in VA* VI.11.17 (= Kayser, 114,28) (οὐδὲν εἰρήσεται·) εἴρηκας ἤδη, γόης, γραυσὶ κοσκινιζομέναις αὐτοῦς παραβάλλων. ~ F (fol. 112v).

⁴⁵ *Schol. in VA* VII.39.1 (= Kayser, 148,19) (ἀναφέρουσι ταῦτα·) οἱ συνετώτεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ καταγέλαστε, γοητείας εἶναι ταῦτα λέγουσιν, οὐχ οἱ εὐηθέστεροι, ὡς αὐτὸς ληρῶν ἔφη. ~ F (fol. 148v).

⁴⁶ *Schol. in VA* V.22.2 (= Kayser, 94,16) (τὰ γὰρ χρήματα·) ὡς γε (Kay, ὥστε F) καὶ (om. Kay) αὐτῷ σοι, Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸ πολυτελὲς φίλον. ~ F (fol. 92r). Cf. the comment directed at Apollonius when he is conversing with an Athenian youth (if Kayser is not mistaken, this is one of the very few instances where Laur. 69.33 and Par. gr. 1801 share the same scholion): *schol. in VA* VIII.16 (= Kayser, 167,33) (ἐπιστομίζων·) τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο καὶ νῦν ἄξιον ἐπὶ σοῦ ἐρεῖ (εἰρεῖν conj. Muel), (<λέγειν> conj. Kay) Ἀπολλώνιε, ὡς ἐν μικροῖς μὲν λέγων σύ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσι Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον. ~ F (fol. 169v) π.

⁴⁷ It is unclear who precisely the scholiast is referring to in the later part of the scholion: "But those who now pretend virtue also see the chaff as gold and they eagerly receive what is given; and they do not by any means make use it, but hand out this golden chaff." It is clear, however, that the clause "those who now pretend virtue" is a contemporary reference, of which there are numerous examples in Laur. 69.33, e.g., the aforementioned scholion on the Paphlagonians (cf. the examples in the introduction to chapter II).

praises Thespesion for “wisely cross-examining the fame-mongering and notoriety-thirsty Apollonius.”⁴⁸

Eusebius was far from lauding Apollonius but conceded nonetheless that many of his human character traits—e.g., his celibacy—were admirable (*CH* 12.3). He stated explicitly, however, that Apollonius was not worthy to be ranked among the philosophers (*CH* 4.3). The scholiast shares the latter view and frequently sets out to distance Apollonius from the philosophical tradition. This is evident particularly in the scholiast’s comment on the letter exchange between Apollonius and the Stoic philosopher Musonius, who had been imprisoned by Nero and was awaiting his trial.⁴⁹

Schol. in VA IV.46.2 (ined.) (Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ) οὐχ ὀρθῶς σωφρονέστερος Ἀπολλωνίου Μουσώνιος; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μαγανείας καὶ τερατείας αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ, ὁ δὲ Μουσώνιος τὰς τοιαύτας ἀποπέμπεται χάριτας τεθαρρηκότως φάσκων τῇ ἀπολογία τὰ αἰτιάματα ἀπολούσασθαι, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ ματαιότητος καὶ μανίας ψευδεῖς ἀποκλίνας. καὶ γὰρ ἠπίστατο λόγῳ χρησάμενος τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐγκλήματα διαδράν[αι· τοῦτο δὲ] Ἀπολλωνίῳ μὴ προσδόν, τοῖς φάσμασι διεκρούετο τὰς ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπαραλογίστους αἰτίας. ~ F (fol. 83r)⁵⁰

“Do you not see that Musonius was wiser than Apollonius?” the scholiast asks Philostratus. “For the latter encouraged him with his magic tricks and knowledge of signs, but Musonius boldly dismissed such charms saying that he would clear away the charges by means of his defense speech, but not by inclining towards fallacious vanities and madness. For he knew how to escape from the seeming accusations by making use of speech; but as this quality was not present in Apollonius, he evaded the true and unerring accusations by means of apparitions.” The comparison of Apollonius with Musonius is an attack against Philostratus’ depiction of Apollonius as a philosopher. The remark is most likely addressed to Philostratus rather than the reader (see § 3.6), since Philostratus had earlier described Musonius as second only to Apollonius (*VA* IV.35). It is probably the same scholiast who considers Apollonius’ wisecrack “Is this a bath or a trail?” as unbecoming of a philosopher.⁵¹ But not only is Musonius wiser than Apollonius in the scholiast’s eyes, so is the lion that housed the soul of the Egyptian king Amasis (*VA* V.42.2). The scholiast, clearly at his satirical best, suggests

⁴⁸ *Schol. in VA* VI.20.2 (= Kayser, 119,26) (σὺ δὲ) καλὰ σοὶ πολλὰ, Θεσπ<εσ>ίων, οὕτω σαφῶς ἐλέγξαντι τὸν δοξομανῆ καὶ δοξοκόπον Ἀπολλώνιον. ~ F (fol. 117v).

⁴⁹ These letters circulated independently of Philostratus’ text as *Epistulae* 42b–e in the well-known pseudepigraphic collection of Apollonius’ letters; cf. Jones, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 34–35.

⁵⁰ There is a considerable erasure on this folio which has obliterated a scholion running from the inner margin down to the bottom margin where it meets and interferes with the readability of the bracketed portion. However, the sense of the scholion is clear.

⁵¹ *Schol. in VA* VIII.3 (= Kayser, 151,18) (λουσόμεθα) ἀστεῖον ὃ καὶ εὐτράπελον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ φιλόσοφον ἦθος δείκνυσιν Ἀπολλώνιος. ~ F (151v). Cf. *schol. in VA* I.35 (ined.).

that the lion was wiser for the reason that, despite its speechless reincarnation, it was not hindered from recognizing those who seemed to understand the doctrine of transmigration. According to the scholiast, the lion was really weeping aloud for “the lethargy and stupidity of the people who devoted themselves to the conjure man (τῷ γόητι ἀνδρὶ).”⁵²

In addition to consistency in terminology and argumentation there is some indication that the majority of the polemical scholia are the work of a single scholiast. When Apollonius name-drops Thales and Anaxagoras (VA VIII.7.26), pointing out the fact that they, too, had been accused of sorcery, the scholiast is reminded of a remark he had made several books prior, “I have said previously, ‘from a higher wisdom, not from sorcery’.”⁵³ What the scholiast had said previously was in reference to Philostratus’ first mention in book I of the impressive predictive skills of Anaxagoras; “such things come from a higher wisdom,” the scholiast had written, “not, as is the case with Apollonius, from magic tricks.”⁵⁴ What lies behind the scholiast’s verbal onslaught? Comparing Apollonius with Musonius or with Anaxagoras, or even with a wise lion, is one thing; these are characters mentioned in the narrative, and Philostratus himself made comparisons between Apollonius and Anaxagoras, Thales, and Musonius. But comparing Apollonius to Jesus, who is nowhere mentioned in the VA, directly or indirectly, is quite another.

3.4 SCHOLIA MENTIONING CHRIST AND THE CHRISTIANS

In the each of the scholia that mention Christ and the Christians there appears to be no immediate reason for the scholiast to do so. In the scholia on Lucian’s *De morte Peregrinus* it comes as no surprise that a scholiast would make reference to Jesus and the early Christians, since they were the subjects of Lucian’s satire and the objects of his derision. The text of Philostratus on the other hand contains no references either to Christ or the early Christians. It would appear that the scholiast was either already aware of the late-antique Jesus-Apollonius debates or simply could not help but see parallels to the gospel accounts of Jesus as he read Philostratus’ narrative. Arethas was occasionally prone to marginal comments of this nature,

⁵² *Schol. in VA V.42.2* (= Kayser 104,10) (ἀνεβρυχήσατο·) εἰ μὲν καὶ κατὰ αἴσθησιν οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν οὐδὲ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων ἀντιλέγειν δόξαις οὕτω γενναίας ἀληθῶς ἐχομέναις· εἰ δὲ καὶ δῶμεν τοῦτο, συνετώτερον εὐροιμεν ἂν Ἀπολλωνίου τὸν λέοντα, μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλόγου διαπλάσεως κωλυόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῶν συνιέναι ταῦτα δοκούντων· ὅθεν κακείνῳ φημι, ὡς συνιείς (Kay, συνίει F) τούτων ἐβρυχήσατο ἐλεινόν, τὴν παχύτητα καὶ ἀμαθίαν ἀποκλαιόμενος τῷ γόητι ἀνδρὶ προσαναχόντων ἀνθρώπων. ~ F (fol. 102r).

⁵³ *Schol. in VA VIII.7.26* (= Kayser, 158,35) (προειπόντε·) οὕτως ἐκ μετεώρου σοφίας, οὐκ ἐκ γοητείας προὔλεγον. ~ F (fol. 160r).

⁵⁴ *Schol. in VA I.2.2* (= Kayser, 2,14; cf. Bekker, 109) (προὔλεγε·) ταῦτα ἐκ μετεώρου σοφίας, οὐκ ἀπὸ μαγγανείας, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος, διὸ καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐθουμάζετο ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας, ὁ δὲ ἐβδελύσσετο πρὸς ἅπαντα (μ(εν) [?] F; “dele μὲν,” Kay) ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος. ~ F (fol. 1v) S.

e.g., his comment on *Euthyphro* 15a (see § 1.2). In reference to Epictetus 3.24 Arethas similarly made the improbable suggestion, “I think he has read the Gospels.”⁵⁵ Most of the scholia in this category are concerned with the healings credited to Apollonius.

Philostratus recounted how Apollonius restored the health of a Syrian youth who suffered from dropsy. The young man visited a temple of Asclepius in hopes of alleviating his ailment, but the god chose to ignore him because of his indulgent behavior, which had been the cause of his illness. Asclepius suggested that the youth visit Apollonius instead. The “healing” in question did not occur instantaneously; far from being a supernatural event, it consisted merely of Apollonius’ recommendation that the youth stop eating heavy meals. Although Philostratus claimed great wisdom on the part of Apollonius, he did not ascribe the event to the miraculous.

Schol. in VA I.9.2 (= Kayser, 5,27) (ἤγαγεν) ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς οὕτω Χριστὸς οὐδὲ διαίτη προμηθεύμενος τὰ τῆς υἰείας, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν λεπρῷ “θέλω” φησι “καθαρίσθητι,” καὶ “ἐγερθεὶς” ἄλλω πάλιν “ἄρον τὸν κράβατον” καὶ τῷ κωφῷ “διανοίχθητι,” ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ “ἀνάστα καὶ στῆθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου,” ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ φυλακῆς τῶν βλαπτόντων τὴν ῥῶσιν προμηστευόμενος. ~ F (fol. 4r)

Regardless of Philostratus’ description of Apollonius’ restoration of the youth’s health the scholiast finds cause to compare the healing methods of Apollonius with those of Jesus. “But my Christ was not like this,” the scholiast asserts, “nor did he show regard for matters of health by prescribing a particular manner of living.” The scholiast goes on to cite three examples from the Gospel of Mark in order to show that Jesus healed people immediately and without giving any prescriptions, “but rather to the leper he said, ‘I am willing, be cleansed,’ (Mark 1:41) and ‘Rise,’ again to another he said, ‘pick up your mattress’ (Mark 2:9, 11) and to the blind man, ‘Be opened!’ (Mark 7:34).”⁵⁶ The biblical citation in the phrase that follows—“in like manner as his disciples, he said, ‘Rise and stand on your feet’ (Acts 26:16),”⁵⁷—is Paul’s quotation of the words Jesus spoke to him (delivered during his defense before Agrippa) after he fell to the ground on the road to Damascus. The quotation is also reminiscent of Acts 14:10, where with the words “Stand on your feet!” Paul immediately healed a man who had been lame since birth.⁵⁸ Apollonius’ healing of the boy who had been

⁵⁵ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 127.

⁵⁶ Mark 1:41 (καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἤγατο καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Θέλω, καθαρίσθητι); 2:9, 11 (Σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε ἄρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὑπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου); 7:34 (καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐστέναξεν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Εφφαθα, ὃ ἐστίν, Διανοίχθητι)

⁵⁷ Acts 26:16 (ἀλλὰ ἀνάστηθι καὶ στῆθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου).

⁵⁸ Acts 14:10 (εἶπεν μεγάλη φωνῆ, Ἄναστηθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου ὀρθός. καὶ ἤλατο καὶ περιεπάτει).

bitten by a rabid dog similarly incited the scholiast to ask, “For why was it necessary to call the dog, rather than to work the healing with unbidden authority?”⁵⁹ The scholiast appears to be referencing Jesus’ exorcism of a demon, described as “a new teaching with authority,” in Mark 1:21–28.

The scholiast’s contention that Christ did not heal the sick with a prescribed manner of living is similar to a statement made by Arethas in his invective against Julian’s *Contra Galilaeos*.⁶⁰ In his refutation of Julian’s statement that “Jesus came to destroy sin and is discovered to have multiplied it,” Arethas maintained that by this line of thought one should blame a skillful physician when he tells “those who are sick due to the depravity of their character” the inevitable things that will happen to them during the course of their illness. Arethas explains that the physician (a common metaphor for Jesus, e.g., Mark 2:17) in fact does see to the removal of diseases “rather than show that the responsibility for the burden of their distress stems from their choosing to live unhealthy lives.”⁶¹ Both this comment and the scholion on the VA are very similar to Arethas’ polemical scholion against Aelius Aristides’ claim about the healing powers of Asclepius (see § 1.4).

A second scholion is similarly concerned with the subject of healing, but here the scholiast attributes the healings of sorcerers like Apollonius to the activities of demons. The comment is one of two unedited scholia that appear at the beginning of book IV in Laur. 69.33; both notes contain lacunae occasioned by the rebinding process, which has somewhat obscured the relation between text and commentary. The first scholion, written in the top margin of fol. 62r, appears to address Apollonius’ large followings in Ephesus and Pergamum. Apollonius is described with the *hapax legomenon* ἀρκουυλκός, a compound of

⁵⁹ *Schol. in VA VI.43.2* (= Kayser, 129,24) (ἐλθείς) ταῦτα ὅς μὴ προφανῆ γοητείαν λογίζεται, φρενῶν ἀμαρτάνει τί γὰρ ἔδει τὸν κύνα καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αὐτοκελεύστω ἐξουσία τὴν ἴασιν ἐνεργεῖν; εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐτεθνήκει ὁ κύων ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἦν· οὐ γὰρ που πιστὸν λόγον ἡμέραν τὴν λύσσαν αὐτὸν καρτερεῖν· πῶς ἂν Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν λυσσόδηκτον ἐξιῶτο; διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ψευδῆ τὰ παρόντα εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον γραφέντα καὶ τερατείας μακρᾶς ἔγγονα. ~ F (fol. 128r).

⁶⁰ See Westerink, *Arethae Scripta minora*, no. 24, 1.221–25; cf. J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l’empereur Julien*, Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l’Académie royale de sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique 57 (Bruxelles: Académie royale des sciences et belles-lettres de Bruxelles, 1898), 130–38 (“Appendice I.”).

⁶¹ ἐπεὶ τοι οὕτω φρονοῦντι καὶ ἱατρὸν αἰτιάσασθαι δεξιότατον φανεῖται τὰς εἰωθυίας τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐφεδρεύειν κακώσεις παραδηλοῦντα τοῖς μοχθηρίᾳ κάμνουσι φύσεως, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἀνάίρεσιν τούτων ἀπεῖδεν, <ἦ> ἀπὸ τῶν νοσερῶς ζῆν αἰρουμένων υπεύθυνον ἀποφαίνειν τῆς τῶν λυπούντων φορᾶς (Westerink, *Arethae Scripta minora*, no. 24, 1.225,14–19; cf. Bidez-Cumont, *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite*, 138, l. 17–22). There is a serious textual discrepancy in the previous sentence that has gone unnoticed and has a great impact on the interpretation of this sentence. Where Bidez-Cumont read the definite article τῆς, Westerink’s text reads Ἰησοῦς, indicating that the manuscript, Mosq. 315, here contains the *nomen sacrum* Ἰησ. For some reason Westerink did not note the reading of Bidez-Cumont in his apparatus. On Bidez-Cumont’s reading the subject of the previous sentence is Moses, but this is implausible for several reasons, least among them the loss of the physician metaphor.

ἄρκυς and ἔλκειν, similar to the rare compounds δικτυουλκός (“fisher”) and ἰχθυουλκός (“angler”). Apollonius is a “net-hunter” or “net-dragger” who “plays with the beast” for crowds when they wish to be deceived. But contrary to what Philostratus says about the Ephesians’ admiration of Apollonius’ wisdom, diet, dress, and appearance, the scholiast suggests that Apollonius was not great at attracting crowds due to his squalid and unkempt appearance, “because the common people are driven away and the earnest laugh at an attention-seeker and charlatan” (*schol. in VA VI.1.1[a]*).⁶² This is followed by a note in the right-hand margin on demons which draws a comparison between Apollonius and Christ.

Schol. in VA IV.1.1[b] (ined.) (πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ὑγείας δεομένων κτλ.)
 ἐκνευρισ[μένοι] οἱ δαίμονες τῆ τοῦ Χ[ριστοῦ] ἐπιδημία ὃ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν
 ὁμοίων γοήτων τάς ἀπ[α]τηλαῖς ἐπεχείρ[ουν] ὑγιάσειν. ~ F (fol. 62r)

This is a tentative reconstruction. The ends of some of the lines (they are not all of equal length) were cut off during the rebinding process. Although only the letter *chi* of Χριστοῦ is preserved, there are remnants of a supralinear stroke, suggesting the possible reading χῶ, which the unexpected reference to demons seems to favor. As in the previous passage, the god Asclepius—whom Philostratus describes here as the god of the sanctuary in Pergamum—advised those who were seeking health to visit Apollonius. The scholiast attributes Apollonius’ healing powers to the work of demons: “Since the demons have been weakened by the arrival of Christ, with what remained to them through similar sorcerers they attempted illusory healings.”

The notion that demons were the causes of illness was prevalent in both late antiquity and the middle ages. Arethas broached the topic of demons in his scholion on *Per.* 13, a protracted animadversion incited by Lucian’s mockery of Jesus as “that crucified sophist.” It was the vengeful demons, according to Arethas, who urged Lucian to make his remark; but while even the demons recognized Jesus as the son of God, Jesus rebuked them and forbade them from proclaiming his true identity (Mark 3:11). How then could Lucian have obtained this information, “unless one concedes that somewhere precious perfume can emanate from a sewer and a beam of light emerge from the darkness?” But it is what Arethas says in passing

⁶² *Schol. in VA IV.1.1[a]* (ined.) (ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον κτλ.) [lacuna of at least one line] ... ἐκπληττομένων τῆ θεᾷ, ἣ καὶ ἑωρακότες μὲν, ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι δὲ βουλομένων οἷς ὁ ἄρκυουλκός ἐναθύρει τῷ θηρίῳ. οὐ μέγα οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὀχλαγωγεῖν τῷ ἀχμηρῷ καὶ ἀπροσφύλῳ τῆς ὄψεως πολλοὺς ἐπισυρομένῳ, τῶν μὲν χυδαίων ἐκπληττομένων, τῶν δὲ σπουδαίων διαγελόντων ἐπιδεικτικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀλαζόνα. ~ F (fol. 62r). The scholion appears in the top margin and contains a lacuna of at least one line. The immediate context is lost, but it appears to refer to those who admired and followed Apollonius.

that is of greater interest: the son of God barred the demons from their ability to cause harm to humans, “so long as he has entered our bodies.”⁶³

Two further references, one to Christ and the other to the early Christians, are equally unexpected and show a significant amount of eisegesis on the part of the scholiast. In book VIII Apollonius defended himself from the charge of collusion by arguing that, during the thirty-eight years before Domitian became emperor, much of his time was spent in India and in the public eye.

Schol. in VA VIII.7.33 (= Kayser, 160,23) (Ἰνδοῖς φοιτῶντι) ὡς ἔοικεν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἐμπολιτευομένου οὗτος ὁ γόης Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τῇ τούτων ἐπεχωρίαζεν γοητεία τοῦ πάντως (πάντων Kay) ἐχθροῦ διαβόλου οἰομένου τούτῳ ἐπισκοτήσειν τὸ κατὰ Χριστὸν θεῖον, τυχόντος δὲ οὐ τοῦ σκοποῦ. ~ F (fol. 161v)

The mere mention of Apollonius’ voyage to India, according to Kayser’s lemma, incites this surprising remark from the scholiast, who suggests that “when our Lord and God Jesus Christ was conversing with to those on earth this sorcerer was occupied with the Indians and their magic, because the devil who is the enemy in every respect intended by means of this man to cast a shadow over the divine which accords with Christ, although he did not succeed in this purpose.” More probably it was the thirty-eight year marker that incited the remark, since this places Apollonius and Jesus at roughly the same time (Domitian became emperor in 81 CE). In no other place does the scholiast mention the devil or refer to the magical practices of the Indians. Cyril of Alexandria similarly remarked in his refutation of Julian that the purpose of Apollonius’ travels was to gain expertise in sorcery (*Contra Iulianum* 3); Arethas in turn was familiar with Cyril’s refutation and cited a passage from a now lost chapter of this work in his commentary on the Apocalypse.⁶⁴

At the end of book III Apollonius decided to sail to Cyprus and to bypass Antioch due to the “customary insolence” of the Antiocheans and their lack of interest in Greek culture. The scholiast envisions a scenario similar to the interpretation once championed by some nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars.

⁶³ *Schol. in Per.* 13 (τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστήν) (= Rabe, 218,20–219,1) Ἀρέθα: τί σοι μεταξὺ μωρολογίας παρεγκύκλημα τοῦτο κατείργασαι, ματαιότατε Λουκιανέ; πλήν, ὡς γε εἰκός, θεῖαις τῶ ὄντι ποιναῖς ἐλαυνόμενος, καὶ οἷαις καὶ ὄσαις καὶ οὗτοι, οὓς σέβη ἀλάστορας δαίμονας, ἐπειδὴν ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δυνάμει τοῦ δι’ ἡμᾶς ἄχρι τοῦ ἡμετέρου δι’ ἄφατον οἶκτον χωρήσαντος σώματος ἀναλλοιώτως υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεοῦ τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπηλαύνοντο ἐπηρείας [...]. Cf. Russo, *Contestazione*, 14–15.

⁶⁴ K. J. Neumann took this as evidence that Arethas knew the text of Julian’s *Contra Galilaeos* solely from Cyril’s refutation (“Ein neues Bruchstück aus Kaiser Julians Büchern gegen die Christen,” *TL* 24 [1899]: col. 299), but cf. Bidez, “Aréthas de Césarée,” 399–400.

Schol. in VA III.58 (ined.) (τῆς Ἀντιοχείας συνήθως ὑβριζούσης) Χριστιανῶν ἤδη τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐνοικούντων, ἄβατος τῷ γόητι γίνεται τοῦ μὴ τὰς μαγανείας αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχθῆναι· ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ Σίμωνι (σήμωνι F) πάθοι καὶ αὐτός. ~ F (fol. 61v)

“Since the Christians already inhabited Antioch,” the scholiast maintains, “it was left untrodden by the sorcerer in order that his magic tricks not be exposed; for he feared that he himself would suffer a fate similar to Simon.”⁶⁵ The Simon in question is of course Simon Magus, the notorious Samaritan magician of Acts 8:9–24. However, the idea that Philostratus’ description of the people of Antioch is indicative of the Christians who lived there is no longer taken seriously in modern scholarship.⁶⁶

3.5 THE MIRACLES OF APOLLONIUS

The miracles that Philostratus attributed to Apollonius were the greatest cause of consternation for early Christian apologists since pagan polemicists latched on to these above all else when comparing Jesus with Apollonius. In addition to the alleged healings of Apollonius, the scholiast devotes his attention to the third and fourth θαύματα attacked by Eusebius in the *CH*, i.e., the purgation of the plague in Ephesus and the conjuration at the tomb of Achilles.

In book IV Philostratus recounted how Apollonius journeyed to Ephesus to bring an end to the plague immediately after receiving word about the outbreak. He led the Ephesians to a statue of Heracles where there sat an old beggar in tattered clothing, craftily shifting his eyes. Apollonius urged the Ephesians to stone the old beggar and despite their initial reluctance to kill a man they stoned him to death. After the first stones started to fly the old man showed his eyes full of fire and the Ephesians realized that it was a demon.

Schol. in VA IV.10.2 (ined.) (περιστήσας κτλ.) τοῦτο οὐκ ἔτι σκάζουσιν ἔχει τὴν πίστιν ὡς οὐ γόης καὶ κατὰ ὀφθαλμῶν παραποίησιν ἐνεργῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος. τί γὰρ νόσος σεσωμάτωται, ὡς ἢ παρὰ σοῦ βούλεται τερατεία; ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔοικεν μωροῖς καὶ βλενωδέσι καὶ τιτθῆς δεομένοις ἀνθρώποις παρατυχεῖν, ἐξίστησι ταῖς ματαιότησι ταύταις. ~ F (fol. 64v)

⁶⁵ Kayser did not include this scholion in his edition, but he included another scholion on the same passage: *Schol. in VA III.58* (= Kayser, 65,10; cf. Bekker, 119) (συνήθως ὑβριζούσης) καλῶς ποιούσης. ~ LS. Kayser listed the group FLS, but this scholion in fact does not appear in F.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Jackson P. Hershbelt, “Philostratus’s *Heroikos* and Early Christianity: Heroes, Saints, and Martyrs,” in *Philostratus’s Heroikos: Religion and Cultural Identity in the Third Century C.E.*, ed. Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean and Ellen Bradshaw Aitken, Writings from the Greco-Roman World 6 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 169–70.

The scholiast remarks, “Apollonius still does not have lame faith in this deed, as though he were not a sorcerer actually working some forgery against the eyes.” The motif of lame or limping faith is common in patristic literature. Clement of Alexandria wrote that perfect faith lacks nothing, but is complete in itself; if faith is lame (σκάζουσα) in any respect it is not wholly perfect (*Paed.* I.6.29).⁶⁷ The scholiast takes Apollonius’ absolute confidence as evidence of his charlatanism. This story was the third θαῦμα of Apollonius that Eusebius set out to dismantle. Eusebius had much the same to say about the story, which he considered “an outright fabrication and deception, full of sorcery”; anyone who could not see it as such needed only look closely at the manner in which it is narrated (*CH* 27.2).

Eusebius further pointed out that the story was fabricated for the reason that plagues, according to medical lore, are caused by the pollution and corruption of the air; the fact that only Ephesus suffered from the plague, Eusebius asserted, attested to the story’s concoction (*CH* 27.3). The scholiast of Laur. 69.33 similarly expresses his disbelief, “For why had a plague become embodied, as your fairy tale⁶⁸ professes? But as it seems to have appeared among men who are stupid and slimy and in need of a wet-nurse, it confounded them with these follies.” The scholiast’s final remark that the stone-throwing Ephesians were stupid, slimy, and childish is very similar to a remark Arethas made about Lucian’s Damis in his lengthy scholion on *Jup. trag.* 47. Arethas called out the atheist Damis, who considered the injustice of fate as evidence for the nonexistence of providence, “You have such need of hellebore and you are so full of snot and in need of a wet nurse (προσδεόμενος τίτθης) to wipe your nose . . . so that as a result human life and its happiness are restored in the satisfaction of the baby’s bottle and the pleasures of the body.”⁶⁹

After the Ephesians had heaped up a pile of rubble on the old man, Apollonius ordered them to remove the stones. Upon their removal the Ephesians discovered that the old man had disappeared and in its place lay an animal resembling a Mosossian dog the size of a lion, crushed to death and spewing foam. The Ephesians had stoned an apparition.

Schol. in VA IV.10.3 (ined.) (διαλιπὼν κτλ.) ὥσπερ ὁ καταλιθωθεὶς γέρων, οὐκ ἀλήθεια, φάσμα δέ· οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ νῦν κύων τοῦτο ὅπερ ὁράται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ προτέρου ἀνυπαρκτότερον. τί γὰρ μὴ λόγῳ ἔλυσεν ὡς ὁ Ἥλιας τὸν ἀύχμον ἀλλὰ φάσμασι διατυπώσας τὸ πάθος; ~ F (fol. 65r)

⁶⁷ οὐδὲν δὲ ἐνδεῖ τῇ πίστει τελεία οὕση ἐξ ἑαυτῆς καὶ πεπληρωμένη. εἰ δὲ ἐνδεῖ τι αὐτῇ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὀλοτελής οὐδὲ πίστις ἐστὶ, σκάζουσα περὶ τι . . . (Stählin, 107,17–19).

⁶⁸ Cf. *PGL* s.v. τερατεία.

⁶⁹ σὺ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐλλεβόρου προσδέη καὶ οὕτω κορυζῆς περίπλεως εἶ καὶ προσδεόμενος τίτθης, ἢ σε ἀπομύξει, καλῶς ἐκείνη γε νήπια ποιοῦσα, ὥστε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν καὶ τὸ ταύτης εὐδαιμον ἐν τῇ τοῦ λαίμοῦ τίθεσθαι ἀπολαύσει καὶ τῶν κατὰ σῶμα ἡδέων . . . (Rabe, 80, 1–6). Cf. Russo, *Contestazione*, 28.

The scholiast again discredits the story's plausibility, "Just like the old man who was stoned to death, it [sc. the dog] was not real, but an apparition. Thus the present dog was not something that was actually seen, but rather it was more unreal than the former [sc. the old man]. Why does he [sc. Apollonius] not bring an end to the plague by means of speech like Elijah brought an end to the drought, but by forming it into an apparition?" The scholiast references 3 Kgdms 17:1 where Elijah announced to Ahab, "As the Lord God of hosts, the God of Israel, lives, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew or rain for these years except by the word of my mouth (διὰ στόματος λόγου μου)."⁷⁰ This reference shows a commanding knowledge of scripture on the part of the scholiast. Arethas had in fact delivered an oration for the festival of Elijah (July 20) in the year 902 and was well acquainted with the biblical narrative. In the exordium Arethas outlined Elijah's miracles and focused on 3 Kgdms 17:2–6 and the drought or "lack of heavenly moisture" (ἄνικμον οὐρανὸν). He noted how the ravens, although considered unclean according to the law (i.e., unclean to eat [cf. Lev 11:15]), were considered clean by the word (λόγος) that guided and commanded them to bring food to Elijah.⁷¹

After Apollonius expunged the plague in Ephesus, he resumed his travels, eventually arriving in Ilium. He visited the tombs of the Achaeans with his travel companions and made funeral speeches and sacrifices. When he decided to visit the mound of Achilles, however, he told his companions to go back to the ship.

Schol. in VA IV.11.1 (ined.) (ἐπὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως) καὶ μὴν ἱστοροῦσι τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὅστ᾽ ἀποτεθῆναι εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον· πῶς οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ κενοταφίῳ ὀ ἦρος παρῆναι τερατεύεταιί σοι; ~ F (fol. 65r)

The scholiast references an alternate tradition about the burial of Achilles, "It is also stated that the bones of Achilles were buried on the island Leuke. How, then, do you marvelously maintain⁷² that the hero is present at the empty tomb?"⁷³ The placement of this scholion on

⁷⁰ 3 Kgdms 17:1 [LXX]: καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου ὁ προφήτης ὁ Θεσβίτης ἐκ Θεσβων τῆς Γαλααδ πρὸς Αἰαχάβ, Ζῆ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, ᾧ παρέστην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, εἰ ἔσται τὰ ἔτη ταῦτα δρόσος καὶ ὑετὸς ὅτι εἰ μὴ διὰ στόματος λόγου μου. The drought ends in 3 Kgdms 18:41 when Elijah tells Ahab, "Go up, and eat and drink, for there is a sound of the coming of rain."

⁷¹ [...] ἄνικμον οὐρανὸν τῆ γείτονη γῆ δι' ἀσέβειαν τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ ἀθις εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐπάνοδον· κόρακας, οὐ καθαρὸς μὲν τῷ νόμῳ, καθαρὸς δὲ τῷ πάντα κάλλιστα παραγαγόντι καὶ διατάξαντι λόγῳ, τροφῆς ὑπουργοῦς, ἵνα τραφῆ ὀίκαιος [...] (Westerink, no. 65: 2.44,20–22).

⁷² Cf. *PGL* s.v. τερατεύομαι.

⁷³ On the various legends concerning what became of Achilles' body after his death, see Jonathan S. Burgess, *The Tradition of the Trojan War and the Epic Cycle* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 160–67; cf. Peter Grossardt, "How to Become a Poet?: Homer and Apollonius Visit the Mound of Achilles," in *Theios Sophistes: Essays on Flavius Philostratus' Vita Apollonii*, ed. Kristoffel Demoen and Danny Praet, MBCB 305 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 75–94.

fol. 65r adjacent to the relevant text in VA IV.11.1 is somewhat peculiar since Philostratus has not yet described the appearance of Achilles. The note more properly refers to what Apollonius claimed in VA IV.16.2, when he told his companions about the earthquake and subsequent appearance of Achilles, five cubits in height, beside the tomb. It seems the scholiast was already familiar with the story; either he backtracked after reading VA IV.16.2, or this was a second reading, or he already knew the story from some other polemical source.⁷⁴

The story of the ghost of Achilles was the fourth θαῦμα in Eusebius' catalogue of mistaken miracles (*CH* 28.1–29.1). Eusebius did not reference any alternate traditions about the burial of Achilles; however, his statement that the ghost of Achilles appeared beside his very own tomb (παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ μνήματι φαινομένη) is somewhat similar the statement in the scholiast's sarcastic question (cf. *CH* 28.1). But the bones of contention for Eusebius lay around the nature of the questions that Apollonius put to Achilles and the necromantic overtones of the nocturnal conversation. As if in anticipation of accusations of necromancy Apollonius claimed that Achilles appeared to him because he offered a prayer in the manner of the Indians' prayers to heroes and that he neither dug Odysseus' ditch nor raised the spirit of the dead with sheep's blood.⁷⁵ But if this was not necromancy, Eusebius asked, why was the deed performed alone and in the dead of night (*CH* 29.1)? The scholiast makes precisely this argument when in VA VIII.7.7 Apollonius claimed in his written defense against the charge of sorcery that he had spoken with Vespasian publicly in a sanctuary, whereas a sorcerer would have avoided such a setting and cloaked their art under the cover of night. Here the scholiast refers back to Apollonius' encounter with the ghost of Achilles: "And how can you be acquitted of being a sorcerer by night when even you yourself arrived at the mound of Achilles and permitted none of your accomplices in this deed to approach? Do you not see how you are caught in your own snare by both word and deed?"⁷⁶

The scholiast's reference to the tradition of Achilles' posthumous translation to the island Leuke has its origins in the *Aithiopsis*, which is known primarily from the prolegomena

⁷⁴ On occasion the scribe of Laur. 69.33 shows a lack of precision in his placement of scholia (e.g., *schol. in VA* III.50.1 [see § 2.4]); however, while the scholia on occasion may be misplaced by several lines, an error of several folia is out of the question.

⁷⁵ The reference is to Homer, *Od.* 11.25–36; on necromantic pits, see esp. Daniel Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 168–69.

⁷⁶ *Schol. in VA* VIII.7.7 (= Kayser, 154,24) (νύκτα δέ) καὶ πῶς τὸ γόης ἐκφεύξει νυκτὸς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ Ἀχιλλέως σῆμα καταλαβὼν καὶ μηδένα τοῦ ἔργου τούτου προσηκόμενος κοινωνόν; ὁρᾷς ὅπως {ὅπως} σεαυτῷ περιπίπτεις καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ; ~ F (fol. 155r). On the importance of secrecy in late antique magic, see esp. Hans Dieter Betz, "Secrecy in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Secrecy and Concealment: Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions*, ed. Hans G. Kippenberg and Guy G. Stroumsa, SHR 65 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 153–76.

to the *Iliad* in the famous Venetus A (Marc. gr. 454).⁷⁷ According to this post-Iliadic tradition a great struggle for the body of Achilles ensued after the hero's death; Ajax carried his body to the ships, while Odysseus fought off the Trojans behind. The relevant passage runs as follows: "Then the Achaeans bury Antilochus and lay out the dead body of Achilles, while Thetis, arriving with the Muses and her sisters, bewails her son, whom she afterwards transports from the pyre to the island Leuke (εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον)."⁷⁸ Pindar's *Ol.* 2.79–80 and *Nem.* 4.49 are reflective of the same tradition, less directly in the former, but quite clearly in the latter's ἐν δ' Εὐξείνῳ πελάγει φαεννὰν Ἀχιλλεύς. Such general references to this alternate tradition are made in several ancient texts and scholiastic corpora; there is unfortunately no way of knowing which one was the scholiast's source.

The genie Achilles granted Apollonius five questions about Troy. The first question concerned the burial of Achilles, whether he received burial as the poets described. Achilles answered that he had indeed received burial, and that, as for the dirges which the poets ascribed to the Muses and the Nereids, the Muses never came to the *tumulus* but the Nereids continued to visit.⁷⁹ Apollonius' second question concerned whether Polyxena had been slaughtered at Achilles' tomb.

Schol. in VA IV.16.4 (ined.) (μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἠρόμην, κτλ.) τῆς ἐμπληξίας εἰς γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφέρεται σοι, τί μὴ ἀπόρρητά τινα καὶ θεῖα καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἄνδρα σοφὸν πυνθάνη ἀλλὰ ταῦτα; ~ F (fol. 68r)

The scholiast considers Apollonius' line of questioning as an example of sheer stupidity, "for if he [sc. Achilles] is reporting to you on the gods," the scholiast again addresses Apollonius, "why would you not inquire about certain divine and ineffable secrets and all those things about which it is fitting for a wise man to ask, but these things?" The scholiast's question is again remarkably similar to the accusations Eusebius leveled against Philostratus' narrative.

⁷⁷ The prolegomena are thought to derive from Proclus' *Chrestomathy*, or more precisely what is considered an edited summary of Proclus' text, which was also summarized by Photios (*Bibliotheca*, codex 239). On the parallels between codex 239 of Photios' *Bibliotheca* and the prolegomena in Marc. gr. 454, see D. B. Monro, "On the Fragment of Proclus' Abstract of the Epic Cycle contained in the Codex Venetus of the *Iliad*," *JHS* 4 (1883): 305–34. Based on the codicological features of Marc. gr. 454, A. Severyns hypothesized that it was none other than Arethas who conceived of and commissioned the work (see "Aréthas et le *Venetus* d'Homère," *BCLSM* 37 [1951]: 279–320). Severyns' hypothesis, which relied on a dating of the manuscript to the first half of the tenth century and was initially accepted by some scholars, fell by the wayside after J. Irigoin published his critique ("Les manuscrits grecs," 64–65); the codex was eventually dated more precisely to the middle of the tenth century by Fonkič, "Scriptoria bizantini," 106–7; cf. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 139–40; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 261–62.

⁷⁸ ἔπειτα Ἀντίλοχόν τε θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως προτίθενται. καὶ θεῖς ἀφικομένη σὺν Μούσαις καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς θρηνεῖ τὸν παῖδα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζεται. See A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus*, BFPL 170 (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1977), here ll. 198–200; cf. M. L. West, "Iliad and Aithiopsis," *CQ* 53 (2003): 1–14, esp. 13.

⁷⁹ The reference is to Homer, *Od.* 24.43–92.

On this matter Eusebius appealed to what was perhaps his favorite ax to grind, Apollonius' alleged omniscience. "Isn't it a complete scandal," Eusebius remarked, "that the man who converses with 'gods whether seen or not seen' is ignorant about so much, and asks questions of this kind" (*CH* 28.2).⁸⁰

3.6 SCHOLIA ADDRESSING PHILOSTRATUS

In Kayser's edition there is but a single scholion that mentions Philostratus, although in this comment the scholiast does not directly address the author. The remark is a typical polemic blaming Philostratus for the manner in which Apollonius changes the topic of conversation during his discussion with Thespesion, the leader of the Naked Ones (γυμνοί) of Ethiopia.⁸¹ Kayser included a number of scholia addressed to Philostratus with second person singular verbs, as well as the example with the vocative *καταγέλαστε* mentioned above (see § 3.3); however, he neglected to include in his edition of the *VA* any of the polemical scholia in Laur. 69.33 in which the commentator directly addresses Philostratus by name.

The first instance occurs during Apollonius' discussions with the Indian king Phraotes. It is here that the reader first discovers that Apollonius had been conversing with the Indian king through an interpreter. Philostratus recounted how Phraotes took Apollonius by the hand and ordered the interpreter to depart; to Apollonius' astonishment, Phraotes then began speaking to him in the Greek language.

Schol. in VA II.27.1 (ined.) (κελεύσας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἐρμηνέα·) ὁ πάντα ἔχων συνιέναι ὑφ' (υπ(ο) F) ἐρμηνεῖ τῷ Ἰνδῷ ἐντυγχάνει· καὶ πῶς οὐ λῆρος καὶ τερατολογία τὰ κατόπιν σοι περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου τεθρυλημένα, Φιλόστρατε; ~ F (fol. 31v)

The scholiast takes issue with what he considers an egregious inconsistency on the part of the author: "The one who is able to understand all things converses with the Indian through an interpreter! And how, Philostratus, are these things you have babbled about Apollonius up to this point not rubbish and tall tales?"⁸² The scholiast's use of *κατόπιν* indicates that he has

⁸⁰ Cf. Thomas Schirren, "Irony Versus Eulogy: The *Vita Apollonii* as Metabiographical Fiction," in *Theios Sophistes: Essays on Flavius Philostratus' Vita Apollonii*, ed. Kristoffel Demoen and Danny Praet, MBCB 305 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 183–84.

⁸¹ *Schol. in VA* VI.20.7 (= Kayser, 120,26) (ὑπολαβὼν κτλ.) ὄρα τὸν μάταιον τουτονὶ Φιλόστρατον, ὡς (Muel, οἷς F) ὄρα τὸν κατάρατον Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ ἦτρον ἀποφερόμενον· πῶς ἀπάγει τῆς ὑποθέσεως τὸν λόγον ἐφ' ἑτέραν μετατιθεῖς ζήτησιν. ~ F (fol. 118v).

⁸² The scholiast uses a similar argument (and similar language) when in book VII Apollonius asks the guard, after he has announced that Apollonius is to be freed from his chains and moved to the free prison, "Who will conduct me from here?" *Schol. in VA* VII.40 (= Kayser, 149,6) (σημαίνων) ὁ πάντα γινώσκειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ὄρα πῶς νῦν ἀγνοεῖ τὸν μετασκευάσοντα αὐτόν. εἶτα οὐ τερατεῖται τὰ τῆς ἀλαζόνης ἐπαγγελίας ἐκ τούτων ἐλέγχονται; ~ F (fol. 149v). (I have removed Kayser's punctuation after ὄρα; the manuscript in fact contains a

specific passages in mind prior to the introduction of the interpreter that contradict Philostratus' statement.⁸³ This is in fact the very same argument marshalled by Eusebius in *CH* 14–15, but unlike the scholiast Eusebius provided his readers with several references. Eusebius singled out the numerous questions Apollonius put to Phraotes as evidence of his charlatan omniscience, using the same argument that he levelled against the five questions Apollonius asked the ghost of Achilles. But the real scandal for both Eusebius and the scholiast is the fact that Apollonius would need an interpreter when in *VA* I.19.1–2 he told Damis that he could understand all human languages, even though he had not learned them. The scholiast calls out Philostratus again for similar reasons when Apollonius responded to those who criticized him for living in sanctuaries by saying that the gods did not spend all of their time in the heavens, but travelled to Ethiopia, Olympus, and Athos visiting mankind, and that it was thus only proper for humans to visit the gods in their sanctuaries.⁸⁴

At the conjunction of a solar eclipse and a clap of thunder Apollonius looked up to the sky and predicted some future event with the ambiguous words “Something momentous will happen and not happen.” Although the scholiast does not mention Philostratus specifically, it is clear that he is the subject of the second person singular verb. As in the scholion on *VA* IV.44.2 (see *infra*) and elsewhere, the commentator blames Philostratus for his inability to recognize the obvious charlatanism of Apollonius.

Schol. in VA IV.43.1 (ined.) (ἔσται τι, ἔφη, μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἔσται·) οὐχ ὄραξ δολεροῦ ἀνδρὸς λόγον; ἐπαμφοτερίζων γὰρ τὸν λόγον καὶ πρὸς ἀντίφασιν ὑπεκφέρων δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις προγνωστικῆς δυνάμεως ἔμπλεως εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ πᾶς ἔτοιμος ἀπεργάσασθαι καθ' ὁπότερον τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἐκβάσεως μὴ ἀστοχοῦσης. ~ F (fol. 81r)

The scholiast responds, “Do you not see that this is the statement of a deceitful man? For by making the statement ambiguous and by approaching contradiction he seems to the ignorant to be quite full of prognostic power, but in fact everyone is ready to bring it to completion in

punctuation mark before ὄρα, which, if needed at all, is preferable.) Presumably it is Apollonius' alleged ability to predict future events (cf., e.g., *schol. in VA* IV.43) that the scholiast had in mind.

⁸³ *GLRBP* s.v. κατόπιν.

⁸⁴ *Schol. in VA* IV.40.4 (ined.) (πορεύονται μὲν ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν, κτλ.) τοῦτο καὶ βέβηλος ἀν' ἐνόμισε σοφίας {ἄν}, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷον αὐτὸς βούλει, Φιλόστρατε, Ἀπολλώνιον ἀποφαίνειν. θεὸς γὰρ πάντα πληρῶν, πάντων μὲν ἀποφοιτᾶ τόπων, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιφοιτᾶ· βαναύσου τοιγαροῦν ταῦτα καὶ ἀγυρτικῆς σοφίας. ~ F (fol. 80v). According to Apollonius it was absurd that even though the gods visited all earthly places and every nation, men still did not visit all the gods. The scholiast appears to criticize what he perceives as Apollonius' view that the gods would only be in one place at any given time: “Someone uninitiated might consider this wisdom, but you yourself, Philostratus, do not want Apollonius to claim such a thing as this. A god who fills all things leaves certain places altogether, but visits others: this is vulgar and vagabond wisdom.” Descriptions of deity as πάντα πληρῶν were common in both late antiquity, particularly in the writings of John Chrysostom, and the middle ages, notably in the form of the opening prayer of the Greek Orthodox church, where the epithet is reflective of God's omnipresence (ὁ πανταχοῦ παρῶν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν).

accordance with either option of the statement as the fulfillment cannot miss the mark.” The fulfillment of the divination (ἔκβασις) came to pass three days later when a bolt of lightning struck Nero’s dinner table and split apart a cup that he held in his hands. Here the scholiast reverts to his characteristic sarcasm and asks, “Why was Nero not struck, how unjust? What did the cup do wrong?”⁸⁵ Not long after the lightning-bolt struck but did not strike Nero, Tigellinus, the brutal prefect of the Praetorian Guard, received word of the story. According to Philostratus, Tigellinus began to fear Apollonius and reconsidered bringing charges against him. The scholiast again chimes in, “From these things it appears as a lie that Tigellinus is modestly well-disposed to Apollonius. For how could one who investigated all the dealings of Apollonius have had such reverence for him?”⁸⁶

Shortly after the lightning-bolt struck the cup out of his hands, Nero fell ill when catarrh swept through Rome. The sanctuaries of Rome filled up with people offering prayers on behalf of the emperor. When Menippus witnessed this he became angry and voiced his feelings to Apollonius, who advised him to couch his anger and forgive the gods for enjoying the “capers of buffoons.” Tigellinus had Apollonius brought to court together with an informant who had heard Apollonius’ remark. When the informant handed his document to Tigellinus, he unrolled it and found nothing but a blank sheet of paper.

Schol. in VA IV.44.2 (ined.) (ἀνελίττων Τιγελλίνος τὸ γραμματεῖον) ἐμβρόντητε, Φιλόστρατε, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συνίης γοητείας. εἰ γὰρ οὐ δίκαιον τὸ γραμματεῖον, τί πρᾶγμα μὴ ἀπελέγξαι λόγῳ ἀληθείας αὐτὸ ἀλλ’ ἢ οὕτως ἀφανίσαι; τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ ἠφάνισεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν τοῦ βλέποντος παραποιήσας ὄψιν· ὅπερ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς μαγανεύουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα. ~ F (fol. 82r)

The scholiast sees sorcery written all over Philostratus’ narrative: “Philostratus, you fool! From this event you do not even take notice of the man’s sorcery! For if the document was genuine, what deed could refute it without a word of truth except to obliterate the writing in this manner? But he didn’t even erase it quickly, unless he forged the sight of the one who saw it, for which reason such things as these are wholly the product of those who deceive by magical arts.” The accusation made here that Apollonius somehow fooled with Tigellinus’ eyesight (παραποιήσας ὄψιν) is very similar to that in the scholion on VA IV.10.2 (κατὰ ὀφθαλμῶν παραποίησιν); these undoubtedly belong to the same scholiast.

⁸⁵ *Schol. in VA IV.43.2[a] (ined.) (σιτουμένου γὰρ τοῦ Νέρωνος κτλ.) καὶ τί μὴ ἐβλήθη ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ἄδικον; τί γὰρ ἢ κύλιξ ἠδίκησεν; ~ F (fol. 81v).*

⁸⁶ *Schol. in VA IV.43.2[b] (ined.) (ἀκούσας δὲ Τιγελλίνος κτλ.) ἐκ τούτων ψεῦδος ἀποφαίνεται τὸ Τιγελλίνον αἰδημόνως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον. πῶς γὰρ ὁ περιεργαζόμενος πάντα Ἀπολλωνίου σεβασμίως πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχεν; ~ F (fol. 81v).*

The final example occurs at the famous resuscitation miracle in book IV. The story of Apollonius' resuscitation of the young Roman girl has a number of parallels to gospel stories of Jesus raising the dead (the raising of Jairus' daughter in particular) and probably would have made a bigger splash in the Jesus-Apollonius debates of late antiquity had Philostratus not included an alternate explanation for the miracle. His wording of the miraculous resuscitation as an awakening from "apparent death" (τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου) provoked an interjection from the scholiast, "See! Even you yourself reckon her death as opinion, not as truth!"⁸⁷ Philostratus suggested that Apollonius might have been able to see some spark of life in the girl since it was drizzling at the time and steam was rising from her face. Eusebius cited the same text and discussed it briefly, but he chose not to belabor the matter since the story seemed rather incredible even to Philostratus himself (*CH* 30.2).

Schol. in VA IV.45.2 (ined.) (ὡς ψεκάζοι κτλ.) εὐγε, Φιλόστρατε, μόγις ποτὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξειπὼν. κάρῳ γὰρ ἢ κόρη ἦτοι ἐκλύσει κατείληπτο τοῦ ἑαυτῆς σώματος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὕοντος καὶ τοῦ προσώπου ταῖς ψεκάσι νοτιζομένου, ἀτμὶς ἀπεπέμπετο, εἰωθὸς τοῦτο ἐπιζώντων μόνον σωμάτων συμπίπτειν τῆς ἐνυπούσης θερμότητος φυσικῆς ἀπομαχομένης τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ψεκάδος ὑγρῷ καὶ λεπτυνούσης κατὰ μικρόν, εἶτα εἰς ἀέρα ἐκθυμιώσης, οἷόν τε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐκ πυρὸς προθαλαφθέντα σώματα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐπειδ' ἂν ὕδατι κατακλύζηται. ἡ γὰρ τοι τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις τῆ τοῦ ὕδατος πυκνότητι εἰς ἐξαραίωσιν ἀνταγωνιζομένη. . . ~ F (fol. 82v)

Most of the text in the last line of the scholion was cut off in the rebinding process; only two words from the last line are visible and it is certainly possible that more than one line is missing. The scholiast's refutation of the miracle is much more elaborate than Eusebius': "Well done, Philostratus, as you have hardly ever declared the truth! For the girl had been overcome by a deep sleep or by the feebleness of her own body. Otherwise, since it was raining and her face was wet from the drops of rain, steam was rising (from her face)—as is wont to happen when bodies are still alive—because her natural body heat (τῆς ἐνυπούσης θερμότητος φυσικῆς) was fighting off the moisture from the drizzle and evaporating it little by little and then turning it into vapor in the air. It is possible to see (this) around bodies that have been warmed by a fire, whenever a body is full of water. For, indeed, the power of the fire was struggling against the thickness of the water causing rarefaction"

The introductory exclamation contains the same patronizing praise that is so common in the scholia of Arethas, e.g., the previously mentioned scholion on *Apology* 27d, beginning with the words "You are quite right, Socrates!" (καλῶς γε σὺ ποιῶν, Σώκρατες). However,

⁸⁷ *Schol. in VA* IV.45.1 (ined.) (τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου) ἰδοὺ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς δόκησιν καταλογίζει τὸν θάνατον, οὐκ εἰς ἀλήθειαν. ~ F (fol. 82v).

the initial phrase even more strongly resembles Arethas' vitriolic response to Lucian when Theomnestus' declared his preference for boy-lovers in the *Amores*:

Schol. in VA IV.45.2 εὐγέ, Φιλόστρατε, μόγις ποτέ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξείπων.

Schol. in Am. 54 μόγις ποτέ, μιαρὲ καὶ ἐπάρατε, τὸ σαυτοῦ ἐξείπας.⁸⁸

Perhaps more significant is the scholiast's use of the compound verb ἐνυπεῖναι, which is attested only in the writings of Arethas. The sense of the term in the phrase here seems to mean "the natural heat that lies within," essentially a more scientific way of expressing Philostratus' "spark of life" (σπινθῆρα τῆς ψυχῆς).⁸⁹ This apparent medical jargon crops up in other scholia, in particular in the lengthy scholion on fol. 36r, where the scholiast comments on Apollonius' contention that the eyes cannot receive any sleep if the mind cannot rest (*VA II.35*).⁹⁰

In light of the similar subject matter and an additional reference to the κόρη it is assured that the previous scholion on fol. 82v continues onto the next folio. Moreover, the encounter between Apollonius and Musonius that follows the resuscitation begins at the end of the main text on fol. 82v, and there is nothing in the main text on fol. 83r to which this comment could refer.

Schol. in VA IV.45.2 cont. (ined.) . . . κόρη ὑπὸν· εἰς θαῦμα τῷ συμπτώματι ἀπεχρήσατο. ἐπεὶ τί μὴ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλον νεκροῦ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ὡς οἱ ἐπ' ἀληθεία νεκροὺς ἀναβιδῶναι τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ ἐνηργηκότες, ἦτοι ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων παρακεκλήμενοι ἢ καὶ αὐθαίρετοι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀφωρμηκότες; ~ F (fol. 83r)

The scholiast continues his diatribe and suggests that "Apollonius abused the girl's symptom to cause wonder." And yet again he makes a Christian-pagan comparison, but this time he compares Apollonius to Jesus' disciples (cf. *schol. in VA I.9.2*): "Why did he not then perform this feat on another dead body just as the disciples of the Lord who had worked miracles to bring the dead to life again for the sake of truth, either because they had been begged by those who had come to them or because they had decided to do this voluntarily?"

⁸⁸ See Rabe, 206,22–24. Note in particular Russo's correction of Rabe's faulty text (*Contestazione*, 41 n. 107); on the derogatory terms Arethas employs, see Baldwin, "The Scholiast's Lucian," 227 and 229, respectively. On Arethas and homosexuality, see Russo, *Contestazione*, 40–45; cf. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 123.

⁸⁹ The following are the three other occurrences of the term in Arethas' writings: Westerink, no. 6: χαρίσασθέ μοι τὰ τῶν ἐφ' ὑμῖν χρηστοτέρων ἐλπίδων, ὁ μὲν γνώμην ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἐνυποῦσαν καὶ βλεπομένην σεμνότητα πάντη παρρησιάζουσιν, [...] (1:67,3); Westerink, no. 56: [...] δυνάμεως, ἢ ὑπουργὸς καὶ διάκονος ἢ φύσις δεδωρημένη ἀκολούθως τῷ ἐνυπόντι τὸ οἰκητήριον ἀπεργάζεται (1:348,2 [ζ']); *ibid.*: ὅπερ εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐνυπούσης δόξης ὑφάπλωσίς τις εἴη τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τελείῳ τῇ προσλήψει τεθεωμένου, [...] (1:356,23 [κ']).

⁹⁰ I have not included this scholion here, see Kayser's "Notae," 182 (= 40,13).

* * *

Given the wide range of opinions regarding the character of Apollonius expressed by readers of the *VA* from late antiquity and throughout the middle ages it cannot be assumed that in the tenth-century a Christian reader of the *VA* would have automatically held a low opinion of Apollonius, and even less that a Christian reader of the *VA* would have unavoidably seen parallels between the life and deeds of Apollonius and the life and deeds of Christ. Moreover, the parallels between the polemical argumentation of Eusebius and that of the scholiast whose comments appear in the margins of Laur. 69.33 suggest that the author of the scholia had already read Eusebius' treatise and that this polemical work served as fodder for the scholiast's comments and his characterization of Philostratus and Apollonius. In addition to the overall style of the polemical scholia, particularly the use of satirical metaphors and vitriolic expressions characteristic of Arethas and the presence of rare words attested only in the writings of Arethas, the degree to which the scholia in Laur. 69.33 overlap with the polemical remarks of Eusebius points as well to Arethas as the author of the scholia. The earliest manuscript evidence for Eusebius' *CH* is in Arethas' collection of early Christian apologetic literature, Par. gr. 451. Other than Photios, who briefly mentioned the work in his *Bibliotheca* (codex 39), Arethas is the only other identifiable reader of Eusebius' treatise. This places Arethas in a unique position as the only author, ancient or medieval, to have put the arguments in Eusebius' treatise to use. This would also suggest, unless Arethas reread the *VA* after reading the *CH*, a *terminus post quem* of 914 for Arethas' codex of the *VA*.

CONCLUSION

Schol. in VA VI.20.6 (cf. Bekker, 127) (τῆς Ἐλευσῖνι τελετῆς ἐπιλαβοίμεθα·) οὐκ ἀγεννῶς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νομιζόμενα μυστήρια καὶ θαυ<μα>στὰ (so Bek, Muel, Kay) διακωμωδεῖς, ἄνθρωπε. ~ LS. For this scholion Kayser listed the group FLS (= Kayser, 120,22), but this scholion is in fact nowhere to be found in the margins of Laur. 69.33.¹ The scholiast, commenting on a remark made by Thespesion regarding the Eleusinian mysteries, directly addresses Thespesion with the polemical interjection “Do not sordidly satirize the mysteries and marvels that were practiced by the Greeks, man!” Rudolf Mueller cited this scholion among a small group of polemical scholia that he thought showed characteristics of Arethas’ scholia.² However, since the scholion does not appear in margins of Laur. 69.33, but rather in two manuscripts that descend from a lost exemplar, which in turn descended from Laur. 69.33, it is not probable that this scholion was written by Arethas. Even though this does not seem, to my mind, to be the kind of remark Arethas would ever make given what appears to be a favorable appraisal of ancient Greek mystery-cults, it is an excellent example of a scholion that has features similar to those that scholars consider characteristic of Arethas’ scholia: it is combative; it engages a literary character in apostrophic dialogue; it directly addresses the character with a diatribe vocative.³ Mueller thought it was Arethas, but this is codicologically improbable.

This scholion serves as a stern warning that caution is required when attributing scholia to Arethas solely on the basis of those features perceived as characteristic of Arethas’ scholia. In reaction to the number of books which have been attributed to the personal library of Arethas “for no good reason or indeed no reason at all” N. G. Wilson rightly reminded scholars that “Arethas was not the only scholarly reader of his generation.”⁴ However, I have shown that there are good reasons for attributing the scholia on the *VA* in Laur. 69.33 to Arethas and for confidently positing a copy of the *VA* among the books of Arethas’ personal library.

The proposal that Laur. 69.33 is an apograph of Arethas’ codex of the *VA* turns out to have much in its favor. Adolf Sonny’s observation that Laur. 69.33 and Urb. gr. 124 were copied by the same scribe by itself is not enough evidence to conclude that Laur. 69.33 is an

¹ Kayser occasionally listed the wrong manuscripts for individual scholia, e.g., the scholion καλῶς ποιούσης in reference to συνήθως ὑβρίζουσης in *VA III.58* (= Kayser, 65,10), which also does not appear in F (see p. 65 n. 65 *supra*).

² Mueller, *De Lesbionacte Grammatico*, 110.

³ On the vociferation ἄνθρωπε, see Baldwin, “The Scholiast’s Lucian,” 222–23.

⁴ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 136.

apograph of a manuscript from the library of Arethas. However, the prolegomena and scholia on Dio Chrysostom in Urb. gr. 124 and the scholia on the VA in Laur. 69.33 prove to be closely interconnected. Not only are there a number of parallels between these corpora of scholia, e.g., the notion that Nero was responsible for banishing Dio (*schol. in VA V.27.1*), but the transmission in Arethas' prolegomena of the false historical datum that the kingship orations were composed for Vespasian convincingly identifies Arethas as a reader of the VA. Like Sonny's hypothesis, Rudolf Mueller's proposal that Arethas had a hand in the scholia on the VA, which he made on the basis of the scholion derived from Lesbonax, whose grammatical treatise Arethas made use of in his scholia on Plato, fails to convince on its own. However, once it is realized that Kayser misidentified the appropriate lemma due to the scribe's misplacement of the scholion, and hence that the scholion does not evince a poor knowledge of the Greek language on the part of the scholiast, the Lesbonax scholion becomes a credible piece of corroborative evidence for Arethas' involvement (*schol. in VA VI.43.2* rather than VII.2.1).

The array of scholia in Laur. 69.33 on topics ranging from grammar and syntax to classical authors and antiquarian interests is what one would expect to find in a codex of Arethas. The formulae for referencing classical authors with a relative pronoun plus μέμνηται and a proper name that are used in several scholia on the VA parallel the examples from Arethas' scholia, and both occasionally contain incorrect cross-references and display subpar scholarship (*schol. in VA I.3.1; IV.25.1, 2; VII.37*); it is clear, however, that the scholiast was well acquainted with the works of Lucian (*schol. in VA III.50.1*). Several of the scholia on the VA contain features that are consistent with those in manuscripts annotated by Arethas, e.g., the handful of references to contemporary people, places, and circumstances (*schol. in VA III.15.4; III.57.1; IV.17, 21.2; V.20.2; VIII.19.1*), the scholia on grammar and syntax (e.g., *schol. in VA VIII.7.32*), in addition to a number of polemical interjections and pejoratives (see § 3.3) and peculiarities in Greek style.

The polemical scholia also contain several of the same expressions and analogies used by Arethas (e.g., *schol. in VA IV.10.2; 45.2*) and show a similar recourse to and indirect citation of biblical literature (e.g., *schol. in IV.10.3; 43.2*). The nails in the coffin are the presence of linguistic forms that are not just characteristic of but unique to Arethas, e.g., the compound verb ἐνυπεῖναι (*schol. in VA IV.45.2*) and the spelling ὑπολογάζεσθαι for ὑπολογίζεσθαι (*schol. in VA VIII.7.7*), both of which are attested only in Arethas' writings. I have further introduced as supplementary evidence the close relationship between Eusebius' arguments in the *CH* and the polemical scholia on the VA. The polemical argumentation of

several scholia overlaps with Eusebius' invective to such a degree that it appears the *CH* served as fodder for the scholiast's own polemic (e.g., *schol. in VA* II.27.1; IV.10.2–3; 16.4 11.1; 46.2; VIII.7.7). This apparent use of the *CH* points to Arethas' involvement and is consistent with his tendency to rely heavily on earlier commentaries in his own scholia, often by reworking them in his own style (e.g., Arethas' use of the Sopater scholia on Aristides).

This conclusion does little to change Wilson's assessment that as a scholiast Arethas "enjoys a more flattering reputation than he deserves."⁵ In fact Arethas' scholia on the *VA* confirms this view. However, there can be little doubt that Laur. 69.33 is indeed an apograph of a manuscript which was once shelved in Arethas' personal library. The distribution and the character of the scholia closely resemble the scholia in Arethas' codices of Lucian and Aristides, which would suggest that the codex was annotated by Arethas himself, rather than by his scribe (as were Harley 5694 and Par. gr. 2951 + Laur. 60.3). Many of the notes appear to be Arethas' own contributions, but several notes could conceivably antedate Arethas, who often reproduced, or commissioned a scribe to reproduce, scholia from other manuscripts. Furthermore, the relationship between Arethas' scholia and Eusebius' *CH* suggests that the codex was copied for Arethas sometime after the year 914, which places the codex roughly around the same time as Arethas' study of Lucian of Samosata. The scholion alluding to a specific passage from the *Alexander* seems to confirm this view (*schol. in VA* III.50.1). Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* can no longer be ignored in discussions of Arethas' private library and deserves mention in all future analyses of Arethas as a book collector and scholiast.

⁵ Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 135.

APPENDIX

Scholia inedita in Flavii Philostrati *Vitam Apollonii*

What follows is a small edition of those scholia from Laur. 69.33 which Kayser neglected to include among the “Notae in Philostrati libros de Tyanensi Apollonio” and “Corrigenda and Addenda” in his 1844 edition of the *Vita Apollonii*.¹ I have excluded a handful of marginal notes due to transcriptional difficulties caused by damage to the manuscript; a number of scholia were partially cut off when the codex was rebound and are difficult-to-impossible to reconstruct. I have preceded each lemma as before with the book, section, and paragraph numbers from the Leob edition of Christopher P. Jones. The reader should be aware that his section divisions occasionally differ from those of F. C. Conybeare, the editor of the previous Loeb edition, as well as those of C. L. Kayser. References to the relevant page and line numbers in Kayser’s edition follow each reference to the text of Jones in round brackets, e.g., **III.50.1** (= **63,12**). This has been done in order that this supplement may be used with ease together with Kayser’s edition of the scholia on the VA. I have also included in the right-hand margin the respective folio numbers in Laur. 69.33 for each scholion. The following editorial conventions and sigla are used in the scholia presented here:

- [...] Square brackets enclose letters or words lost or partially lost due to physical damage to the manuscript (F)
- <...> Angle brackets enclose letters or words that are to be added
- F Florentinus Laurentianus 69.33 (s. x)

¹ Carl Ludwig Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt: Philostrati junioris Imagines, Callistrati Descriptiones* (Zurich: Meyeri et Zelleri, 1844), 179–99, 79*–80*.

- I.35** (= 19,25) (ἐν οἷς ἐστίν, κτλ.) ὅποσοι φιλόσοφοι φιλοχρηματίᾳ ἐάλωσαν. 16r
- I.39.2** (= 22,12) (σοὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρήματα, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄχυρα) μέγα 18v
 τοῦτο, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, εἶ γε μὴ κατ' ἐπίδειξιν ἦν· ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν τὴν ἀρετὴν
 ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἄχυρα χρυσὸν βλέπουσι καὶ διδόμενα προθύμως
 5 λαμβάνουσι· καὶ χρῶνται μὲν οὐδαμῶς, χρυσοῦ δὲ ταῦτα διδῶσι.
- II.27.1** (= 36,15) (κελεύσας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἐρμηνέα) ὁ πάντα ἔχων συνιέναι ὑφ' 31v
 ἐρμηνεῖ τῷ Ἰνδῷ ἐντυγχάνει· καὶ πῶς οὐ λῆρος καὶ τερατολογία τὰ κατόπιν
 σοι περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου τεθρυλημένα, Φιλόστρατε;
- III.17.2** (= 50,26) (ἡ δὲ κυρτωθεῖσα κτλ.) τούτων τις ἂν νοῦν ἔχων πιστεύσειν; 46r
- 10 **III.50.1** (= 63,12) (θεὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς εἶναι δόξειν οὐ τεθνεῶτα μόνον) ἱκανὸς 60r
 τῷ λόγῳ παρασχεῖν τὸ πιστὸν καὶ Λουκιανὸς ὁ ἐκ <Σα>μοσάτων, ὃς ἐν τῷ
 Ψευδαλεξάνδρῳ γόητα περιφανῶς εἶναι φησὶν Ἀπολλώνιον, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὸν
 ψευδαλέξανδρον ἀπεικάζει.
- III.52** (= 63,27) (τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ὑφάσιδος κτλ.) τοῖς παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· 60v
 15 εἰκὸς γὰρ ταῖς πέτραις τὸ ὕδωρ καταρρηγνύμενον, εἶτα πρὸς αὐτῶν
 ἀντρωθούμενον τῇ παραποταμίᾳ λήξει, καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ ταύτης ταλαντευόμενον
 διὰ στενότητα πρὸς τὰς κατεπειξάσας αὐτῷ πέτρας, καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις
 συμβὰν δίνην τε πολλὴν ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ δύσπλοα τὰ παρὰ κρηπίδα
 πάντα καὶ ἄπλοα.
- 20 **III.58** (= 65,10) (τῆς Ἀντιοχείας συνήθως ὑβριζούσης) Χριστιανῶν ἤδη τὴν 61v
 Ἀντιόχειαν ἐνοικούντων, ἄβατος τῷ γόητι γίνεται τοῦ μὴ τὰς μαγγανείας
 αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχθῆναι· ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ Σίμωνι πάθοι καὶ αὐτός.
- IV.1.1[a]** (= 65,15) (ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον κτλ.) [. . .] ἐκπληττομένων τῇ θέᾳ, ἢ καὶ 62r
 25 ἑωρακότων μὲν, ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι δὲ βουλομένων οἷς ὁ ἀρκουσκὸς ἐναθύρει
 τῷ θηρίῳ. οὐ μέγα οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὀχλαγωγεῖν τῷ αὐχμηρῷ καὶ ἀπροσ-
 φύλῳ τῆς ὄψεως πολλοὺς ἐπισυρομένῳ, τῶν μὲν χυδαίων ἐκπληττομένων, τῶν
 δὲ σπουδαίων διαγελόντων ἐπιδεικτικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀλαζόνα.

10–13 cf. Lucian, *Alex.* 5 || 22 cf. Acts 8:9–24.

6 υπ(ο) F || 12 φα(σιν) F || 22 σήμωνι F.

- IV.1.1[b]** (= 65,19) (πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ὑγείας δεομένων κτλ.) ἐκνευρισ[μένοι] 62r
οἱ δαίμονες τῆ τοῦ Χ[ριστοῦ] ἐπιδημία ὃ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων
γοήτων ταῖς ἀπ[α]τηλαῖς ἐπεχείρ[ουν] ὑγιάσεσιν.
- IV.3.2** (= 66,16) (ὄρατε κτλ.) καλὴ ἢ κοινολογία, εἴπερ ἀληθὴς ἢ τερατολογία. 62v
- 5 **IV.6** (= 66,33) (ὦ θεοὶ κτλ.) καὶ τί μὴ ἠκούετο, εἰ θεοφιλὴς οὔτε ἦν; 63r
- IV.10.2** (= 68,13) (περιστήσας κτλ.) τοῦτο οὐκ ἔτι σκάζουσιν ἔχει τὴν πίστιν ὡς 64v
οὐ γόης καὶ κατὰ ὀφθαλμῶν παραποίησιν ἐνεργῶν ὁ Ἄπολλώνιος. τί γὰρ
νόσος σεσωμάτῳται, ὡς ἢ παρὰ σοῦ βούλεται τερατεία; ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν
μωροῖς καὶ βλενωδέσι καὶ τιτθῆς δεομένοις ἀνθρώποις παρατυχεῖν,
10 ἐξίστησι ταῖς ματαιότησι ταύταις.
- IV.10.3** (= 68,19) (διαλιπὼν κτλ.) ὥσπερ ὁ καταλιθωθεὶς γέρον, οὐκ ἀλήθεια, 65r
φάσμα δέ· οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ νῦν κύων τοῦτο ὅπερ ὄραται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ
προτέρου ἀνυπαρκτότερον. τί γὰρ μὴ λόγῳ ἔλυεν ὡς ὁ Ἥλιας τὸν ἀύχμῶν
ἀλλὰ φάσμασι διατυπώσας τὸ πάθος;
- 15 **IV.11.1** (= 68,29) (ἐπὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως) καὶ μὴν ἱστοροῦσι τὰ τοῦ 65r
Ἀχιλλέως ὅστ' ἀποτεθῆναι εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον· πῶς οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ κενοταφίῳ
ὁ ἦρωσ παρεῖναι τερατεύεταιί σοι;
- IV.16.4** (= 71,12) (μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἠρόμην, κτλ.) τῆς ἐμπληξίας· εἰ γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς 68r
ἀναφέρεταιί σοι, τί μὴ ἀπόρρητά τινα καὶ θεῖα καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἄνδρα σοφὸν
20 πυνθάνη ἀλλὰ ταῦτα;
- IV.40.4** (= 83,10) (πορεύονται μὲν ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν, κτλ.) τοῦτο καὶ βέβηλος ἂν 80v
ἐνόμισε σοφίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷον αὐτὸς βούλει, Φιλόστρατε, Ἀπολλώνιον
ἀποφαίνειν. θεὸς γὰρ πάντα πληρῶν, πάντων μὲν ἀποφοιτᾷ τόπων, τοῖς δὲ
ἐπιφοιτᾷ· βαναύσου τοιγαροῦν ταῦτα καὶ ἀγυρτικῆς σοφίας.
- 25 **IV.43.1** (= 83,37) (ἔσται τι, ἔφη, μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἔσται) οὐχ ὄραξ δολεροῦ ἀνδρὸς 81r
λόγον; ἐπαμφοτερίζων γὰρ τὸν λόγον καὶ πρὸς ἀντίφασιν ὑπεκφέρων δοκεῖ
τοῖς ἀνοήτοις προγνωστικῆς δυνάμεως ἔμπλεως εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ πᾶς ἔτοιμος
ἀπεργάσασθαι καθ' ὁπότερον τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἐκβάσεως μὴ ἀστοχούσης.

13 cf. 3 Kgdms 17:1.

18 εἰ : εἰς F || 22 ἂν post σοφίας add. F.

- IV.43.2[a] (= 84,2) (σιτουμένου γὰρ τοῦ Νέρωνος κτλ.) καὶ τί μὴ ἐβλήθη ἐκεῖνος, 81v
ὡς ἄδικον; τί γὰρ ἢ κύλιξ ἠδίκησεν;
- IV.43.2[b] (= 84,4) (ἀκούσας δὲ Τιγελλίνος κτλ.) ἐκ τούτων ψεῦδος ἀπο- 81v
φαίνεται τὸ Τιγελλίνον αἰδημόνως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἼΑπολλώνιον. πῶς γὰρ
5 ὁ περιεργαζόμενος πάντα ἼΑπολλωνίου σεβασμίως πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχεν;
- IV.45.1 (= 85,7) (τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου) ἰδοὺ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς δόκησιν 82v
καταλογίζει τὸν θάνατον, οὐκ εἰς ἀλήθειας.
- IV.45.2 (= 85,10) (ὡς ψεκάζοι κτλ.) εὗγε, Φιλόστρατε, μόγις ποτὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς 82v
ἐξειπών. κάρφ γὰρ ἢ κόρη ἦτοι ἐκλύσει κατείληπτο τοῦ ἑαυτῆς σώματος·
10 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὕοντος καὶ τοῦ προσώπου ταῖς ψεκάσι νοτιζομένου, ἀτμὶς
ἀπεπέμπετο, εἰωθὸς τοῦτο ἐπιζώντων μόνον σωμάτων συμπίπτειν· τῆς
ἐνυπούσης θερμότητος φυσικῆς ἀπομαχομένης τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ψεκάδος ὑγρῷ καὶ
λεπτυνούσης κατὰ μικρόν, εἶτα εἰς ἀέρα ἐκθυμιώσης, οἷόν τε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐκ
15 πυρὸς προθαλαφθέντα σώματα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐπειδ' ἂν ὕδατι κατακλύζηται. ἢ
γὰρ τοι τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις τῆ τοῦ ὕδατος πυκνότητι εἰς ἐξαραίωσιν
ἀνταγωνιζομένη [. . .] ^{||} [. . .] κόρη ὑπὸν· εἰς θαῦμα τῷ συμπτώματι 83r
ἀπεχρήσατο. ἐπεὶ τί μὴ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλον νεκροῦ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ὡς οἱ ἐπ'
ἀληθείᾳ νεκροὺς ἀναβιῶναι τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ ἐνηρηγότες, ἦτοι ὑπὸ τῶν
προσηκόντων παρακεκλημένοι ἢ καὶ αὐθαίρετοι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀφωρμηκότες;
- 20 IV.46.2 (= 85,18) (ἼΑπολλώνιος Μουσωνίφ) οὐχ ὀρθῶς σωφρονέστερος 83r
ἼΑπολλωνίου Μουσώνιος; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μαγγανείας καὶ τερατείας αὐτὸν
παρακαλεῖ, ὁ δὲ Μουσώνιος τὰς τοιαύτας ἀποπέμπεται χάριτας
τεθαρρηκότως φάσκων τῆ ἀπολογία τὰ αἰτιήματα ἀπολούσασθαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ
ἐπὶ ματαιότητος καὶ μανίας ψευδεῖς ἀποκλίνας, καὶ γὰρ ἠπίστατο λόγῳ
25 χρησάμενος τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐγκλήματα διαδράν[αι· τοῦτο δὲ] ἼΑπολλωνίφ μὴ
προσὸν, τοῖς φάσμασι διεκρούετο τὰς ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπαραλογίστους αἰτίας.
- V.33.2 (= 98,23) (ὡς νεότης) κίβδηλος ὁ λόγος καὶ πρὸς νεωτερικὴν ὑπαγόμενος 96v
ἀρέσκειαν.
- VI.29.1 (=124,24) (Τίτος ἠρήκει τὰ Σόλυμα) ὅτι τριακοντούτης Τίτος τὰ 123r
30 Ἱεροσόλυμα εἶλεν.

- VIII.7.16** (= 156,21) (χρυσοῦ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος) τὸ χρυσοῦν δέρος λέγει. 157r
- VIII.7.25** (= 158,28) ('**Ἐμπεδοκλέους, δς νεφέλης ἀνέσχε·**') ὡς μὲν ἀνέσχεν νεφέλην 159v
 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑπολογάζοντος· εἰ δὲ
 καὶ ἀλήθειαν τὸ πρᾶγμα συγκροτεῖ, οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔστ' ἂν καὶ χαλαζᾶριοι,
 5 οὕτω λέγειν, γοητείαις ἐσχολακότες, τοῦτο κατορθούμεν[οι]· εἰ δ' ἐκπλήττη
 τὴν Ἐμπεδοκλέους νεφέλης ἀποπομπὴν, αἰσχύνῃν τὸ ἡμίφλεκτον σάμβαλον
 ποιείτω σοι.
- VIII.7.43** (= 163,1) (**Μεγιστίας κτλ.**) τίνες καὶ πόσοι οἱ δι' ἐντόμων μάντιες καὶ 164v
 τίσι;
- 10 **VIII.19.1** (= 168,32) (**διαλέξομαι κτλ.**) περισπούδαστα πράγματα καὶ πολλὴν 170v
 αὐτῶν τὴν ματαιοπονίαν προσμαρτυροῦντα.

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