FLORIAN SIPOS

THE ROMAN PAST REVISITED: IOANNES KANABOUTZES' TREATISE ON DIONYSIOS OF HALIKARNASSOS

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

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THE ROMAN PAST REVISITED: IOANNES KANABOUTZES' TREATISE ON DIONYSIOS OF HALIKARNASSOS

By

Florian Sipos

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

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I, the undersigned, **Florian Sipos**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2007

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SIGNATURE

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (Berlin, New-York: de Gruyter).
LM	*Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999).
ER	*Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*, ed., T. O. Sloane (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001).
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan *et al*., 3 vols. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University, 1991).
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857-1867).
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Paläologenzeit*, ed. E. Trapp (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

INTRODUCTION

Magister Ioannes Kanaboutzes, a Greco-Genoese intellectual living in the Genoese territories of the northeastern Aegean, was commissioned by one of the Latin rulers in the area, presumably Palamedes Gattilusio of Samothrace and Ainos, to prepare a commentary for him on the passages that narrate the history of the region in the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysios of Halikarnassos. Dionysios mentioned only Samothrace, first, when telling the myths about the migration of the Greek Dardanos to Asia and the foundation of Troy, and second, when describing the story of the *Palladion*, the Trojan cult statue which was taken by Aeneas to Rome. Kanaboutzes, after accomplishing the request of his lord, which was to satisfy his antiquarian curiosity with a compilation of texts with short notes, took the liberty of amplifying this raw material with those parts that he himself found of value.

His own selection of texts shows an exciting parallel between the political situation of the Augustan Age and that of the Latin *Romania* in the Late Byzantine period, in particular the sense that at both these times the Greeks had to accept Latin supremacy. Dionysios' program aimed at reconciling Greek and Roman culture and at decreasing the animosity of the Greeks towards toward the Romans by showing the common origin and the essential cultural unity of the two peoples. Kanaboutzes rephrased Dionysios' programmatic preface and attached it to the requested commentaries; thus, in this new context, the two stories about the Greek ancestors of the Trojans and the Trojans' flight to Italy gained new meaning and became a proof of the Greek origin of the Roman people.

In spite of all its potential interest, Ioannes Kanaboutzes' *In Dionysium Halicarnassensem Commentarius*[1] has remained almost completely unnoticed by modern scholarship. In the nineteenth century, scattered references were made to the author for his neo-Platonic intellectual background[2] and for his interest in alchemy;[3] his work also attracted some attention from Modern Greek scholars,[4] but until the critical edition of the text was published in the Teubner series, his work was not easily available.[5] However, this edition, which was authoritative according to nineteenth century standards, did not cause a drastic expansion in the number of studies dealing with the author. Some basic reference books mentioned him,[6] but the number of those which neglected the *Commentarius* was much higher. Until recently, among the few studies dedicated to Kanaboutzes, one dealt with textual critical problems[7] while the others focused on questions of his biography and on his relations to contemporary intellectuals like Cyriac of Ancona and Ioannes Eugenikos.[8] If a remark was made on his style, it was pejorative, and characterized the *Commentarius* as a "silly work."[9] A.

[1] Hereafter *Commentarius*. In the footnotes I refer to the author's name with the page and line numbers of the Teubner edition (for which, see below, n.5).
[2] *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1896), 130 (hereafter *Jahresbericht*).
[3] *Notes and Queries*, ed. W. J. Thomas *et al*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850), 318.
[4] See: M. Hinterberger , "Ο πεζός λόγος του 15ου αιώνα: Το αφήγημα του Ιωάννου Καναβούτζη αφιερωμένο στον αυθέντη του Αίνου και Σαμοθράκης (The 15th Century Prose: The Narrative of Ioannes Kanaboutzes Dedicated to the Ruler of Ainos and Samothrace)," in *'Τ' ἀδόνιν κεῖνον ποὺ γλυκὰ θλιβᾶται.' Εκδοτικά και ερμηνευτικά ζητήματα της δημώδους ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στο πέρασμα από τον Μεσαίωνα στην Αναγέννηση (1400-1600). Πρακτικά του 4ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Aevi* (T' adonin keinon pou glyka thlibatai' Editorial and hermeneutical problems of the vernacular Greek literature on the border between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (1400-1600). Acts of the 4th International Congress Neograeca Medii Aevi) (November 1997, Lefkosia), ed. P. Agapetos and M. Pieres (Iraklion: Panepistemiakes Ekdoseis Kretes, 2002), 406 (hereafter: Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes").
[5] Joannes Canabutzes, *Ad Principem Aeni et Samothraces in Dionysium Halicarnassensem Commentarius*, ed. M. Lehnerdt (Leipzig: Teubner, 1890).
[6] K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, vol. 1 (Munchen: Beck, 1897), 561; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche Profane literatur der Byzantiner*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12/5, Byzantinisches Handbuch 5, vol. 1 (Munich: Beck, 1978), 537 (hereafter Hunger, *Literatur*); A. M. Talbot, "Kanaboutzes, John," *ODB*, vol. 1, 1100.
[7] S. Reiter, "Zu Joannes Kanabutzes Magister," *Wiener Studien* 13 (1891): 329-332.
[8] See Chapter One, p. 7-8.
[9] A. Diller, "Joannes Canabutzes," *Byzantion* 40 (1970): 271-274 (hereafter Diller, "Canabutzes").

Diller found another short work which can be attributed to Kanaboutzes with certainty, a calendar which calculated the length of the days in Phokaia.[10] As it can easily be seen in the first quarter of his *Commentary*, Kanaboutzes was well acquainted with astronomy and geometry, a fact that supports this attribution.

Thus, until the beginning of the twenty-first century the most detailed and in-depth study on the author and his work remained Lehnerdt's introduction to the Teubner edition, which, incidentally, also criticized the author for his "Byzantine loquacity." The reason for this oblivion can be understood from the fact that the first four books of Dionysios, which Kanaboutzes summarized, are preserved in full; therefore his summary had no value for critical textual studies on Dionysios.

The only article that studied Kanaboutzes with sound methodology and an open-minded approach was that of M. Hinterberger[11] published in 2002. His well-founded study focused mainly on the stylistic and vernacular features of the work, but is not limited to these and is now the inevitable basis for any further studies on this topic. Lamentably, this fundamental study is not readily available and the fact that it was written in Modern Greek, paradoxically, limited the circle of its possible readers--and thus of the scholars of Kanaboutzes--to those who can read *dimotiki*.

Kanaboutzes is not a particularly eloquent source as regards the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysios. I believe, however, that he provides us with a unique insight into the intellectual life, mentality, identity, and languages of the territories on the border between the Greek and Latin worlds in his own time. In this thesis, I will use a comparative method to trace the changes that the author applied while re-writing the original text of Dionysios. I am confident that such a juxtaposition of a source and its metaphrasis can bring about a closer understanding of the aims, style, and mentality

[10] A. Diller, "Joannes Canabutzes and Michael Chrysococces," *Byzantion* 42 (1972): 256-257 (hereafter Diller, "Canabutzes and Chrysococces").
[11] Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes."

of its author. Therefore, the question I will ask in this study is the following: How did Kanaboutzes alter his source while preparing his treatise on Dionysios of Halikarnassos?

In my analysis, I will combine two methods; the first stage will consist of a rhetorical analysis while the second will address the contents of the work. In the rhetorical analysis I will apply two variables, language and rhetorical style; the first will be used to examine to what extent Kanaboutzes changed the Attic Greek of Dionysios and the second will indicate whether and how the author downgraded or elevated the rhetorical level of the *Roman Antiquities* when re-writing it for a contemporary audience. In the content analysis I will try to identify and interpret the parts in which Kanaboutzes did not accept his source *tale quale*, but engaged it critically, in order to express his different stance, his distinct opinion. In this part of my analysis, therefore, I will focus on two problems: How did the author express his attitude to Dionysios? And, while discussing his topic, what set of personal identities did he embed in his text?

In my opinion, answering this question can reveal essential details about the linguistic standard to which the author tried to adapt the original text he was rewriting, about the cultural and linguistic identity of the author, and, finally, about his concept of the past. All these are substantial and difficult problems in the case of a Hellenized Genoese intellectual who wrote his work in Greek about the Roman past a few years before the Fall of Byzantium.

CHAPTER ONE:
DATING THE TREATISE OF IOANNES KANABOUTZES

The following pages aim to establish when Ioannes Kanaboutzes prepared his treatise on Dionysios of Halikarnassos. The author did not date his work nor did he mention any datable contemporary political actor or event other than the dedicatee of the work himself, therefore one can deduce the date only from the author's references to his age and from his correspondence with his contemporaries. To achieve this, I will compare the data that can be gained from the text with those that can be discovered about the author himself from elsewhere.

The family name and the family of the Kanaboutzes must be of Italian origin and appears quite frequently in the region. The first attested among them was a *droungarios* who founded the Catholic Church of Saint George on Lesbos before 1324, which shows that the family settled quite early into the Aegean. The next Kanaboutzes was one Ioannes,[12] who married off his daughter, a certain Chryse, in 1380. The Greek name of the daughter implies that the family must have become Hellenized to some extent. A Petros Kanaboutzes[13] was the copyist of an Escorial manuscript, although the date of the manuscript is debated.[14] Augoustarikes Kanaboutzes[15] founded the Saint Michael Church in Ainos in 1420/21, which was presumably Orthodox.[16] It seems that this family gradually became integrated into the Greek society, which is shown by the fact that the family remained on the island even

[12] *PLP* 10870; S. V. Mercati, "Intorno a Giovanni Canabutzes," *Studi Bizantini* 2 (1927): 33-35 (hereafter Mercati, "Intorno").
[13] *PLP* 10872.
[14] Mercati, "Intorno," 34. Mercati tried to identify this Ioannes with the writer of the *Commentary*.
[15] *PLP* 10870; C. Asdracha, *Inscriptions protobyzantines et byzantines de la Thrace orientale et de l'Île d'Imbros (III^e^-XV^e^ siècles)* (Athens: Ministère de la Culture, Caisse des Recettes Archéologiques, 2003), 262-263.
[16] Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes," 408.

after the Ottoman occupation, and Lehnerdt, when publishing his Teubner edition in 1890, could still find peasants with that name living in Chios.[17]

Kanaboutzes makes only rare references to his own age and does not name any important or easily datable person by name in his work. He laments that the Christians were oppressed by the "infidel" Turks,[18] which makes it probable that he wrote not long before the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Besides this, he mentions that he wrote 1500 years after Dionysios,[19] who had worked at the end of the first century BCE under Augustus. This suggests that Kanaboutzes lived in the fifteenth century, but, given the approximate character of such dating in medieval works, this indication in itself cannot provide a solid basis for dating his work. However, it is accepted that Ioannes Kanaboutzes prepared a calendar which calculated the length of the days at the latitude of Phokaia, which implies that he was quite well acquainted with the calendar systems and chronology.[20]

With the *Commentarius*, however, one moves onto somewhat safer ground; Kanaboutzes dedicated this work to an unnamed prince of Ainos and Samothrace, whose brother was the ruler of Lesbos.[21] He does not name the rulers, but the study of the genealogy of the Gattilusio family can provide valuable data in this respect. It is known that in 1261 Michael VIII reconquered Constantinople and the central territories of the Empire from the Latins with the help of Genoese forces and, as a reward for this help, he ceded the town of Ainos as *dominium* to the Genoese Gattilusio family in the same year. It is also known that Francisco I Gattilusio helped John V Palaiologos to the imperial throne with his war galleys in 1355 and the new

[17] M. Lehnerdt, "De auctore," in Ioannes Canabutzes, *Ad principem Aeni et Samothraces in Dionysium Halicarnassensem Commentarius,* xx-xxi (hereafter Lehnerdt, "De auctore"). Lehnerdt referred to a local intellectual, who made a survey for him about the family.
[18] Kanaboutzes, 17. 4-5.
[19] Kanaboutzes, 13. 6.
[20] Diller, "Canabuzes and Chrysococces."
[21] Kanaboutzes, 2. 1.

emperor granted him Lesbos in return for his help. His brother, Niccolo, conquered Ainos in 1384, in the same year when his brother died.[22] Thus, 1384 can be established as a possible solution for the date of the work, when all these territories were ruled by the Gattilusio. However, the status of Samothrace is not clear at the end of the fourteenth century. Since the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins, it had belonged to the Empire. However, as epigraphic evidence indicate, in 1431 Palamedes Gattilusio, the ruler of Ainos from 1409, started to build a fortress on Samothrace.[23] His younger brother, Dorino, who was to became the father-in-law of Constantine IX, was the ruler of Lesbos. Thus, after 1431, two brothers ruled over Ainos, Samothrace, and Lesbos, as Kanaboutzes also referred to it.

One reliable point provides a *terminus ante quem*. In the sixth year of the reign of Mehmet II, i.e., in 1455, Dorino Gattilusio was defeated by the Turks and died a few month later.[24] It was also the same year that Dorino II became the ruler of Samothrace and Ainos. Therefore, taking into account that in Kanaboutzes' text the Gattilusi brothers are mentioned as reigning on the islands, it can be inferred that the *Commentarius* was surely written before 1455.

Research into the correspondence of the time may provide a more precise, yet less secure dating. Ioannes Eugenikos wrote a letter to a certain Kanaboutzes,[25] who may be same person as the author Ioannes Kanaboutzes. Eugenikos, an influential churchman and *nomophylax* of the patriarch of Constantinople, was the younger brother of St. Markos Eugenikos of Ephesos. Like his brother, he was a fierce opponent of the Union with the Catholic Church, thus he had to leave the capital after

[22] D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium: 1261-1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 67-70 (hereafter: Nicol, *Last Centuries*).
[23] W. Miller, "The Gattilusj of Lesbos (1355-1462)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 22 (1913): 406-447 (hereafter Miller, "Gattalusj").
[24] M. Lehnerdt, "De auctore," viii-x; Miller, "Gattilusj,"428, 431.
[25] Sp. P. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά* (Studies on the Palaeologian Era and the Peloponnese), 1 (Athens: Privately printed, 1912-1913), 168-189.

the Council of Florence in 1439. He died in 1454/55, one year after the fall of Constantinople. His letter to Kanaboutzes follows the conventions of Byzantine epistolography in that it is not very informative about its writer or the addressee. Although one cannot state with certainty that this Kanaboutzes is identical with our Ioannes, this identification became widely accepted in the scholarly literature.[26] On the basis of this letter, it is possible to conclude that if Eugenikos' pen-friend was indeed Ioannes Kanaboutzes, he must have been active in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Another possible contemporary reference to Ioannes Kanaboutzes was provided by Cyriac of Ancona, a humanist antiquary, traveler, and epistolographer.[27] The reference was discovered by Sp. Lampros,[28] and since then it is also widely accepted among the few scholars writing about this question. The basis for the identification of this character with the author of the *Commentarius* is only the name, which Cyriac of Ancona gave as "Canabuzio magistro Phocense." This Canabuzius is mentioned at only one scene; in 1444, next to Old Phokaia he showed Cyriac a sample of gold-bearing sand, of which, as the hosts of Cyriac argued, once Croesus collected great wealth. The identity of this Canabuzius with that of the writer of the *Commentary* is also supported by the fact that Kanaboutzes calculated the length of the days at the latitude of Phokaia.[29] However, there is a detail in this letter which has so far escaped the attention of the interpreters of this event and which warns us about the possible dangers of such identification. Cyriac mentions another Canabuzius as well, whom he calls Crites Canabuzius. Cyriacus asked his friend, Andreolo, the

[26] Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes," 405-425.
[27] Cyriac of Ancona, *Later Travels*, ed. and trans. E. W. Bodnar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 29 (hereafter Cyriac, *Later Travels*).
[28] Sp. P. Lampros, "Ὁ Ιωάννης Καναβούζης ἦτο Φωκαεύς (Ioannes Kanaboutzes was Phokaian)," *Neos Hellenomnemon* 7 (1910): 485.
[29] Diller, "Canabutzes and Chrysococces," 256-257.

addressee of the letter to show his transcript of an inscription to Crites Canabuzius, who was a learned interpreter of inscriptions. This certainly shows that there were more learned members of the family in the region, and the name Kanaboutzes in itself does not provide a stable basis for any identification.

Finally, the occasional references in Kanaboutzes' *Commentary* to the Catholic Church also support the dating of the work to the last years of Byzantium. Kanaboutzes mentions the Orthodox and Catholics together without referring to the schism.[30] The fact that he mentions that "all the kingdoms obey and subject themselves to [the Roman Church]"[31] and that he refers to the same faith and baptism as shared with the Orthodox hints that this work was written after the declaration of the Union at Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence in 1439, which declared the Union of the two churches, by someone who supported this decision.[32]

In conclusion, the evidence for dating the work and its author falls into three categories. First, Kanaboutzes' somewhat obscure allusions to his own age point to the middle of the fifteenth century. Second, the fact that he dedicated his work to the Genoese ruler of Ainos and Samothrace, whose brother was the ruler of Lesbos, clearly supports the idea that the work was written in 1384, but more probably between 1431 and 1455. Finally, the possible correspondence with Ioannes Eugenikos and the reference to our author by Cyriac of Ancona also support a dating towards the middle of the fifteenth century. To conclude, the *Commentarius* of Ioannes

[30] Kanaboutzes 35. 18-21: "For we are Christians and have one [and the same] faith and the same baptism as many nations, yet we regard the Bulgarians, the Vlachs, the Albanians, the Russians and other people as barbarians." See also Kanaboutzes 23, 10-16: "Rome, even to this day, although she does not rule the world in any way with lay power, spiritually she rules over the whole world. For the entire world knows that the Roman Church governs and rules all over the Christian world and all the kingdoms of earth obey and subject themselves to it."
[31] Kanaboutzes 23. 13-14.
[32] See also Chapter 4.2, p. 64-65.

Kanaboutzes was written presumably in the last decades of the Byzantine Empire, but surely not after 1455.

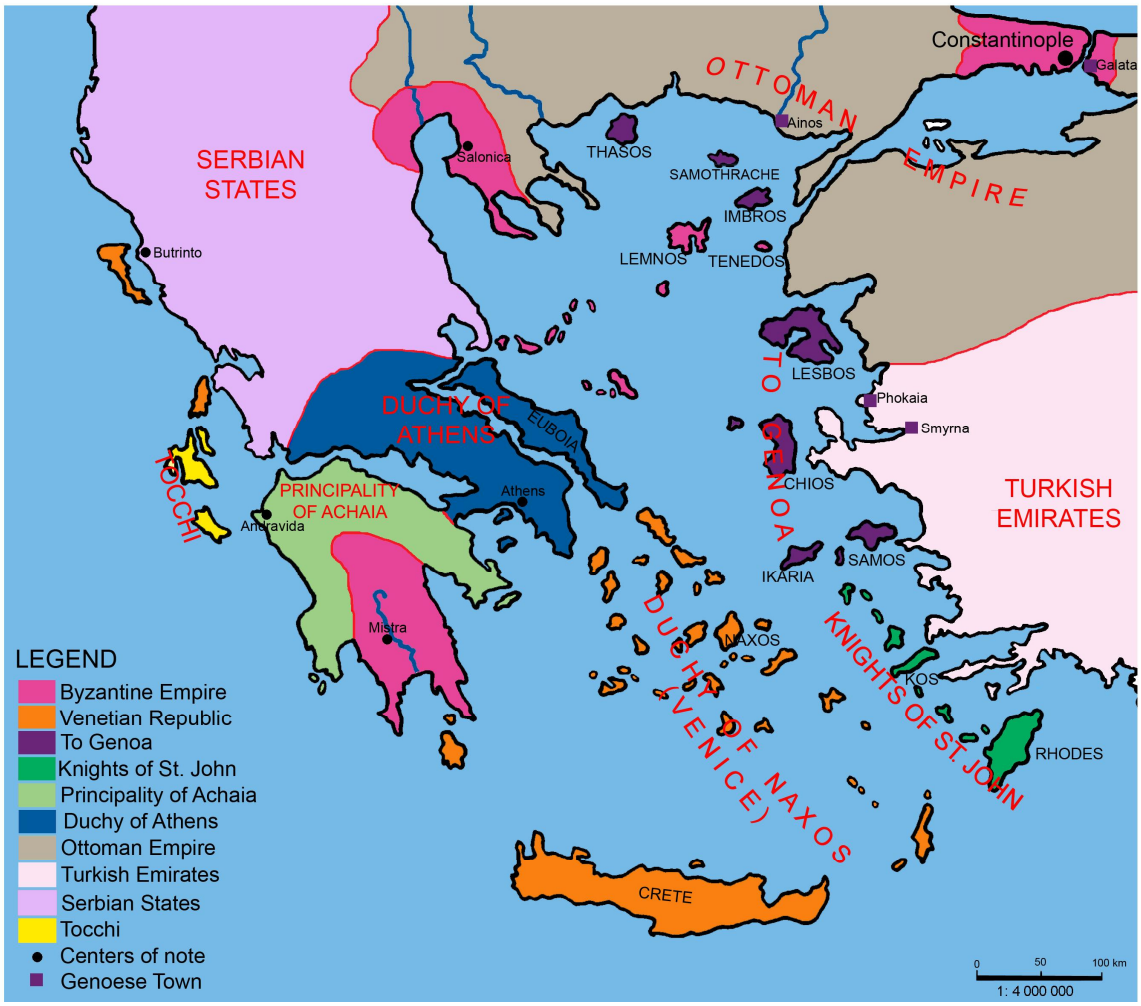

Table 1. The Genoese Islands of the Aegean before the Fall of Constantinople. The base-maps were provided by OMC, Online Map Creation, http://www.aquarius.geomar.de/omc/ and taken from *Történelmi világatlasz*, ed. Hidas G. (Budapest: Kartográfiai Vállalat, 1991), 15. The territorial distribution and the legend are based on *The Times Atlas of European History*, ed. T. Cassons, 2nd ed. (London: Times, 1998), 98-99; and M. Balard, "Gattilusi(o)," *LM* 5, 824.

CHAPTER TWO:
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 *Latinoi* in the Aegean. The Different Strategies of the Italian City-States: the Example of Genoa and Venice

The aim of this subchapter is to provide a brief overview of the political situation of the Greek World before the siege of Constantinople, when Kanaboutzes must have written his work, with special emphasis on the Genoese territories. The map of the region (see Figure 1) is meant to illustrate the territorial distribution of the region among the various political factors active there, although this task is almost impossible, because overall political chaos characterized the region in this period. The borders of the occupied territories changed from year to year and the colors of the map cannot express too accurately the flexible position of the different vassal states. For instance, the dependence of Morea (Mistra) and Salonica from Constantinople always depended on the actual and often changing political context. To give another example, the merchants of Chios formed a guild, called *Mahona*, which governed the island and paid tribute to both Genoa and Constantinople, while the Gattilusi, for instance, Palamedes, to whom Kanaboutzes presumably dedicated his work,[33] lived on such territories as Lesbos, Samothrace, Ainos, which, at least formally, were still part of the Empire and were given as fief to them. In addition to this, Palamedes' other dominium Ainos, a castle on the Thracian coast which had been donated to the family in 1261 by Michael VIII Palaiologos, was already in Ottoman-held territory by that time, and the Gattilusi paid yearly tribute to the sultan. Nevertheless, the map can depict at least the multitude of the political actors of the era as well as the special

[33] Lehnerdt, "De auctore," vii-ix.

spatial position that the Genoese states occupied between the Byzantine and Latin worlds in the fifteenth century.

The Italian city-states, since the early eleventh century, tried to acquire footholds for settling in Constantinople and in the other harbors of the Empire in order to enter the markets of the Levant. On the other hand, the Byzantine Empire attempted to keep them away from its territory and limited their rights inside its own boundaries. However, not all the city-states were treated in the same way. The strongest and most influential of them was Venice, therefore the emperors wisely chose her less dangerous rivals, the Genoese to negotiate and trade with. Because of this, Venice adopted an aggressive strategy meant to secure the trading routes within the Empire, while Genoa, on the contrary, sought a more peaceful way of gaining access to them. This can be clearly seen from the territorial distribution of the region, as seen in Figure 1. Venice acquired its Levantine territories by means of war, especially after the Fourth Crusade, when the Doge Enrico Dandolo together with Frankish crusaders conquered Constantinople in 1204. The Franks kept the central territories for themselves while Venice occupied the Southern Aegean Region, quite far from Constantinople. The Genoese together with the Pisans were left out at the sharing and their merchants were excluded from the lucrative trade in Romania; they could enter the Aegean Sea only as pirates.[34] True, after 1218, they were allowed to rebuild their trade posts, but their influence on the Aegean trade remained marginal.

Because of this *partitio Romaniae*, Byzantium and Genoa, two adversaries of Venice, both of which had not profited from the sharing, forged an alliance in 1260. A new phase started in the Byzantine-Genoese relations, in which the weak remains of the once mighty Empire found its prop in the Italian naval power, which, in turn,

[34] For this, see S. A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese: 958-1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1996), 96-116 (hereafter Epstein, *Genoa*).

struggled to take over the Venetian monopoly on Byzantine trade.[35] In 1261, Michael VIII Palaiologos re-conquered the capital of the Empire and its central territories from the Franks with the help of the Genoese fleet. The cooperation between the two powers did not end with this joint military action. Byzantine sea power was never the same again, because the emperors did not have enough resources to rebuild their fleet again. Therefore, the emperor hired the Genoese fleet to defend his territories from the Venetians, who firmly kept their positions in the South Aegean Region.[36] The price of the defense was high; a Genoese fortress was built in Galata, right across Constantinople, on the other side of the Golden Horn and, in addition to this, trading posts across the Empire were ceded or at least promised to the Genoese.[37] During the next one hundred and twenty years or so, the Genoese merchants expanded their influence over the north-eastern Aegean. Since 1267, the Zaccaria family controlled Old and New Phokaia and in 1304 Emperor Adronicus gave Chios to Benedetto Zaccaria to defend it from the Ottoman Turks and the Catalan pirates.[38] Temporarily, the Genoese also gained a foothold in Lesbos. Francisco Gattillusio helped Emperor John V to the throne and married the emperor's sister in 1355; his dowry was the island of Lesbos, which his family possessed until 1462. His brother, Niccolo annexed the city and castle of Ainos in 1384, while his brother's grandson, Palamedes, to whom Kanaboutzes dedicated his work, received Imbros and Samothrace in fief by the emperor.[39]

[35] D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 176 (hereafter Nicol, *Venice*).
[36] Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 67-70.
[37] For the question of the existence of these trading posts see M. Balard, "The Genoese in the Aegean (1204-1566)," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arabel (London: Frank Cass, 1989), 159-160, nn. 11-12 (hereafter Balard, "Genoese").
[38] Epstein, *Genoa*, 178, 184.
[39] Balard, "Genoese," 161; M. Balard, "Gattilusi(o)," *LM*, 4, 1139-1140.

Unlike Venice, which tried to impose its will upon the Empire, the Genoese lived together with the Byzantines in a symbiosis of sorts, though not without conflicts.[40] This special situation caused difficulties for the Genoese rulers in legitimizing their power over the Greeks. As these territories legally belonged to the Empire, the Greek inhabitants accepted the Genoese landlords more unwillingly, and expected help from Constantinople against their Latin rulers. While Venice could relatively pacify its territories after the first serious uprisings, paradoxically, the Genoese friends of Byzantium had to face a strong opposition on their islands, as shown, for instance, by the revolts in Chios in 1329 and 1348.[41]

2.2 The Ottoman Threat and the Union

The list of the political actors in the region would not be complete without mentioning the most powerful one, the Ottoman Empire. The Turks did not exercise any direct influence in the Aegean before the fourteenth century, when new Turkish emirates emerged in western Anatolia and conquered the Aegean littoral from Byzantium. They soon started to build ships and attacked the neighboring islands; the western response to this was the foundation of a Hospitaller state in Rhodes and two Crusades in 1334 and in 1344. However, these measures could not put an end to the Turkish raids upon the Aegean. The Emirate of Osman near the Sangarios river was the most successful of these Turkish states; it controlled the Bithynian frontier and

[40] So were, for instance, the Greco-Genoese wars between 1329 and 1346. Balard, "Genoese," 161; C. A. Maltezou, "Byzantine 'Consuetudines' in Venetian Crete," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 269-280.
[41] For a detailed discussion, see Chapter 2.3, p. 18-21.

gradually extended its rule over the whole of western Asia Minor.[42] By the end of the fourteenth century, the Byzantine Empire also became one of the vassal states of the Ottomans. The battle of Angora in 1402, where Timur Lenk destroyed the Ottoman army, could only provisionally hold their expansion. After that battle, all until 1412, domestic crisis paralyzed the Ottoman Empire, and Mehmed I (1412-1421) kept peace with Byzantium, which gained some breathing space, and was even able to start a war against Latin Achaea. With Murad II (1421-1451), a new phase began in the Byzantine-Ottoman relations, signaled by the siege of Constantinople in 1422. Once more, Manuel II (1391-1425) and John VIII (1425-1448) were forced to pay yearly tribute to the sultan and the occupation of Constantinople, which divided the European and Asian territories of the Ottomans, was now simply a question of time.[43]

The Ottoman threat and the hopeless situation of the Byzantine Empire had its impact on Greek-Latin relations as well, though this was not exclusively positive. In 1399, Manuel II and in 1437, John VIII left Constantinople to make a journey in the West; they tried to prevail upon the western rulers of Europe to help the Empire against the Muslims. They appealed to the sense of common Christian identity and, therefore, the price they had to pay was the acceptance of the supremacy of the Pope and the Union of the Orthodox and Catholic churches based on the conditions of the latter. In 1439, the Florentine Council declared the Union, which John VIII, who attended that council, accepted in the vain hope that this would mobilize the western resources in the defense of his empire.

The essential unity of the Christendom was never questioned by either side but the constrained conditions of the Union under the primacy of the pope made it

[42] E. Zachariadou, "Holy War in the Aegean during the Fourteenth Century," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arabel (London: Frank Cass, 1989), 212-215.
[43] G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12/1/2, Byzantinishes Handbuch 1/2. (Munchen: Beck, 1952), 438-455 (hereafter Ostrogorsky, *Der byzaninische Staat*).

unacceptable for the Orthodox in the East and increased the anti-Latin feelings among them. The situation was similar to that of the years after the Council of Lyon, when the unionist policy of Michael VIII, which aimed at preventing possible Crusades to re-conquer Constantinople, was decisively rejected by the Orthodox.[44] Such a unionist policy could not reconcile the old animosity between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics, which resulted in the schism in 1054 and was not alleviated by the crusades and the Latin occupation of the Aegean. Markos Eugenikos, the metropolitan of Ephesos, was the only participant of the Council of Florence who rejected the Union and, after his return to Byzantium, became a central character of the anti-Latin opposition together with his brother, who might have been a pen-friend of Kanaboutzes.[45] The unionist side also had its theoreticians, like Bessarion, who later became a Latin cardinal.[46]

Paradoxically, the Union did not help the reconciliation between the Greek and Latin sides; it rather deepened the gap between them. Anti-Latin resentment was fuelled even more when, on the eve of the fall of Constantinople, on 12 December 1452, a Latin Mass was celebrated in the Hagia Sophia; this was a scandal which shocked a high-ranked official of the Byzantine court so much that, according to Doukas, he declared that he would rather see turbans in the city than Latin miters.[47] Finally, the Union was not accepted in Constantinople, but Western release troops did not arrive either, and Constantine IX was helped only by Giovanni Giustiniani Longo and his Genoese troops at the siege of 1453.

[44] M. Angold, "Greeks and Latins after 1204: The Perspective of Exile," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arabel (London: Frank Cass, 1989), 79-81 (hereafter Angold, "Greeks and Latins").
[45] A. M. Talbot, "Eugenikos, Mark," *ODB* 1, 742-743.
[46] Ostrogorsky, *Der byzantinische Staat*, 464.
[47] Ostrogorsky, *Der byzantinische Staat*, 451.

Assuming that Ioannes Kanaboutzes wrote his commentary in the years before the Fall of Constantinople, this debate between the pro-Latin and anti-Latin sides could have served for him as background and inspiration for trying to reconcile the Latins and the Greeks. It has to be noted also that the whole debate revolved mainly around theological and liturgical questions such as the authenticity of the *filioque* or the question of Purgatory. Kanaboutzes, though he was in relation with one of the anti-Unionist participants of this controversy, it seems from his references to the Christian faith that he was a pro-Unionist and emphasized the unity of the Christendom.

2.3 Genoese Landlords, *Mahones* and *Archontes*: Opposition and *Rapprochement* between the two Elites on the Genoese Islands of the Aegean

Genoa, unlike Venice, did not try to control its territories in the Aegean directly. The main interest of the Genoese was to secure the trading routes to Constantinople and the Black Sea; therefore, the Commune of Genoa was satisfied if it could secure trading posts for their merchant ships. These territorial expansions, both peaceful and military, were mainly the results of private initiatives. The Zaccarias were merchant-pirates who were allowed to run their own business, trading in alum and mastic, under Byzantine sovereignty, in exchange for their military help. The Gattalusi were vassals and relatives of the emperors. The only exception was the case of Chios, which was conquered by a Genoese fleet in 1346, but the ship-owners immediately formed guild, the Maona of Chios, and took the tax-collection and the

administration of the island and the two Phokaias in lease from the Genoese state.[48] Later, in 1362, they adopted the surname Giustiniani and by this founded a strong clan of allied families.[49] The Genoese in the region were more dependent on their cooperation with Constantinople and the local elites than their rivals, the Venetians. The Aegean territories were far from Genoa, therefore they could expect less military support from the mother-city, which had weaker positions in the Aegean than Venice. The political centre closer to them was Constantinople, thus they had to find a *modus vivendi* with the Byzantines. The *mahonesi*, members of the Maona such as, tried to show prudence and moderation by offering collaboration to the Greek elite, the *archontes*. As a result, flexibility, equity, and religious tolerance characterized the Genoese rule over these territories.[50]

However, the feeling of belonging to the Empire and to the Orthodox Church excluded for a long time any possibility of accepting the peace with the Genoese among the *archontes*;[51] the Greek population remained loyal to the Emperor and the Orthodox Church. In 1329, when Benedetto II and Martino Zaccaria, with the help of the Holy See, tried to shed off Byzantine sovereignty, it took no more than one message of Emperor Andronicus III for the Greeks to immediately rise in arms against the occupants and join the Byzantine army to expel them. According to the *Annales Genuenses*, when Simone Vignoso besieged the citadel of Chios in 1346, the defenders' answer to the envoys was only *Moriantur et occidantur Ianuenses*! "Death to the Genoese, let them be killed!"[52] After recapturing the island, Vignoso left the property of the inhabitants unharmed, gave amnesty and even the price of the 200

[48] Epstein, *Genoa*, 209-210.
[49] Ibid., 224-225.
[50] Balard, "Genoese," 162.
[51] Ibid., 158-174.
[52] G. Stella and G. Stella, "Annales Genuenses," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. G. Petti Balbi, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ser. 2, Raccolta degli storici italiani, vol. 17, part 2. (Bologne: Zanichelli, 1975), 148. Translation with minor changes from Balard, "Genoese," 158.

houses in the citadel was fixed by a mixed commission. The efforts of the Genoese to pacify the Greeks without violence proved unsuccessful; two years later a new uprising broke out against the Latins. Only the leaders of the plot, who tried to assassinate the Genoese governor on Easter Day in church, were punished; they were all hanged with the exception of the metropolitan of the island, who was sent to exile. Otherwise, even more rights were given the Greeks; for instance, in court the oath was taken not on the Gospel but on the icons according to the custom of the Orthodox. After the marriage of Francisco I Gattilusio with the emperor's daughter in 1355, the position of the *mahonesi* on Chios was also stabilized by the *chrysobullon* of John V in 1367. After this, the *archontes* of the region had to understand that they could not look forward to any help from Constantinople, and accepted the peace with the Genoese *mahonesi*. This time, instead of military power, common interest, tolerance, and respect of local customs secured the rule of the Latins. The Greek elite was allowed to keep its privileges and because of the economic prosperity their living standard even increased. A new Graeco-Genoese society emerged and mixed marriages between the members of the two elites indicated the *rapprochement*, which allowed for the invaders to be gradually Easternized.[53]

As for the other territories, the sources are less informative. Chios paid tribute to both sides, to Genoa and Constantinople, and was more involved in the Genoese domestic affairs; therefore, more Genoese sources deal with its affairs. The situation on the other islands which belonged to the Gattilusi is less reflected in the Genoese sources; however, in my opinion, the rulers of the islands had to collaborate with the local elite in a very similar manner. They could not rely on the Genoese troops more

[53] Balard, "Genoese," 165-172.

than the Chian *mahonesi* and, as vassals of the Emperor, they depended even more on the imperial power.

In brief, these islands under Byzantine sovereignty, close to the capital, were practically the properties of Genoese landlords and the Maona of Chios, but they had to maintain close relations with Byzantium and win over the local elite in order to make them accept their rule. The north-east Aegean was the territory where a strong need of reconciliation of the Latin and Greek cultures emerged; of this process the only, albeit sadly neglected literary evidence, is the work of Ioannes Kanabutzes, who belonged to the Hellenized Genoese elite, and tried to legitimize the Genoese occupation of the region. His work can offer a unique insight into the intellectual life and linguistic usage of this two-cultured society.

CHAPTER THREE:
RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

3.1 The Problem

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the style of Ioannes Kanaboutzes and, by so doing, to answer the following question: How did he change the original text of Dionysios of Halikarnassos while rephrasing it? Describing the style and the rhetoric of a Byzantine author is in itself a useful enterprise, but in this thesis, which endeavors to examine the ways Kanaboutzes re-used the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius, the comparative analysis of the two texts is particularly valuable. It is through such an analysis that the cultural background of Kanaboutzes can be traced, his intended audience can be identified, and the way he related himself to Dionysius, his source, can be examined.

In the few studies devoted to him, Kanaboutzes has never been praised for his style. According to A. Diller's study, "his work is rather silly, scarcely worthy of a Teubner edition. His style is easy, fulsome, and discursive."[54] Even the editor of the *Commentarius*, M. Lehnherdt, in the preface to his critical edition railed against Kanaboutzes, saying: *Byzantinae loquacitatis exemplum est odiosissimum* ("he is a very unpleasant example of Byzantine loquacity"), and "the most illustrious prince of Samothrace and Ainos [that is, the dedicatee of the work] should not seem unworthy of our admiration, if he endured the 'immoderate and inadequate wordiness' of the

[54] Diller, "Canabutzes," 271.

author patiently and if he read the book until the end."[55] By this, Lehnherdt chiefly alluded to the author's immoderate use of the rhetorical tool of *amplificatio* as, for instance, when Dionysios wrote: Σάτυρος ὁ τοὺς ἀρχαίους μύθους συναγαγών[56] ("Satyrus, who collected the ancient myths"), a simple statement Kanaboutzes reformulated as follows:

> Ὁ Σάτυρος, ὅστις συνήγαγε καὶ συνέθηκε καὶ ἔγραψεν εἰς βιβλίον ἓν ὅλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς μύθους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἵτινες ἦσαν διεσκορπισμένοι καὶ ἄτακτοι.[57]
>
> Satyrus, who collected, gathered together, and wrote in one book all the ancient myths of the Greeks, which [until then] had been scattered and unorganized.[58]

Such a loquacious style may be alien to our modern taste, yet I believe that instead of exercising biting irony, stylistic analysis could actually bring us closer to understanding the purpose of the author and the cultural milieu of the Greco-Genoese society to which he belonged and which is represented by only a few literary examples. Among scholars who have dealt with Kanaboutzes, it was only M. Hinterberger who has tried to study the language of Kanaboutzes with an objective and open-minded approach, although he has focused his research mainly on the vernacular features of the text.[59] With the exception of Hinterberger's article, no study has been written so far on the style and rhetoric of the author studied here. In my analysis, which is meant to fill this gap in the existing scholarship, I will apply a diachronic approach; the basis of the comparison will be the original text of Dionysios

[55] Lehnerdt, "De auctore," xi-xii.
[56] Dionysios of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitatum Romanorum quae supersunt*, ed. K. Jacoby (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1967), 1, 67 (hereafter: Dionysios, *Roman Antiquities*).
[57] Kanaboutzes 62. 16-19.
[58] In the following, the translations from the *Commentary* of Kanaboutzes, if not indicated otherwise, are mine. In case of the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysios, my translations are based on that of E. Cary with significant alterations. Dionysios of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, trans. E. Cary, 7 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947-1961).
[59] Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes," 405-25.

and I will focus on the ways in which Kanaboutzes paraphrased his source to his own language and style. Before proceeding to the analysis of the text, however, a few words have to be said about the basic concepts of Byzantine stylistics, more specifically on the question of the various levels of style discernible in Byzantine prose.

3.2 The Study of the Stylistic Levels in Byzantine Prose

Byzantine literature is often regarded as an odd rhetorical game in which members of the highest, well-educated elite indulged, imitating Classical patterns but without any expressivity.[60] Such negative criticism is based on the idea that Byzantine writers followed not only the norms but also the language of Hellenistic literature. Thus, in this view they artificially conserved an obsolete state of language in their works, the Classical Attic dialect, and abandoned vernacular Greek, which gradually drifted away from the language of high literature. However, the concept of *diglossia*, often used to characterize the division between vernacular Greek and the Attic dialect, simplifies the complexity of the different levels and dialects of Byzantine literature.

As it happens, the same Dionysios of Halikarnassos who served as a model and raw material for Kanaboutzes' work was one of the first stylistic theorists to distinguish between three levels of style (high, middle, and low) in his rhetorical treatise *De compositione verborum*.[61] This division is still in use among Byzantinists to describe how close an author's style is to Classical standards, or rather, to the

[60] To quote just such one instance, no lesser an authority than R. J. H. Jenkins would write about the whole of Byzantine literature in the following terms: "We have noted throughout our period the paralyzing grip of Hellenistic rhetoric, a strait-jacket which held its prisoners in a state of mental retardation," see "On the Hellenistic Origin of Byzantine Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 37-52 (hereafter: Jenkins, "Hellenistic").
[61] The first extant work known to do so was the *Rhetorica ad Herennium.*

Classical standards as the Byzantines understood them.[62] According to this tripartite division, a work in high style makes use of rare vocabulary solidly attested in Classical authors or even *hapax legomena*, while never using demotic or even scriptural expressions and forms. Its grammar may contain obsolete forms such as the dual, the perfect, the optative or the dative case, and the whole text will be hard to understand for the reader who is not especially trained to deal with its *obscuritas*. Clarity and intelligibility were not among the virtues of the authors writing in high style, as this was the language of the elect, the highly educated elite. On the other hand, a work in low style, though still not written in demotic Greek, would often use patristic, scriptural, demotic or even non-Greek expressions and contain few or no obsolete forms, while its sentences would be shorter and less elaborated, its structure more predictable and closer to the spoken language. The middle style was located between these two levels; it would use scriptural vocabulary occasionally and contain fewer colloquial forms, yet it would be understandable to a wider audience than high-style Atticizing Greek.

This model, which was already operational in Byzantine times and is still influential among contemporary Byzantinists, qualifies the different styles along one single dimension -- how close the style of a certain text gets to the standards of the Atticizing Greek of the Second Sophistic. In this interpretation, this esoteric style became the norm and the closer a style was to the stylistic norm, the higher the position of its user became in literary society.[63] The boundaries between these categories, however, are not clear-cut, and, in my opinion, labeling the authors in itself does not contribute much, if anything, to a picture of them, but rather simplifies it. Nevertheless, with restrictions, such research on the levels of style can still be

[62] I. Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31 (1981): 290-294 (hereafter Ševčenko, "Levels").
[63] Ševčenko, "Levels," 304.

relevant, especially when accompanied by the question of why an author wrote in a particular style and what his purpose was when he upgraded or downgraded the style of a text. For instance, in the case of Symeon Metaphrastes, who collected and rephrased the hagiographic tradition of his age in the tenth century,[64] it is an interesting problem in itself to find out whether he upgraded or downgraded the style of a hagiographical work he reworked and to identify his special position within the group of the authors who used grand style, for he still tried to use an understandable language. On the other hand, in the case of Kanaboutzes, who lived in Genoese territories in the fifteenth century when the literary circles of Constantinople together with the secular highly sophisticated school system[65] were disappearing, it is doubtful that, even if he was aware of these norms, he tried to follow them at all. In his case, I believe the mechanical application of this traditional approach would be misleading.

The stylistic level of a work was not determined exclusively by the education of the author. Moving up was impossible; a lowly educated author could not write in high prose, but a learned intellectual would hardly have condescended to a humble style.[66] Nevertheless, to a certain extent, style was also a conscious choice or preference of the author, depending on the function of the message to be conveyed.[67] This practice was covered by the doctrine of *aptum* or *decorum* (appropriateness), i.e., the appropriate selection of style depending on subject matter and type of discourse,

[64] M. Detoraki, "La métaphrase du Martyre de S. Aréthas (BHG 166y): Entre les Actes anciens (BHG 166) et Syméon Métaphraste (BHG 167)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 120 (1992): 72-100; E. Peyr, "Zur Umarbeitung rhetorischer Texte durch Symeon Metaphrastes," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 42 (1992): 143-155; Ševčenko, "Levels," 301-304; C. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2002).

[65] I use the term school-system not in a modern, centralized sense, when national core curricula determine the common methods and the content, but rather in order to emphasize the fact that it transmitted a similar education throughout centuries. For the Late Byzantine education, see C. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1982) and Sophia Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettres pendant l' époque des Paléologues (1261-1453)* (Athens: Société des amis du peuple, 1996).

[66] However, there are exceptions, such as the fifth-century *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladios.

[67] Ševčenko, "Levels," 307. On functional styles see also L. Dolezel and J. Kraus, "Prague

or by *deinotes* (intensity), according to which the actual moment, that is the situation, audience, and purpose of the author, determined the mixture of styles.[68] Therefore, the use of the different levels and kinds of style was probably a literary device used by numerous Byzantine prose writers, and their style was not only the consequence of their language skills.

Contrary to the idea of the rule of high style, there are other approaches in the study of Byzantine literature which focus on low-style and vernacular works. Since the nineteenth century, there has also been another tendency to argue that highbrow literature was practiced only by a closed circle and had no relation to the "real culture," which was, in fact, lowbrow literature.[69] This approach also maintained the idea of a dichotomy in Byzantine literature which was influenced by the modern contest between *kathareuousa* and *dimotiki*. However, in recent scholarship there is a new effort to bridge the gap between the two dialects of Byzantine written culture by emphasizing the interaction between them and determining what the language of the vernacular literature might have been in fact.[70] This layer of Byzantine literature, to which Kanaboutzes might have belonged, is characterized as follows.

First, E. Trapp argued that a new vernacular literature emerged earlier than the twelfth century and suggests broadening its sphere at the expense of the

School of stylistics," in *Current Trends in Stylistics*, ed. B. B. Kachru (Edmonton: Linguistic Research Inc., 1972), 38-39.

[68] I. Ševčenko, "Querelle sur le style," in *La vie intellectuelle et politique à Byzance sous les premiers Paléologues. Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnus* (Brussels: Byzantion, 1962), 51-67.

[69] C. Mango, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium," in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham: Birmingham University, 1981), 48-57.

[70] E. Trapp, "Learned and Vernacular Literature in Byzantium: Dichotomy or Symbiosis," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 115-129 (hereafter Trapp, *Vernacular*); M. Hinterberger, "How Should We Define Vernacular Literature?" Paper presented at the conference "Unlocking the Potential of Texts: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Greek" at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities, University of Cambridge, 18-19 July 2006. http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/Hinterberger.html, last accessed 20 May 2007 (hereafter Hinterberger, "Vernacular").

[70] I. Ševčenko, "Additional remarks to the Report," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32 (1982): 226 (hereafter Ševčenko, "Remarks").

hochsprachliche Profanliteratur, a category which should be restricted only to those authors who used pure Atticizing language, while the rest, which used a mixed language, should be classified as vernacular literature.[71] He emphasized the interaction between the two registers of Byzantine literature instead of the mutual ignorance claimed by previous scholarship.

Second, Hinterberger argued that the language of vernacular literature was not Vernacular Greek, if one means by this Demotic Greek; this dialect was the literary *koine,* which was based indeed on spoken Greek but was enriched by other layers of Greek as well. In addition, Demotic Greek also appears in Byzantine literature but its usage is very restricted.[72] Instead of Atticizing Greek, the *koine* was the language of the administration while highbrow Greek was the language used in only part of the literature.

Third, both authors emphasize the fact that vernacular literature was not unlearned or popular literature; the authors who produced it also had a solid education and they also wrote for the elite albeit in a livelier, more realistic language. As Ševčenko also cautiously suggested in connection with the simplifying "metaphrasers" of Classical or high-styled works,[73] such authors deliberately chose to write in vernacular and there was another literary norm in Byzantium besides Atticism. This model presents a strikingly new approach to vernacular literature, which was previously described and defined mainly in negative terms, such as the lack of Atticizing grammar or vocabulary. According to this idea, Late Byzantine literature had two centers of gravity which interacted closely with each other, namely, the Atticizing high-style literature and that produced in vernacular Greek, both with their own literary and linguistic standards and both used by the learned elite. I believe

[71] Trapp, "Vernacular," 116.
[72] Hinterberger, "Vernacular."
[73] Ševčenko, "Remarks," 223.

further studies on the language and the norms of the vernacular style could be of great help in achieving a better understanding of Late Byzantine culture.

In my opinion, it is to such an investigation of the style of a particular cultural milieu that the comparative analyses of metaphrases can contribute the most. If the text in question is a paraphrase of an older work, as is the case with the *Commentarius* of Kanaboutzes, the study of its stylistic level and its language can reveal important details about the linguistic standards of the age when it appeared. The paraphraser introduced changes according to the language standards of his cultural milieu, downgrading or upgrading the text, yet always in order to meet the requirements of his audience. The very fact that the work of Dionysios of Halikarnassos was circulated among the Greco-Genoese intellectuals in the fifteenth century is in itself important, but the way one of them re-wrote the text can be highly informative about that society and can characterize its language and culture.

3.3 The Method and the Variables of Analysis

This chapter is dedicated to an examination of the kind suggested above. As some scholars maintain, stylistics can be understood as the study of alternative modes of expressing (approximately) the same content.[74] Therefore, I believe that the most effective opportunity to examine style in the case of a work that re-writes an older original is simply the juxtaposition of the original text with its paraphrase, which displays an alternative form but more or less the same content. In my comparative examination, sections will be cited from the *Commentarius* next to the corresponding original version written by Dionysios of Halikarnassos. The paragraphs/fragments

[74] Ševčenko, "Levels," 289.

vary noticeably in length. I will underline the corresponding texts with identical content; in this way, the underlined parts will indicate the identical content. Those parts which I do not underline in the text of Dionysios will indicate the omissions by Kanaboutzes, while those parts which I do not underline in the text of Kanaboutzes will show his additions to Dionysios' text. My analysis will discuss the style of the author and the changes that he introduced in the original text according to his purposes and his cultural background.

True, such a clear-cut division between form and content (*signa et res*), which was the basis of the levels of the style until the twentieth century, is not possible. According to new schools of thought,[75] style is part of the meaning and the information carried by an utterance is necessarily changed when it is rephrased in a different form. As for Kanaboutzes, he rephrased the statements of Dionysios and sometimes deliberately introduced modifications to them. In this rhetorical analysis, I will try to distinguish between instances where he changed the content intentionally and those when such changes are, apparently, unintentional; I will also briefly refer to the manner in which the meaning of the text changed because of the metaphrasis, although the main aim of this part of my analysis is rather to describe the ways and extent of Kanaboutzes' changes in the Classical Greek text with the purpose of bringing it closer to his readers.

In a study carried out on a stylistic level, such as the present one, the meaning of style has to be defined along with the aspects of it that will be investigated. In traditional scholarship on Byzantine style, when the closeness to Atticizing norms was the main variable of the analysis, literary and linguistic styles were studied together. In the following examination, I will make a clear distinction between the linguistic

[75] Described by N. E. Enkvist, "On Defining Style: An Essay in Applied Linguistics," in *Linguistics and Style*, ed. J. Spencer (London, Oxford University, 1964), 19-21; K. J. Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 3-5 (hereafter Dover, *Evolution*).

style on one hand, that is language, vocabulary, syntax, and grammar, and literary style on the other hand, i.e., the author's use of rhetorical devices such as figures and tropes. I will analyze the style of the two texts along these dimensions and try to answer the question: How and to what extent Kannaboutzes did change the style of the Classical Greek text in order to bring it closer to his readers?

Before proceeding any further, however, it must also be noted here that Dionysios was Kanaboutzes' main, but not the only, source; he sometimes used other authors such as Herodotos, Plutarch, Eustathios, Eudokios, and Arrian, whose works I will not include in this analysis. Although a comparative investigation of the changes made by Kannaboutzes in his quotations of these historians is a potentially interesting enterprise, I have decided to limit the present research to texts written by the same author as providing a more solid and unitary basis for my comparison. When necessary, I will refer to these other texts as well, and further studies on Kanaboutzes' other sources might therefore amplify the results of the comparison.

3.4 Comparative Analysis

The first passage I intend to discuss was identified as a particularly repellent example of Kannaboutzes' style by his nineteenth-century editor (as I have already mentioned in the introductory subchapter to this analysis).

Dionysios of Halikarnassos, 1, 67	Ioannes Kanaboutzes, 62, 16-19
Σάτυρος ὁ τοὺς ἀρχαίους μύθους συναγαγών[76]	Ὁ Σάτυρος, ὅστις συνήγαγε καὶ συνέθηκε καὶ ἔγραψεν εἰς βιβλίον ἓν ὅλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς μύθους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἵτινες ἦσαν διεσκορπισμένοι καὶ ἄτακτοι.[77]

The comparison of these two short passages shows that Kanaboutzes modified the content slightly by adding some logical information of his own and thus rephrased the original text in a much longer version. By doing so, he was merely operating with a rhetorical figure called *amplificatio*, i.e., the expansion of a text in order to elevate and magnify the subject in hand.[78] The three verbs, συνήγαγε καὶ συνέθηκε καὶ ἔγραψεν list the activities of editorship in chronological order: collection, structuring, and writing. These three verbs form a sequence and all stand in exactly the same syntactical relation to what lies outside the sequence.[79] This figure, which, according to the Classical terminology, is also called *congeries*, is a type of amplification and serves two purposes, first, the *evidentia*, that is the intensification of an argument or vividness of an expression, and second, the ornamentation of a text. Such an accumulation of expressions is frequent in Kanaboutzes' work[80] and I believe it had the aim of elevating the rhetorical fluency and richness (*copia*) of the style. In such cases, it can be surmised that Kanaboutzes did not find the Attic prose of

[76] "Satyrus, who collected the ancient myths..."
[77] "Satyrus, who collected, gathered together, and wrote in one book all the ancient myths of the Greeks, which [until then] had been scattered and unorganized."
[78] H. F. Plett, "Amplification," *ER*, 25-26.
[79] Dover, *Evolution*, 143.
[80] See, for instance Kanaboutzes, 64. 21-27: τὸ γὰρ κεκρυμμένον και ἄδηλον καὶ ἀπόρρητον ἀγαπῶσι καὶ ζητῶσι καὶ θαυμάζωσι καὶ τιμῶσι πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τὸ δὲ φανερὸν καὶ εὔκολον καὶ ἕτοιμον οὔτε ἐπιθυμοῦσιν οὔτε θαυμάζουσιν οὔτε τιμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καταφρονοῦσιν αὐτοῦ. "For men love, search, admire, and respect the hidden, mystical, secret things and do not desire, admire, and respect, but rather hold in contempt tose which are clear, easy, and accessible."

Dionysios ornamented enough and tried to elevate its rhetorical style by using such rhetorical figures. True, this can also be regarded as empty loquacity and mere wordiness, because according to modern taste this situation, that is, the description of an ancient author who colected old myths, did not deserve such intensification. Yet this is only a judgement value on the appropriateness of such re-writing, which cannot deny the fact that as far as the use of rhetorical tools goes, Kanaboutzes did make an effort to write in an elaborate style.

The next excerpt studied here may seem long; it is, however, highly informative about the omissions and additions that Kanaboutzes made to the text of Dionysius, which served as a basis for his own work.

Dionysios of Halikarnassos 1. 7. 2-3	Ioannes Kanaboutzes 16. 3-14
Ἐγὼ καταπλεύσας εἰς Ιταλίαν ἅμα τῷ καταλυθῆναι τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἑβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος μεσούσης, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον ἐτῶν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος γενόμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρίψας, διάλεκτον τε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐκμαθὼν καὶ γραμμάτων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων λαβὼν ἐπιστήμην, ἐν παντὶ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην διετέλουν πραγματευόμενος. Καὶ τὰ μὲν παρὰ λογιωτάτων ἀνδρῶν, οἷς εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἦλθον, διαδαχῇ παραλαβών, τα δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀναλεξάμενος, ἃς οἱ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπαινούμενοι Ῥωμαίων συνέγραψαν Πόρκιός τε Κάτων καὶ	Οὕτος τοίνυν ὁ Διονύσιος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ, καθ᾽ ὃν ὑπηρχε βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ Σεβαστὸς, οὗτινος εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγεννήθη ὁ πρῶτος ἀληθινὸς βασιλεὺς ὁ Χριστός, ἀπῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἁλικαρνασοῦ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ διέτριψεν ἐκεῖ χρόνους εἴκοσι καὶ δύο. Ἐκεῖ γοῦν ἔμαθε τὴν γλῶσσαν τὴν λατινικὴν καὶ λατινικὰ γράμματα καὶ ἀνέγνωσεν ὅλα τὰ ἱστορικὰ βιβλία, ὅσα ἔγραψαν οἱ Ῥωμᾶνοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Λατῖνοι περὶ τῆς κτίσεως τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς.[82]

Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Οὐαλὲριος ὁ Ἀντιεὺς και Λικίννιος Μάκερ Αἴλιοί τε καὶ Γέλλιοι καὶ Καλπουρνιοι καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄνδρες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς, ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων ὁρμώμενος τῶν πραγματειῶν (εἰσὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς χρονογραφίαις ἐοικυῖαι), τότε ἐπεχείρησα τῇ γραφῇ.[81]	

In this passage, Kanaboutzes reduced the quantity of information given by Dionysius; he did so by omitting those facts that were irrelevant to his subject matter and would have been meaningless to his readers, such as Dionysius' list of Roman historians, whose works had been lost by the fifteenth century. Kanaboutzes also changed the dating of Dionysius' arrival in Rome; instead of the end of the Civil War and the Olympiads, he dated it with the help of a reference to the birth of Christ, which would have been closer to his readers' historical knowledge and to his own ideological, i.e., Christian, Eusebian perspective, which linked together the birth of Christ with the zenith of the Roman Empire.[83] In addition, he attached more value to his own endeavor by dating his source to the same time as the birth of Christ. On the other hand, he added some other details, which, in fact, did not contribute any novelty, but were derived from Dionysios' original, such as, for instance, the information that

[81] "I sailed to Italy just when Augustus Caesar ended the civil war in the middle of the one hundred and eighty-seventh Olympiad, and from that time I have been living in Rome for twenty-two years until now. I have learned the Roman language, I have grown familiar with the local literature, and I have dedicated myself during this whole period to issues related to this purpose. I collected my knowledge partly by means of listening to the very learned men with whom I had conversation, and partly from histories written by those who were acknowledged by the Romans, like Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, and the Aelii, Gellii, Calpurnii, and besides them many other famous authors. Starting from these works, which are similar to Greek chronographies, I embarked upon writing."
[82] "Therefore, when this Dionysios lived, Augustus Caesar was the emperor in Rome, in whose time Christ, the first and true emperor, was born. He [Dionysius] arrived from Halikarnassos and spent twenty-two years there. He learned the Latin language and the Latin literature there and read all the historical books which were written by the Romans and other Latins about the foundation and all the other affairs of Rome."
[83] See Chapter 4. 1. 3, p. 56.

Dionysios sailed from Halicarnassos and wrote about the foundation of Rome and all its other affairs. All these are pieces of information which the original text does not contain. Therefore, it is safe to say that Kannaboutzes abbreviated and amplified the original text at the same time. When he changed the text from διάλεκτον τε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐκμαθὼν καὶ γραμμάτων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων λαβὼν ἐπιστήμην to Ἐκεῖ γοῦν ἔμαθε τὴν γλῶσσαν τὴν λατινικὴν καὶ λατινικὰ γράμματα, he introduced significant changes. By his use of the ethnic qualifier λατινικός "Latin," instead of Ῥωμαϊκὴν "Roman" he implies the fact that, in his view, the Roman language and the literature with which Dionysios had become familiar in Rome is identical with the Latin one. This is probably not to be interpreted as a sign of Genoese patriotism; it also has to be noted here, that by the time Kanaboutzes wrote his work "Roman" was still the current Greek term for what we would call "Byzantine" today. Kanaboutzes, unlike the Byzantines, used both terms, "Latin" and "Roman" in more or less the same meaning but, in this case, he chose the form Latin, by which he did not change the meaning of the text, only its surface. In addition to this, Kanaboutzes also omitted such learned words as ἐπιχωρίων, ἐπιστήμην, and διάλεκτον from his original, replacing them with simpler forms or expressions. He changed the participles to finite verbs (διατρίψας > διέτριψεν), which is a demotic feature. It can also be said that he changed almost every single word in the original text, at least on the level of pre-verbs (ἐκμαθών > ἔμαθε). Nevertheless, his own version of the original is not exempt from faults, if we judge his prose by Atticist standards. Thus, for instance, in his expressions εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην and εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν a demotic change is attested, which is the use of εἰς + accusative for

expressing place and time instead of direction. In Classical Attic, thus also in the high style, ἐν + dative was used to express the same meaning. Kanaboutzes was probably aware of this, as he had the "correct" model written by Dionysios before his eyes, and in the case of ἐν τῷ καιρῷ he used it according to the Attic standard, even though in his own vernacular the dative was probably no longer in current use.

The next passage reveals much about how Kanaboutzes actualized the text he was reworking.

Dionysius of Halicarnassos 1. 61. 1	Joannes Kanaboutzes 36. 6-12
Ἄτλας γίνεται βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, ᾤκει δὲ περὶ λεγόμενον Καυκάσιον ὄρος.[84]	Ἐντὸς τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὅντινα εἴπομεν ὅτι καλεῖται σήμερον Μορέας, ἔστι τόπος λεγόμενος Ἀρκαδία μέχρι καὶ σήμερον. Εἰς ταύτην τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν ἐγένετο πρῶτος βασιλεὺς εἷς ἄνθρωπος Ἄτλας λεγόμενος. Εἶχε γοῦν τὴν κατοικὶαν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἓν ὄρος ἤως βουνίον τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὀνομαζόμενον Καυκάσιον.[85]

In this case the *amplificatio* is more obvious than in the previous case, because Kanaboutzes did not omit any detail from the original text. Indeed, he rephrased more or less the same content in a text two or three times longer and more roundabout in style. He glossed the Classical ὄρος (mountain) with its demotic synonym βουνίον, which shows a demotic feature, the use of a diminutive suffix; he eliminated a

[84] "Atlas was the first king of the territory which is now called Arcadia, and he lived near a mountain called Kaukasios."
[85] "Inland in the Peloponessos, which as I have said, is now called Morea, there is a place which is called Arcadia even to this day. In the ancient times a man called Atlas became the first king in that Arcadia. He had his dwelling on a mountain or mount of Arcadia called Kaukasios."

difficult impferfect form ᾤκει, which was re-written with the help of a paraphrase into "Εἶχε γοῦν τὴν κατοικὶαν." The demotic use of εἰς + accusative can be seen here again, but what is more important is the way Kanaboutzes updated the placenames in the original text. The name of Peloponesos was only used in highbrow Greek by his time; therefore, he added the contemporary name of the peninsula, Morea, in order to bring the text closer to the knowledge of his audience.

The next text sample describes the foundation of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitolium by King Tarquinius Priscus.

Dionysios of Halikarnassos 1. 59. 2	Ioannes Kanaboutzes 32. 1-12
Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ πολέμῳ μαχόμενος πρὸς Σαβίνους εὔξατο τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρα καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐὰν κρατήσῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ναοὺς αὐτοῖς κατασκευάσειν καὶ τὸν μεν σκόπεδον, ἔνθα ἱδρύσεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἔμελλεν, ἀναλήμμασί τε καὶ χώμασι μεγάλοις ἐξειργάσατο, καθάπερ ἔφην ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου λόγῳ, τὴν δὲ τῶν ναῶν κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἔφθη τελέσαι.[86]	Οὗτος εἶχε πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν κύκλῳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐθνῶν. Ὅταν οὖν ἦλθεν εἰς τοῦτο, ὅτι ὑπῆρχεν ἀνάγκη ἵνα μίξωσι τὰ στρατεύματα, ἐφοβήθη καὶ ἐδειλίασεν. Ηὔξατο γοῦν, ὅτι ἐὰν νικήσῃ τὸν πὸλεμον ἐκεῖνον, ἵνα ποιήσῃ βωμὸν καὶ ναὸν μέγαν καὶ περικαλῆ τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ Διί, ὅστις καὶ Ζεὺς λὲγεται, λατινικῶς δὲ Γιούμπιτερ. Ἐνίκησε τὸν πόλεμον γοῦν ὁ Ταρκύνιος καὶ ἤρξατο ποιεῖν τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον εἰς τὸν λόφον τοῦτον, ὃς ἐλέγετο τότε Σατόρνιος, οὐκ ἔφθασε δὲ θεμελιῶσαι τοῦτον καὶ ἀπέθανε.[87]

[86] "He [Tarquinius Priscus] swore during his last war against the Sabines that he would build a temple to Zeus, Hera, and Athena if he won the battle. As I have said before, he prepared the peak with great groundwork and banks where he wanted to consecrate the building to the gods, but he could not finish the construction of the temple."

[87] "He [Tarquinius Priscus] was at war with the people living around Rome. So when it came to this that it was necessary that the armies would clash, he got frightened and lost heart. Therefore, he swore that if he won that war he would make an altar and a great and beautiful temple to his god, Dios, who is also called Zeus, and in Latin Jupiter. Thus, Tarquinius won the war and started to build this temple on this hill which was then called Saturnius. However, he could not lay the foundation of it and died."

In contrast to the brief Atticist narrative of Dionysius, Kanaboutzes amplified the text again by using synonyms (βωμὸν καὶ ναὸν or ἐφοβήθη καὶ ἐδειλίασεν) and inserting additional, explanatory sentences, such as "So when he arrived at the situation when it was necessary that the armies would encounter, he got frightened and lost heart." He also added more data that he derived from the original text; for instance, that Tarquinius had won the battle or that he could not finish the construction because he died. On the other hand, Kanaboutzes omitted the name of the Sabines as being unknown in his time or of little importance to his readers and paraphrased it as "people living around Rome." He did not describe the earthworks for the foundation of the temple and he mentioned only Jupiter from among the three gods to whom Tarquinius Priscus swore to dedicate the temple. However, the fact that he gave the name of Zeus even in Latin as Γιούμπιτερ deserves attention. As he wanted to reconcile the Greek and the Latin worlds by demonstrating their common culture and origin, the translation of the name of the gods could have served this purpose, and it is frequently attested in the work.[88] Moreover, he gave the name of Zeus in two Greek forms τῷ Διί ὅστις καὶ Ζεὺς λὲγεται ("to Dias, who is also called Zeus.") By doing so, he tried to give a simpler alternative name to Διί, which was the archaic form in dative.

Demotic forms can be also found in this passage, such as the already mentioned εἰς + accusative for place (εἰς τὸν λόφον τοῦτον) and the ἵνα + subjunctive for the infinitive. In his rewriting of Dionysius, Kanaboutzes also used rare, learned words such as θεμελιῶσαι and ἐδειλίασεν; what is more, the former is more learned than its model κατασκευὴν τελέσαι in Dionysius. It is apparent

[88] Kanaboutzes, 41. 27; 48. 21; 62. 28.

that even if the two texts are close to each other in logic and structure there are very few common words between them; Kanaboutzes employed his own, original vocabulary (e.g., κρατήση > νικήση, μάχη > πὸλεμον). The only common word pair (εὔξατο > ηὔξατο) was also modified by using the *augmentum temporale*, which was also correct in the Attic Greek.

My last example is taken from the narrative of the Trojan war, a story belonging to the history of Samothrace, which interested Palamedes Gattilusio so much. However, here Kanaboutzes abbreviated the text to such an extent, that I prefer to quote only the corresponding parts of the original version, leaving out those which he also ommitted.

Dionysios of Halikarnassos, 1. 46. 2-4	Ioannes Kanaboutzes, 57. 19-58. 3
ἔνθα ὑπομένοντες ἀπεκρούντο τοὺς πειρωμένους ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τὸ διαπῖπτον ὑπὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως πλῆθος ἐμπειρίᾳ στενωπῶν ὑποθέοντες ἀνελάμβανον ... παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ γηραιὰ σώματα καὶ ὁπόσοις ἄλλοις βραδείας ἔδει φυγῆς προεξελθεῖν κελεύει τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὰς επὶ τὴν Ἰδην φερούσας ὁδοὺς ... τοῦ δὲ στρατιωτικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ἐξιοντῶν ἔταξεν, ὡς ἀσφαλής τε καὶ ἀταλαιπόρος ἐκ τῶν ἐνοντῶν ἡ φυγή γένοιτο... Νεοπτολέμου δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπιβάντος μέρους τινὸς τῆς ἄκρας ... ἀνοίξας δὲ τὰς πύλας (φυγάδας) ἀπήει συντεταγμένους ἔχων τούς λοιποὺς φυγάδας ἀγόμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς	Ὁ γοῦν Αἰνείας ὡς εἶδε ὅτι ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁρμᾷ ἰσχυρῶς μετὰ νέων ἀνθρώπων ἵνα ἀναβῇ εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ἐφοβήθη σφόδρα καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῶν εἰδώλων ὅστις ὑπῆρχεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐντὸς καὶ λαμβάνει τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκεὶ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ πράγματα πολλὰ καὶ ἀνοίγει πύλας μικρὰς καὶ κεκρυμμένας εἰς τόπον ἄδηλον καὶ ἐκβάλλει πρῶτον τὸν πατέρα αὐτου γέροντα ὄντα ἐπὶ ἁμάξης καὶ τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ὁλοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν νέων ἀνθρώπων ἐξοπίσω διὰ ἀσφάλειαν.[90]

κρατίσταις συνωρίσι τόν τε πατέρα καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς πατρῴους γυναῖκά τε καὶ τέκνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι πλείστου ἄξιον ἦν σῶμα ἢ χρῆμα.[89]	

In this passage Kanaboutzes offers a simple and purposeful variant of his original text. He significantly modifies the content and focuses on the events connected with the cult-statues, the *Palladia,* one of the key topics of the narrative of Kanaboutzes, which was instrumental for linking the story of Aeneas to the history of Samothrace. To achieve this, he added again a few simple elements that he himself imagined, and drastically decreased the amount of information he took over from the original. He produced a pure narrative of the flight of Aeneas, even at the expense of altering the content. Dionysios longly rehearses the heroic withdrawal of Aeneas, arguing that it was a rational decision, while Kanaboutzes simply narrates that he became frightened and escaped through a secret door. The two narratives are so different, that one might suppose that Kanaboutzes used a different source; yet the parallel elements, such as the chariot, which is different from the common image of Aeneas carrying his father on his back and the common words such as ἀσφάλειαν show that the source was indeed Dionysios, but the new narrative was changed, simplified.

[89] "They waited here and beat back those who tried to ascend on the Akropolis, and, with the help of their experience in narrow streets, they rescued the crowd, which was shocked by the loss of the city, by making secret break-outs,... He [Aeneas] orders that the women, the children, the elders and the others, who needed more time to escape, should leave the city on the roads which lead to Mount Ida. He assigned a part of the army to defend the refugees so that their escape be safe and free from the possible dangers... When Neoptolemos with his followers gained foothold on a part of the Akropolis... [Aeneas] opens the (rescue-) gates and departs with the other fugitives in close formation, carrying in the strongest chariots his father, the patrimonial gods, his wife and his children and from the other things whichever body or object was precious."

[90] Thus, when Aeneas saw that Neoptolemos charges eagerly together with young men to mount the wall, he became very frightened, went into the temple of the statues, which was on the Akropolis, took all the gods that were there, the sacred objects of the gods, the utensils of the temple, the money, and many other things, and opened a little secret doors in a hidden place, and rushed out first his father in a chariot, because he was an old man, then the old people, the women and the children, all of them ahead and he himself with the soldiers and the young men behind to make their journey safe.

3.5 The Vernacular Language and Style of Ioannes Kanaboutzes

One should think twice before claiming that Kanaboutzes simply brought down the Classical Attic language of Dionysios to his own "humble" style. The study of his style reveals a more complex picture, which does not allow one to label him as a writer of low style.

For his rhetorical style, as was seen from the examples, he frequently or, according his modern critics, immoderately, applied the rhetorical tools of *amplificatio* and *variatio*. This was, in fact, a typical practice if an author wanted to upgrade the style of a work.[91] At first sight, this may seem somewhat surprising from an author who wrote in the vernacular and rephrased a historical work written by a Classical author, who was, incidentally, a teacher of Greek in Rome and one of the most important theoreticians of rhetoric in antiquity. No doubt Kanaboutzes simplified the text he used as a model, recast it in shorter sentences, but I would like to suggest that, apparently, to his own taste the Attic style of Dionysios was not ornamented enough; therefore, he tried to enrich it with such simple rhetorical figures. One should bear in mind that the function of a stylistic feature should not be examined mechanically, but taking into consideration the purpose of the author and type of discourse or the narration where it appears.

The intensity of the rhetorical "elevation" Kanaboutzes introduced in his text depended also on the specific topic he was treating. At the beginning of his work he tried to write in a more elaborate style, using the tools of *amplificatio* and *congeries* especially when he explained in a discursive manner the reasons why Dionysios wrote

[91] A. Moss, "Copia," *ER*, 175-177.

his history. In these initial parts he elaborated the text as much as he could; he rephrased the few words of Dionysios into lengthy explanations, using convoluted, rhetorically ornamented sentences. On the other hand, the narrative sessions of the last part of the work, dedicated to the Trojan War and the Flight of Aeneas and the history of the Palladion, were rephrased in a different manner. These stories were written with less than his usual loquacity. In this case he just reproduced the sequence of events he found in the original without amplifying the text with stylistic variations and additional facts; he rather shortened the text into a more laconic narrative.

This phenomenon, namely the fact that he slightly varied his style according to the subject and the type of the discourse can be illustrated with an example from the lengthy introductory discourse of Kanaboutzes, in which he dedicated the work to his ruler.

> Ακούσας οὖν τοῦτο μετὰ μεγάλης περιχαρείας παρήγγειλέ μοι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ παρακλήσεως, ἵνα γράψω [καὶ τελειώσω] καὶ στείλω αὐτῷ ὅσα γράφει ὁ Διονύσιος περὶ τῆς Σαμοθρᾴκης, ὅταν μάθω ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ αὐθεντία σου εἰς τὴν Μιτψλήνην, ἵνα δείξῃ ταῦτα τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ σου, ἔλεγε γὰρ ὅπως ἡ αὐθεντία σου ἀκούεις μετὰ μεγάλης χαρᾶς τοὺς σοφοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας τῶν παλαιῶν. οὕτως οὖν εποίησα, καθώς μοι παρήγγειλε, καὶ οὕτως εὗρον ὥσπερ μοι ἔλεγε. Κατέλαβον γὰρ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ, ὅντινα ὥρισεν ἡ αὐθεντία σου πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν μου τὸν μάγιστρον ἵνα εἴπῃ πρὸς ἐμέ. Ἐγὼ γοῦν, ὅστις ὑπῆρχον ὥσπερ νενεκρωμένος καὶ ἀπεγνωσμένος καὶ ἀπρόθυμος εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράγματα, ὥσπερ ἀνεζωοποιήθην καὶ ἐθαρσοποιήθην καὶ ἀνέστην ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμελείας καὶ ῥᾳθυμίας ἣν εἶχον.
>
> So, he [Zoanes] heard this with great pleasure and commissioned me with great reassurance and encouragement to write down, (complete), and send him what Dionysios wrote about Samothrace, when I learn that Your Excellency has arrived to Mytilene, so that he may show these to Your Excellency. For he said that Your Excellency listened to the wise words and the old stories of the Ancients with great joy. So, I did just as he requested me and I have found it out just as he told me.

> For I have understood this from your requested which Your Excellency made to my brother, the *magister*, so that he would tell me. For I, being so to speak dead, desperate, and broken-spirited as far as such things are concerned, I became, so to speak, revived, encouraged, and resurrected from the indifference and idleness in which I had been. (Kanaboutzes 2. 17-3. 3)[92]

In this passage, Kanaboutzes speaks to the ruler in an elaborate style, in which, in addition to his common rhetorical figures of *amplificatio* and *congeries*, he uses parallel structures (just as he said–just as he told me), plays with the *figura etymologica* (τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ, ὅντινα ὥρισεν). In the last sentence, he closely matches the three terms that describe his state before he received the ruler's request with the three verbal forms that describe the ruler's action in quasi-religious terms of personal salvation νενεκρωμένος-ἀνεζωποιήθην, ἀπεγνωσμένος-ἐθαρσοποιήθην, ἀπρόθυμος-ἀνέστην. The rich elaboration of the passage show the the author was a well-trained *rhetor*, who could use numerous tools to ornate his prose.

To give another example, when he rephrased the letter of Alexander the Great to his teacher, Aristotle, taken from the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch,[93] he rephrased it in an amplified and much more elaborate way which was closer to the Byzantine epistolographic culture of his time. Thus, he applied the doctrine of *decorum*, changing the style according to his subject matter.

However, his stylistic choice was not simple the question of his personal preference. The commission of Palamedes, transmitted by Zoanes, must have contained certain prescriptions about the form of the work.

> Since Your Excellency required from me through my brother to make a commentary (ἐξήγησιν) of those passages in Dionysios where he writes about Samothrace, I have done this according to your request.

[92] This translation is based on that of C. Gaşpar with slight alterations.
[93] The source was identified by Hinterberger, 411, n. 28.

> And first I put on the top the original phrasing of Dionysios, and at the bottom a brief (στενήν) and concise (ὀλίγην) interpretation, as clear (σαφεστάτην) as I could. (Kanaboutzes, 14. 8-14)

Thus, he prepared a brief and clear commentary which was probably delivered to the ruler in a first stage. These parts, narrating and interpreting the stories about Samothrace, are now to be found in the second half of the *Commentarius*; however, I believe they were written first. As Kanaboutzes himself said, the second phase of writing came after this.

> Now, however, since experience has taught me that your Excellency receives such things with great interest and joy, not only did I do that which you have requested of me, but I found it appropriate and profitable to write here at length (εἰς πλάτος) and send Your Excellency separately even those stories that were abbreviated and summarized within that commentary, and even some names of places and other pleasant and useful things that this historian Dionysios writes in the Preface and the beginning of this book…(Kanaboutzes, 14. 26-15. 17)

In my opinion, Kanaboutzes made a clear distinction between the styles of the two phases of composition; the first, which was written according to the request of Palamedes, and the second, which he himself decided to attach to the story of Samothrace. It seems that the work which was copied in the surviving manuscripts and was edited in the Teubner series is the second work, the re-written version of the first. I suppose that the difference in levels and degrees of stylistic elaboration within the work as it survives today can be attributed also to the fact that in the first phase, the author aimed at writing a simple style and later he re-wrote his text and added new parts to it in a higher stylistic register.

As for the language(s) he might have used, there are features in his text that clearly illustrate his close familiarity with the demotic Greek of his time.[94] For

[94] This question is studied in depth by Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes."

instance, he used a vernacular and non-Greek vocabulary, restricted the usage of the medial aorist, and made an extensive use of the accusative with εἰς at the expense of the dative with ἐν in a locative meaning. His syntax is simple and close to that of demotic Greek because he used only those tenses that Modern Greek uses; ἵνα + subjunctive for the infinitive and the lack of participles are also clear signs of demotic influence. At the same time, Kanaboutzes' written language was far from Modern Greek and preserved many features of the old literary language. He "downgraded" the language of Dionysios in the sense that he simplified and updated its vocabulary and grammar to a certain extent, but the resulting language was certainly not the spoken Greek of his age.

Demotic words are rarely attested in the text, but the usage of scriptural terminology is traceable. It is widely accepted[95] that the existence of scriptural vocabulary in a work is one of the best indicators of lowbrow style, for the Byzantines regarded the Scripture as stylistically inferior to Attic Greek literature. Kanaboutzes uses terms like, for instance, νενεκρωμένος, ἀπεγνωσμένος,[96] ἀνυποστάτων[97] and cites the Septuagint,[98] which suggests that although he must have been a Roman Catholic he was familiar with Orthodox Greek religious terminology as well, and, unlike Byzantine authors who avoided using these expressions so much that they rather circumscribed them with Classical words, he had no scruples about employing them. Furthermore, the use of non-Greek lexical items is also considered to be an indicator of low style. Indeed, Kanaboutzes used Latin words, for instance, when

[95] Ševčenko, "Levels," 291.
[96] Kanaboutzes, 2. 29; 3. 1.
[97] Kanaboutzes, 48. 5.
[98] Kanaboutzes, 4. 1, see Ps. 103:24; 13. 13-14, see Gen. 1:31, 21. 1, see Jer. 10:11.

writing about the pagan gods,[99] or when referring to place names,[100] but I believe that, in his case, this was not a sign of a "humble" style, but a practical expression of his purpose to reconcile the two cultures by demonstrating their common origin. Whenever he offered the "Latin" version, as an alternative to the Greek he used introductory tags such as λατινικῶς δέ[101] ("on the other hand, in Latin...") or ὅπερ οἱ Λατῖνοι λέγουσι[102] ("which the Latins call...") and did not simply mix the languages just because he was not aware of which term belonged to which language.[103] The same can be said about the vernacular and Turkish place names he quotes; he used them together with their learned forms in order to bring the historical space closer to their physical space, thus creating a familiar environment[104] for the reader.

However, the term "Latin" as a linguistic denominator had a wide spectrum of meaning in Kanaboutzes's work. As it seems from his usage of this term, for him, Latin was the name of both Classical Latin and vernacular Italian. He uses Latin expressions in such forms and cases, for instance genitive which must had been disappeared from the spoken Italian by that time.[105] He knew the rhetorical term for "compound word" both in Latin and Greek,[106] which also proves that he was a learned *rhetor*. On the other hand, he also uses vernacular words, such as κάρτα ναυγά,[107]

[99] Kanaboutzes, 32. 8; 32. 24; 45. 10; 64. 1.
[100] Kanaboutzes, 30. 21; 31. 4.
[101] Kanaboutzes, 8. 22.
[102] Kanaboutzes, 30. 21.
[103] However, he made a mistake in this sample: ἀκρόπολις δέ ἐστιν ὅντινα καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς λατινικῶς κουλάν, "Akropolis is what we call in Latin *koula* (57, 3-4). In this text, he implies that first, *koula* would have been the usual term in his own language and that of his audience, referred to as "we" (ἡμεῖς); second, he identifies this language as "Latin" (λατινικῶς). In reality, *koula* must have been a Turkish loanword in the local vernacular Italian, from the Turkish *kule* meaning "castle," but he identifies it as Latin.
[104] Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes," 416.
[105] For instance, Kanaboutzes, 11. 21: λάπις φιλοσοφώρυμ (*lapis filosoforum*).
[106] Kanaboutzes, 41. 20-21: ὄνομα σύνθετον, ὅπερ οἱ Λατῖνοι λέγουσι κομπόσιτον.
[107] Kanaboutzes, 9. 2.

σέστα,[108] and he identifies them as Latin. The way he transliterates both his vernacular Italian and Latin suggests that his dialect must have been a northern Italian dialect, more precisely a local form of the Ligurian dialect; this is the case with words such as Ζουνόνεμ, "Zounonem,"[109] i.e. *Iunonem*, or Σερέρεμ,[110] "Sererem," which stands for *Cererem*, or the name of *magister* Zoanes, which must have been the Genoese form of Ioannes (Giovanni). In all these cases, the forms of the Latin and Italian words as transmitted in the Greek manuscripts with their specific phonetic changes ([z] for [ğ] and [s(e)] instead of [č(e)]) suggest that they originated with a speaker of Genoese.

In short, the language of his work was neither Atticizing nor Demotic. It was influenced by both and was a mixture of the old and the new Greek, but it had a particular character which made it identical with neither. Kanaboutzes had a Classical Greek text in front of him, written by an ancient rhetorician whose authenticity was unquestionable as a model for the correct usage of Attic Greek. However, he did not try to imitate it and changed almost every single expression in it; this contradicts that old idea that "in their practice Byzantine writers of all educational levels admitted the supremacy of the high style."[111] Kanaboutzes did not imitate his source nor did he copy it word by word; instead, he deliberately wrote a new text in his own style, which was not that of the spoken language either. This language was not mixed in the sense that it zigzagged between Atticizing and demotic Greek, but it was coherent as regards linguistic style, and only the rhetorical elaborateness of it varied with the subject matter. Applying this style, Kanaboutzes used simple, easily understandable structures and vocabulary which made the text readable and digestible, but was, or at

[108] Kanaboutzes, 8. 13.
[109] Kanaboutzes, 45. 10.
[110] Kanaboutzes, 48. 21.
[111] Ševčenko, "Levels," 290.

least tried to be, elaborate in his own way. The sociolinguistic background also supports this idea; the author, himself belonging to the intellectual elite, wrote for the ruler of Samothrace and Ainos, who was,--or later became--the brother-in-law of the emperor himself. This shows that this work cannot be regarded as popular literature.

As Hinterberger has already remarked,[112] the linguistic identity of Kanaboutzes also supports this idea. Whenever introducing a strange word which was foreign to his own style, Kanaboutzes offered a translation of it and clearly distinguished it from his own language. He demarcates his language not only from Latin, Italian, and Turkish, but also from Ancient Greek[113] and Demotic, to which he refers in various ways such as "commonly" (κοινῶς),[114] "vulgarly" (ἰδιωτικῶς),[115] or even "in a barbarian way" (βαρβαρικῶς).[116] Once he also refers to "learned" language (λογικῶς), which he then contrasts with a "barbarian" form; it is, therefore, probable that in this case he described his own language with this positive term.[117] He looked upon his own language as different from Classical Greek and spoken demotic Greek but, in his opinion, it was still a learned language. These features, in my opinion, show that there was a certain literary style which Kanaboutzes tried to bring close in the text he rephrased. To what extent this style was influenced by the norm of the vernacular literature and to what extent was it the individual style of the author cannot be answered in the framework of this study. However, it has to be noted that if Kanaboutzes the *magister* was really a teacher, as is widely accepted in the few studies and lexicon entries dedicated to him, his language must have been very close to the vernacular norms of the cultural milieu of this Greco-Genoese society of the

[112] Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes," 420.
[113] Kanaboutzes, 32. 28; 47. 4.
[114] Kanaboutzes, 39. 23; 41. 1.
[115] Kanaboutzes, 48. 28.
[116] Kanaboutzes, 50. 6.
[117] Kanaboutzes, 15. 25.

northeastern Aegean, because he may have been one of those who transmitted and influenced these standards directly through his educational activities.

CHAPTER FOUR:
CONTENT ANALYSIS

4.1 Ioannes Kanaboutzes' Attitudes to Dionysios and the Pagan Past

4. 1. 1. The Problem

As he emphasized in his introduction, Kanaboutzes was initially commissioned by the ruler of Samothrace to prepare a mere compilation of the passages of Dionysios concerning the history of Samothrace, with brief explanations in the form of a commentary.[118] His dedicatee, Palamedes Gattilusio, was interested in the antiquities of the islands under his authority, as it can be seen from the letters of Cyriac of Ancona, to whom he presented the town of Ainos as if it had been founded by Aeneas.[119] It certainly seems that the Gattilusi were enthusiastic about the story of Aeneas,[120] which they could also interpret as the historical legitimization of their rule in the region.

However, what Kanaboutzes eventually prepared was something more than an antiquarian collection of data. He was not a Renaissance admirer of Antiquity, he clearly made his point and argued against his source when he felt it was necessary, and, while doing this, he gave a contemporary interpretation of the text and embedded in it important pieces of information about his own age. The reason why his work was neglected for centuries was that Kanaboutzes did not, in fact, contribute more

[118] Kanaboutzes, 2-3; 14.
[119] Cyriacus of Ancona, *Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean: 1444-1445*, ed. and trans. E. W. Bodnar and C. Mitchell (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), 60, 1131.
[120] Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes," 411, n. 26.

knowledge about Dionysios and the topics he discussed, at least not from the viewpoint of a modern classical philologist or ancient historian.[121] Since the first four books of the *Roman Antiquities*, of which Kanaboutzes included several sections in his compilation were fully preserved in the direct manuscript tradition and, what is more, Kanaboutzes changed every single phrase of Dionysios as a source of secondary textual tradition his work was of no interest. However, I believe that the value of this work lies elsewhere. Kanaboutzes made continuous efforts to bring the original text he rewrote close to his readers. As seen in the previous chapter, he changed its language as to produce an understandable version for his audience, yet on the other hand he still presented his material is a sophisticated way. He also tried to bridge the gap between the historical space of Dionysios and the physical space of his audience, found contemporary parallels to ancient institutions, or even argued against his source, for instance, as regards the questions of religion and the role of Rome in history. Therefore, in my opinion, his text is more informative about his own faith, mentality, and way of thinking than about those of Dionysios. In the present subchapter, I will attempt to trace in his narrative his debate with his source and analyze his attitudes towards Dionysios and the Roman Past.

4. 1. 2. Kanaboutzes' Introduction to his *Commentarius*

The introductory chapter, which covers the first fifteen pages of the Teubner edition, was a mixture of dedicatory letter to the ruler of Samothrace and Ainos and a mirror of princes, spiced with various considerations on the use of wisdom and learning.

[121] Lehnerdt, "De Auctore," xiii.

The first and the last pages tell about the way in which Kanaboutzes came to be commissioned to write this work; these sections contain the most important data about the methodology he followed and the structure of the work, as I have already show in the section dedicated to the rhetorical style of Kanaboutzes.[122] Zoanes, the physician of Dorino Gattilusio, the lord of Lesbos, asked Kanaboutzes to collect the passages written by Dionysios about the history of the region, so that he could show it to Dorino's brother, Palamedes, who was interested in these questions. From what is being said in the text, it seems to me that Kanaboutzes wrote this work in two phases; first, he followed the instructions of Palamedes, and when he experienced that the ruler was really interested in his work, he prepared in his own loquacious style some other sections on Dionysios and his reasons for writing the *Roman Antiquities*. In my opinion, the circumstances of the requst clearly indicate that, first, he was not in a close relation with Palamedes, who commissioned him through "his brother" or Zoanes magister, and to whom Kanaboutzes wrote that he did not hope that his work would meet a warm welcome by the ruler. Second, the introduction also implies that Kanaboutzes was in some way in a dependent status. The tone in which he writes to the ruler is reverential and the form of address he used, "Your Excellency" αὐθεντία σου, also suggests that there was some social difference between them.

The order of Palamedes to write down not only the texts taken from Dionysios, but also to accompany them with brief comments prescribed that the framework of the discourse of Kanaboutzes should be commentary. Kanaboutzes followed the instructions and this can be seen in the second half of his work, starting from the passages where he discusses the myths on Dardanos.[123] However, the first half of the work, as the author took care to stress, is based on those ideas of Dionysios that

[122] See Chapter 3. 5, p. 43-44.
[123] Kanaboutzes, 36. 4.

Kanaboutzes himself found "relevant and necessary."[124] As the difference between the rhetorical elaborateness of the two parts of the work has been already discussed in the previous chapter, here it will be enough to briefly refer to it; in the narrative sections of the second part, he tried to be short and clear, while in the first part and in the digressions inserted in the second part, he tried to elevate the rhetorical style of the work.

In the central part of his "preface," Kanaboutzes went into a didactic mode, offering his reader(s) a systematic presentation on the merits of wisdom and education. He dedicates this to the ruler, therefore, the text often strikes a note familiar to texts such as the various mirrors of princes. The key concept he used in his demonstration, that of the "philosopher king" is borrowed from Plato: only those kings are good kings who practice philosophy.[125]

> For I know a certain saying of the wise Plato, which has partly come true and become accomplished in [the person] of Your Excellency. He said that every city and every state will prosper and thrive when either the kings of those cities will embrace philosophy or when men of a philosophic stance will govern them. [...] According to his nature, God is the unique and real sovereign, king, and ruler of the whole world. Of this God the kings, rulers, and sovereigns of the world are the images and likenesses and keep his place on earth. The best and most useful characteristic of an image/icon is to be in all respects and as much as possible similar and identical to the thing whose image/icon it is, namely, to its prototype. Now God is wise and wise beyond measure and he created the world by his wisdom, as Solomon says: "God by wisdom founded the world, and by prudence he prepared the heavens." [Prov. 3:19][126] and David [also says]: "How great are thy works, O Lord! in wisdom hast thou wrought them all" [Ps. 103:24 LXX]. Therefore, if God is wise and the kings and the rulers are the images of God, they should also have wisdom, which is a fragment of God's wisdom coming to mankind, so that they become similar to God and reign, govern, administer, and rule the towns and their people just as God defends, governs, and reigns all with his wisdom and prudence. (Kanaboutzes, 3. 4-4. 14)

[124] Kanaboutzes, 15. 3.
[125] The text shows that he rephrased the famous passage of the *Republic* about the philosopher kings. Plato, *The Republic*, ed. and trans. P. Shorey. Loeb Classical Library (New York: Putnam, 1930), 473-475C.
[126] In this biblical quotation Kanaboutzes read τὸν κόσμον instead of the τὴν γῆν "the earth" given by the standard editions of the LXX.

This section, in which Platonic and Neo-Platonic[127] elements are mixed, not to speak the Christian theology of the icon, introduces Kanaboutzes' treatise on the use of wisdom.

In his view, wisdom is not only the main virtue of the kings but also the source of every human activity, which differentiates man from animals and which may be called with a modern term civilization or culture. Philosophy and learning gave laws and justice,[128] state organization, which is "the beauty and adornment of humanity"[129]; medicine is the invention of "natural philosophy,"[130] and even the various artisans learned the principles of their trades from the philosophers.[131] The architects and the carpenters learned geometry, and the sailors use naval maps and compass, which they also learned from the ancient geographers and philosophers. As he lists all these benefactions of wisdom, Kanaboutzes gives evidence of his serious knowledge in the fields of mathematics, geography and other types of "natural philosophy." He describes how the carpenters calculate the radius of the barrel-head and use compasses to draw its draft,[132] or how one can use the loadstone, which is the natural magnetite, to magnetize the needle of the compass.[133] These accurate technical descriptions leave no doubt that Kanaboutzes was a polymath, and this in turn also supports the hypothesis that he was the author of the calendar discovered by A. Diller, which calculated the length of the days at the latitude of Phokaia.[134] Finally, he

[127] There were attempts to identify the source of these ideas in Pseudo-Dionysios. See: *Jahrsbericht*, 130. True, in his *Divine names*, Pseudo-Dionysios gave a Christian reinterpretation of Plato's idea, described in, for instance, the *Phaedrus*, in which philosophy can help the souls to ascend on high and get close to the divine, archetypal sphere again. However, I could not identify direct textual link between Kanaboutzes and Pseudo-Dionysios, in *PG* 3, 1857.
[128] Kanaboutzes, 7. 15-16.
[129] Kanaboutzes, 7. 23: εὐμόρφημα καὶ κόσμος τῆς ἀνθροπότητος.
[130] Kanaboutzes, 7. 26-27.
[131] Kanaboutzes, 6. 27-8.26.
[132] Kanaboutzes, 8. 9-8. 20.
[133] Kanaboutzes, 9. 4-10. 26.
[134] Diller, "Canabutzes and Chrysococces," 257.

mentions alchemy, which he describes as a secret and holy art, which, because of the general decline of wisdom, in his days is practiced only by the few.

After listing the practical uses of learning and praising them in the highest terms, the author returns to his initial concern, and tries to answer the question of how it is possible that one thousand and five hundred years after Dionysios wrote his work, Palamedes may find this work useful. The response he offers is rather surprising and reveals much about Kanaboutzes' doubts concerning Dionysios. Since God created everything, everything is good. However, Kanaboutzes divided things into two categories; in the first category, things such as air and light are always good and useful, while in a second category fall things that are useful only in a certain situation, such as, for instance, snakes, which are not good, except when used by the physicians to prepare various antidotes. Such a lukewarm legitimization of a work written in the past and by a classical author, especially after the lengthy eulogy of the practical uses of "science," clearly supports, that Kanaboutzes had serious reservations towards Dionysios and his work on the Roman past and leads us to anticipate that, if the situation requires it, he will not hesitate to argue against his source or treat it critically.

4. 1. 3. Kanaboutzes on Dionysios of Halikarnassos

The next section, between the preface and the section about the history of Samothrace,[135] rephrases those parts of the *Roman Antiquities*, which, as Kanaboutzes stated in the preface to his *Commentarius*, he himself found relevant to attach to the requested commentary because they dealt with antiquarian local history. In these

[135] Kanaboutzes, 15. 16-36. 4.

pages he summarizes or rather amplifies the reasons why Dionysios was moved to write his work and, by enumerating the different stages of Greek immigration to Italy and by mentioning the Greek origin of the Roman people, he puts together those arguments that Dionysios used to prove the common character of the two peoples.

The motivation of Dionysios to write his history was to embrace Greek and Roman culture and pacify Greek hostility towards Roman domination. He came to Rome at the beginning of the reign of Augustus from Halicarnassos, which might have been a traditionally pro-Roman town, and he became a teacher of Greek rhetoric.[136] In his programmatic preface, he emphasized that his purpose was to defend the Romans against the false accusations of Greek historians,[137] who claimed that the Romans were barbarians and Tyche, the Goddess of Blind Chance helped the Romans, who did not deserve their extensive success.[138] In order to achieve his purpose, in the hypothesis which he tries to prove in his work, Dionysios argued that, first, Romans and Greeks had a common origin and, second, since the foundation of the city, the Romans gave innumerable examples of their virtue and piety, and their institutions and customs helped them to conquer the world.

[136] E. Gabba, *Dionysius and The History of Archaic Rome* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991), 1-11.
[137] Dionysios joined the old controversy between pro-Roman and anti-Roman historians. Inasmuch as the works of the anti-Roman historians were not copied after the pacification of the Greek elite under the Principate, the topics of this debate can be reconstructed only from those works, which tried to contravene these arguments. Such a work was the *Roman Antiquities* or the *Histories* of Polybios (I. 64). These topics might have been the questions of the justification of the Roman conquest, their barbarity, and the role of the Blind Chance, which helped the Romans who did not deserve it. The Roman response to these accusations was the principle of *Virtus et Fortuna*, in which Fortuna helped only those, who performed virtue. Such anti-Roman historians might have been, for instance, Timaios, Philinos, Metrodoros of Skepsis, and Dionysios' contemporary, Timagenes of Alexandria. See: R. Syme, "The Greeks under Roman Rule," in R. Syme: *Roman Papers*, ed. E. Badian (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 566-581; M. Sordi, "Timagene di Alessandria: un storico ellenocentrico e filobarbaro." in *ANRW* II 30.1. (Berlin, New-York: de Gruyter, 1982), 775-797; I. Kajanto, "Fortuna," *ANRW* II 17. 1 (Berlin, New-York: de Gruyter, 1981), 502-558, H. Fuchs,. *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1938), E. Gabba, "The Historians and Augustus," in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, ed. F. Millar and E. Segal (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).
[138] Dionysios, *Roman Antiquities*, 1. 4, 2. 14.

Kanaboutzes summarizes Dionysios' programmatic statement repeatedly[139]; this indicates that he found this idea important and made it one of the main arguments of his own work as well.

> He [viz. Dionysios] wants to prove through his history that the founders of Rome were not barbarian and wild men, as they said, but they were Greeks and of Greek origin. They were not robbers and men of wicked character either, but pious towards the gods, and beneficial to all and respected by all people..(Kanaboutzes, 19. 4-10)

At this point Kanaboutzes does not contradict his source, he only repeats it. However, his approach towards Dionysios will soon turn critical, at the point where he comes to discuss religious questions. Kanaboutzes appears as an opponent of pagan religion and resolutely rejects all the importance and the role attributed to the ancient divinities and the old beliefs by Dionysios.

> Now, he says that his gods made Rome the empress and mistress of the whole inhabited world because of the piety and the virtue of her inhabitants and founders, of her whole people, of her kings, and of her senators. However, I say that his gods do not exist and do not have any power. Because, as the Scripture says, "Let the gods which have not made heaven and earth perish."[140] But what happened to Rome was the divine providence of the first, one, and true God, of the Holy Trinity. (Kanaboutzes, 20. 27-21. 6)

In the next lines[141] Kanaboutzes picks up the Eusebian interpretation of the role of Rome in the Salvation history, which places the rise of the Empire within the universal plan of God. It was God's purpose to create the Roman Empire, which was greater than any other empire before, so that the true faith could become widespread. As Eusebius' conception became the pattern for medieval chronicles, this idea in the *Commentarius* is hardly original and need not prove that Kanaboutzes directly used Eusebios as his source.

[139] Kanaboutzes, 17. 27-18. 1; 18; 24. 4; 53. 6-11.
[140] Jer. 10:11; Lehnerdt's reference (*fort. in mente habebat Ps. 95, 5*) is mistaken. I would like to thank C. Gaşpar, who called my attention to this and identified the correct scriptural reference.
[141] Kanaboutzes, 21. 6-22. 3.

Thus, according to Kanaboutzes, it was not the pagan gods who helped Rome, but God—the God of the Christians. However, the idea of divine guidance of the destiny of Rome is not as determining in Dionysios' work as Kanaboutzes' polemical summary of his views might lead one to believe. In the preface, for instance, it is the law of Nature to which the miserable fate of Greeks is attributed, because "the superior has to rule over the inferior"; it is Nature, and not the gods that help Rome.[142] True, later, pious heroes like Aeneas are helped by gods[143] and Dionysios also expresses his belief in the destiny of Rome,[144] but it was not his main purpose to prove that the gods favored the Romans for their piety. However, for Kanaboutzes such scattered remarks appeared considerable enough for him to build his argumentation on and against them.

The role that Kanaboutzes attributes to Rome shows that his concept/image of Rome was not Byzantine, but Western. He acknowledges the role of Constantine the Great in the dissemination of the faith,[145] but the ideology of the New Rome associated with that emperor[146] is missing; for Kanaboutzes, Rome remained the spiritual center of the world even after the fall of the Western Empire: "Rome, even to this day, although she does not rule the world in any way in with lay power, spiritually, she rules over the whole world."[147]

The connotations of ethnic identifiers he used in his work also supports the hypothesis that his concept of Rome was western. In Byzantine Greek, the Byzantines called

[142] Dionysios, *Roman Antiquities*, 1. 5.
[143] Dionysios, *Roman Antiquities*, 1. 56.
[144] Dionysios, *Roman Antiquities*, 5.7; 7.12. See also R. J. H. Shutt, "Dionysius of Halicarnassus," *Greece and Rome* 4 (1935): 139-150.
[145] Kanaboutzes, 22.19.
[146] W. Hammer, "The concept of the New or the Second Rome in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 19 (1944): 50-6. of Roman Past in the Middle Byzantine Period (9-11th c.)" 21th International Congress of Byzantine Studies. London, 21-26 Aug. 2006.
http://www.byzantinecongress.org.uk/plenary/V/V_Markopoulos.pdf, last accessed: December 6, 2006.

themselves *Rhomaioi*, and the Westerners *Latinoi*[148]; they perceived themselves as Romans because of being the heirs of Rome through the Constantinian foundation of the Second Rome, Constantinople. Kanaboutzes, although he wrote in Greek, used the ethnic denominations consistently in a western sense throughout his whole work, which reveals a terminology that was alien from the Byzantine milieu. For him, the Romans, both *Rhomanoi*[149] and *Rhomaioi*[150] were Westerners[151] in the past and the *Hellenes* were Greeks.[152] The expression "Latins" appears sometimes together with "Romans," like in the formula "the Romans and the other Latins,"[153] and means in the terminology structure of Kanaboutzes both the contemporary and the ancient people, while the two names denominating "Romans" were used only for the ancient Romans. For Kanaboutzes, the adjective *Hellenikos*[154] means "Greek," but not only as an ethnic denomination since it also has the meaning of "pagan," as seen in the example of *Hellenismos*,[155] which means "paganism, pagan religion." However, this latter does not imply Western influence; this was an inherent feature of the Byzantine Greek since the Late Antiquity.

4. 1. 4. The Commentary on the History of Samothrace

The third and final section of Kanaboutzes' work[156] is dedicated to the commentary of the texts dealing with the history of Samothrace as requested by the dedicatee of the work. In the previous section, which contained also his theoretical introduction, Kanaboutzes had warned his readers about his strong reservations towards the work of Dionysios.

> Now, this Dionysios, in accordance with his faith, supposes things to be like this and says so [i.e., that the greatness of Rome was due to its cult of pagan divinities]. For the man is such an ardent [believer] in his pagan faith as no other mortal. And almost half of his historical book is written about his gods and their temples, and their feasts, and their sacrifices. As for myself, however, I had no need to speak about them, since they are false things and baseless, with no truth whatsoever in them, but rather with all kinds of error and stupidity. Yet, since in his

[149] Kanaboutzes, 18. 23; 35. 4.
[150] Kanaboutzes, 26. 20; 29. 4.
[151] Kanaboutzes, 18. 23; 19. 22;
[152] Kanaboutzes, 16. 19; 18. 9; 18. 22.
[153] Kanaboutzes, 16. 12.
[154] Kanaboutzes, 20. 13.
[155] Kanaboutzes, 66. 6.
[156] Kanaboutzes, 36. 5-76. 5.

> discourses about his gods he also speaks of some useful things, and without [mentioning] these [i.e., the stories about pagan mythology], it would be impossible for me to speak of the others [i.e., the useful things], it is for this reason that I include also the stories about his gods along with the useful narratives. I will, therefore, start speaking as if with his mouth and will say whatever he would say if he were alive or, rather, whatever he is saying through his writings even after his death. (Kanaboutzes, 20.10-27.)[157]

This much Kanaboutzes had also stated in the dedicatory letter: "I take his voice and pretend to be him."[158] However, in this very context he emphasized this in order to warn his audience that what follows is not his opinion but that of his source, Dionysios. This dissociation is justified by the fact that the stories that Kanaboutzes had to rephrase dealt with mythology and cult of pagan gods. Perhaps he did not want to break his narrative with continuous references to his true religion, therefore he chose to make this clear before starting his narrative. Nevertheless, here and there[159] he does make acid remarks on the pagan gods, often speaking with his own voice, and does not apply his chosen method mechanically.

The narrative into which Kanaboutzes inserted several digressions about geography,[160] the pagan gods,[161] and on nymphs,[162] is built around two main topics; first, Kanaboutzes retells the story of Dardanos and the foundation of Troy. As he puts it, Samothrace was a station of the Greek migration to Asia Minor, where they settled down for a while, but had to continue their migration towards the east because of a famine. Second, he narrates the flight of Aeneas from Troy and his arrival to Italy. In the course of this last event, Samothrace has no special role and the reason why it was mentioned was its significance in the story of the *Palladion*, the cult-statue that

[157] The translation is based on that of C. Gaşpar with slight modifications.
[158] Kanaboutzes, 14. 14.
[159] Kanaboutzes, 50. 14; 66. 4; 70. 15.
[160] Kanaboutzes, 39. 2-41. 8.
[161] Kanaboutzes, 48. 7-50. 24.
[162] Kanaboutzes, 42. 4-42. 28.

Aeneas took with him from the burning Troy to Rome. Kanaboutzes, the defender of the Christian faith, makes an investigation on the *Palladion*, which was placed by Dardanos and Samon in a sanctuary built on the Samothrace. Nevertheless, the conclusions he draws out of this story are truly Christian; the *Palladion*, which was given as a protection of Troy as long as its cult was performed properly, could not stop the Greeks, for, indeed, "how could the truth come from false gods?"[163]

Kanaboutzes' attitude towards his source is ambivalent. As it is shown by his selection of the topics which he himself found interesting and necessary, he accepted the main objective of Dionysios, i.e., to point out the common character and origin of the Greeks and the Romans. By adding the descriptions of the reasons of Dionysios for writing his work and the sections on the Greek immigration to Italy he produced a meaningful discourse instead of an antiquarian compilation of texts dealing with local history. His discourse has a message, that the Latins and the Greeks can be reconciled on the base of their common culture. On the other hand, he strongly rejected any kind of community with the pagan past. He replaced Dionysios' view on the role of Rome in history with his own, Eusebian and at the same time Western-Catholic understanding, in which the emergence of Roman Empire was seen as a part of the divine will, an idea supported by that fact that, according to our author, Rome, even after its fall has continued as the spiritual center of the world.

[163] Kanaboutzes, 70. 15-16.

4.2 The Construction of Identities in the Discourse on Dionysios and the Roman Past

It is a widely accepted idea in the scholarly literature[164] that the Genoese immigrants of the Aegean islands gradually became Hellenized and assimilated to the Greek society. This was an inevitable process, first, because the majority of the population was Greek, and second, because the Greek and the Genoese elites developed close relations, a fact attested by the relatively high number of mixed marriages in the area. For this reason, I believe that the study of the identity of Ioannes Kanaboutzes, a member of this Greco-Genoese society, can reveal much about the status of this process of assimilation at a particular period, i.e., the decade(s) before the Fall of Constantinople. His treatise provides us with an exceptional insight into the ways in which an intellectual of Italian extraction expressed his self identity in an essay he wrote on an ancient author and on the mythical past of the Latins and the Greeks.

In recent scholarship,[165] identity has not been regarded as an unchangeable feature, but as something actively constructed in a historical context as a form of self-definition. The usage of the expression "identity" in the singular can be misleading in itself; an individual had different identities such as, for instance, ethnic, religious, linguistic, gender, or sexual. These identities comprise a set of attitudes which express differences from the others and similarities within particular groups, thereby aiming at defining a person's place in the world. This section is dedicated to studying the construction of self-identity in Kanaboutzes' text and endeavors to address two

[164] Balard, "Genoese," 165-172.
[165] R. Preston, "Roman Questions, Greek Answers," in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, ed. S. Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 86-118. For a detailed bibliography see page 8, n. 11.

questions; first, how did he express identity and otherness in his discourse? And, second, in which group(s) did he place himself?

Kanaboutzes only rarely defines his identities in a direct way. The most obvious way to express his belonging to, for instance, an ethnic group would be to use such forms as "we Latins," "we Genoese," or "we Romans." However, insofar as ethnicity is concerned, he avoids using such expressions in the first person plural,[166] preferring to use them in the third person and say "they."[167] Kanaboutzes uses more often the "we" to imply common usage of language, such as "which we call in Latin..."[168] or "which we call in Greek..."[169] as well as his Christian identity.[170]

His other way of expressing identity was to emphasize difference. This is the case, for instance, when he defines an ethnic group as "barbarian," which was the common term used in Greek literature to stress cultural Otherness. He also used a verbal form derived from the same root in order to differentiate between his learned language and the vernacular Greek and Italian. Such marginal comments as "the common people, when expressing themselves in barbarian manner, call it..."[171] and "some of the Latins, who express themselves in a barbarian manner, call it..."[172] imply that because of his education which manifested itself in the learned character of the author's language, he regarded himself as different from them.

A third set of data concerning such differentiation can be collected from Kanaboutzes' opinions expressed in connection with various topics and institutions.

[166] Lehnerdt, I believe, mistakenly referred to the expression ἡμεις οἱ Λατῖνοι in the preface of the Teubner edition. I could not find such an expression in the text. Lehnerdt, "De auctore," vii.
[167] See, for instance, Kanaboutzes 16. 12: οἱ Ἕλληνες 16. 19; 17. 29: οἱ Λατῖνοι; 16. 12: οἱ Ῥωμᾶνοι.
[168] Kanaboutzes 57. 3-4: ὁντινα καλοῦμεν ἡμεις λατινικῶς.
[169] Kanaboutzes 60. 22: ὅπερ ἡμεις ἑλληνικῶς λέγομεν.
[170] Kanaboutzes 17. 6: ἡμᾶς τοὺς Χριστιανούς.
[171] Kanaboutzes 37. 14: ὃ καὶ βαρβαρίζοντες οἱ κοινοὶ ἄνθρωποι λέγουσι.
[172] Kanaboutzes 11. 1: ἣν τινες τῶν Λατίνων βαρβαρίζοντες λέγουσιν.

For instance, the long discussion at the beginning of his treatise on the significance of philosophy and education defines his intellectual stance in the same way as his effusive praise of the Roman Church and of its primacy over all the Christians expresses his Catholic identity. In my opinion, such indirect evidence, if analyzed cautiously, can contribute much to our understanding of his self-identity.

In the set of identities that define Kanaboutzes, I believe the principal one would have been his Christian-and-Catholic identity. This our author expresses with both positive and negative definitions. The following passage draws a parallel between the situation of Dionysios and Kanaboutzes and reinterprets the Greek intellectual opposition in the age August against Rome in the framework of the political situation before the Fall of Constantinople.

> The Greeks of his [i.e. Dionysius'] age and those before, seeing the excessive success of Rome and the manner in which a town, which was in the beginning small, inglorious, and inconspicuous, conquered the entire inhabited world, became extremely dejected and started blaspheming against their gods, just as we feel distressed in these days, vexed, and displeased, and, in a way, we blaspheme against God because this stupid and impious nation of the Turks has conquered the world and destroyed us, Christians. (Kanaboutzes 16.24-17.6.)

The border is defined very precisely; the Turks, the "Others," are characterized with pejorative terms and, in opposition to them, Kanaboutzes regards himself as a member of the Christian community. On the face of it, this seems something one would expect from a (late) medieval Christian, yet one should bear in mind that only a few years later Kritoboulos wrote his histories with a strongly pro-Ottoman approach.[173]

The question what Christian religion meant for Kanaboutzes, who lived in a mixed Orthodox-Catholic society in the age of the debates over the Union of the two churches, is answered by the next passage. In the context of describing the role of Rome in the Salvation history he refers once more to his faith.

[173] Hunger, *Literatur*, 1, 499-503; D. R. Reinsch, "Kritobulos v. Imbros," *LM* 5, 1538.

> Rome, even to this day, although she does not rule the world in any way in with lay power, spiritually, she rules over the whole world. For the entire world knows that the Roman Church governs and rules all over the Christian world and all the kingdoms of earth obey and subject themselves to it, so that the original design of God should not fail, but that [the city] which received his mystery and his incarnation may have eternal and everlasting honor. It was for this purpose that he found it pleasing that Peter and Paul, his first and foremost Apostles, should be martyred in Rome. (Kanaboutzes, 23.10-22.)

The spiritual supremacy of Rome, especially when taken together with the mention of the burial places of Peter and Paul, which was the main argument of the Catholics to prove the primacy of the Pope over the Patriarch of Constantinople, clearly suggests that Kanaboutzes was a Roman Catholic. [174] In his view, the spiritual leadership of the Pope appears as unquestionable, which, in my opinion, may indicate that this work was written after the Council of Florence in 1439, which declared the Union. This idea is also supported by the next passage, which is one of the most significant formulations of the identities of the author.

> If someone should ask how it is possible that the Greeks regarded the Trojans as barbarians, since they had one [and the same] faith and they worshiped and venerated the same gods, we will say that the barbarian character is not perceived on the basis of religion, but on the basis of race, language, way of life, and education. For we are Christians and have one [and the same] faith and the same baptism as many nations, yet we regard the Bulgarians, the Vlachs, the Albanians, the Russians and other people as barbarians. (Kanaboutzes, 35.11-21.)

Again, Kanaboutzes used the form "we Christians," but the group he defined contains not only our Catholic author, but also other people with whom he shared not only the same faith but also the same baptism. The problem of baptism and its validity was one of the main sources of controversy between the Latins and the Orthodox in the debates around the Union together with the problem of the insertion of the *filioque* into the Creed and the existence of Purgatory. There is no sign of the schism or any kind of dichotomy of Christendom in the work of Kanaboutzes; this, to my mind,

[174] Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes," 424-425.

argues that he held a Unionist view and, what is more, he probably wrote after the declaration of the Union.

The quotation above is the key for understanding one of his other identities, namely, the cultural one. By emphasizing the Otherness of those who did not share the achievements of the Greco-Roman civilization (i.e., the Slavic inhabitants of the Balkans, the Albanians, and the Vlachs), he creates a community between the Greeks and the Latins. The aim of the work of Dionysios was to show to his Greek readers that the Romans were not barbarians because they had a Greek origin and developed political institutions and a *paideia*. Kanaboutzes leaves no doubt about the significance of this idea; he returns to it and rephrases it again and again throughout his work.[175] He also makes an effort to point out the parallels between the Latins and the Greeks, for instance, he consistently translates the names of the pagan gods to Greek and Latin,[176] which he transcribes as they might have been pronounced in his Genoese dialect.[177] In another instance, he identifies similar parallel political institutions such as the *alberghi*, the clans of Genoa, which he compares to the *demes* of Athens.[178] The cultural unity of the Latins and the Greeks thus emerges as the central concept of both the original *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysios and of the treatise written on it by Kanaboutzes. The old Greek/barbarian polarity was not denied by either Dionysios or Kanaboutzes, they just tried to move the Romans and the Latins from one group to the other.[179]

As contrasted to cultural identity, ethnicity does not appear clearly defined in Kanaboutzes' writing. He uses the expressions Romans, Latins, and Greeks in the plural (third person), which argues for his relatively indifferent approach to ethnic

[175] Kanaboutzes 19. 4-8; 24. 5-14; 29. 4-7; 53. 5-11.
[176] For the complete list of references to the names of the gods see Hinterberger, "Kanaboutzes," 416.
[177] See Chapter 3. 5, p. 46-47.
[178] Kanaboutzes, 51. 12-16.
[179] Preston, "Roman Questions," 100.

questions in this historical context and may indicate that he constructed his identity in this work without a clear-cut ethnic definition. This could be explained by my supposition that the author, belonging to the Genoese elite, worked for the reconciliation of the Greek and the Genoese inhabitants of the island where he lived. From this viewpoint, any kind of reference to ethnic differences would have contradicted these goals of the Genoese, which doctrine might have found its support in the work of Dionysios as well.

A question of importance is the attitude of the author towards Byzantium and Genoa. The islands ruled by the Gattilusi legally belonged to the Empire, but for instance at least in Chios, the inhabitants, including the Greeks, had to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Genoese Commune.[180] Kanaboutzes is rather discrete on this matter; however, there is one piece of evidence which implies that he placed himself under the authority of the Byzantine Empire, even if he might have defined it rather loosely and in a diachronic rather than synchronic perspective. While describing the connection between philosophic wisdom and alchemy, he adduced as a supreme argument for his contention that this (pseudo-) science was a beneficiary of philosophic knowledge a list of the rulers who practiced in this field.

> Many other great and most illustrious rulers have learned and received instruction in this mystical, sacred, and secret art from the philosophers, and most of all Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, a woman who surpassed many men by the strength of her soul, by her competence to rule, by her wisdom and education; also, from among our own emperors, Justinian the Great and many others after him. (Kanaboutzes, 11.22-12.2)

The strength of this evidence should not be overestimated, but the expression καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεῖς meaning "our own emperors" implies that he accepted the political

[180] Balard, "Genoese," 163.

framework of the Empire or at least included himself in a Byzantine-dominated commonwealth.

Finally, the other important element of Kanaboutzes' complex identity was his intellectual identity. This can be reconstructed/guessed, first of all, from his long essay[181] on the rule of wisdom in human civilization. Wisdom teaches men not to eat each other, like the wild animals,[182] it teaches artisans how to practice their trades, it makes man similar to God,[183] and it is the most essential virtue of rulers. Then, he constantly differentiated his own linguistic practice from that of the *vulgus*, therefore this aspect is also related to his linguistic identity. He frequently uses pejorative expressions when referring to spoken Greek and Italian, even using brutal definitions such as "those who speak in a barbarian manner"[184] to characterize the use of the vernacular. On the other hand, he refers to his language as learned as it can be seen in the following example.

> They call Ionia the whole territory from the mouth of the river Hermos, that is the place where it flows into the sea, which [river] we call the river of Tarchaneiotes, to a peak which the sailors call in a barbarian way Krion, but which is called Knidos in the learned language. (Kanaboutzes, 15. 20-27)

Even though he glossed the ancient name of the river Hermos with the demotic form Tarchaneiotes, in the next clause he emphasized that his language is learned as opposed to that of the sailors. This attitude, which implies that he though of himself as belonging to the learned elite can be traced all throughout his work. In my opinion, this clearly denotes that he had a very strong intellectual identity; this is also

[181] Kanaboutzes, 3. 4-13. 11.
[182] Kanaboutzes, 7. 15-20.
[183] Kanaboutzes, 6. 9-7. 1.
[184] Kanaboutzes, 11. 1; 15. 25; 37. 14; 42. 20; 50. 6.

supported by the knowledge that almost all the known members of his family belonged to the intellectual elite of the region.[185]

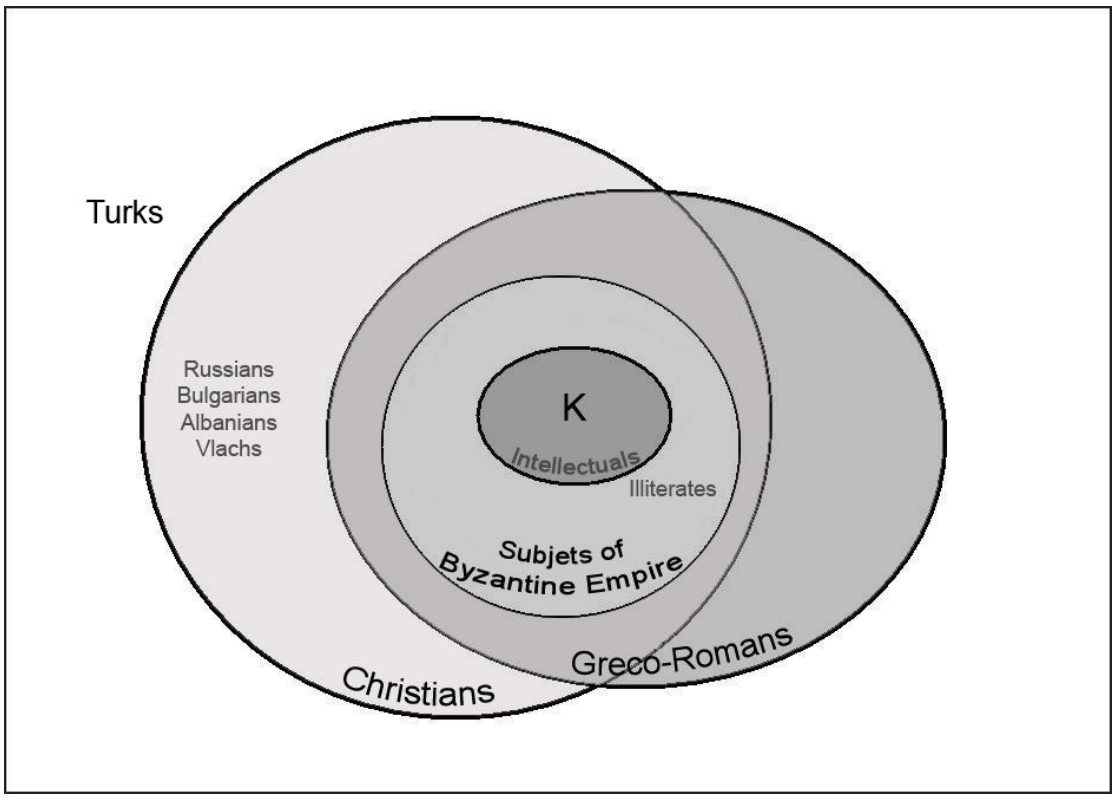

Figure 2. The Identities of Ioannes Kanaboutzes in the *Commentarius.*

In short, the set of Kanaboutzes' identities as expressed in the context of this work may be said to consist of four elements, as shown in Figure 2. First, according to his religious identity, he saw himself as a Christian as opposed to the Turks and the pagans in the past. Second, in his cultural identity, he belonged to the Greco-Roman civilization unlike other Christians, such as the Bulgarians, Vlachs, Albanians, and Russians. Third, he identified himself as a subject of the Byzantine Empire; together with his previous three identities, this was a feature he shared with the Greeks living in the region. Finally, his fourth identity did not contradict this either, as he decisively

[185] See Chapter 1, p. 5-6.

regarded himself as an intellectual, writing in what was for him a learned Greek language.[186]

[186] A reference to his identity as a Greek historian should not be taken serious. "The other Greek historians and chroniclers before me have already told this, however, I also want to speak about it briefly..." (36. 2-4.) In this sentence he rephrased Dionysios, *Roman Antiquities,* 1. 61. 1: "That the Trojans were also a nation as truly Greek as any and formerly came from the Peloponnesus has long since been asserted by some authors and shall be briefly related by me also."

CONCLUSIONS

As described in my introduction, the purpose of this thesis was to answer the question: How did Kanaboutzes alter his source while preparing his treatise on Dionysios of Halikarnassos? In my analyses I have compared him to his main source, Dionysios, and examined the style and the content of his work, focusing on the changes that he introduced when rewriting the original.

At the end of this research one conclusion that has emerged quite clearly is that Ioannes Kanaboutzes was not an imitator of Dionysius. He had serious reservations about this author and never hesitated to make his point(s) against him. The way he presented his material, the style he used, all demonstrate that he made continuous efforts to bring the text closer to his contemporary readers. He rephrased his source in a language which his audience understood but, through his rhetorical elaboration, he still tried to express his own learned character and avoided a humble and more popular style. The idea of the Greek *paideia* deeply pervaded his character and this intellectual attitude can be traced throughout his work. Thus, the fact that he wrote in a language which did not try to imitate the Attic standards of the Byzantine highbrow literature proves that vernacular literature was not necessarily popular literature in the Late Byzantine prose.

As for his identities, the analysis of his personal comments on Dionysios' text has revealed that our author was an intellectual living in Byzantium and belonging to the Greco-Roman civilization. A definite ethnic self-identification was not expressed in his work, which, in my opinion, argues in favor of the hypothesis that he accepted the "accomodating" program of Dionysios, emphasizing the unity of the Greeks and the Romans and trying to reconcile the two peoples. This reconciliatory approach can also be traced in the politics of the Genoese rulers and in the evolution of the

gradually Hellenized family of Kanaboutzes as well. On the other hand, the author felt strongly about his Christian faith, different from that of the author he was rewriting, and rejected what he considered to be the erroneous pagan beliefs of Dionysios; in this, his view was truly Christian and medieval.

While arguing against the pagan beliefs of his author, he revealed his own faith as well. It can be inferred from his remarks that he was a Catholic and several indications analyzed here suggest that he might have even been a supporter of the Union of the Catholic and Orthodox churches. This fact suggests that in the Genoese milieu, unlike the other parts of the remains of the Byzantine Empire, the idea of the Union was accepted and promoted.

In my analyses, I tried to introduce new evidence and reach new results by analyzing the author's use of rhetorical tools apart from his language and by defining his attitude towards his primary source and towards the Roman Past. As for his style, my research confirmed the conclusions reached previously by Martin Hinterberger, who described Kanaboutzes within the framework of the literary norms of Greek vernacular literature. Nevertheless, the way in which Kanaboutzes shifted between various levels of rhetorical elaboration in his work suggests, to my mind, that this was, first of all, his conscious decision to do so and, second, a result of the fact that he wrote his work in two phases. In the first phase he was requested to rephrase the stories about Samothrace in a simple, clear language, and in the second phase, he could follow his own, "loquacious" style, as the author himself also refers to it. I believe that my content analysis of Kanaboutzes' treatise may provide a new image of the ideology, identity, and self-definition of one of the representatives of this mixed Graeco-Genoese society in the fifteenth century, and prove that the efforts of the Genoese rulers to reconcile the two ethnic groups were reflected in his work.

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