Teaching Lucian in Middle Byzantium*

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The following paper explores Lucian and his writings through the lens of Byzantine education and investigates how his works could have been used in teaching the Greek language and literature in the Middle Byzantine period. It analyses a number of (didactic) texts which either refer to or are based on Lucianic writings, focusing primarily on two periods — ninth/tenth and twelfth centuries when Lucian-related activities (i.e. mostly writing texts, which were inspired by his works) seem to be especially widespread. Interestingly enough, there was never much interest in Lucian’s biography and the more prevalent view was to cast Lucian as an Attic writer, whose texts were sources of correct grammar, vocabulary and phrases. This paper also offers a preliminary analysis of the four extant schede, that is school exercises, based on the writings of Lucian, which are transmitted in two manuscripts (Pal. gr. 92 and Paris gr. 2556). These schede allow a brief glimpse into the way of using Lucian’s writing in the twelfth-century educational practices. Finally, this contribution brings the diplomatic transcription (which includes also interlinear notes) of the hitherto unedited three schede from Pal. gr. 92. Two of these schede are anonymous while the third one was penned by Michael Attikos, a person possibly mentioned by Anna Komnene in the *Alexiad*.

Keywords: Lucian, Byzantine education, schede, Michael Attikos.

To paraphrase Nigel Wilson, the response of the Byzantines to Lucian’s writings is rather hard to gauge.¹ It is even harder to determine reliably how educators used his writings in Byzantium.² In an unpublished paper, Charis Messis claims that “each phase of

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¹ Wilson 1996, 177.
² On the so-called “secondary education in Byzantium” see Efthymiadis 2005.

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Byzantine history — with turning points at the ninth to tenth, the eleventh to twelfth and, finally, the fourteenth centuries — rediscovered Lucian in its own ways and according to its own cultural, literary, and educational needs. Messis is undoubtedly correct and students of the Byzantine educational system have already remarked that Lucian’s writings served as a didactic tool throughout the history of the Empire. Yet the evidence is fragmented and scattered chronologically; most of it is indirect.

Perhaps the best example is the correspondence between Theodore Phialites and Michael Gabras in the fourteenth century. This is, in fact, doubly indirect testimony because Phialites’ letters are lost, therefore the discussion is reconstructed on the basis of Gabras’ arguments. Little is known about Phialites but Gabras is known to have taught in Constantinople. While Gabras expressed a clearly anti-Lucianic attitude due to Lucian’s religious (dis)beliefs, Phialites’ seems to have been more forgiving and, above all, more pragmatic. Phialites apparently claimed that Lucian is worth saving because he provides a proper linguistic model “for speaking” (163.25–27 ed. Dyck: εἰ δ’ ὅτι ρήτωρ τις αὐτὸς καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις οἶός τέ ἔστι τὴν γλῶτταν ἱκανὴν παρασκευάζειν εἰς τὸ λέγειν, διὰ τοῦτο ἄξιος αὐτὸν τε σῴζεσθαι). His statement echoes an earlier attitude towards Lucian, that the usefulness of his works outweighed the potential religious and moral risks they could present. Nevertheless, Phialites’ claim is of a general nature, it does not inform us how and for what purposes exactly teachers employed Lucianic writings. The principal types of testimony that relate to Lucian’s role in the Byzantine classroom are dictionaries and mentions in grammatical and rhetorical treatises, both of which confirm that Lucianic writings were used for educational purposes. A further, much rarer, type consists of several Lucianic schede dating to the twelfth century, which provide evidence of how his texts were used. This paper explores Lucian and his writings through the lens of Byzantine education and investigates how his works could have been used in teaching the Greek language and literature in the Middle Byzantine period.

The earliest extant manuscripts containing Lucian’s words seem to suggest that his writings became part of the curriculum studiorum between the ninth and the tenth centuries. Moreover, the ninth-century work of a didactic character ascribed to George Chioroboskos, Epimerisms on Homer, contains a reference to Lucian. 3

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3 Messis (forthcoming).
4 See Markopoulos 2006: 88 (where he lists the dialogues of Lucian among the school texts).
5 For an in-depth discussion of these letters see Christidis 2015.
6 See Trapp (et al.) 2001, entry 29718.
7 Constantinides 1982, 95.
8 Gabras is not the only teacher of this period who rekindles old prejudices towards Lucian. The same sentiments can be detected in the writings of Manuel Philes and Alexios Makrembolites. It is not entirely clear what triggered these negative responses, especially in a period when clinging to the Greek past seemed to be one of the defining elements of Byzantine intellectual identity. However, some intellectuals may have felt uncomfortable with Lucian’s anti-Christian ideas.
9 When it comes to the manuscript evidence, apart from the famous Harley 5694 (dated to ca. 912–914), which according to some scholars may have contained all of Lucian’s works, there is also Vat. gr. 90 (tenth century), which transmits seventy-five of them; Conv. Soppr. 77 (also tenth century) contains fifty-four of the satirist’s texts. See Marciniak 2016, 5. Perhaps further proof of Lucian’s popularity in the tenth century is the testimony of Liutprand; see Newlin 1927. For possible Lucianic echoes in tenth century hagiography see Angelidi 2015, 33–34.
10 Ε 71, ed. Dyck: ἀπριάτην ἀνάποινον, ἄγειν θ’ ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην (Α 99) [...] ἢ ἀπὸ κλητικῆς, ὡς τὸ Ἡρακλέης Ἡράκλεις, ὃ Ἡράκλεις (Luc. Iupp. trag. 32), ἐπίρρημα θαυμαστικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὃ τοῦ βαύματος...
Wilson has argued that extensive Lucianic scholia (especially scholia composed and gathered in the ninth century) suggest that his writings were used as a didactic tool. Modern scholars frequently employ scholia in discussions of how the scholiasts, notably Arethas, conceptualized Lucian the writer. Yet scholia were originally used as tools to explain ancient texts. Some elucidate historical, mythological and social contexts, while others contain notes designed to help readers understand the grammar and vocabulary of a text. Therefore, regardless of the date of composition, scholia could perform their didactic function in subsequent periods. Closely connected to Lucianic scholia is a lexicon, preserved in Coisl. 345 (10th century), originally intended to provide explanations for the texts of Lucian entitled Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ. The dictionary is heavily dependent on the scholia, although the content was adapted so that it could be used without the presence of Lucian’s works. For example, the scholion on Kynaigeiros (Demonax) reads as follows:

Κυναίγειρον τοῦτο γάρ Κυναίγειρος πέπονθεν Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πέρσας ναυμαχίᾳ πελέκει πρὸς Πέρσου τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς.

“This suffered Kynaigeiros, who in the naval battle against the Persians, lost his hand because of the Persian axe.”

The compiler of the lexicon changes the text slightly so it could function on its own: ὅτι Κυναίγειρος Ἀθηναῖος ὤν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πέρσας ναυμαχίᾳ πελέκει πρὸς Πέρσου τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς (p. 321).

Entries within the lexicon are grouped according to the order of Lucian’s writings, so the first cluster concerns the Dialogue of the Courtesans, the second the Phalaris, then the Demonax etc. (this division is not, however, marked in the manuscript). It is tempting to posit that this organization reflects the content of a lost manuscript, although this remains conjecture.

A crucial difference between the scholia (and especially the scholia of Arethas) and the lexicon is that the latter limits itself to explanations, without a trace of Arethas’ harsh...

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12 See a recent discussion by Russo 2011.
13 For instance a scholion on the phrase πρὸς τῆς Στυγός in DDeor 4: τὸ τῆς Στυγῶς ὕδωρ ὅρκον φασὶ θεῶν καὶ κυρίως ἐν Ἡδου εἶναι τοῦτο. διὸ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο αὐτὸν τὸν Κέρβερον ἀρκώσεν (they say that the waters of Styx are the oath of gods and that this is lawfully in Hades. On this account nowadays they make oaths on the very Cerberus).
14 Some of scholia seem to betray a rather surprising lack of a scholiast’s confidence in readers’/students’ sense of humour and intelligence. A scholion on DDeor. 6 defines the phrase ‘ἀπαντες φαλακροί’ (all *are* bald) in such a way ‘οἱ γὰρ νεκροὶ τὰς τρίχας οὐκ ἔχουσιν’ (because the dead don’t have hair).
15 A scholion on DDeor 4 explains the relatively rare verb διαμέλλοντα with a much more frequent βραδύνοντα. This *scholion* is transmitted by Vat. gr. 90, which contains class I of the scholia.
16 The edited scholia are dated to between the fifth and tenth centuries. There remain unedited scholia in Vindobonensis phil. gr. 123 dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.
17 This is a very important manuscript which transmits many lexicographical works, some of them as a *codex unicus*, see Leeuw 2000. I have consulted the digital version of the manuscript.
19 On the possible relationship of the manuscript to Arethas see Lemerle 1971, 228. Some of the scholia edited by Rabe are taken from the lexicon, see Rabe 1902, IV.
criticism of Lucian. Among thirty-seven works that Coisl. 345 transmits, there are works both of general character (e. g. Antiatticista, Περὶ συντάξεως) and lexica pertaining to individual authors (e. g. Homer, Plato). Moreover, on fol. 214–223 there is also a Biblical dictionary entitled Λέξεις τῆς Ὀκτατεύχου. This evidence suggests that Lucianic material must have been regarded as important (at least linguistically), otherwise it is unlikely that such a lexicon would have been included in the collection.  

Furthermore, Lucian is among the authors discussed by ninth-century author Photios in his Bibliotheca, though this is not necessarily proof that his writings were a core part of curriculum studiorum at that time. Photios mentions that he read texts such as the Phalaris, the Dialogues of the Dead, and the Dialogues of the Courtesans, and it is difficult to imagine that he discussed commonly read and widely known works.

Yet perhaps there is nothing contradictory in the testimonies discussed so far. What is observable in the ninth and the tenth centuries is a slow process of re-discovering Lucianic texts and integrating them into Byzantine educational practices. This could explain the compiling of material related to Lucian (scholia, lexica) in this period. These activities allowed to use Lucian more actively in the subsequent periods. In the eleventh century, Michael Psellos included Lucian in the short treatise On the Different Styles of Certain Writings. He describes Lucian's style as playful and categorizes it with romances and the writings of Philostratos of Lemnos. Stratis Papaioannou has remarked that although such playful writing is important for “the creation of one's own style”, an aspiring rhetor has first to indulge the “Muses” (serious writing), rather than the “Graces” (entertaining discourse). Psellos’ treatise may be more than just his idiosyncratic preference, especially when it comes to the “Graces”; it may also reflect the educational practices of his times. Be that as it may, Lucian’s texts are not discussed in any pre-Psellian rhetorical treatises (there exist, usually short, mentions of Lucian’s works in other texts, e. g. in Eunapios’ Lives of the Sophists), nor are they thoroughly discussed by other Byzantine writers. This semi-invisibility of the Syrian rhetor in theoretical discussions is an almost constant feature (with some exceptions) throughout the history of the Byzantine Empire. However, in discussing the importance of Lucian, and the usefulness of his style, two concepts seem to be conflated in scholarly literature: his importance as a powerful rhetor and a master of style and his usefulness for studying Attic Greek. Both Photios and Psellos emphasize the rhetorical skill in his writings: their playfulness,  

20 The same manuscript preserves also the Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων (the so-called Lexicum Bachmannianum or Lexicum Bekkeri VI, eighth/ninth century), which also refers to the writings of Lucian.

21 Warren Treadgold argued that Photios included only texts that were not part of the standard curriculum studiorum, see Treadgold 1980, 6.

22 Psellos, On the Different Styles of Certain Writings, 48: “Those who read the book of Leukippe and that of Chariklea, and any other book of delight and charming graces such as the writings of Philostratos of Lemnos and whatever Lucian produced in a spirit of indolent playfulness” (transl. in Barber — Papaioannou 2017, 104).

23 Barber-Papaioannou 2017: 102.

24 Psellos’ treatise was reused in the rhetorical manual from the late twelfth or thirteenth century entitled On the Four Parts of the Perfect Speech, see Hörandner 2012. According to the author: “ὁ τρίτος παντοδαπόν ἔχει τὸ καλὸν” (“the third one (Lucian) has all sorts of good things”). In the early fourteenth century, Theodore Metochites compared Lucian and Libanios. His text, however, is once again focused more on the use of the Attic dialect than on the rhetorical subtleties, text edited in Hult 2002, 162–163.

25 See for instance an anonymous commentary on Aristotle’s Rhetoric 1358bd, dated to the 12th century, which most likely refers to Lucian as one of the “δεινοὶ ρήτορες” (“powerful rhetors” ed. 10, 25–27 Rabe)
comic effects, lightness and lucidity. In other words, they treat Lucian's works as rhetorical models for entertaining discourse. Yet, it could be argued that the more prevalent view was to cast Lucian as an Attic writer, whose texts were sources of correct grammar, vocabulary and phrases.

The Komnenian period brings more substantial evidence that teachers used and students read Lucian's texts. Unlike earlier writers, twelfth-century literati and teachers, such as Theodore Prodromos, Eustathios of Thessalonike, John Tzetzes, and Nikephoros Basilakes, demonstrate direct knowledge of the Lucianic corpus. Basilakes does this in his enkomion of the dog by referring to the passage from the Gods in Council.27 Tzetzes mentions Praise of the Fly while discussing the paradoxical enkomion (Chil. 11. 385)28 and treats Lucianic writings as a source of encyclopaedic information.29 Gregory of Pardos, in his Commentary on Pseudo-Hermogenes' On the Method of Skillfulness (7.2, p. 1138 ed. Waltz), refers to the satirist while discussing the use of the diminutives (the only passage in which the satirist makes an appearance) and remarks that “Lucian has many of this kind” (καὶ ὁ Λουκιανὸς τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔχει).30 This passage emphasizes the grammatical value of Lucian's writings and suggests how teachers could have used them. Yet, as in previous periods, there is virtually no theoretical discussion of Lucian's writings and little apparent interest in his biography.31 Eustathios characterizes him as a “later Atticist” (καὶ νῦν τὸ «ἡδη» μέλλοντι άνακολούθως τῇ χρήσει τῶν ύστερον Ἀττικιστῶν, ὥν ἐστι καὶ ὁ Λουκιανός, Comm. ad II. 3.880.16), while Tzetzes writes that Lucian's parents moved from Syria to Patras (thus arguing that Lucian and Lukios of Patras are the same author).32 But such information is rare; it is as if Lucian's vita was of no interest (there was no, however, any ancient vita Luciani, which could have been re-used in the later period).

Similarly, Lucian is absent from most discussions concerned with subtler matters than pure grammar. The few exceptions include the aforementioned Basilakes, who characterized Lucian as “ὁ γελοιαστής, ὁ φιλοπαίγμων ὁ κωμικός” (De cane 1). Such descriptors mark the Syrian's role as a provider of entertaining discourse, as discussed by Psellos. The most avid imitator of Lucian, Prodromos, never commented on his style or rhetorical prowess, apart from calling him “a sweet Syrian” (ὁ γλυκὺς Σύρος, Against the Man with a Long Beard, 25). Only once in the entire Prodromic corpus does there appear a remark that could pass for a theoretical comment. In On Those Who Blaspheme Against Providence on Account of Poverty, Prodromos refers to Lucian by saying “ἀλλὰ τούτων ὑμῖν αἴτια ἡ ἄγνοια” and comments that only this passage, taken from the Slander, was not

28 Marciniak 2019, 43–52
29 He discusses, for instance, the name of the father of Herodotus (Chil. 1.22b.4), referring to Dom 20.6–7 (ηδη ὁ κήρυξ προσκάλει αὐτὸν Ἡρόδοτον Δύξου Ἀλικαρνασότεν); history of Apelles being slandered (Chil. 197) taken from Cal 5.
30 Lucian is absent from the discussion concerning dialogues but, interestingly, so is Plato. Gregory lists Plutarch and Basil the Great (Commentary on Pseudo-Hermogenes' On the Method of Skillfulness 7.2, p. 1347, ed. Walz).
31 Which is sharply contrasted with such an interest when it comes to other ancient writers.
a lie ("τοῦτο γε μόνον οὐχὶ ψευσάμενος", PG 133:1293). Apparently, Prodromos saw this work as different from other fictitious Lucianic narratives, perhaps he even viewed it as Lucian's own manifesto. It is little wonder that the Byzantine writer, who himself was slandered and constantly faced competition from other teachers, interpreted this text in a personal way. However, such theoretical and/or personal remarks are exceptions rather than the rule.

In the twelfth century, Lucian is imitated but not commented upon. Never before, and rarely after in the Byzantine period, were so many works penned which drew on the Lucianic corpus in vocabulary, style, ideas and content. Despite this vogue for Lucian, there is not a single extant manuscript from this century that contains the rhetor's works. This is curious because, as Wilson remarked, the twelfth century "was not an age of declining book production." However other ancient writers are also underrepresented, perhaps enough didactic manuscripts from previous centuries still circulated to meet the needs of students and teachers. The lack of contemporaneous manuscripts could also be incidental (although this is less probable that all such manuscripts perished). It may also suggest that heightened twelfth-century interest in ancient works was less about these texts themselves and more about what the literati could do with them in terms of creative recycling. Lucianic writings became, as Psellos suggested, a good model for light, entertaining discourse. Perhaps such discourse was in greater demand in the Komnenian period than in earlier eras.

Lucianic schede of the twelfth-century

Recently schede, or didactic exercises, have attracted increased scholarly attention. Herbert Hunger's preliminary definition, which describes them as school exercises appropriate for teaching children important lessons, such as grammar, is today too general.

33 Cal 1: “Δεινόν γε ἡ ἄγνοια καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώποις αἰτία” (“a terrible thing is ignorance, which is the source of endless human calamities”).
34 See Prodromos, Carm. hist. 49.
35 A twelfth-century dialogue ascribed to Niketas Eugenianos, Anacharsis or Ananias, offers perhaps the most extensive description of Lucian's style: "Who would furnish me with the Syrian's tongue, honey-sweet, fond of jeering and more pleasant than honey from the Attic mountain Hymettus. This language, while refuting some Hellenic nonsense, poured down great sarcasm and showered like hail the storm of jokes. And through this language I would have put to writing neither myths nor nonsense but true stories", see Christidis 1984, 752–756.
37 Mazaris' Journey to Hades, which draws on the idea of the Lucianic katabaseis, mentions Lucius or the Ass (39.14–15): "The younger Alousianos (straight from the house of Patrokles, who never washed), belongs to the inner circle, with Loukios "or the ass" (transl. in Mazaris' Journey to Hades 1975, 39.14–15).
38 Marciniak 2016, 217–2.
40 There are almost no extant manuscripts containing ancient plays dating to the twelfth century (e. g. with the exception of Plut. 31.10, which however is dated to the period after the Komnenian revival). I am indebted to Lorenzo Maria Ciolfi for bringing this phenomenon to my attention.
41 A revival of novels in the Komenian period might be yet another proof of the interest in the entertaining discourse.
While *schede* were often based on the lexical puzzles ἀντίστοιχα (“sound correspondences”),⁴⁴ there exist texts which defy easy definitions. Schedography is in fact an open genre, which can be modified and adapted according to the needs of a given author. Lucianic *schede* are a case in point.

The twelfth century brings several Lucianic *schede*, four of them will be analysed here.⁴⁵ Three were handed down in Vat. Pal. gr. 92:⁴⁶

1) Michael Attikos’ paraphrase of Lucian’s *Cataplus* [f. 188r, l. 5] 

2) Anonymous: a paraphrase of a passage from Lucian (*Ἀναβιοῦντες ἢ ἁλιεύς* 6) [fols. 225v–226r] (S₁)

3) Anonymous: a paraphrase of a passage from Lucian (*Ἀναβιοῦντες ἢ ἁλιεύς* 4–5) [fol. 226r–v]. (S₂)

The fourth one, of which only fragments remain, was transmitted by Paris gr. 2556.⁴⁷

4) Anonymous: a paraphrase of Lucian’s *Dialogue of the Dead* 13 [fol. 79]. (S₃)

Only one *schedos* is attributable, and we know little about its author. He might have been the Attikos mentioned by Anna Komnene in a long passage on the art of schedography in the *Alexiad*.⁴⁸ This *schedos*, based on chapter 18 of the *Voyage to the Lower World*, is a short dialogue between Charon, Mikellos and Klotho (none of the names is mentioned in the manuscript, which is common).⁴⁹ The text is changed both on the level of grammar and vocabulary,⁵⁰ e. g.:

Α: οὐ γὰρ δίκαιόν ἐστι ἐλθεῖν

Cat 18: οὐ θέμις οὕτω σε διελθεῖν (the word θέμις from the original is replaced with a less sophisticated δίκαιον).

This is perhaps the most typical example of a *schedos*, as it contains examples of antistoicha such as: πόσ’ ἄγη = πῶς ἄγῃ; εἶ ναῆ, πω = ἵνα εἴπω, which makes it more complicated than the other three. Similarly, *antistoicha* can be found in the text preserved in Paris gr. 2556, where they are easier to decipher (την ει = τινὶ). Again, the grammatical and lexical changes are substantial.⁵¹ However, since this *schedos* is preserved only fragmentarily, it is difficult to say anything decisive about its exact composition.

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in Versen — in einer für kindliche Gemüter berechneten Methode verschiedenes Wissenwertes, vor allem aus der Grammatik, vermitteln sollte."

⁴⁴ Agapitos 2014: 5: “The pupils had to decode such a puzzle and to rewrite it correctly. The puzzles were based on ἀντίστοιχα (“sound correspondences”); these could be similarly sounding verbal or nominal forms, or they could be wrongly written words or phrases.”

⁴⁵ There are two more Lucianic *schede* transmitted in the manuscript Marc. XI. 31: *DDeor* 3 (incipit: ὅφερομεν τὸν πλείστων πλούτων ἀξιοῦντα) and *DDeor* 4 (incipit: Ὡ Κέρβερε, ἵθι μοι λέξον). Konstantinos Manafis has surmised that these *schede* were penned by Basil Pediadites, see Manafis 1976–1977, 311. See also Messis (forthcoming). Unfortunately, I was unable to consult this manuscript.


⁴⁷ Reinsch — Kambyllis (eds) 2001, 485, 15.7.9; Agapitos 2013, 94, no. 25.

⁴⁸ I have consulted the manuscript in situ.

⁴⁹ Cat 18: ἀλελείψωμαι = Α: περιαλελείψωμαι.

⁵⁰ L : Ἐ ἐγέλασω οὖν, ὃ Ἀλέξανδρε, ὡς καὶ ἐν ᾧ δου ἦτη σε μωραίοιντα = S₃: 5 οὐ γελάσω οὖν ὃ Ἀλέξανδρε, ὡς ὅτι καὶ ἐν ᾧ δου ἦτη σε μωραίοιντα.
In contrast, *schede* S₁ and S₂ are less complicated. *Antistoichic* elements are rare⁵² and sometimes introduced in a way that suggests the correct answer. For instance:

*S₂: καὶ ὁ σιγῶν οὗτος καὶ ὡσεὶ ὀπών Πυθαγόρας
Pisc 4: καὶ ὁ σιωπῶν οὗτος Πυθαγόρας καὶ Διογένης

The verb σιωπῶν from the original is replaced by its synonym, σιγῶν. However, immediately following is the formulation ὡσεὶ ὀπών, which should be corrected to ὁ σιωπῶν.⁵³ In other words, the solution is suggested in the text itself. Some of the changes in S₁ and S₂ are minor and represent possible grammatical variations (S₂: σοι λόγους instead of σου λόγους) or clarify the meaning of a phrase (S₂: μᾶλλον δὲ φυλάττετε τά βάρη, the schedographer added τά βάρη). Yet some alterations are surprising, as they transform simple formulations into complex ones. For instance the simple Lucianic form ληρεῖς has been changed to λήρων ἔχῃ (S₂), while λαβῶν has been replaced with the more complicated παρειληφῶς (S₁). At times a schedographer has added words, which possibly were meant to clarify the meaning of the text:

*S₂: καὶ ὁ Πλάτων δ’ ἐγὼ εἰσέτι
Pisc 4: καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἐγὼ

The word εἰσέτι is additionally explained by the interlinear note as σὺν τούτοις (“with them”). This particular passage, where Platon enumerates various philosophers ridiculed by Lucian/Parrhesiades, is especially interesting because it demonstrates that a schedographer could alter his source text quite considerably.

*S₂: Πυθαγόρας χήρῳ ἶσος μὴ φθεγγόμενος· καὶ Διογένης καὶ ἅπαντες ὁπόσους σκωπτεῖν (?), καὶ διαβάλλειν καὶ διασύρειν ἤθελες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μιμούμενος.
Pisc 4: ὁ σιωπῶν οὗτος Πυθαγόρας Πυθαγόρας καὶ Διογένης καὶ ἅπαντες ὁπόσους διέσυρες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις.

The original phrase “καὶ ἅπαντες ὁπόσους διέσυρες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις” was replaced with a much more elaborated “καὶ ἅπαντες ὁπόσους σκωπτεῖν, καὶ διαβάλλειν καὶ διασύρειν ἤθελες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μιμούμενος”. This change seems to be, however, more than a simple addition of the synonyms (σκωπτεῖν, διαβάλλειν). This passage reinforces the typical Byzantine image of Lucian as the author whose specialty was mockery. Moreover, the addition “ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μιμούμενος” (“imitating in the writings”) is a clear expansion of Lucian’s original thought as it suggests that Lucian not only mocked but also imitated the philosophical writings. This addition may be read as a clarification of the passage as students might not be acquainted with the entire dialogue in which Lucian/Parrhesiades is confronted with philosophers, who, having heard about the *Sale of Lives*, accuse him of hatred towards both them and philosophy.⁵⁴ Yet, it would be tempting to assume that the schedographer’s intention was also to teach about Lucian and his writings. It is not completely clear why certain passages were chosen as the schedographic exercises but perhaps

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⁵² S₁: ἐφηλῶ = ἐφ’ ἥλων.
⁵³ The interlinear note, however, seems to refer to the word ὀπών as it adds the word τῶν φωνῶν.
⁵⁴ Interestingly enough, Lucian’s *Sale of Lives* was successfully imitated in the twelfth-century by Theodore Prodromos.
some were attractive didactically not only because of the grammar and vocabulary but also in terms of their content.

All schede are accompanied by interlinear notes, which generally define a word by providing a synonym, e. g. S1: ἱοα explained by ἐπιστη; πεπονθὰς = παθῶν; S3: ἀγάγη = φέρη. Sometimes, however, they offer an explanation meant to clarify the meaning of a phrase (e. g. S1: εἰσέτι explained by καὶ σὺν τούτοις). Whether or not these notes and explanations come from a schedographer, from a later reader or from both is unclear; all cases are possible.

The four schede discussed here vary considerably. For example, A and S3 are more difficult to read and understand and require an excellent grasp of the language. The differences in complexity may suggest that they were meant for students at various linguistic stages. In case of the more difficult schede, students were supposed to correct mistakes. The situation might be different with regard to less complex exercises. The antistoicha are simpler and less advanced students might have been required to explain changes made by a teacher at grammar and lexical levels (e. g. to parse the more complex words introduced by a teacher).

A sample of four pieces is too small to support a broad conclusion, which would require a thorough analysis of the entire schedographical corpus. However, unlike schede based on ancient novels, these only teach grammar, vocabulary and, perhaps, ways to manipulate (that is to change) style. Whether this demonstrates that Lucian texts were primarily used as a form of prose composition manuals remains unclear (although this is a very tempting conclusion).

Conclusion

The schede analysed in this paper prove that Lucian had his place in the Byzantine educational system. And yet, perhaps the most intriguing aspect of teaching Lucian in the Middle Byzantine period is the marked contrast between his absence from rhetorical treatises and his popularity as a literary (or perhaps more precisely: stylistic) model. He suffered Aristophanes’ fate in reverse. Aristophanes was, in the twelfth-century, commented upon by John Tzetzes; Gregory of Pardos, in Commentary on Pseudo-Hermogenes’ On the Method of Skilfulness, uses examples from his plays to exemplify “comic style”; and Eustathios’ commentaries contain numerous allusions to his plays. It is also telling that Prodromos, in the Bion Praxis, makes Aristophanes a model of offensive/satirical speaking. Yet no single work exists (or has survived) modelled on Aristophanes’ writings to the same extent as the Prodromic satires were modelled on Lucian’s texts (even though there are texts, which draw on Aristophanic vocabulary and imagery). Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that Lucian’s dialogues and orations were more easily imitated than Aristophanic plays for a society in which drama did not exist. Not to mention that they might have been also more useful. It is tempting to conclude that, because of his anti-Christian views, it was safer to use Lucian as a literary and language model than to analyse him and his writings in the same way as other pagan authors. Such a hypothesis remains, however, difficult to prove.

55 These schede have recently been analysed by Nilsson-Zagklas 2017, 1120–1148.
56 Marciniak 2013, 219–239.
57 It is noteworthy that one of the very few attempts at a more thorough analysis of the rhetor’s works was Alexios Makrembolites’ fourteenth-century allegorical interpretation of Lucian’s Lucius or the Ass, which sought to establish this text’s hidden Christian dimension, see Roilos 2005, 136.
APPENDIX

Diplomatic transcriptions from: Pal. gr. 92. In the apparatus, except for the additions and corrections, the possible solutions for the antistoichic riddles were offered. The first version of the transcription was prepared by Lorenzo Maria Ciolfi.58

Michael Attikos’ paraphrase of Lucian’s Cataplus 18

[f. 188r, l. 5] Τοῦ κυροῦ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ βίβλος Λουκιανοῦ +

[5] (Μικυλλος). — Ἀδικεῖς μ’ ἑώλιν νεκρῶν ὑπηργέμενον ὥρΧαρων ἐν ναῊ, πω δῆλον καὶ τοῦτο τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐνταυθοί παροντῶν νεκύων· ἀμέλει ἀνεφάρων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῆμα πλείστ’ ἀσαιμί.71 διαβαλὼν εὐλόγως. σ’72 ὁστάτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῆμα πλείστ’ ἀσαιμί.71 διαβαλὼν εὐλόγως. σ’72 ὁστάτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῆμα πλείστ’ ἀσαιμί.71 διαβαλὼν εὐλόγως. σ’72 ὁστάτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῆμα πλείστ’ ἀσαιμί.71 διαβαλὼν εὐλόγως. σ’72 ὁστάτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῆμα πλείστ’ ἀσαιμί.71 διαβαλὼν εὐλόγως. σ’72 ὁστάτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῆμα πλείστ’ ἀσαιμί.71 διαβαλὼν εὐλόγως. σ’72 ὁστάτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῆμα πλείστ’ ἀσαιμί.71 διαβαλὼν εὐλόγως. σ’72 ὁστάτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῆμα πλείστ’ ἀσαιμί.71 διαβαλὼν εὐλόγως. σ’72 ὁστάτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῆμα πλείστ’ ἀσαιμί.71 διαβαλὼν εὐλόγως. σ’72 ὁστάτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος καὶ τίθει ἐπὶ μέσον τὸ παρὸν ἐγκλῇ
Anonymous, Paraphrase from Lucian's Ἀναβιοῦντες ἢ ἁλιεὺς (§ 6)
[f. 225v, l. 19]

[1] [Π]οσ' ἐγὼ υμᾶς ἢ πότε ὑβρικα· ὃς φιλοσοφιαν θαυμάζων διατετέλεκ' ἀεὶ καὶ υμᾶς αὐτούς ὑπερεπαινῶν καὶ αὐτόν εἰδε τῶν λόγων ἢν καταλελοίπατ' ἐφηλῶν ὃς φημι ταῦτα; πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν παρειλήφως καὶ ἀπανθισάμενος ὡς σοφῶς ὡς σοφῶς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οἱ δὲ, ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ γνωρίζουσιν εἰκότων ὁ ταῦτα πεπονθὼς παρ' ὑμῶν κακῶς ἂν ἐπιχείρησι ἐνιπήν· καὶ λοιδορίαν προσενεγκεῖν εὐεγέταις ἀνδράσιν· ἀνθ' ὧν δόξαν ἔδωκεν εἶναί τις στίφει ἀνθρώποις· ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ κατὰ Θάμυριν εἴη ἢ Εὔρυτον μωρόν βροτὸν [10] τὴν φύσιν· ἢς τοῖς Μοῦσαις ἄνταδεν παρ' ἐκατοντάκι καὶ νόησιν στίφει ἀνθρώποις ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ κατὰ Θάμυριν εἴη ἢ Εὔρυτον μωρόν ὡς τὰς Μούσαις ἀνταδειν ἐναντίον τῇ τοξικῇ· +

Suprascipts: 1 Π]οσ' καὶ πού ὑβρικα] καὶ ὑβρισα 2 εἴδει τῇ θεωρίᾳ ἐφηλών 3 ἐφ’ οἷς ἀγανακτήσαντες σὺν δρόμῳ, πρὸς σὲ ἀνελήλυθεν, συγχωρηθέντες πρὸς ὀλίγον τι ὀξεῖ, Αἰδωνεῖ· Χρύσιππος οὑτοσὶ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος· καὶ ὁ Πλάτων δ’ ἐγὼ εἰσέτι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκεῖνος· καὶ ὁ σιγῶν οὗτος καὶ ὡσεὶ ὀπῶν Πυθαγόρας χήρῳ ἐσομήν μὴ φθεγγόμενος· καὶ Διογένης καὶ ἅπαντες σκωπτην ἠθέλεις ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μιμούμενος. — scripsi.

[2] Δι.’
[5] Or προσκαρφῶν?
[89] Ανέπνευσα· ὡ γὰρ μει γνώθη ὁ ἡμετέρος σύλλογος ὁποῖος περὶ ὑμᾶς ἐγενόμην κανεῖ ἱταμῶς· ὡστε ἀπορρίπτετε τῶν λίθων μᾶλλον δὲ φυλάττετε τὰ βάρη· χρήσασθε γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀξίων.

[10] Ἀνέπνευσα· ὡ γὰρ μει γνώθη ὁ ἡμετέρος σύλλογος ὁποῖος περὶ ὑμᾶς ἐγενόμην κανεῖ ἱταμῶς· ὡστε ἀπορρίπτετε τῶν λίθων μᾶλλον δὲ φυλάττετε τὰ βάρη· χρήσασθε γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀξίων.

Anonymous, Paraphrase from Lucian's Ἀναβιοῦντες ἢ ἁλιεὺς (§ 4–5)
[f. 226r, l. 13]

[1] [Λ]ίτα µὲν ἡμᾶς εἴργασαι δεινὰ σεαυτὸν ἐρωταὶ καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους σοι λόγους ἐν οἷς αἰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐς φιλοσοφίαν ἡμᾶς ὕβριζες· ἐφ’ οἷς ἀγανακτήσαντες σὺν δρόμῳ, πρὸς σὲ ἀνελήλυθεν, συγχωρηθέντες πρὸς ὀλίγον τι ὀξεῖ, Αἰδωνεῖ· Χρύσιππος οὑτοσὶ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος· καὶ ὁ Πλάτων δ’ ἐγὼ εἰσέτι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκεῖνος· καὶ ὁ σιγῶν οὗτος καὶ ὡσεὶ ὀπῶν Πυθαγόρας χήρῳ ἐσομήν μὴ φθεγγόμενος· καὶ Διογένης καὶ ἅπαντες σκωπτην ἠθέλεις ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μιμούμενος. — scripsi.

[89] Ανέπνευσα· τὰ χρήματα νόμιζε πεπονθείς παρ’ ὑμῶν παρειλήφως καὶ ἀπανθισάμενος ὡς σοφῶς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οἱ δὲ, ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ γνωρίζουσιν ἑκάστου τὸ ἄνθος ἠμῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οἱ δὲ, ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ γνωρίζουσιν ἑκάστου τὸ ἄνθος ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ παρὰ τῷ Δίῳ ἐνωραίζομεν· καὶ ἀναλεξάμενον μὲν ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς τῷ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ· τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς ὑμᾶς· καὶ τὸν λειμῶνα τὸν ὑμετέρον οἱ τοιαῦτα ἐξηνθίκα τ’ αἴολα καὶ τὰς βαφὰς πολυειδῆ σφόδρα· ἔστιν οὖν ἡμετέρος σύλλογος ὁ ταῦτα πεπονθὼς παρ’ ὑμῶν κακῶς ἂν ἐπιχείρησι ἐνιπήν· καὶ λοιδορίαν προσενεγκεῖν εὐεγέταις ἀνδράσιν· ἀνθ’ ὧν δόξαν ἔδωκεν εἶναί τις στίφει ἀνθρώποις· ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ κατὰ Θάμυριν εἴη ἢ Εὔρυτον μωρόν βροτὸν [10] τὴν φύσιν· ἢς τοῖς Μοῦσαις ἄνταδεν παρ’ ἐκατοντάκι καὶ νόησιν στίφει ἀνθρώποις· ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ κατὰ Θάμυριν εἴη ἢ Εὔρυτον μωρόν ὡς τὰς Μούσαις ἀνταδειν ἐναντίον τῇ τοξικῇ· +

— scripsi.

— scripsi.

— scripsi.

Suprascripts: 

1 εἴργασαι] εἰργάσω
2 α] ἢ
3 ὀξεῖ] καὶ ταχεῖ Аἰδωνεῖ] καὶ Χρύσσα

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