

Athens, May 22, 2015

Jerker Blomqvist

Byzantine Greek on Maltese soil: evidence from the *Tristia ex Melitogaudio*

1. Text edition: Joseph Busuttil, Stanley Fiorini & Horatio C. R. Vella (eds.), *Tristia ex Melitogaudio. Lament in Greek verse of a XIIth-century exile on Gozo, Malta* 2010.

2. The text correctly classified: Εὐδοξος Θ. Τσολάκης, “Άγνωστα ἔργα Ἰταλοβυζαντινοῦ ποιητῆ τοῦ 12ου αἰῶνα”, Ἑλληνικά 26, 1973, 46–66 (+ Πίναξ I)

3. Modern Greek grammar: David Holton, Peter Mackridge & Irene Philippaki-Warburton, *Greek. An Essential Grammar of the Modern Language*, London : Routledge, 2004

4. Continuity of classical participles in Modern Greek *dimotiki*

Passive perfect participle (declinable): γραμμένος -η -ο ← γεγραμμένος -η -ον

Gerund (indeclinable): τρέχοντας ← τρέχων, gen. τρέχοντος

5. “Modern” passive perfect participles in *Tristia*

14.8r9¹ σωσμένους

32.17r17 κακωμένοις

48.25r3 μνημονευμένα

72.37v15 χερσωμένων,

120.61r16 χωνευμένος

146.74v16 φλογμένος

160.81r9 κορεσμένων

176.92v4 ὑπεργμένος (*lapsus calami* for ὑπεργμένος?)

176.92v7 ἱερωμένος

198.97v14 ἀρμένας

6. Proparoxytone present participles in verse final (some with paroxytone accent)

8.5r5 ὀχούμενοι

14.8r1 τιμώμενον

22.12v3 ποντούμενον

50.26v5 ποντουμένος

84.43v1 ἀπαροιμένος

86.44r11 μετρομέναι (sic!)

92.47r15 κυδρούμενον

144.73v2 ὀρώμενοι

158.80v10 πλανωμένος.

7. Modern Greek gerund with subject

Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton III.1.7: **Φεύγοντας** ο δάσκαλος διέλυσε η τάξη
‘When the teacher departed, the class dispersed.’

¹ References to passages in the *Tristia* such as 14.8r9 should be understood in this way: 14 = page number in Busuttil *et al.* (2010); 8 = folio number of the manuscript; r = recto (v = verso); 9 = line number on the folio page.

8. Nominative absolute: an example from ancient Greek

Philostratos, *Vitae sophistarum* 553.30–31 (on the variety of the Attic dialect spoken in the central part of Attica): ἡ μεσογεία δὲ ἄμικτος βαρβάροις οὕσα ὑγιαίνει αὐτοῖς ἡ φωνὴ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα τὴν ἄκραν Ἀτθίδα ἀποψάλλει ‘The *Mesogeia* being untainted by barbarians, their language is healthy and their tongue sings perfect Attic.’

9. Absolute nominatives in the *Tristia*

a. 168.85r6–8 (Paul – in Malta – brings firewood to the fire; cf. Acts 28.3)

ἐπιβαλὼν οὖν τῇ πυρᾷ τὸ φορτίον,
τῶν φρυγίων ἔξεισιν ἀπεινῆς ἔχης
τούτου τε δεινῶς ἄπτεται τοῦ δακτύλου.

‘Putting his burden on the fire,
a nasty viper came out of the firewood
and scarily clung to the man’s finger.’

b. 170.86r6–8 (about King Roger’s enemies)

κατ’ οὐρανῶν γὰρ τοῦ σελασφόρου πτύνει
φρενοβλαβῶς θέλοντες, οὐκ ἀπεικώτῳ[ς]
τὸ πτύσμα τούτων τοῖς προσώποις ἐστράφ[η].

‘For crazily wanting to spit at Heaven, the
light-bringer, their spit was not unreasonably
turned against their own faces.’

c. 226.114v17–228.115r2 (“you” refers to God)

... σύνεσις κρίνουσα φαῦλον τυγχάνειν
περιπολεῖσθαι τὴν κτίσιν δεινῶ ζόφῳ,
εἶπας γενέσθαι δύο φωστήρας μόνους,

‘[Your] wisdom deeming it inane that creation
should exist in scary darkness, you ordained that
two lights only come into existence.’

d. 172.87r7–12 (on Paul and Barnabas in Lystra; cf. Acts 14.8–10)

Λύστροις γὰρ ὄντες, διδαχῆς θείας χάριν,
ἐπεῖπερ εἶδον χῳλὸν ἐκ κοιλίας
τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ προθυμοῦντ’ ἐκτόπως
καταξιοῦσθαι πίστεως εὐεξίας,
τοῦτον μὲν ἰάσατο Παῦλος εὐθέως.

‘Being in Lystra for the sake of divine teaching,
when they saw a man lame from his mother’s
womb and eagerly wishing to be deemed worthy
of the health of faith, Paul at once healed him.’

e. 204.103v2–10 (on Daidalos and Ikaros)

περιορισθέντες γὰρ οὗτοι διὰ τι
ἔγκλημα συμβὰν Δαιδάλῳ λογεμπόρῳ
εἰς νῆσον οὐ μεγίστην ἄοικον τότε,
ἐπεῖπερ οἶδεν ἐμμέριμνος νοῦς ἅπας
ἐκεῖνα γεννᾶν, ἃ πρὸ τούτου μηδόλως,
ὁ Δαίδαλος τίθησι τῇ πήρᾳ χέρα.

‘These banished, because of some accusation
against Daedalus, the craftsman, to an island, not
very big and uninhabited then, since every anxious
mind knows how to create things never before
existed, Daedalus put his hand in his pouch.’

f. 206.102r5–9 (Daidalos advising Ikaros)

καὶ μὴ θελοντῆς ὑποδύσης αἰθέρος
τὴν κρᾶσιν ἀνύποιστον ὥς ἐξ ἡλίου,
μήπως φλογισθεῖς² φλοξὶ ταῖς πυρεμφλόγ[οις]
εὐδιάλυτον διαλυθῇ κηρίον,
κόλπος δὲ καθέξοι σε τῆς ὑγρᾶς ἄπνουν.

‘Do not voluntarily enter the aether’s
region, unendurable because of the sun,
lest, you being scorched by the scorching
flames, the dissolvable wax dissolves and
the bosom of the sea catches you lifeless.’

g. 206.102r10–13 (advising continues)

μηδ’ αὖ γε ταύτῃ καθόλου γειτνιαίσης
μήπως ὑγρανθὲν τὸ πτερὸν ταῖς ἰκμάσιν
ὑπτιον, ἄπνουν κείμενον τῶν κυμάτων
ἔξει σε³ τάξις ἡ παλίρροια νέκυν

‘Nor come close to this [the sea] at all,
lest, your wing becoming soaked by the moistures,
the back- and forthflowing mass of waves keeps
your dead body, lying lifeless on your back.’

² φλογισθεῖς MS; φλογισθὲν edd.

10. Semantic distinctions between prepositions disregarded?

- a. ἐκ for ἀπό: 166.84v17 ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων Αἰλίας ἤχθη μόνος ‘he [Paul] was brought from the region of Aelia [Capitolina, i.e., Jerusalem] alone’
- b. ἐκ for ἀπό: 14.8r2–3 οὐ πρὸς τινος, ἀλλ’ ἐκ δεσπότου, λαβόντα πρᾶξιν ‘receiving your task not from anyone but from the despot’
- c. εἰς for ἐν: 204.103v4 περιορισθέντες ... εἰς νῆσον ‘detained on an island’

11. Alternatives of prepositional phrases: separative genitives

- a. 168.85r7 τῶν φρυγίων ἔξεισιν ἀπεινῆς ἔχης ‘a horrid viper came out of the firewood’
- b. 74.38v2 πῦρ ἐξιὸν τῶν ἐγκάτων ‘fire coming out of the entrails’
- c. 10.6v4 ἀπορριπίζει τοὺς ὕπνους τῶν ὀμμάτων ‘drove away the sleep from his eyes’
- d. 12.7v6 κακοῦργός τις βρόχων ἀποδράσας ‘an evil-doer having escaped from the noose’
- e. 230.116r13 ἐξελούμενος χειρῶν ἀδίκων ‘having snatched away⁴ [Lot] from unjust hands’
- f. 4.3r1 πάσης ἀλλαγὴν κυμάτων τρικυμίας ‘rescued from all violent swell of waves’
- g. 74.38r11 φωτὸς ἐστερημένον ‘deprived of light/eyesight’
- h. 76.39r7 τῶν οὐδαμινῶν μᾶλλον ἀποτυγχάνει ‘he is rather deprived of the things of little value’

12. Alternatives of prepositional phrases: locative datives

- a. 172.87r7 Λύστροις γὰρ ὄντες ‘while they were in Lystra’
- b. 68.35v15 μένων ὁ τλήμων τοῖς τόποις Βαρβαρίας ‘poor me, remaining in the lands of Barbary’
- c. 10.6v10 διατρίβοντα τοῖς τόποις Θεσσαλίας ‘dwelling in the lands of Thessaly’
- d. 70.36v16–72.37r1 τῇ Σικελίᾳ ... μέγαν τετέχθαι Ἰταλὸν βασιλέα ‘that in Sicily the great king Italus was born’
- e. 228.115r1 περιπολεῖσθαι τὴν κτίσιν δεινῷ ζόφῳ ‘that the creation should dwell in scary darkness’
- f. 80.41v12–13 χρυσοτέκτῳ τῷ θρόνῳ φαιδρῶς ἵδρυται ‘is seated in splendour on his throne built from gold’
- g. 8.5r10 ἄπεισιν Ἀριμίνιδι πόλει ‘he went to the city Ariminum’
- h. 74.38v5 θαλάτταις εἰσιόν ‘[volcanic fire] running out into the sea’
- i. 170.86r8 τὸ πτύσμα τούτων τοῖς προσώποις ἐστράφη ‘their spit was turned against their own faces’
- j. 232.117v16 ῥιφθέντα λάκκῳ ‘thrown into a cistern’
- k. 204.103v7 ὁ Δαίδαλος τίθησι τῇ πήρᾳ χέρα ‘Daidalos put his hand into his pouch’

³ ἔξει σε J.B.; ἔξεισε MS.(?), edd.

⁴ Ἐξελούμενος is properly a future but in the context it must be translated with a past tense. The poet may have chosen ἐξελούμενος (instead of, e.g., the aorist ἐξέλόμενος) for metrical reasons for, with the position that the word has in the verse, its third syllable must be long.

13. Infinitives and infinitive phrases: Occurrences and syntactic functions in the investigated portions of the *Tristia*

tense/voice	subject	with verbs denoting					final	with ὥς / ὥστε	with article	?	total
		say	believe	see	will, desire	ability, habit, etc.					
present: active	4	4			27	12	4 ⁵	1	2	4	58
med.-passive	2	1		2	13	2	1	2	2	1	26
future: active					1						1
medium											0
passive											0
aorist: active		4	1		10	6	2	1		2	26
medium				1	2	1	1				5
passive		1				1					2
perfect: active		3	2								5
med.-passive	1	1			1						3
total	7	14	3	3	54	22	8	4	4	7	126

14. Participles: Occurrences and syntactic functions in the investigated portions of the *Tristia*

tense/voice	attributive/ substantivized	predicative	genitive absolute	nominative absolute	in peri- phrasis	adverb	total
present: active	57	112	11	3	1	4	188
med.-passive	14	15	2				31
future: active	2	3					5
medium	1						1
passive							0
aorist: active	8	85	5	2			100
medium	1		1				2
passive	5	29	1	5			40
perfect: active	16	12	1		1	1	31
med.-passive	53	38	6		4	3	104
total	157	294	27	10	6	9	502

⁵ Two of these final infinitives are preceded by τοῦ.

15. Prepositions: Occurrences in the investigated portions of the *Tristia* and in poems by Eugenios of Palermo and Michael Glykas, as compared to Modern Greek.

	<i>Tristia</i>	Eugenios ⁶	Michael Glykas ⁷	Standard Modern Greek ⁸
ἀνά w. acc.	1			[+]
ἄνευ	4	3	2	[+]
ἀντί	1	1	1	+
ἀντικρύ	2			
ἀπό	4	9	5	+
διά w. gen.	9	10		+ (για) [διά]
w. acc.	1	1	1	
εἰς	20	21 + 3 ἐς	44	+ (σ(ε)) [εἰς]
εἴσω	3	1 (ἔσω)		
εἴσωθεν	2			
ἐκ/ἐξ	27	51	10	[+]
ἐκπαλαι	1			
ἐν	14	60	15	[+]
ἐνδοθεν	1	1		
ἐπί w. gen.	1	1	2	[+]
w. dat.		4	7	
w. acc.		1		
κατά w. gen.	8	4	8	+
w. acc.	13	13	20	
μέσον	2	3	1	
μετά w. gen.	1		3	+ με 'with' μετά 'after'
w. acc.	2	1	4	
μέχρι(ς)	7	4		+
ὀπισθεν	1			
παρά w. gen.	4	4	4	+
w. dat.		11	2	
w. ack.	3	2	7	
περί		2 (w. gen.)	1 (w. gen.)	[+]
πρίν	2			+
πρό	5	9	1	[+]

⁶ Edition: *Eugenii Panormitani versus iambici*. Edidit, Italice reddidit, commentario instruxit Marcellus Gigante, Palermo 1964 (Testi e monumenti pubblicati di Bruno Lavagnini. Testi 10).

⁷ Edition: Εὐδοξος Θ. Τσολάκης, *Μιχαήλ Γλυκᾶ στίχοι, οὓς ἔγραψε καθ' ὃν κατεσχέθη καιρόν*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1959 (Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς. Παράρτημα 3).

⁸ According to Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton, 370–408. Explanations of signs in this column: “+” : used in common speech; “[+]” : used in formal discourse influenced by the *katharevousa*; “[διά]” : variant form used in the *katharevousa*; additional information in parentheses.

	<i>Tristia</i>	Eugenios ⁶	Michael Glykas ⁷	Standard Modern Greek ⁸
πρός w. gen.	12	2		+
w. acc.	26	39	7	
σύν	7	9	1	[+]
ὑπέρ w. gen.	1		1	[+]
w. acc.	3	2		
ὑπερθεν	1			
ὑπό w. gen.	12	8	1	[+]
w. acc.		4		
χάριν	12	7	3	[+]
χωρίς	1	1	3	+

16. Supplementary bibliography

- Julia Becker, 'Charters and chancery under Roger I and Roger II'. In: Burkhardt & Foerster 2014, 79–95.
- Pietro Bortone, *Greek Prepositions from Antiquity to the Present*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010
- Stefan Burkhardt & Thomas Foerster (eds.), *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage. Exchange of Cultures in the 'Norman' Peripheries of Medieval Europe*, Farnham, Surrey & Burlington, VT 2014.
- Vera von Falkenhausen, 'The Greco-Byzantine heritage in the Norman kingdom of Sicily'. In: Burkhardt & Foerster 2014, 57–77.
- Hjalmar Frisk, 'Partizipium und Verbum finitum im Spätgriechischen', *Glotta* 17, 1929, 56–66.
- Wilhelm Havers, 'Der sog. 'Nominativus pendens'', *Indogermanische Forschungen* 43, 1926, 207–257.
- Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers*. Second ed., Chichester 2010.
- Bruno Lavagnini, '«Versi dal carcere» di un anonimo poeta italo-bizantino di età normanna (1135–1151)', *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 2, 1982, 323–331.
- Gennaro Luongo, 'Due preghiere in versi di un poeta italobizantino del XII secolo', *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 22 (n.s. 10), 1979–1980, 77–176.
- Io Manolessou, *From Participles to Gerunds*. In M. Stavrou & A. Terzi (eds.), *Advances in Greek Generative Syntax*. Amsterdam, Benjamins, 2005, 241–283.
- André Mirambel, 'Participe et gérondif en grec médiéval et moderne', *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 56:1, 1961, 46–79.
- Marcello Puccia, 'L'anonimo *Carme di supplica a Giorgio di Antiochia* e l'elaborazione dell'idea imperiale alla corte di Ruggero II', in: *Byzantino-Sicula V. Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam*, Palermo 2009, 231–262.
- Horatio Caesar Roger Vella, "The classical Sources in the *Tristia ex Melitogaudō*, lament in Greek verse of a 12th-century exile on Gozo". In: Ivo Volt & Janika Päll (eds.), *Quattuor Lustra. Papers Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the re-Establishment of Classical Studies at the University of Tartu*, Tartu: Societas Morgensterniana, 2012 (Morgensterni Seltsi toimetised 4–5), 209–244.