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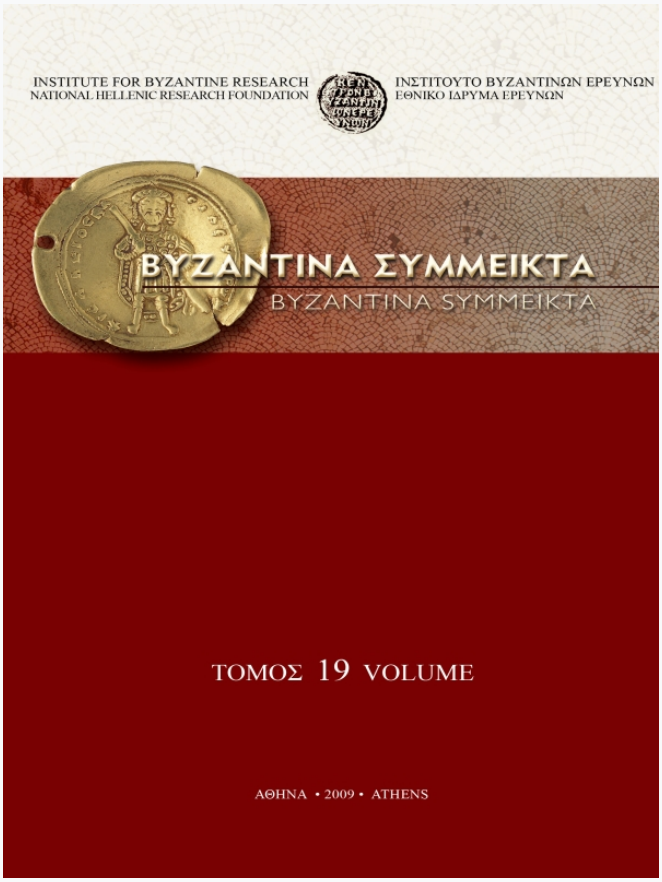
Vol 19 (2009)

BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA 19



The Moods and Tenses in Eustathian and Late Twelfth-Century High-Style Byzantine Greek

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doi: 10.12681/byzsym.938

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To cite this article:

STONE, A. F. (2010). The Moods and Tenses in Eustathian and Late Twelfth-Century High-Style Byzantine Greek. *Byzantina Symmeikta*, *19*, 99–145. https://doi.org/10.12681/byzsym.938

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Andrew F. Stone

The Moods and Tenses in Eustathian and Late Twelfth-Century High-Style Byzantine Greek

There is a basic assumption, in many ways justified, that the high-style authors of Byzantine Greek in the twelfth century sought to emulate the Attic Greek of the so-called Classical or "best" period (the fifth to fourth centuries B.C.). Deviations from this norm have tended to be regarded by some modern-day commentators as "marked variants", for example, attempts to throw verbs in an oblique mood (subjunctive or optative) into high relief, but with no other semantic significance other than elegant variation[1]. On the other hand in another, more familiar interpretation, they have been regarded as "hypercorrect forms"[2]. Accordingly, these forms are regarded as errors arising from misunderstandings of the way that they should be used. Both views rely on the presumption that twelfth century Byzantine authors showed little originality in their application of the multiple forms inherited from Atticising Greek, thus "aping", as it were, the language of an idealised past. It is clear that high-style Byzantine Greek, particularly in the case of the second of our two interpretations, fails to be appreciated on its own terms.

I hope to show that some of these "marked variants" or "hypercorrect forms" could, at least, in the hands of a capable orator or author, have been judiciously selected to put a highly meaningful slant on the form selected. A second result of the "marked variant" was an aesthetically pleasing elegant variation. The third result of the acceptance of "marked variants" and

1. Horrocks, *Greek*, 172. For the abbreviations see below, p. 145.
2. Renauld, *Étude,* 94, and more critically Browning, *Greek*, 47.

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"hypercorrect forms" was a more malleable idiom, that is, an increase of the range of possible meanings. The master of this form of Greek among the four late twelfth-century authors whom I wish to consider as exemplars was Eustathios of Thessaloniki (ca. 1115-1195), who served as "Master of the Rhetors" at Constantinople between 1167/8 and 1176. However, as a check and counterpoise to Eustathios' Greek, I shall also be drawing on the Greek of Eustathios' friends and contemporaries Euthymios Malakes (bishop of Nea Patras), Michael Choniates (Metropolitan bishop of Athens) and Michael's brother, Niketas Choniates, the famed historian. Finally I shall also consider the Greek of Eustathios' pupil Gregory Antiochos.

I wish to specifically concentrate on the verbal moods and tenses employed by these authors, Eustathios in particular. Twelfth-century Byzantine Greek was, I believe, not merely a fossilised idiom resuscitated and perpetuated by an archaising *intelligentsia*, but a living entity with the power to express ideas of its own. I shall start with the tenses, considering the similarities and differences between Attic and twelfth-century Greek. This study makes no pretence of taking examples from the entire *oeuvres* of the four authors: the editions studied are listed in the note below[3].

3. Seven collections of *opuscula* from Eustathios of Thessaloniki have been used: (i) P. Wirth, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis opera minora*, Berlin-New York 2000; (ii) A. Kambyles, *Eustathios von Thessalonike, Prooimion zum Pindarkommentar*, Göttingen, 1992; (iii) F. Kolovou, *Die Briefe des Eustathios von Thessalonike*, Leipzig 2006; (iv) K. Metzler, *De emendanda vita monachica*, Berlin and New York 2006; (v) S. Schönauer, *Reden auf die Große Quadragesima,* Frankfurt am Main 2006; (vi) T. L. F. Tafel, *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicenis opuscula*, Frankfurt am Main 1832, repr. Amsterdam 1964; (vii) W. Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum*, St Petersburg 1892-1917. This sample represents the great majority, except for his Homeric commentaries, of the works composed during Eustathios' Constantinopolitan period (1167-1180), when he was able to devote the maximum time to the production of the most polished oratory.

Gregory Antiochos' funeral oration for Manuel was edited by Regel, *Fontes*, 191-228.

Of the five speeches by Euthymios Malakes under consideration, two were published by K. Bones, Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη, μητροπολίτου Νέων Πατρῶν (Ὑπάτης), δύο ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ λόγοι νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενοι, εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μανουὴλ Α΄ Κομνηνόν (1143-1180), *Θεολογία* 19 (1948), 524-550 (a speech celebrating the foundation of Dorylaion in 1175), and 551-558 (an Epiphany oration of 1176); the other three were published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*, St Petersburg 1913, repr. Leipzig 1967, orations 4, 5 and 6 (not by Euthymios Tornikes as previously believed): 142-154 (a monody for Alexios Kontostephanos Komnenos), 154-163 (a monody for the metropolitan

1) *The historic present*

I have observed a rare example of this phenomenon, which is at home in good Attic prose[4], only twice among our sample passages, in a section of Eustathios' Agnes of France Oration where the Turkish envoy is described (hyperbolically) as having the crown prince Alexios intercede with his father the emperor; there are some five verbs in the present tense which must refer to past time, like the introductory verb of the sentence:

Eustathios, Wirth, 258.76-84:

> Οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐπιγνώμων τῆς σῆς οὕτω διέγνω, οἵας αὐχεῖς, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα βασιλέα πειθοῦς ἴυγγας καὶ τοίνυν μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα **γουνάζεται** καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἐξευρίσκειν **ζητεῖ**, σὲ δὲ (οὐ γάρ πω καὶ αἱ χεῖρες οὕτω κραταιοῦνται, ὡς παρακλητεύεσθαι μὴ ἐντρίβειν τοῖς ἄφροσι τραύματα) **προκαλεῖται** ἄλλως, εἰς ὃ θέλει, καὶ βοηθεῖν **ἀντιβολεῖ** λόγοις καὶ δυσωπίαις ταῖς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ **τυγχάνει** τοῦ ἐφετοῦ καὶ οὕτω **γίνεται** εἰς μάρτυρα τῆς ἐπιφανείας, ἣν ἐπιπέμπεις τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ **συντάττεται** καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐλπίζουσι ἐπὶ σέ ...
>
> Thus he (the Turkish sultan) also recognised and discerned your excellence, that is, what kind of persuasive charms towards your father the emperor you boast of; and then *he begged* him to stay his powerful hand, and *sought* to find his friendship (since your own hands were not yet so powerful up until that time, that they should be implored not to inflict wounds on the foolish), for *he called* upon you in other ways to achieve his purpose; and *he entreated* you to help, with words and soothing expressions directed towards the emperor; and he *gained* that

bishop of Athens, one assumes for Nicholas Hagiotheodorites), 163-187 (made on the occasion of the visit of the Seljuk sultan Kilidj Arslan to Constantinople in 1162).

The two orations of Michael Choniates considered here are the one made on the occasion of the death of Niketas, metropolitan of Chonai (ed. S. P. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σῳζόμενα*, Athens 1879, repr. Grönigen 1968, 24-71), and a speech to the patriarch Michael III Anchialos (72-92). I also make use of his letters, F. Kolovou, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae*, Berlin-New York 2001.

4. Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 281, p. 345-347; Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 11, § 33; Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 1, 132-4; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, 271-273; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, § 199; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, § 551/3; note esp. Jannaris, *Grammar*, p. 434, § 1835, who recognises that the usage is equally at home in Modern Greek (Goodwin, *Grammar*, p. 269, § 1252). For a history of the ancient tongue in its different manifestations as opposed to a more formal grammar, see A.-F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek*, Cambridge 2007.

which he desired; and thus he *became* as a witness to your glory, which you send upon the foreigners, and he himself *was associated* with those whose hopes rest on you ...

In this instance the historic present will have been felt to be more vivid than the aorist or, perhaps closer to the mark, the imperfect. However, we also find here, possibly, an iterative aspect (as opposed to a progressive one)[5].

Niketas Choniates employs the present instead of the imperfect at one locus, where there may be an additional implication:

Niketas Choniates, 79.81:

Μιχαὴλ τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχειρίζεται οἴακας ...

Michael *managed (began to manage)* the steering oars of the Church ...

In the context, this seems to represent an inceptive imperfect.

2) *The past tense of verbs of speaking*

In Biblical Greek, the verb λέγω (and its suppletives) may be used either in the aorist or the imperfect tense when using it to introduce direct speech[6]. It was, no doubt, under this pervasive influence that Eustathios felt free to use ἐκεῖνο ... ἔλεγε (*sc.* δὸς ἡμῖν ὕδωρ, ἵνα πίωμεν, "give us water that we may drink") at Wirth 291.78, to introduce direct speech, but he goes further and puts the verb of hearing (contemporaneous with the act of speaking) which appears a little further on in the subsequent clause (Eustathios, Wirth 291.81 εἰσηκούετο) into the imperfect tense also, to agree with it.

Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν **ἔλεγε** πρὸς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θεράποντα Μωϋσῆν γογγυστὴς λαὸς σκληροτράχηλος καὶ τῆς βρώσεως ἔτι οὔσης ἔσω στόματος τοῦ εὐεργέτου καταλαλῶν· καὶ οὕτω ἔχων **εἰσηκούετο.**

The grumbling, stiff-necked people *said* that to God's servant, Moses, speaking against their benefactor even though there was still food in their mouths. Nevertheless their request *was heard.*

---

5. On the use of λέγω in the historic present, see Blass – Debrunner, § 321/2.

6. Turner, *Syntax*, 67-8, attributes the choice of tense to habit rather than logical principle on the part of the user in *koine*. Hence we find Mark using on occasion the imperfect, and Luke sometimes the aorist (cf. Mk 4.21 and Lk 5.3). Use of the imperfect is common in papyri.

3) *Gnomic aorist*

The converse of the historic present is the gnomic aorist, where an aorist is used to express a general truth or maxim that still holds true in the present, and indeed for all time[7]. Eustathios uses the gnomic aorist several times in the speeches studied. For a noteworthy example of this see especially Wirth 211.91-5, where a string of four aorists (ἀπείπαντο ... ἐλόξωσαν ... ἀπέπτυσαν ... ἀπέτρεψαν) is used to describe the effect of showing a mace to the Hungarians:

> Εἰ δὲ κορύνην προβαλεῖται, ἣν σίδηρος μὲν ἐχορήγησεν, ἀνδρὸς δὲ δεξιότης εἰς τριβόλων ὀξύτητας ἐξηκάνθωσεν, ἐκτρέπονται τὸν κορυνηφόρον ἐκεῖνον οἱ Παίονες· καὶ τὴν ξενίαν **ἀπείπαντο** καὶ τούς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς **ἐλόξωσαν** καὶ τὸ ὅπλον **ἀπέπτυσαν** καὶ ἑαυτοὺς **ἀπέστρεψαν** ...
>
> but if he produces a mace, which has been fashioned from iron, and the dexterousness of man has made prickly with sharp spikes like those of caltrops, the Paionians turn away that mace-bearer, and *deny* him hospitality and *look at him askance*, and *spurn* the weapon and *recoil* ...

This example is of interest inasmuch as the aorists (after an initial present, ἐκτρέπονται) have gnomic aorist force, *i.e.* they describe a truism or maxim, or repeated actions occurring at any point of time. The introductory present passive ἐκτρέπονται, followed by these four aorists, serves to place the aorists in the context of present time.

Wirth 39.30-40.34 could also be a gnomic or a regular aorist. It suffices to say that this archaic usage of the aorist has been at least understood by Eustathios, even if he does not normally use it. The rationale behind the use of the aorist for general truths seems to be that the primary idea behind this tense may be to denote completion without reference to time.

Niketas Choniates also employs gnomic aorists in his history, e.g.:

Niketas Choniates, 112-113.83:

> Ἤδη μὲν οὖν τις θηρητὴρ ὄφιν δαφοινὸν ἢ λέοντα λασιαύχενα εἰσορῶν καὶ ἀΐων ἐν ὄρεσιν **ἐξέκλινεν** ...
>
> Now a hunter, seeing a tawny snake or shaggy lion in the mountains and becoming aware of it, immediately *withdraws*...

7. Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 313, p. 382-384; Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 53-54, § 154-155, and *Grammar*, p. 276, § 1292; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik,* part 1, p. 156-161; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 285-6; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, § 563; Jannaris, *Grammar*, p. 436, § 1852; D. Christidis, in Christidis (ed.), *Ancient Greek,* 1337-1340. Turner, *Syntax,* 73-74, notes that in the NT the gnomic aorist is used almost exclusively with comparisons.

4) *Future tense in historic sequence*

Eustathios, as we shall see, takes full advantage of the possibilities presented by the simple future tense. We shall mention contemporary vernacular periphrases in due course. I would like to draw attention here to the simple or monolectic future in historic sequence; Eustathios could use it to denote an action which was about to happen in the past (but need not have eventuated) in place of the imperfect of mevllw and the future infinitive[8]. Here are four noteworthy examples from his works:

Eustathios, Wirth, 273.23-5:

καὶ τοίνυν ἐπῆλθεν ἐκείνοις λογίσασθαι ὡς ἄρα κῦμα τοιοῦτον ἑαυτοὺς κορυφώσαντες **ἐκκρούσουσι** τοῦ κυβερνήτου τοὺς οἴακας.

and therefore it occurred to them (the crusaders) to think how, by heaping themselves up into such a wave, *they would smash* the steering-oars from the helmsman('s grasp).

It can be seen from this first example how easily futurity may shade into finality, which we shall come to consider below. This construction was also used in historical times – see Duhoux, section 378, p. 456.

Let us adduce a further two examples of the future in place of the imperfect in the following two examples:

Eustathios, Tafel, 206.93-207.3:

Καὶ ἦν βλέπειν ἐκεῖνον ἐν λαῷ βαρεῖ ... οὐ μόνον ... βροντῶντα λόγοις ... ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ ἄνδρα διομιλούμενον, ἤτοι πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν ἕκαστος προβάλοιτο, ἢ ἔνθα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἡ κατ᾽ ἄνθρωπον ἔννους περιπέτεια **προκαλέσεται**.

And it was possible to see that man among the people of importance, not only thundering with words, but either discussing man by man what each of them proposed, or following the direction that the logical development of the argument *might invite* the emperor to follow.

There is another slant on the future indicative in the following example:

Eustathios, Tafel, 200.35:

Καὶ χεὶρ ἡ μὲν διεπράττετο τὰ δουλικά, ἡ δὲ ξίφους ἤθελε δράττεσθαι,

---

8. For the more usual ἔμελλον and the infinitive for an action expected in the past, see Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 363, p. 439; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, § 216; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, § 306 *et al.*; Blass – Debrunner, § 356; G. Horrocks, in Christidis (ed.), *Ancient Greek*, 626; note also J. Ray, in Christidis, *Ancient Greek* (ed.), 811, on the comparable historic future in Coptic.

εἴ τίς που καὶ **δριμύξεται**, καὶ **ἐγκόψει** τὸ ἑκούσιον ...
And the one hand carried out slavish tasks, and the other was wont to grasp a sword, if anyone *should show fierceness*, and *brings to an end* their obedience...

The idea that lies behind this use of tenses is one of a past situation, the potential nature of the protasis of the conditional sentence being conveyed by the future tense.

We again see potential for the past expressed by the future indicative in a further example from Eustathios:

Eustathios, Tafel, 209.69-70:
Εἰ δὲ οἴνῳ **προσδεήσει** χρήσασθαι ...
If there *should be need* to use wine ...

This example (which must be in historic sequence, since the emperor, the subject of this *epitaphios,* was dead at the time of this oration) shows us how the future shades subtly into potentiality. More on the potential future below.

However, we also see in Niketas the present indicative in a final clause:

Niketas Choniates, 329.56-57:
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ ὑδροδοχεῖον ἐπεσκεύαστο, ἵνα κατὰ μέσην **ἐκδίδωσι** τὸ ὕδωρ ...
and the entire reservoir was not completely repaired, so that the water *should issue* through the middle of the agora ...

Returning to Eustathios, we see further permutations of the antecedent verb with differing tenses and moods of the verb in the final clause:

Eustathios, Metzler, § 49.10-11:
καὶ **οὐ λέγω** ταύτην γενικήν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ εἰς ἀδύνατον **ἐκπεσοῦμαι** παράγγελμα ...
and *I do not say* that this is typical so that *I will not fall into* a command impossible to fulfil ...

Note μή in the final clause, despite the indicative mood of the verb. This may be compared with Eustathios, Metzler, § 111.2-3, above.

5) *The perfect tenses*

Histories of the Greek language tell us that as early as the *koine* of the Hellenistic and Roman periods the aorist and perfect tenses were be-

coming semantically equivalent[9], with the reduction of three aspects (present, aorist, perfective) to two (incomplete and completed action). The perfect was also sometimes used at that time merely as a morphologically more ornate alternative to the aorist. This was also the case with the twelfth century rhetors, for the phenomenon had been given sanction by, for example, Michael Psellos' prose[10]. We shall see also heavy exploitation of this perceived equivalence in Niketas Choniates. Eustathios for his part does not use the perfect as frequently as Niketas, nor even Euthymios Malakes (who perhaps on the average uses it twice as much as Eustathios; Euthymios tends to use verbs in the perfect tense in clumps, e.g. Bones, 530-1, Bones, 551-2[11]). This might suggest that Eustathios had some feeling for the true Classical function of the perfect, to denote a state arising from the completion of an action. We also find Niketas and Michael Choniates, and Gregory Antiochos using the perfect tenses more often than authors of the Classical period. When Eustathios uses the perfect, pluperfect and future perfect tenses, these verbs, in the majority of cases, have full perfective meaning, even if Eustathios does use the perfect tenses more frequently than his Attic models. This is probably because the perfect tenses are not only more imposing, but more expressive (being more graphic) than their aorist, present or imperfect counterparts. V. Rotolo documents the use of the perfect in Eustathios' contemporaries[12]. It would seem that there had already been a revival, begun by Anna Komnene, of Atticism, and we find

9. Browning, *Greek*, 7, 30; Horrocks, *Greek,* 53, 77; L. R. Palmer, *The Greek Language*, London 1980; Horrocks, in Christidis (ed.), *Ancient Greek*, 621, 627; Renauld, *Étude*, 99, demonstrates this phenomenon as being present even in the highbrow *koine* of Psellos.

10. Horrocks, *Greek*, 171-172; G. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner*, Berlin 1956, 83-85. We shall see the juxtaposition of different moods below; Radermacher, *Grammatik*, 150, has observed, in his monograph correlating NT *koine* with contemporary vernacular texts, the juxtaposition of aorist and perfective tenses in NT-era *koine*, reinforcing the idea of semantic equivalence to some authors.

11. Bones, 530, has ἠφάνισται, τεθέανται, ἀπεστάλημεν, κεκοπιάκαμεν, κεκοπιάκασι, τεταπείνωται, μετενήνεκται, ἔστραπται and there are a further two perfects (one pluperfect) on page 531; the perfect tenses are just as striking in Bones 551-552; cf. Euthymios Malakes, *Noctes*, 143-144. That the perfect in Euthymios is so weakened in sense as to render it merely a more imposing historic tense is suggested by its co-ordination by him at *Noctes*, 156.10ff with true aorists.

12. V. Rotolo, in Christidis (ed.), *Ancient Greek*, 1229.

her husband Nikephoros Bryennios using the word ἐκέκλητο, meaning "he was called", in conjunction with a name, a proper use of the pluperfect since the implication is that there is a "state of being called".

We may illustrate the perfective aspect in Eustathios by a couple of examples from the beginning of the 1174 Epiphany oration. Take the following:

Eustathios, Wirth, 263.75-6:

οὓς αἰχμαλωσίᾳ παραστησάμενος τῷ δουλεύειν **τετίμηκας** ...

(men) whom you yourself, after acquiring them as prisoners of war, *have condemned* to servitude ...

This passage is lifted out of context, but the idea of a present state (of presently being slaves or servants), arising from a completed action, is important; this suggests that Eustathios did understand the use of the perfective aspect. A little later we find:

Eustathios, Wirth, 263.88-9:

ἐξ ἐσχάτων που γῆς ἄρτι οὗτοι **ἐληλυθότες** ...

these men, *having* recently *come* from the ends of the earth ...

Again in this use of the perfect participle the idea of a present state is important (they have come, and they can still be seen). The perfect passive participle is also used frequently[13], with the same sense of a completed action.

So conscious does Eustathios seem to be of the amount of expression attainable from use of the perfect tenses that he even uses a perfect imperative six times in our sample of speeches: Wirth 194.36 μέμνησο (less surprising when we consider that the middle perfect of μιμνήσκω has present meaning, like Latin *memini*, "remember"); Tafel 186.57 περιβέβλησο; Tafel 190.90 πεφίμωσο; Wirth 79.47 ὑπερτεθείσθω; Wirth 83.80 λελέχθω; Wirth 85.56 πεπορίσθω. Then there is a future perfect infinitive at Wirth 26.31 τεθήσεσθαι. Also to be noted is a rare perfect optative at Tafel 208.7 συνεστήκοι (cf. Michael Choniates, Lampros 69.11 εἰ τεθναίη).

All the same, Eustathios does employ the perfect instead of the aorist in places, if relatively rarely:

Eustathios, Kambyles, 29.2-3:

ὅπερ ... ἐπιγραφὴ **γέγονε** τοῖς Θεοκρίτου ποιήμασι ...

13. E.g. Wirth, 263.75: ἐπιγεγραμμένοι; Wirth, 263.77: κατασεσαρκωμένον; Wirth, 263.78: συνηγμένον; Wirth, 263.80: ἐπικεκαυμένον.

which ... *has become* a title for the *Idylls* of Theokritos ...

The use of the perfect tense emphasises the permanence of the title for the *Idylls*.

Another interesting use of the perfect is with ἄν to create a potential perfect:

Eustathios, Schönauer, Δ.103:

καὶ ἂν πάλαι τοιοῦτόν τι **πεποίηκεν**, εἴπερ ἠδύνατο ...

and *he would have* done something like this long ago, if he had been able ...

It is debatable whether a resultative perfect is present here, since understanding a simple aorist aspect in conjunction with the modal ἄν makes for easier sense, as ordinarily this would indicate an unfulfilled conditional in past time; but then our argument that the perfective aspect might have been chosen for a more graphic sense conveying result in present time may also be valid here. I personally opt for the second option, considering how unusual the construction is, suggesting deliberate use.

As another example we have Eustathios, Wirth 78.29:

κἂν ὁ καιρὸς **ἐκκέχυται** πρὸς δαψίλειαν ...

even if time *has been poured* out abundantly ...

The image is one of a water clock. In this second case, however, a perfective aspect does make for good and vivid sense: the effect is to describe a beginning in past time, which continues into the present. These examples are interesting when we consider Goodwin's claim that the perfect indicative is never used with ἄν in Classical Greek[14]. Here again, however, it might be that in this instance the perfect tense was felt to have a simple preterite force in such instances (as it would in other authors, such as Michael Choniates, Lampros 48.14 δέδωκεν ἂν...). I believe that in the above example the perfect is meant to be a more vivid alternative to a potential aorist, sharing thesense of historicity with a present one, since the idea of a state arising from completed action is still felt to be present.

I would argue that Eustathios understood the ancient use of the perfect tense (for, as with the last cited example, if he had not, the perfect with ἂν would have been a more common construction), and that he exploits the expression inherent in it.

14. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 65, § 195, and *Grammar*, p. 277, § 1302; the same is said by Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, § 433, who explains apparent examples of the modal (or potential) particle and the present indicative or perfect indicative as erroneous readings.

We might also note the simple perfect for the imperfect, properly the tense of iterative action, in Niketas Choniates, unusual and inclining one to believe that Niketas did not appreciate the diametrically opposite aspect of the two tenses:

Niketas Choniates, 5.10:

ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι παθηνάμενος **εἴρηκεν** ...

When he had suffered so much, he *would* sometimes *say* ...

Niketas also uses a perfect where one would expect an aorist:

Niketas Choniates, 56.46-49:

Καὶ δεῖγμα, ὡς ἰχθύας σύακα καὶ λάβρακα, ὡς μὲν μεγίστους ὡς δὲ πίονας, παρά τινων αὐτῷ πεμφθέντας, τρισσάκις **ἀπέδοτο** καὶ τοσαυτάκις ἐναλλὰξ ἐωνημένους κατὰ χρείαν παρ᾽ ἑτέρων **εἰσηνέγκατο**· ... ὃ **πεπόνθασι** ...

As an example, he returned fish, a flatfish and a sea-bass, large and fat ones, which had been sent to him by certain persons, three times, and brought them many times again when they *had been bought*, according to their needs, by other persons ... which *happened* to them ...

We observe the coordination of the perfect tenses (εἰσηνέγκατο and πεπόνθασι) with the aorist tense (ἀπέδοτο), which was used earlier.

The converse phenomenon is the substitution of the pluperfect for the perfect, e.g.:

Niketas Choniates, 137.70:

ὡς **εἰρήκειμεν** ...

As *we have said* ...

Unlike Eustathios it would seem that Niketas Choniates does not appreciate the "proper" meaning of perfect versus pluperfect, using them interchangeably. On the other hand this promiscuity between may be intended to create greater *variatio*.

Another interesting use of the perfect tenses, related to the perfective aspect that describes a state as a result of a prior action, is the substitution of the perfect for the present, and the pluperfect for the imperfect[15], as we have below:

15. Cf. Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 336, 412-413; Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 15, § 49, and *Grammar*, p. 270, § 1263; cf. Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 1, p. 148-149, and Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 286-90; cf. Jannaris, *Grammar*, p. 439, § 1869, and p. 440, § 1878; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, §§ 556-557.

Eustathios, Wirth, 278.89-90:

Τοῦτο δὲ φύσεως ἀνωτέρω **βέβηκε** καὶ τὴν ἐν πράγμασιν ἀκολουθίαν **ἠγνόηκεν** ...

This *goes* (*has gone*) far above what is natural and *it knows no* similar deed ...

Eustathios, Wirth, 273.22-3:

Καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ **ἐγκεχείρισο** τοῦ κόσμου κυβέρνησιν ...

and not long before, *you were entrusted* with the government of the world ...

Admittedly, the second example reads nearly as well if we were to translate "you had been entrusted", but the meaning need not be confined to the idea of *plusquamperfectum*. There are other examples of this use of the perfect and pluperfect tenses which may be adduced, such as Eustathios, Wirth 227.34, πέφρικα; Eustathios, Wirth, 286.49, τέθηπα; Eustathios, Wirth 213.85, συγκεκρότητο; Eustathios, Wirth 139.11-12, ἠνέῳκτο.

6) *Middle and passive voices*

Eustathios makes heavy use of the middle voice, often using it where an active would have sufficed, so that the middle force of the verb is in places very much weakened. For example, there are fifty-one verbs in the middle voice with a mostly active sense in the 1174 Epiphany Oration alone. Gertrud Böhlig discusses the frequent use of the middle voice in Byzantine days in her book on Michael Psellos' Greek, as does Renauld[16]. However, Eustathios does show a certain sensitivity to the difference between middle and passive[17], even though occasionally he ignores it, as in this instance:

Eustathios, Tafel, 206.51-3:

Ἀσκληπιάδης κατὰ νόσων παγκρατιάζων, καὶ **στεφανωσάμενος**, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ πεσεῖται ...

The son of Asklepios (i.e. Manuel I Komnenos), wrestling against illnesses, and *being crowned as victor*, will not possibly fail to fall ...

16. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen*, 94; Renauld, *Étude*, 95; Duhoux, *Le verbe*, sections 90-91; Blass – Debrunner, § 316, speak of NT employment of the middle in this way. Duhoux comments on the difficulty of grasping the nuance of the middle in Ancient Greek.

17. Rademacher, *Grammatik*, 147, notes that in biblical and contemporary vernacular Greek also there is usually a difference in meaning; for example a middle form may change a transitive verb into an intransitive one, or denote reflexive action. However, the morphological difference between the aorist middle and aorist passive and between the future middle and future passive is often not present in biblical language.

He uses a middle form here (i.e. an aorist or future) with passive sense: at least this suits the context better than a true middle, "crowning himself", "gaining the crown". Among other authors there develops a collapse between the middle and passive voices: Eustathios himself claims that the middle voice is an Atticism[18]. Other examples that can be adduced of this are subject to other interpretations, but we might adduce the following as a more convincing example than the above:

Eustathios, Wirth, 82.62-4:

ἦν ὅτε κἀγὼ ἐν ὑπογραφεῦσί ποτε τυγχάνων καὶ τάξεως τῶν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τούτοις ἀρχείοις ὑπογραμματέων τελῶν ἔργον **διεχειρισάμην** ὑπὸ σοὶ πρωτουργῷ τοῦ λαλεῖν ...

Once, when I also happened to be among the scribes, and was completing my work as part of this array of under-scribes in these sacred halls, *I was entrusted* by you as the principal with the office of speaking ...

Gildersleeve observes that such interchangeability of form between middle and passive future and aorist also occurs occasionally in true Attic Greek[19]. Gertrud Böhlig also observed the middle used with passive sense by Eustathios after consulting his commentary on the *Iliad*[20].

A very interesting phenomenon is what seems to have been the usage of the middle voice for passive meaning in the ancestral Mycenaean tongue[21], but one cannot really look here for an antecedent to these uses here owing to the two millennia between the Mycenaean era and twelfth-century Byzantium.

All in all, we must still concede here that Eustathios does not show any special respect for the middle voice, even if we must concede that in this use at least he is like his contemporaries in using the middle as a "marked variant".

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18. T. Hedberg, *Eustathios als Attizist*, Uppsala 1937, 122-144.

19. Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §§ 168-169; in § 170, he notes that, even in Classical Greek, the middle with an active sense or a middle sense, may be replaced by a true passive, *i.e.* a passive in form and meaning.

20. Böhlig, *Untersuchugen*, 81 (for the formation), 94-95 (for the use). She, like Hedberg, interprets this use as a "hyperatticism".

21. J. Chadwick, in Christidis (ed.), *Ancient Greek*, 399.

7) *Promiscuity of the moods*

One of the ways that Eustathios counteracts the tendencies of the vernacular of his own time (as opposed to the Atticising idiom of the *Hochsprache*) is to extend the use of the optative mood, counter to the ultimate direction of the vernacular, into areas which in the Attic Greek model were largely the domain of the subjunctive. Far from the optative petering out, as in the New Testament and Hellenistic Greek in general[22], it is used by Eustathios enthusiastically. Furthermore, the subjunctive may in its turn, as in the New Testament, encroach on the Classical domain of the optative, as in wishes. Only the exhortative use of the subjunctive[23], so far as I have noted, is untouched by the intrusion of the optative. However, Horrocks, *Greek*, p. 172, finds that the use of the optative as a "marked" variant of the subjunctive, in primary and historic sequence, was a characteristic of the Byzantines, and as we shall see, this continues in twelfth century writers other than Eustathios[24]. Let us consider the different uses of these remoter two moods in their turn.

Not only may the subjunctive or optative be used in final clauses after ἵνα, but the indicative, used in what Goodwin calls object clauses. For an example of the subjunctive:

Eustathios, Kolovou, ep. 5.89-90:

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ περὶ τὸ ἐδεστὸν ἐπιπλέον **ἔχω λιχνεύεσθαι** ...

22. Sister R. DE LIMA HENRY, *The Late Greek Optative and its Use in the Writings of Gregory Nazianzen*, Washington DC 1943, 2, however, cites RADERMACHER, *Grammatik,* 81, who takes into consideration papyri, and concludes that the optative may have persisted in the vernacular (up to the sixth century) longer than previously believed. The deliberative optative is found in Psellos: RENAULD, *Étude*, 119; G. C. PAPANASTASSIOU, in CHRISTIDIS (ed.), *Ancient Greek*, 616. On the restoration of the optative in Atticising Greek in the high Byzantine period, V. ROTOLO, in CHRISTIDIS (ed.), *Ancient Greek*, 625.

23. Cf. RENAULD, *Étude*, 112; DUHOUX, *Le verbe*, section 152, p. 205.

24. One very significant factor in pronunciation is the phenomenon of iotacism, i.e. the tendency of many originally distinct phonemes to acquire the value of the Greek ι, and its influence on the promiscuity of the subjunctive with the optative; e.g. λέγῃ and λέγοι would have sounded similar at Eustathios' time. However, in the aorist aspect (in the case of sigmatic aorists), the subjunctive and optative remained distinct, suggestive that Psellos and Eustathios and the other authors of the eleventh-twelfth centuries were aware of what they were doing when they employed a verb in the optative in place of one in the subjunctive, and vice-versa. See for example WIRTH, 220.18-221.20, cited below.

and, on the one hand, this is the case, so that I am *unable* concerning edible food *to be* excessively *greedy* ...

For example we find in the protasis of a conditional a coordinated subjunctive and optative:

Eustathios, Schönauer, A.119:

εἰ μὴ καὶ **ἐγερθῇ** καὶ **ἄγοι** ...

unless it should both *rouse* and *lead* ...

On the other hand the optative may be used in some cases in primary sequence, in defiance of the (usual) Attic practice of restricting it to clauses subordinated to verbs in historic sequence. To give three examples[25]:

Eustathios, Kolovou, ep. 18.248-249:

Φθονεῖτε γὰρ ἡμῖν, οἶμαι, τοῦ καλοῦ, ἵνα μόνοι **καταπολαύοιτε**.

You envy us, I think, for our fineness, so that *you alone would enjoy* it overweeningly.

Eustathios, Metzler, § 50.9-10:

ἐμπλατύνεται ὅπου ἂν **ἐπινεύσῃ**, ἵνα θέσει καὶ αὐτὸς θεὸς ὢν **δύναιτο** φιλεῖν πρὸς θεοῦ ἐξομοίωσιν ...

it *is spread* wherever *he would nod*, so that even being divine himself by position *he would be able* to love, in view of his assimilation to God ...

One should note that there is a subjunctive and an optative, independent of one another. The next example co-ordinates rather than subordinates subjunctive and optative:

Eustathios, Wirth, 220.18-221.20:

Καὶ ἵνα τὸ πᾶν **περιγράψαιμι** νόημα ἐν στενῷ καὶ εἰς βραχὺ σφίγμα **κατακλείσω** ταύτην τὴν κιβωτὴν ...

And that I may *define* the whole of my idea concisely and *enclose* this ark within a short limit...

Compare Eustathios, Metzler, § 193.33-35:

μή ποτε διὰ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀστροθετήμασι Δράκοντα βορὸς αὐτὸς **ἀποβαίη** καὶ διὰ τὰς Ἄρκτους **παμφαγῇ** καὶ διὰ τὸν Πήγασον πρὸς λαγνείαν **τρέφηται** ...

25. Goodwin, *Moods*, 113-119, and *Grammar*, p. 290-291, § 1361-1370; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 2, 377-390; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 671-674; Jannaris, *Grammar*, p. 455, § 1952; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, § 568; to be noted is Henry's study of the final optative, from Homer to Gregory Nazianzen, not only in literary texts, but also in papyri and inscriptions; she claims that there was no automatic association between the optative and secondary sequence (*Optative*, 75), and observes in the vernacular, tragedy and comedy the optative sometimes being used in primary sequence (*Optative*, 76).

lest at some time *he would go away* ravenous on account of the Dragon in the constellations and *be devourer of everything* on account of the Bears and *be nurtured* to the point of lustfulness on account of Pegasos ...

There are two possible explanations for this indiscriminate co-ordination of subjunctives with optatives (as opposed to subordination). First, the use of more oblique forms could be intended as marked variants. Otherwise, and this is much the same thing, there could be a desire for variety, *variatio*, creating vividness, obtained from teasing the audiences expectations from such coordination of oblique moods, at least at those places where the subjunctive and optative were audibly distinct from one another. Admittedly this last example also displays some features of a double wish, for which the optative is usual in Attic; interesting too is the way that in Eustathian Greek a (volitive) subjunctive may also be used. This usage has Biblical precedent, as we shall see. More properly final is:

Eustathios, Wirth, 282.27-8:

καὶ τὴν ἐν κακοῖς ὁμομέλειαν διασπᾷς καὶ διασποὰς τέμνεις, ὡς ἂν διὰ τέλους **φρονοῖεν** δουλικά.

And you tear apart their completeness of limb, directed to evil purposes, and divide their dispersed bands, so that they *may think* like slaves in the end.

An optative is used here in primary sequence. Sister Henry observed the usage of ὡς ἂν with the optative as being a standard construction for finality in Gregory Nazianzen[26]. Notice the potential shading of finality into the idea of futurity, something we shall consider in due course. Another example of co-ordinated final clauses employing both moods simultaneously is:

Eustathios, Wirth, 199.49-53:

τηλικαύτην ἔθου πρὸς ἡμᾶς κραταιοτάτην ἀγάπησιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐν μέσοις κινδύνοις τοῖς ἐκ πολέμων πρὸ παντὸς ἔργου θέσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἂν **ἐξάρῃς** ἅπαν σκάνδαλον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁδοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ σοῦ λάχους τριβόλοις ὑποκαθημέναις **ἐμπείροιτο**.

You have so great and powerful a love for us that even in the midst of dangers arising from wars you will place us ahead of every deed, so that you *may remove* every snare from our path and, as your assigned task, in no way *might it be be pierced* by caltrops lying below.

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26. Some authors, such as Blass and Debrunner, believe that the examples of final optatives that they have encountered are not convincing.

The coordination of the optative with the subjunctive (note again ὡς ἄν, but this time with the subjunctive) in final clauses is not confined to Eustathios alone; we may see at least one example of it also observed in Euthymios Malakes (in historic sequence), whereas in the previous century, in Michael Psellos, it is common[27].

Euthymios, *Noctes*, 160.17-21:

> Σὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, οἶμαι, ταύτης καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον τότε λαχεῖν, ἵνα μετὰ Δημοσθένην τὸν ῥήτορα ῥήτωρ πάλιν **περιλαλῇ** καὶ **περικροτῇ** τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐδὲν τοῦ Δημοσθένους λειπόμενος, ἵνα μετὰ Παῦλον τὸν ἐθνῶν καὶ κήρυκα καὶ διδάσκαλον ἐθνῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρείου πάγον **καθίσῃ** καὶ τὰ σοφὰ **λαλήσειε** καὶ ξενίζοντα.
>
> You ought, I think, to have taken no other as your allotted portion at that time, so that, following Demosthenes the Rhetor, (you yourself) a rhetor could *speak* again *about* and *applaud* Athens, leaving out nothing said by Demosthenes, so that he might *sit* in the manner of Paul, the herald and teacher of the Gentiles, as a teacher once more on the Areopagus and *speak* wise and welcoming words.

What is interesting, apart from a subjunctive and optative in the very same clause, is that Euthymios for one greatly prefers the subjunctive to the optative in final clauses, both in primary and historic sequence (although optatives in primary sequence are rare, but not unknown in his works). Here one subordinate clause is subordinate to the other, and, as one might expect, the optative is used for the more distant clause. Niketas Choniates also employs a coordinated subjunctive and optative in places, e.g.:

N. Choniates, 117.94:

> καὶ κραταιώσας ὃν αὐτὸς **αἱρετίσῃ** ἄνδρα καὶ ἐφ' ὃν εὐδοκήσειας ...
>
> And making strong the man *he may choose*, in whom you are well pleased ...

Schönauer lists many other examples of such *variatio*. With the above we may compare:

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27. Indeed it is even permissible to combine all three principal moods in a complex sentence such as a conditional (indicative, subjunctive and optative), as we shall see below; Renauld, *Étude*, 102-103, 112 (exhortations), 120-2 (deliberative clauses), 232 (expectation), also 249-250 (denoting time when), 252-5 (a subsequent action), 257-258 (μέχρι and ἄχρι clauses), 258-60 (denoting of action before), 292-299 (consecutive clauses), 301-304, 306 (final clauses), 307-309 (clauses of fearing).

Euthymios, Bones, 547.16-18:

ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ ἵνα ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ **λάθοιτέ** που κρυβέντες καὶ ψηλαφώμενοι μὴ **καταλαμβάνοισθε** τῷ ζόφῳ τοῦ καπνοῦ καλυπτόμενοι.

and it also seems to me that *you escaped notice*, as if hidden in the night, and when you were sought after you *were not apprehended*, because you were covered by the darkness of the smoke.

We see in this case what is known as *oratio obliqua*, the dependent clauses, in the optative mood, contingent on a verb of thinking. Interesting here is the use of different tenses of the contingent verbs.

Further below we shall see a remarkable example of a conditional sentence combining three of the four basic moods.

We might note here that Eustathios also coordinates the indicative with the subjunctive:

Eustathios, Schönauer, A.294-5:

ἵνα μὴ τὸ νηστεύειν εἰς βίου πορισμὸν ἡμῖν **λογισθήσεται** καὶ ἐντολὴ **γένηται** τοῖς πλείοσιν...

so that fasting should not be *reckoned* by us to be the means of acquiring life and *be* an injunction for most ...

Michael Choniates, Niketas Choniates and Gregory Antiochos, like Eustathios, use both subjunctive and optative in final clauses indiscriminately. For examples of the optative in primary sequence, see Michael Choniates, Lampros 31.10-12:

λαλείτω μοι μόνη γλῶττα καὶ **θαυμαζέτω** γλῶτταν ἐκείνην, ὡς ἂν οἷς αὐτὴν εὖ **λέγει** τῶν ἐπαίνων ταύτην εὐλογίαν κατάλληλον **ὄναιτο**.

let my tongue alone *speak* to me and marvel at that (other) tongue, so that in respect of its praises *it speaks* well *lavishing* this corresponding praise.

Gregory Antiochos, Regel, 214.6-8:

τοῦτον ἐγώ σοι τὸν χιτῶνα μετατάρσιον **ἐξακοντίζω** ... **συνεξαίρω** τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ **συνεξαίρω** σύσσημον εἰς τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κατὰ τέχνην ἐν παλάμῃ κραδαινομένου μοι δόρατος ἐκπεταννὺς ὑπηνέμιον, ἵνα **γνοίη** καὶ ταῦτα ἕως ἐσχάτης τῆς γῆς ...

I *launch* this ankle-length tunic of yours, *raise* it aloft with my speech and together with the prophet *raise* it as signal to the nations, with my spear brandished with skill in my hand, releasing it to the wind, in order that one *might know* these things as far as the ends of the earth ...

As mentioned, not only the optative, but a subjunctive of wishing, akin to the volitive subjunctive (a subjunctive of willing, as instanced in the Bible)[28] may also be used for wishes:

Eustathios, Wirth, 218.41-2:

μηχανῶμαι τι σεμνόν ...

may I contrive something dignified ...

See also Eustathios, Tafel 188.24 and Tafel 191.37. We also see volitive subjunctives occurring earlier in Greek in ancient poetry[29]. All the same, the optative is the more usual method of articulating a wish in Malakes, Choniates and Antiochos.

Hahn, in her monograph on the origin of the subjunctive and optative in the ancestral Indo-European tongue[30], summarises the opinions of earlier scholars on the syntax of the two remoter moods. She records that Slotty[31] sees in both the subjunctive and optative mood in Greek a primary "voluntative" function[32] as one of the two main uses that each has (the other for the subjunctive being the prospective, that of the optative the potential). If Slotty's analysis is correct, there will have been no discomfort felt at the use of the subjunctive by Eustathios for wishes, particularly since it was normal usage in Hellenistic Greek, and therefore usual in the Bible, which is as much a model for Eustathios' Greek as the Atticising optative. This is equally valid with regard to his fellow rhetors.

The usual first person plural (volitive) subjunctive is used for exhortations for the first person plural[33]:

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28. Turner, *Syntax*, 94, 120-122; cf. Jannaris, *Grammar*, 449-450, §§ 1920 and 1924; Radermacher, *Grammatik,* 160.

29. Turner, *Syntax*, 94; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 1, 225; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 309, 313-314; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, 563.

30. E. A. Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative: Their Origin as Futures*, New York 1953.

31. She cites F. Slotty, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunctivs und Optativs in den griechischen Dialekten*, Göttingen 1915.

32. This is in contrast to Delbrück, whose thought had dominated scholarship until Hahn's day, who sees the subjunctive as the mood of willing and the optative as the mood of wishing. This view was first proposed by B. Delbrück, *Der Gebrauch der Conjunctivs und Optativs im Sanskrit und Griechische*, Halle 1871.

33. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 87-89, §§ 255-258, , and *Grammar*, §1344, p. 287; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 1, 219-20; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 313-314; Jannaris, p. 447, § 1912.

Eustathios, Wirth 159.48-9:

ἀναβῶμεν τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ εἰς τοὺς πάλαι χρόνους ...

let us also *go back* in our thinking to ancient times ...

The idea of the potential, barring the protasis of the less remote type of conditional clause,[34] is in the Attic language the domain of the optative. In Eustathios we also find the subjunctive being used to describe something which is conditional or possible[35]; Plato used such cautious assertions, but with μή (affirmative) or μὴ οὐ (negative), whereas in the affirmative Eustathios does not employ the μή, rather ἄν[36]:

Eusrathios, Wirth 205.23-4:

καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν ἄρτι λόγους **ἀναλώσῃ** πρὸς τρυφὴν ἀκοῆς ἀνὴρ Ἰσμαηλίτης ...

and an Ishmaelite man *may spend* many words now for the sake of pleasure of hearing them...

The subjunctive in the above example might also be translated as potential, meaning "would spend". A cautious assertion of this type however is also to be found in Michael Choniates, where the force of the caution is enhanced by τάχα: Lampros 69.19-21 τάχα δὲ καὶ ὡς μουσικός τις ἀνὴρ οὐ ῥαδίως ἂν λύσῃ κιθάραν ('perhaps, as a votary of the Muses, he would not give up the kithara readily'). Note also Eustathios, Wirth, 217.86 (more strictly potential); Eustathios, Wirth, 227.16-7; Eustathios, Wirth 231.82-3; Eustathios, Wirth, 279.39; Eustathios, Tafel 191.33-4; Tafel, 192.39. The use of the subjunctive to express potential in general is less remarkable when one considers that it is also found in Euthymios' panegyric[37], and that, although the potential optative occurs three times in NT, use of the subjunctive was more usual[38].

The potential use of the subjunctive (as opposed to the prospective)[39] may occur in temporal clauses; for example:

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34. Even in conditionals for the future, that is those, which are prospective, the protasis employs the potential particle ἄν and the subjunctive of contingent future.

35.On this question, see Eustathios, ed. Wirth, 9*.

36. Cf. Goodwin, *Moods*, and *Grammar*, p. 288, § 1350).

37. Bones, 545.4: ἂν εἴπῃ.

38. Turner, *Syntax*, 118-119, and passim.

39. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 202, § 529, and *Grammar*, p. 307, § 1434; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 1, 217; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 650; Jannaris, *Grammar*, p. 446, § 1997; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, §§ 559, 565.

Eustathios, Wirth, 242.41-3:

οὐ γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἑνὸς ὁ πόλεμος ἵσταται, ὡς καὶ ἐᾶν τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς ἀκατασείστους εἶναι καὶ μαλισθ᾽ ὅταν μὴ τῷ παντὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔργων **ἅπτοιντο** ...

for war does not devolve on one man, so that it also allows his associates to be unshaken, especially *when* they do not *engage* in every military activity ...

Goodwin classifies such temporal clauses as relative clauses[40] (which they are), and he comments that while temporal clauses may admit the optative (in remote conditionals) they do so without ἄν. I would suggest that the use of ἄν with the optative in iterative temporal clauses[41], even in vivid conditionals, is the result of the historically perceived semantic equivalence of the subjunctive and optative moods, despite the fact that in high Attic Greek a distinction was made between more and less vivid conditions.

To recapitulate, one of the factors, which seem to have led to this semantic equivalence of the two remote moods was, as we have seen, a primary "voluntative" use of both. It would seem that, since the subjunctive and optative had come to be regarded by Eustathios' time as semantically equivalent alternatives for expressing a wish, the optative spread from its use among *literati*, by Eustathios in particular (but also by his pupil Gregory Antiochos, with the precedent of Michael Psellos and Anna Komnene), into other domains which in Attic Greek proper were properly those of the subjunctive alone. This resulted in the promiscuity of the remoter moods that we have observed and allowed for a greater variety of forms available for utilisation by the rhetor in his relentless quest for *variatio*.

8) *Future indicative for aorist subjunctive?*

a) *The future indicative in simple final clauses*

Eustathios is able to exact a broad range of meaning from the simple future indicative, as we have seen. The idea of finality latent in the future

40. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 202-204, §§ 529-530; Sister Henry, *Optative*, 64, notes the optative employed in Gregory of Nazianzos in such relative, as well as iterative, clauses in historic sequence. She claims that this use disappears, evidently without considering the high Byzantine period.

41. Note that the optative without ἄν is usual for temporal clauses which describe a repeated action in the past, "whenever": Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 2, p. 450; Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 204, § 532; Henry, *Optative,* 58, etc.

tense (observe, for example, the regular use of the future participle to show purpose) allows Eustathios in the following example to employ a future indicative in a final clause introduced by ὡς ἄν. Goodwin says that (in Classical Greek) one rarely finds a future indicative in final clauses after ὡς, ὅφρα, ὅπως or μή[42]; he does not mention the association of a final future indicative with ἄν[43]. However, as Turner observes, the occurrence of a future indicative after ἵνα is not uncommon as a manuscript variant in the New Testament.[44] Some texts of Polybios show this confusion[45]. Horrocks, however, as an authority on medieval usage, comments on the confusion in the spoken language of the middle period between future indicative and aorist subjunctive, which, in the active voice at least, were in many instances pronounced very similarly, and may have been felt to be similar in meaning[46]. Let us, however, look at an example:

Eustathios, Wirth, 201.15-6:

εἰς μελέτην ἐγκωμίου στόμωσον ... **ὡς ἄν** σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου χάρις μεγίστη **κείσεται**.

train us to deliver an encomium ... *in order that* the greatest gratifications *will result* for you in return for this also.

The modal particle ἄν denotes a significance of potentiality, but the future indicative in this sentence must override this. For comparison, I have also observed a similar final future with ἄν in Euthymios Malakes (*Noctes*, p. 175.4 ὡς ἂν ἐρεῖ τις), more than one in Michael Choniates, (e.g. Kolovou, ep. 51.55 μὴ εἰς νοῦν ποτε βάλοιο, ἵνα παροξυνεῖς) and the coordination

42. Cf. Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 375, p. 454.

43. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 115, § 324, and *Grammar*, p. 291, § 1366; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 1, p. 384; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 672; cf. Wirth, 9*-10* on the future indicative after ὡς ἄν.

44. Turner, *Syntax*, 100; he notes that such a future indicative is used especially in Revelation and Paul.

45. D. C. Hesseling, Essai historique sur l'infinitif grec, in J. Psicharis, *Études de philologie néo-hellénique*, Paris 1892, 1-44, esp. 9, basing his observation on ancient Greek sources, especially Polybios and Kallimachos, as well as inscriptions and papyri, recycles the idea that so-called "erroneous" forms in Polybios are the result of mistakes made on the behalf of latter-day copyists. However, features of later Greek were already present as early as the fourth century CE, and there is no reason why these two authors could not have utilised the forms ascribed to them.

46. Horrocks, *Greek*, 177-178; see also Radermacher, *Grammatik*, 165-168, 174 (for a fuller discussion), 177.

of future indicative with the aorist subjunctive in ep. 54.23: ὡς ἀλλήλους ὀψόμεθα καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων ὀφθῶμεν) and one in Gregory Antiochos[47]. For another example of the future indicative with ἄν denoting potential see Eustathios' προοίμιον for his commentary on Pindar:

Eustathios, Kambyles,11.8:

ἣν οὐκ **ἂν ἐρεῖ** τις ἀπᾴδειν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ λυρικοῦ

which *one would* not *say* sings out of tune with the lyrics of the lyric poet

However, there is no ἄν in the negative final clause below, where a clause introduced by μή; employs a future perfect indicative.

Eustathios, Tafel, 198.37-8:

Μεθοδευτέον οἷον ἡμῖν τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ κλεψύδρᾳ, τῷ τοῦ καιροῦ μέτρῳ τὸ τοῦ λόγου μετρητέον ὕδωρ, μὴ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν φθάσας **λελύσεται** ...

Therefore we must conduct our speech in this way, and as if under the control of a water-clock, and the water of our speech must be measured out by the measure of time, *so that* the assembly *will* not *be dispersed* early ...

The idea of a state is even more important than in the previous example. Here also the future indicative cannot be confused with an aorist subjunctive, which would not have the same sound. For other examples of a future indicative in the final clause, see Eustathios, Wirth, 26.31-2 ἵνα ... λογισθήσεται[48] and Wirth, 119.3-4, ἔδει ... ἵνα λήψονται. As has already been stated, in Classical Greek ἵνα is said never followed by the future indicative, a rule, which Eustathios is evidently infringing, although admittedly it has Biblical precedent. On the other hand Niketas Choniates is not as discriminating as Eustathios. We see:

N. Choniates, 107.30-31:

ὡς ὁ λόγος **εἴπῃ** κατὰ καιρόν ...

as this work *will say* in time ...

εἴπῃ can only be referring to future time.

Other examples of the extension of the domain of the future indicative will be given in due course. Horrocks and others working with the vernacular of this time are aware that from approximately the eleventh century onwards future time was expressed either by the simple present indicative/subjunctive

47. Regel, 204.27: ἵνα οὕτως ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἀποδυρεῖται πρὸς κόρον ...

48. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 115, § 324.

(again there was confusion due to similarity in pronunciation of the two moods), the future indicative or the aorist subjunctive (again there can sometimes be confusion between these two tenses), or ἔχω or μέλλω and the future infinitive[49]. Was this use by Eustathios of the simple future indicative instead of other, more usual, constructions a reaction against the inroads made by such constructions in the vernacular? That is to say, was there a deliberate attempt on the part of this high style author for one to preserve and perpetuate the use of this simple (monolectic) future form through its use, or by employing these obsolescent forms to display his virtuosity and mastery of high style Greek? Let us consider the other modal uses of the future indicative before we attempt to answer this question.

b) *Future indicative in relative final clauses*

In the works of Eustathios studied, final clauses introduced by ὅποι etc. following a leading verb denoting "taking care", take the future indicative as in Classical Greek and in the NT[50], e.g. Regel 85.28 = Wirth 254.58 ὅποι πελάσουσιν. Note also:

Eustathios, Wirth 114.7-8:

Καὶ ἦν τοῦτο κατορθωμάτων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐδόκει μηδὲν ἔχειν,
ᾧ παράλληλον κείσεται...
this indeed was one of his greatest successes, and it seemed that there was nothing which *would be a parallel to it*...

The alternative to this construction, the employment of the subjunctive, is also used in the New Testament for final relative clauses in order to introduce an element of uncertainty or supposition[51]. The future indicative, as being "higher style", may have been felt to be more elevated (indeed, with poetic overtones, as we shall suggest below). It is possible that the fact that the future indicative is used in relative final clauses may have been a factor influencing Eustathios' taking the liberty of admitting it into final clauses governed by ἵνα, μή and ὡς ἄν, as we have seen, rather than any confusion in his mind between the "correct" uses of the future indicative and aorist subjunctive.

49. Horrocks, *Greek*, 229-230; cf. Browning, *Greek*, 31.

50. Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 374, 453-454; Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 216, § 565, and *Grammar*, p. 309, § 1442; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 2, p. 443; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, § 559; Jannaris, *Grammar*, p. 469, § 2020; Blass – Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 378.

51. E.g., Matthew 8.20: ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ.

c) *The future indicative in temporal clauses*

One type of relative clause is the temporal clause, which has an indefinite antecedent. In Attic Greek, as we have seen, this clause is expressed using ὅταν or the equivalent and the prospective subjunctive. However, in Eustathios the subjunctive may be replaced by a (more vivid) future indicative:

Eustathios, Wirth, 8.5-6:

ὅτε δὲ καὶ ὁ πεποθημένος **ἐγγίσει**, δέος μὴ καὶ συντεθνήξονται ...

and *when* the one that is desired *draws* near, it is to be feared that they will die at the same time ...

We should note here the omission of ἄν. Also interesting in the above example is the future perfect indicative in a clause of fearing, expressing a lasting result. More typical to express fearing is a simple future indicative following a present indicative (although, as here, a perfect form having a present sense may be used):

Eustathios, Metzler, § 15.22:

καὶ **δέδιε** μὴ κατασυρεῖς τῆς ἀνόδου καὶ κάτω πεσὼν χεῖρον **πείσεται** ...

and *he fears* lest being carried off on the way back and falling down he *will suffer* something worse ...

Other examples of a future indicative in historical sequence from Wirth:

Eustathios, Wirth, 110.68-9:

ὦ πρᾶξις καθάπερ οἱ σοφοὶ τὰ ἐς μηχανὴν τὴν ἄϋλον θεωρίαν εἰς σώματα οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν λόγον, **ὅτε δεήσει**, κατάγουσα ...

O exercise, which, just as those skilled in craftsmanship convert substanceless theory by their craft into a corporeal form, thus converts this thought, *when there will be need* ...

Further examples are to be found at Wirth, 118.63 ὅτε καλέσει and Wirth, 126.41 πηνίκα ... ἐπιτάξει.

Michael Choniates also employs the future indicative in some temporal clauses, e.g.:

M. Choniates, Kolovou, ep. 23.27:

ἢ ταῦτα μὲν, ὅτε ἀλλήλοις **ἐντευξόμεθα**, διελώμεθα δικαίως ...

or we may divide these things fairly, when *we will meet* each other ...

We might note here that, in some Indo-European languages (such as French and Italian), the use of a prospective future indicative is normal usage. We have here then a parallel development in this direction, one which

ran counter to the tendencies of the Greek vernacular (Modern Greek still employs the subjunctive).

d) *Future indicative in clauses of fearing*

Another future indicative in a clause of fearing may be found in the examples below[52]:

Eustathios, Wirth 161.19-21:

ἀλλὰ δέδοικα, **μή** ποτε ἢ τὰ βρώματα **καταργηθῇ** ἐπιλείψαντα καὶ Ἁρπυίαις οἷον καταρπαγέντα ἢ **παραλυθήσεται** ἡμῖν τὰ ὄργανα τοῦ τρυφᾶν ...

but I am afraid lest perhaps either the foodstuffs *should be left idle* and snatched up like scraps by the Harpies, or our organs of gluttony *will be paralysed* ...

Interesting is the way that the (normal) subjunctive is co-ordinated with the future indicative in the "either ... or" clauses. This, as in the case of the subjunctive and optative, would suggest that the future indicative and the subjunctive were regarded to a certain extent as interchangeable in such clauses. However, we could argue that the idea of the verb παραλυθήσεται is one of a state resulting from a completed action (an idea not present to the same extent in καταργηθῇ), and this shows that Eustathios was sensitive to differences in meaning in the two alternative moods.

e) *The potential future indicative*

The future indicative is also used by Eustathios with ἄν to express potentiality at three places in the Tafel speeches and several times in the Wirth speeches:

Eustathios, Tafel, 183.4-5:

οὐκ ἂν τὸ κατ᾽ ἄνθρωπον σκάφος ὠφελείας ἔξω **ἀφήσει** φέρεσθαι ...

he *would not allow* the human vessel to remain useless ...

Eustathios, Wirth 9.34:

τὸ δὲ δάκρυον οὐκ **ἂν** ἐπισχεῖν **δυνήσεται** ...

he *would* not *be able* to suppress his tear ...

Of these two examples, the idea of a state is more present in the first example, whereas in the second the future indicative seems to be merely a substitute for the aorist subjunctive. As a further examples, note Eustathios, Metzler, § 63.23-24:

52. Cf. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 132, § 367, and *Grammar*, p. 293, § 1379.

καὶ μὴν μοναχὸς τὰ πρὸς δαπάνην συνάγων **ἂν καταβαλεῖταί** τι ...
and indeed a monk in defraying the expense *would* perhaps *pay* some of it ...

For further examples: Wirth 18.36 ἂν ... περιλήψεται; Wirth 78.30 ἂν ... ἐπιδώσει; Wirth 82.40 ἂν ... συμβαλεῖ; Wirth 134.41-3 ἂν ... προσήσεται. Indeed, we find that the potential future indicative is quite common in high style authors of the time. We might also note the uses by Euthymios (Bones, 543.21-2 ἂν ἐκδαπανήσω καὶ ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι), as well as by Gregory Antiochos (Regel, 223.10 ἂν ἐρεῖ), let alone Niketas Choniates:

N. Choniates, 504.57:
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τίς **ἂν ἀνέξεται** ὅλως ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς ταύταις;
in addition to these things who *would endure* all these barbaric (customs)?

We may appreciate that the future indicative can have potential force even in the absence of ἄν:

Eustathios, Wirth, 213.62-3:
Αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐκ τῆς ἐγγυτάτω περιχώρου, ἣν εἰς ὅλον ἡμερινὸν ταχὺ **περιτροχάσει** τις ἥλιον...
and the ships were from the nearest neighbourhood, which someone will swiftly *run around* within one day's sun ...

Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 65, § 196, says that ἄν occurs with the future indicative in early poets, especially Homer[53]. In such instances as this we can probably detect two factors acting in synergy; a gratituitous *mimesis* of the style of Homeric (and other early) poetry; and at the same time, perhaps, the conscious extension of the use of the future indicative in opposition to inroads made by periphrastic future constructions in the language of Eustathios.

If we review the above examples taken from the work of Eustathios, we find some in which the future indicative differs from the aorist subjunctive in pronunciation. Although the fut. ind./aor. subj. collapse, a feature of the vernacular, will have eased the intrusion of future indicative into the domain of subjunctive/optative, it is probably not the only factor operating. I believe

53. He notes that the Homeric form of the adverb κέ is much more common than the form ἄν in the early poets: cf. Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 351-2; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, § 578; Goodwin, *Grammar*, p. 277, § 1299.

that we have a conscious bolstering of the domain of the future indicative as a reactionary, even if admittedly, on occasion, a hypercorrective, response to contemporary vernacular constructions. There are some instances, as we have seen, where the use of the future indicative, rather than the aorist subjunctive, is a deliberate choice and even, it may not be an exaggeration to say, critical for the idea that Eustathios wishes to convey.

The other factor operating is that the use of the future for the remoter moods again opens up a greater variety of forms to employ.

f) *Coordinated future indicative and aorist subjunctive or optative*

For further examples of *variatio* we may consult Niketas, who uses the future indicative coordinated with the aorist subjunctive:

N. Choniates, 209.55-56:

πότε **ἐπόψει** ἐξ ἁγίου ἐπιβλέψας κατοικητηρίου σου καὶ ἰδὼν **ἴδῃς** τὴν ἡμετέραν συνοχήν τε καὶ κάκωσιν ...

when *will you look down* from your holy dwelling place and seeing it, *observe* our oppression and affliction ...

Alternatively, Niketas employs the aorist optative coordinated with the future indicative:

N. Choniates, 266.21-22:

ἕως οὗ **θανεῖται** Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ τούτου αἷμα ... **χρώσειεν** αὐτόν.

... until the time when Andronikos *will be dead* and his blood *would stain* him.

There may be more than one factor in operation here. Foremost is a desire for *variatio*. All the same Niketas does not display a desire to use "correct" verbal forms on many occasions. It is tempting to conclude that Niketas had no real appreciation of the different moods and tenses – either that or his version of artistry emphasised *variatio* at the expense of high Greek.

g) *Optative for future indicative and divers other uses*

The optative, like the subjunctive, may be used to denote future time, including in temporal clauses. It is found in Niketas:

N. Choniates, 592.27:

τίνες **γενοίμεθα**;

who *would we become*?

Although examples of such constructions are not common, it will be appreciated that the tense of the verb in the optative could impart an aspect of either a continuous aspect or a perfective one (as in the example here).

Another result of the promiscuity of the optative with other moods is an exhortative optative:

N. Choniates, 204.80:

Παραδράμοιμι ...

allow me to run past (them) ...

9) *Potential imperfect and aorist indicative*

The historic tenses may possibly have been used by Eustathios to show potential for the past even in the absence of ἄν[54]. Observe:

The imperfect, Eustathios, Tafel 211.41-46:

Ἑρμῇ μὲν οὖν εἰκάσαι τὸν ἀποστολικοῖς λόγοις ἐλλαμπόμενον τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ μαθητὴν ἐπιτυχῶς ἔσχεν, οὐ διὰ τὸ πάνυ μέγα τοῦ τῆς εἰκόνος ἀφομοιώματος, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι **μὴ** καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ Ἕλλην **εἶχεν** ἐμβαθύνων σεμνύνειν τὸν ἀπόστολον.

It was an apt description to liken the disciple of the Saviour Christ, illuminated by apostolic words, to Hermes, not on account of his extremely great similarity of appearance, but because an ancient Greek *would not have been able* to put any more weight into dignifying the apostle.

One might argue here perhaps for a spread of the usage of μή into the domain of οὐ and understand εἶχεν as merely "was able". However, understanding it to be potential for the past makes for more satisfying sense in its context, and, if this is the correct way to interpret the construction, the use of μή is more readily explained. It is even possible that ἔσχεν above is also potential – "it would have been a good thing ...". Niketas Choniates also uses the potential imperfect with the absence of ἄν:

N. Choniates, 535.7:

ἐβουλόμην μὲν οἷός τε εἶναι διεξελθεῖν ἄξιος τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ...

54. Ἦλθεν ἄν = "he would have come", also without ἄν; cf. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 81-86, §§ 243-249, and *Grammar*, p. 283-284, §§ 1327-1331; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 1, 212-214; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 346-50; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, § 554c, 576; Blass – Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 371/3; cf. Horrocks, *Greek*, 174-5. Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 125, p. 171-172, demonstrates the use of these past tenses to express unreal conditions for the past. See.

I would that I were worthy to go through all the evils in my account ...

Then again in Niketas there is the potential aorist, e.g.:

N. Choniates, 308.4-5:

Τάχα γὰρ καὶ πέτρας ἀγελάστου ὁ ἐκείνου λόγος **καθίκετο** ...

His eloquence *could move* the unlaughing stone ...

An interesting construction, of which I have noted at least one example, is that in which the function of the past indicative is usurped by an optative of corresponding aspect:

Eustathios, Wirth 29.47-9:

καὶ οἱ γαλακτοφάγοι δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ ἄβιοι **εἶεν ἂν** καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς μονῆρες νηστείας τρόφιμοι ...

and even those who, as history tells us, lived on milk *would* themselves *have been* lifeless, having a starvation diet because of their one source of nourishment ...

Goodwin believes (*loc. cit.*) that historically, the use of the historic indicative to express potential for the past arose from its replacing an original historic form of the optative which was used for this purpose. The use of the surviving "primary" optative of the appropriate aspect to express potential for past time, as here, therefore need not have been felt as great a strain on the language as we might otherwise have expected.

The alternative explanation, not as attractive, is that ἄν has drawn the verb (properly imperfect indicative) into the present optative, but here again the historic optative may be an influence.

10) *Mixed conditionals*

In Classical Greek the admixture of vivid and remote protases and apodoses is a well-attested phenomenon[55]. This in itself is not remarkable.

55. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 188-195, §§ 499-509, and *Grammar*, p. 303-304, §§ 1421-1422; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 2, 463-480; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 682-688; Jannaris, *Grammar*, p. 461-462, §§ 1976-1983; Blass – Debrunner, *Grammatik,* § 371. Properly speaking, the indicative in both the protasis and apodosis denotes iterative fulfilment; the subjunctive in the protasis (the aorist being more frequent than the present: Radermacher, *Grammatik*, 178, with the future indicative in the apodosis the future fulfilment of a contingent condition; the optative in both protasis and apodosis (with ἄν) denotes a remote chance of fulfilment; whereas the historic tenses in the apodosis denote an unrealised conditional in past time.

But what is to be noted is the use, in Niketas Choniates, of the aorist subjunctive in the apodosis of conditionals. Witness:

N. Choniates, 190.84:

οὐκ ἄν τις ῥαδίως **ἐξαναλύσῃ** τὸ ἐπίον ...

one would not easily *escape* what is in the future ...

The potential particle ἄν signals this use.

The converse, found in Eustathios, is a protasis with the aorist subjunctive without ἄν:

Eustathios, Kambyles, 15.5:

εἰ δέ που **ἁλῷ** ἐφεπόμενος, ἔχειν ἐκτροπάς τινας, δι᾽ ὧν ἄλλην τινὰ τρέπεται παρὰ τὰς λεωφόρους ...

And if he *is caught* following (another author), he seems to have certain diversions, through which he turns in another direction from the thoroughfares ...

Again, Eustathios, Metzler, § 28.6:

εἴ τι που καὶ θεόθεν **ἐπέλθῃ** φθέγγεσθαι ...

if something *should happen* to be spoken from a divine source ...

Kambyles also notes an aorist optative without the modal particle:

Eustathios, Kambyles, 9.8:

εἴ που καὶ αὐταὶ **παραπέσαιεν** ...

if they *should fall* by the wayside ...

Conversely the modal particle is used with the optative by Eustathios in the protasis of a remote conditional, where in classical times it used rather in the apodosis:

Eustathios, Kambyles, 9.4:

ἐὰν θεῖος καί πως οὕτω σύνναος ὁ νικητὴς ἐν μιᾷ ᾠδῇ **γίνοιτο** ...

if somehow in this way the victor *should come to be* divine and a fellow dweller in the same ode ...

In Wirth's edition of Eustathios we find, as an example of a mixed conditional:

Eustathios, Wirth, 190.75-7:

Μετρηθήσεται δὲ ἱκανῶς, **ἐὰν** ὁ πατὴρ βασιλεὺς ἄνεσιν **ἔχοι** τινά· εἰ γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ τινὶ πρὸς τὴν διὰ πασῶν ἀρετῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι **ἐντείνεται**, **εἴη ἂν** οὐκ εὐχερὴς ἡ σύντασις...

He *will be gauged* adequately, *should* his father the emperor *have* any respite; for if, as in a kind of harmony, *he is exerted* towards a universal virtue from the previous one, the combination *would not be* easy ...

The above mixed condition would be easier to translate if ἐντενεῖται were to be read for ἐντείνεται, because, as we have seen, there is precedent for the future indicative to show potential. The point of interest here is the fact that ἐάν may be used by Eustathios with the optative.[56] Gildersleeve, on the other hand, claims that a comparable reading in Classical Greek should be regarded as more than suspect.[57] This usage could be regarded as mimetic of the Homeric poems, which employ κέν with εἰ in protases (twenty-six times, e.g. *Iliad* 9.141) and εἴ πὲρ ἄν once[58].

We might care to note other examples of the present indicative in the protasis and the optative in the apodosis in Michael Choniates' letters: ep. 45.44-46: εἰ δὲ ... φέρονται ἢ διοικοῦνται ... λέγοις ἄν; ep. 65.47: εἰ δ' ... ἐμποιεῖ, τί οὐκ ἂν ἐργάσαιτο.

Then we may explore the realm of unrealised conditionals in Michael Choniates.

For example, the use of the imperfect tense in the protasis:

M. Choniates, Kolovou, ep. 1.21-23:

εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι οὕτως τὴν τῶν οἰκείων πόνων ἔκδοσιν **ὤκνουν**, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς **ἐχρῆν** ...

Should *they* thus *have been shrinking* from the delivery of their own labours, how much more *was it necessary* for ours ...

The use of the aorist indicative in the protasis:

M. Choniates, Kolovou, ep. 3.5:

Τί παθεῖν ἐμέλλομεν ... εἰ τὸ γράμμα προτενὲς **ἐνεστήσω** καθ' ἡμῶν ...

what *would we have been suffering* ... if *you had placed* among us the letter at great length ...

The converse of this type of construction is one that uses the remote mood in the *protasis* and the indicative in the *apodosis*:

M. Choniates, Kolovou, ep. 32.57:

Εἰ δὲ τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου ἐκκοπὴν **λέγοις**, πρῶτα μὲν οὐχ ἡμεῖς μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Εὔριπος καὶ Κόρινθος **ἀπήλαυσαν** ἐκκοπῆς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως.

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56. On the confusion between ἐάν and εἰ see Radermacher, *Grammatik*, 178 (for a protasis with the aorist subjunctive); ἐάν with the indicative: Radermacher, *Grammatik*, 197-200.

57. Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, § 449.

58. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 169, § 460.

were you to speak of the remission granted by the blessed emperor lord Alexios, first not we alone, but the Euripos and Corinth, *would have experienced* a remission from the same emperor.

Due to a feeling that the future indicative and the aorist optative were semantically equivalent, in Michael Choniates' case at any rate, it is possible to adduce examples of conditionals with the future indicative in the *protasis* which denote a particular future action:

M. Choniates, Kolovou, ep. 3.19-21:

εἰ ... **φαρμάξεις** ἔχθρᾳ τὰ βέλη καὶ **τοξεύεις** οὐκ ἐρωτικῶς ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μῖσος λαμπρόν, οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἂν τὸ θεῖον τοῦτο **προσδώσω** πρόβλημα ...

If *you poison* your arrows in a hostile fashion and *shoot* no longer in love love, but in blazing hatred, not even thus *will I add* this divine defence ...

In this case the future indicative is also used with ἄν in the apodosis. One can appreciate here the more immediate type of conditional for the future, even more vivid than ἄν and the subjunctive.

Even the perfect indicative is used in the *protasis* by Michael Choniates:

M. Choniates, Kolovou, ep. 19.12

εἰ ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ξύλῳ τοιαῦτα **τετόλμηται** ... ὅτε ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ **κατεπράχθη** καινότερα ...

if such things *have been dared* on dry wood ... when on green more novel things *have been achieved* ...

The coordination between perfect and aorist is noteworthy. Even more so is:

Eustathios, Wirth, 34.15-24:

ἐὰν οὖν ἐξελεύθερος ταύτης ὅλως **ἀνέχοιτο** λέγεσθαι οὐδε δουλέκδουλος οὐδέ, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον εἰς κλῆσιν ἀγεννές, ἀλλὰ ἀνέκαθεν εὖ ἔχων τοῦ γένους ὀνομάζεσθαι **βούλοιτο** καὶ θεράπων βασιλικός, καὶ λογισάμενος, ὅπως δεσπότης ὢν καὶ κατ᾽ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ὅμως τῇ ἁμαρτία εἰς δοῦλον **ὑπάγεται**, **φυγῇ** μὲν τὴν πειρωμένην δεσπόζειν, **καταφύγῃ** δὲ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν δικαστὴν καὶ παμβασιλέα, οὗ τὴν εἰκόνα φέρει, **ἔλθῃ** δὲ διὰ δίκης πρὸς τὴν ὑποβιβάζουσαν εἰς δουλείαν καὶ ταύτης διεκπεσὼν **ἀναχθείη** επὶ τὸ πρότερον εὐγενὴς καὶ τὸ νόθον ἀφεὶς τὸ γνήσιον ἐπικτήσηται καὶ τὸ δουλικὸν ἀποθέμενος **ἐπανέλθῃ** ἐπὶ τὸ δεσποτικόν.

If therefore, being set free from this (wickedness), *he were* neither *to endure* in any way being called a slave born of a slave, nor, if there is

> something ignoble in the appellation, since he is of good stock, he *were to wish* to be called a royal servant, and, when he reasons that although he is a ruler and made in the image of God, *he is* nevertheless *subjected* to slavery because of his sinfulness, *he* accordingly flees from ruling over that which tests him, and *seeks refuge* with the great judge and King of All, whose likeness he bears, and *would come* justifiably to that which subjects him to slavery, and after escaping from it, *be conveyed* to his former nobility, and putting aside illegitimacy gain nobility and, concealing his servile condition, *return* to a position of being Lord.

Remarkable is the way in which three different moods are found in the one sentence[59]. To be noted also are:

Eustathios, Wirth, 153.57-154.59:

> οὕτω δὴ συμβὰν ἀπέβαλε τὸν ἕτερον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτου μάλα τι ἐδυσχέραινεν, **ἐάν** τις παρ᾽ αὐτῷ **λαλῶν** ἢ **γράφων** ὀφθαλμοῦ ὅλως **μνησθείη** που καὶ ἄχρις ὀνόματος.
>
> since it occurred in this way, he lost one (eye), and as a result took it very badly if any one who was *speaking or writing* to him actually *mentioned* an eye, even by so much as using the word.

We may note here, however, that ἄν in primary sequence may signal potential, just as the remoter moods, the optative and subjunctive may signal potential in historic sequence. *Literati* of Byzantine times may have seen the distinction between ἐάν and εἰ as arbitrary. To demonstrate this, see Niketas Choniates:

N. Choniates, 388.49:

> εἰ **δῶμεν** εἰπεῖν ὁπόσα ἡ φήμη ἐδίδαξεν ...
>
> if we allow to say whatever rumour has taught ...

Other examples of mixed conditionals may be found, Eustathios, Wirth, 213.69-71; Tafel, 213.49-50; Wirth, 135.63-4; Wirth, 28.18-22 (where one will observe a chiastic arrangement of aorist optatives and future indicatives, one each in protasis and apodosis) and the example below, where the subjunctive, coordinated with the future indicative, stands for another future indicative:

Eustathios, Wirth, 199.43-44:

> διευκρινήσει τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἅπαν τὸ τραχὺ λεανεῖ καὶ, εἴ τί που σκολιόν, εἰς εὐθὺ **μεταγάγῃ**.

59. Wirth, 9*, thinks that φύγῃ ... καταφύγῃ ... ἔλθῃ ... ἐπανέλθῃ are all examples of a (Homericising) aorist subjunctive for future indicative. I interpret the phenomenon as yet another example of promiscuity between optative and subjunctive. Once again, cf. Renauld, *Étude*..

he will judge everything correctly and smooth away every roughness
and, if anything should be crooked, *he will put* it right.

One might regard this also as a Homericism, because the Homeric poems preserve in places what Hahn (followed by others) theorised was the original use of the subjunctive, that of a future tense.

Finally I am indebted to Wirth for his observation of ἐάν with the aorist indicative in a protasis[60]:

Eustathios, Wirth, 203.37-8:

ἐὰν αὐταὶ μὲν ἱλαρὸν οὕτω **προσέβλεψαν** καὶ γλυκύ μοι **προσεμειδίασαν** ...

if ever they *looked at* me cheerfully and *smiled* sweetly *at* me ...

11) *Future optative*

Goodwin's grammars of Classical Greek say that the future optative is only ever used to represent the future indicative in constructions admitting indirect speech in historic sequence[61]. Eustathios however employs a future optative to express a wish:

Eustathios, Tafel, 212.16-17:

καὶ **φωσφορήσοι**, δὲ οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ὀψὲ δύοντας ...

and *may she give light*, not like those (heavenly bodies) which sink late ...

Does the future tense imply a greater sense of permanence, that is, a state in future time beginning with a moment not far from the present?[62] Or does it suggest an element of finality, that is, attribute to the empress, who is the subject of this sentence, a wish for her? It is difficult for the non-native Greek scholar to grasp the nuance presented by the choice of the future tense.

60. Wirth, 9*: he also has observed ἄν with the imperfect indicative at Wirth, 59.53.

61. Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 43, § 128; p. 259-260, § 669.2; p. 44-45, §§ 130-133 (where he says it never occurs with ἄν), p. 169, § 459 (where he says it never occurs in a protasis or apodosis except in indirect discourse); p. 67, § 203 (where he says it never occurs with ἄν); also §§ 604, 296; Goodwin, *Grammar*, p. 275, § 1287; so Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 173-74, p. 225-231; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 2, 183; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 337, concurs, mentioning that it occurs first in the fifth century B.C., but has a shading of potentiality, citing the authority of A. B. Keith, *Classical Quarterly* 6 (1912), 121-126; cf. Jannaris, p. 452, § 1935. Renauld, *Étude*, 101, also supports Goodwin's assertion. Finally, Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, assert that the future optative is never used with ἄν (at least in the Homeric to Classical era).

62. I believe that this is not merely a hypercorrect form; more on this below. Cf. Renauld, *Étude*, 119.

However, it has been suggested that the domain of the independent future optative is indeed one of permanence stemming from the present moment. Hedberg claims that the optative in -σοι expresses an aorist aspect: I must disagree[63]. One might care to compare Eustathios, Wirth 250.8 περιλάμψοι, also expressing a wish. Also in Eustathios we find:

Eustathios, Kambyles, 12.11:

Οὔτε ναυσὶν δ᾽ οὔτε πεζῇ **ὁδεύσοις** ἂν ἐς Ὑπερβορέους ...

may you travel neither by ships or nor on foot to the Hyperboreans ...

Among the other authors we have surveyed, Michael Choniates also employs a future optative for a wish:

M. Choniates, Lampros 92.21:

ἡ ἡλικία σου καθ᾽ ἑτέραν γραφὴν **γηράσοι** ὡς στέλεχος φοίνικος ...

may your life *reach old age,* as it is written elsewhere, like the trunk of a palm-tree ...

Niketas Choniates uses a future optative for a promise:

N. Choniates, 520.70-1:

τῆς τῶν ἐξῆς ἱστορίας αὖθις **ἄψοιτο** ...

Let our account, continuing our history from this point, *discuss* ...

We also see a certain predilection of Psellos for the future optative[64]. However, the future optative has another use in Eustathios:

Eustathios, Tafel, 205.44:

Οὐκ **ἂν** δέ τις τῶν ἀγαθὰ φρονεῖν εἰδότων **ἀξιώσοι**

No one who knows how to think well *would think it right*

Here the future optative expresses potentiality, and clearly infringes the rule set down by Goodwin and others that the future optative never occurs with ἄν[65]; cf. Eustathios, Tafel, 208.18 ἐξαρτύσοι; Tafel, 213.10 ὀνομάσοι ἂν; Wirth, 13.78 φθάσοι ἂν; Wirth, 156.63-4 οὐκ ἂν καταλήσοι τοῦ μεθύοντος. Gregory Antiochos also uses a future optative to express potentiality in his funeral oration for Manuel Komnenos[66]. The introduction of the future optative in such constructions may well reflect a willingness on the part of Eustathios, or at least of rhetors of his time, to experiment with and extend the range of the high-style language in which they composed. Since Eustathios for one was well-schooled in the Ancient Greek language,

63. Hedberg, *Eustathios*, 149-51.

64. Renauld, *Étude*, 115.

65. See note 61 above.

66. Regel, 210.24: δράσοι.

as his voluminous commentaries on Homer show, this would seem to be a more likely explanation than any suggestion that he was ignorant of the grammatical rules of the Classical Greek that he was preserving, and, accordingly, that his future optatives were merely "hypercorrect" forms. His aim was probably to employ consciously a diction and range of expression which approached that of the ancient poets.

At the other extreme is the heavy *variatio* of different moods and tenses that we have seen in Niketas Choniates. Euthymios Malakes was somewhere in between.

13) *Future infinitive*

Niketas Choniates in some places substitutes a future infinitive for a final subjunctive or optative or a consecutive construction, following certain leading verbs[67]. For example:

N. Choniates, 310.67:

ὡς ἀξίαν εἶναι μὴ ἄλλον **εὐτυχήσειν** δαιταλεύτην ...

so that it would be worthy *to please* no other banqueter (than himself) ...

We see in this representative example that the choice of the future infinitive is judicious – the infinitive denotes a time future relative to that of the leading verb. There are numerous examples of this also in Niketas Choniates.

14) *Participle*

Eustathios makes extensive use of participial constructions, feeling free to use participles in oblique cases other than the accusative. Unravelling the participial dependent clauses presents the translator of Eustathios with a challenge, because his selection of participial constructions increases the range of meaning inherent in the phrases that employ them.

For example, the present participle may be conative/inceptive[68]:

Eustathios, Wirth, 165.62:

Ταύτης τῆς θαλάττης ἐπισχετέον τὰ **ἐπιρρέοντα** ...

one must keep back from this sea *the things which would flow in ...*

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67. Duhoux, *Le verbe,* section 207, p. 275-276.

68. Cf. Duhoux, *Le verbe,* section 275, p. 342-343 (on the corresponding finite verbs, the present), section 285, p. 352 (on the imperfect).

N. Choniates, 142.36:

ἐν πολλοῖς μέντοι πολλάκις ὁ Μανουὴλ τὴν Ἀνδρονίκου **δεσμεύων** ψυχὴν ...

In many things, however, and many times *trying to bridle* Andronikos spirit ... [69]

Kambyles draws attention to the promiscuity of the tenses of the participle. For example the perfect tense where one would expect an aorist:

Eustathios, Kambyles, 6.11:

εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρωθεν **παρειληφὼς** ἠκριβώσατο ...

and if he also he made it exact, *having received* it from a different source ...

This at any rate is Kambyles' interpretation. I do not see, however, why the participle could not have full perfective force, standing for a pluperfect, which denotes a time prior to the antecedent.

15) *Periphrastic tenses of the verb*

Occasionally, our authors employ a periphrastic construction with a participle to impart the tense of a verb[70]. So we have:

Eustathios, Wirth, 27.52-3:

οὐ **δέον ἐστὶν** τὴν νηστείαν ἐξευρίσκειν εἰς πλουτισμόν ...

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69. For further notes on this, see Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 70-71, § 214; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, §§ 541, 589, and passim; cf. ἄρχεται λέγων: I. Philippaki-Warburton, in Christidis (ed.), *Ancient Greek,* 597, who also gives further examples of inceptive action, progressive action, and even terminated action, the choice of modal verb determining the type of action required.

70. Browning, *Greek*, 33; for an extensive discussion of different types of verbal periphrases, see G. Björck, *ἦν διδάσκων. Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1940. He supplies many different examples of periphrasis using the participle, not only documenting, but classifying. But, like Björck, Gildersleeve, *Syntax,* § 191, says that the force of the participle in such constructions in Classical times was much more one of a substantive or adjective; the development of becoming part of a compound tense would seem to be a later development. A theme of W. Aerts' monograph, *Periphrastica*, Amsterdam 1965, is the distinction of true periphrases from the use of participles as independent nouns, in the nominative case, with a copula. M. Janse, in Christidis (ed.), *Ancient Greek*, 652, believes that the periphrases of the NT, with the use of εἶναι are true periphrases, Semitisms and are used to construct progressive compound tenses. J. H. Moulton, *Koine in Grammar of the New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh, 1967), 1-3, questioned this theory of Semitic influence. C. Brixhe, in Christidis (ed.), *Ancient Greek,* observes the influence of Latin on Greek periphrases.

it is not necessary to discover fasting for enrichment ...

This is a periphrastic present, therefore the aspect is continuous/progressive: see note 74 below. As an example of another periphrastic present:

Eustathios, Metzler, § 42.12:

καὶ εἴ σοι τηλικούτῳ ὄντι **πρέπον ἐστί** ...

and if *it is suitable* for you, being of such an age ...

And in Schönauer's edition of the Eustathian Lenten homilies, E.191:

τόδ' **ἐστιν ἔχον** οὕτως.

this *is* so.

On the other hand:

Eustathios, Wirth, 253.14-15:

Καὶ ὅλως **ἦν** ἀγαθὸν ἅπαν **προτρέχον** ...

and in every way every good thing *ran before* (her as she came) ...

Here is a periphrastic substitute for the imperfect tense, i.e. the Greek expresses time past, with a continuous-durative-progressive aspect. The sense demands that ἦν be taken with προτρέχον, so that we have here a true periphrasis. Both Aerts and Björck have commented on the durative aspect of this construction; one could compare it with the English past continuous[71].

For other examples of the periphrastic imperfect:

Eustathios, Kolovou, ep., 4.73-4:

τοιαῦτα κακὰ **ἦν** ἡμῖν **ἐμποδὼν** τῇ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ὁδῷ ...

such ills *were in* our *way* on the journey that followed the first ...

In this instance ἐμποδών is behaving like the participle that was originally part of the word. Besides:

Eustathios, Kolovou ep., 5.42:

οἷον εἰς χύτραν **ἦν ὀστρακοούμενον** ...

as it were *it was made into a smashed* pot ...

Eustathios, Schönauer, Δ.175:

ἤδη οὐκ **ὑποπερκάζων ἦν** ...

it *was* not now *slowly ripening* ...

Other periphrastic imperfects are to be found at Eustathios, Tafel 207.96-208.1 ἐπαλείφων ἦν; Wirth, 88.52 ἐνθεωρούμενος ἦν; unusual is

71. Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 52; he names it the progressive periphrasis, and notes its first appearance in koine Greek.

Wirth 35.66 ἦν τυχὸν (which one supposes to be a periphrastic aorist)[72]. Wirth 35.71-2 ἦν ἄν ... συνοῖσον shows potential for time anterior to a point in the past.

The common denominator in the above examples is a neuter singular of the participle, in any tense, which qualifies adjectively, or perhaps better, adverbially, the copulative verb. The construction, as elsewhere, is an ornate alternative to the simple verb of being or becoming, although in the case of a present participle used in conjunction with the copulative verb, there is a more specific meaning of progression or continuity imparted by the periphrasis (e.g. *I was reading when he came*). The construction has NT sanction.

Eustathios also occasionally introduces the more standard form of periphrastic perfect, consisting of an auxiliary ἔχω and the aorist participle, a construction well attested in Classical Greek[73]. For an example:

Eustathios, Kolovou ep. 8.54:

φρενῶν δέλτοις **ἔχω ἐγγράψας** μνήμοσι ...

I *have written* him on the tablets of my memories ...

Compare from Metzler:

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72. Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 27, interprets the combination of ἦν and the aorist participle used in places as a periphrastic pluperfect. The tense of completion of an action inherent in the aorist participle must accordingly be distinguished from the aspect of continuing action (present) as well as from a resulting state (perfect). Indeed, Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 27-35, argues that the εἶναι and the aorist participle were originally used together to emphasise the aorist aspect.

73. At least insofar as Herodotos, Sophokles and Euripides are representative authorities: Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 128. See also Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 2, p. 61; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 263 (Goodwin, *Grammar*, p. 270, § 1262). See also C. Brixhe, in Christidis (ed.), *Ancient Greek*, 906, which provides a parallel, a Latinising perfect participle (that is, a morphological perfect) being used instead of the Greek aorist. For an example of this construction see below. On the other hand Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 129, claims that not only is this construction a resultative perfect, but it is substituted where such a resultative perfect is preferable or possible. He then finds that, in some cases, the meaning "keep" may be found for ἔχω, which as it can be seen reinforces the idea of a resultative state even more effectively than the true perfective tenses. I would suggest that perhaps, Eustathios, conscious of this, employed this construction, as sparingly as the tragedians, where it had to be made unequivocal that the aspect is resultative. He is quite happy in most other instances to employ the monolectic perfect, even if this does admit confusion between aorist and (true Attic) perfect.

Eustathios, Metzler, § 46.1-2:

ἔτι **ἔχεις**, ὦ ἀδελφέ, **παραιτησάμενος** ἐκ παραγγελίας καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν ...

you *have* still, o brother, *been begging* for freedom of speech from your doctrine ...

Further examples from Eustathios. For the active: Wirth 79.42 λαβὼν ἔχω; Wirth 139.89 καταιδέσαντες ἔχουσιν; for the passive: Tafel 193.25 ἔχεις ἀποταξάμενος; Wirth 89.17 ἐπέβαλες καὶ κατεῖδες καὶ λαβόμενος εἶχες (pluperfect). This construction would seem to be the ancestor of the periphrastic perfect found regularly in Modern Greek. That it was employed in high style texts, not only by Eustathios, but by our other authors also (particularly Gregory Antiochos), is probably due to a feeling that its use was sanctioned by the authority of the Attic poets. We might adduce here one example, of several, of a perpiphrastic use of ἐχω and the aorist participle instead of a simple perfective in Niketas Choniates:

N. Choniates, 3.46:

ὡς **ἔχω εἰπών** ...

as *I have said* ...

Cf. one of two examples in M. Choniates, Kolovou, ep. 2.19-20:

ἐπὶ τοίνυν **ἔχεις μαθὼν** τὴν περὶ σὲ νῦν ἐνταῦθα διάθεσιν ...

since indeed you *had learned* the current disposition concerning you here ...

An alternative periphrasis for the perfect tense consists of ἔχω and the perfect participle:

Eustathios, Schönauer, E.861:

ἔχετε μὲν καὶ ἄλλοθεν **εἰδότες** ...

you have known from elsewhere ...

In Eustathios we also find a periphrastic optative at Tafel, 211.90 εἴη ... ἐπινεύων and Wirth, 126.29 ἄν εἴην ὀφλών[74]. This periphrasis was no doubt formed by analogy with the middle perfect optative. Then again the periphrastic optative present is witnessed several times in Michael Choniates, e.g:

M. Choniates, Kolovou, ep. 4.7-8:

ὁ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς σὺ μόνος ζέφυρος τὴν μὲν πανευδαίμονα Θεσσαλονίκην **εἴης περιηχὼς** ...

as the sole zephyr among us *you would go around* the totally blessed Thessalonike ...

74. Björck, *Konstruktionen*, 82.

This is interesting, for a simple passive perfect tense was available. Compare also, from his brother Niketas, an example of the future tense of the copulative verb:

N. Choniates, 35.35:

πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων **ἐσεῖται πεπονθὼς** ἀηδές ...

he will have suffered at the hands of the enemies an unseen ...

Niketas Choniates employs passive participles in periphrases, for example:

N. Choniates, 276.29:

ἃ μικρὰ δήπουθεν **ἦσαν** καὶ περὶ μικρῶν **ὑφηγούμενα** ...

which were small things, I suppose, and *used to consider* of small value ...

In this construction the durative aspect is denoted by two imperfective verbal elements: auxiliary and present participle.

For other examples of the periphrastic imperfect Van Dieten lists, among others, 56.32 ἦν θέμενος – middle; and examples of the passive – 106.2 ἦν ... λυμανθέν.

An interesting construction found in Michael Choniates is the coordination of present and medio-passive participles with εἴης:

M. Choniates, Kolovou, ep. 113.156:

εἴης εὐδαιμόνως **ἔχων** καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν μέρει μνήμης ἀεὶ **τιθέμενος** ...

may you be fortunate and always *keeping* us in your memory ...

For the periphrastic pluperfect with εἰμί:

N. Choniates, 130.61:

ἦν ἂν καὶ πάλιν Ἀνδρόνικος χείροσι δεσμοῖς **ἐνισχημένος** ...

and again Andronikos *was held fast* by worse bonds ...

The choice of construction is judicious – the perfective aspect of the participle denotes a continuing state of being bound.

N. Choniates, 52.14-16:

ἦν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύτατος Ἰωάννης ὁ τούτου πατὴρ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσι μακαριστὸς καὶ τῆς ἀοιδίμου λήξεως καὶ δ᾽ εὐφήμου **κείμενος** μνήμης.

so the most imperial John was his father, and in accordance with this *remained* most blessed among all, met a praiseworthy end, and is of blessed memory.

The verb κεῖμαι was in origin an irregular perfective form, hence the perfective periphrasis.

The periphrastic perfect passive is also known from Niketas Choniates:

N. Choniates, 142.33-35:

ὡς **εἴη συνημμένα** δήπου καὶ συναφῆ τὰ ἐφεξῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπράγμενα καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν αὖθις ἐπ᾽αὐτῷ ῥηθησόμενα.

so that, I suppose, the things that were done by him, and those things that we were about to say about him, *would be connected* and united.

Niketas Choniates uses also a periphrastic future once in his history:

N. Choniates, 336.30-31:

ἀποφαινόμεθα **συνοῖσον εἶναι** κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ λυσιτελὲς Ἀνδρονίκῳ ...

he shall prove that it will be useful in general, and on his own account, for Andronikos ...

An interesting periphrasis is the use, by Niketas Choniates, of ἔρχομαι and the future participle[75]:

N. Choniates, 178.29:

ὡς **λέξων ἔρχομαι** ...

as I am going to say ...

One main advantage of using periphrases with participles is, not only further precision, but that they allow more than one type and time to be coordinated with the leading verb:

N. Choniates, 19.90-91[76]:

ἐφ᾽ ἧπερ **ἦν γεγηθὼς** καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν **ἐκλείπων** αὐτὴν ...

at which *he had been accustomed to rejoice, abandoning* his very life ...

N. Choniates, 243.42:

Οὕτως **ἦν προϊὼν** ἢ καρδίαν σιδηρέῳ **χαλκευθεὶς** ἄκμονι ...

Thus *he was going forth* or *forging* his heart on an iron anvil ...

16) *The articular infinitive*

The infinitive, being also used as a verbal noun[77], may take the article,

75. Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 363, p. 439. By the twelfth century periphrstic forms for the future were being employed – not only μέλλω and the infinitive but ἔχω and ἐθέλω. The definitive work on the phenomenon is T. Markopoulos, *The Future in Greek from Ancient to Medieval* (Oxford, 2008), 115-224.

76. Cf. Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 328, p. 396.

77. Hesseling, Essai, discusses the substantival nature of the articular infinitive. It need hardly be remarked here that the infinitive was disappearing from the vernacular, and its uses with the article is mimetic not only of Atticising prose but of New Testament Greek; Turner, *Syntax,* 14-146. See also Goodwin, as below n. 78. Hesseling's main concern is to tra-

and be used in any of the four basic cases, nominative, accusative, genitive or dative, at least in Atticising Greek, in particular that of writers of Attic prose[78]. We find the qualifying phrase used in the attributive position of the articular infinitive to modify its meaning.

To illustrate the articular infinitive as used by Eustathios:

Eustathios, Kambyles, 6.8-9:

Εἰς ταὐτὸν ἤγαγεν ἐν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς **τό** τε **ἐξευρεῖν** ἀρχαιοπρεπεῖς ᾠδὰς ...

it led to the same thing in our time, *the discovery* of time-honoured odes ...

In this case the use of the aorist tense of the infinitive denotes an action completed prior to the time of the leading verb. The infinitive may also follow prepositions:

Eustathios, Tafel, 195.1-2:

ἀλλ᾽ **ἐν τῷ σκιρτᾶν** οἷον χορευτικῶς ἠρέμα κλύζουσα τὰς ἀκτάς ...

But *in leaping*, as it were, in a dance and gently washing the shores ...

As an extension of the above example, Eustathios sometimes employs ἐν and the articular infinitive in place of a temporal clause; the construction is known especially from the Gospel of Luke in the New Testament[79]. See for example:

Eustathios, Schönauer, Δ.185-188:

Ὡμολόγησεν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἦν ἀναγκαίως ἡ θεόθεν βοήθεια, ὡς ἔχειν φέρειν γενναίως **ἐν τῷ βασανίζεσθαι**· ἀλλ᾽ ὕστερον τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον ἀπηρνήσατο ἔμπροσθεν **ἐν τῷ ἐξομόσασθαι** τὴν ἐκείνῳ φίλην ἀγάπην.

At first he admitted his belief in the kingdom of the Lord before men, when help from God came of necessity to support him in his necessity, so that he was able to endure nobly *while he was being tortured*; but later he utterly denied the same Lord in the presence of men *when he forswore* his own dear love for him.

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ce the gradual disappearance of the infinitive from Greek. We may contrast our four rhetors with their contemporary Michael Glykas.

78. Duhoux, *Le verbe*, section 195, p. 256-58; Goodwin, *Moods*, p. 314-326, §§ 789-814; Brugmann, *Grammatik*, § 584. There is another periphrasis for the past, the imperfect of εἶναι and the aorist participle: Goodwin, *Grammar*, p. 208, § 955; p. 325, § 1516.2; p. 330-333, §§ 1541-1555; Kühner – Gerth, *Grammatik*, part 2, p. 37-46; Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 368-372.

79. Turner, *Syntax*, 144-145.

Interesting also is the use of the different tenses of the infinitive, which corresponds to the usage in Biblical *koine*, that is, the present infinitive is used for contemporaneous time and the aorist for former time.

Conclusions

What can we say of the Greek of Eustathios and his enclave of friends? Certainly, as evidenced by the admixture of the different moods, they felt the pressure for variety, sometimes at the expense of verbal precision. Perhaps we may call Attic Greek proper, the Atticising Greek of the fifth to fourth centuries B.C., precise and "crystalline" in form. On the other hand, at the time of the Second Sophistic there were two main traditions, first the restrained Attic style and then a florid Asiatic style, the latter used in particular in encomia. Panegyrical Greek of the late twelfth century, however, as a distant heir of the Asiatic tradition was, if not always to our taste, more fluid or flexible than its Atticising model, and, one might say, "organic". *Variatio* in our texts kept the Greek vivid, that is "alive". To be sure, the *literati* of twelfth-century Byzantium all maintained that they were composing in traditional Attic Greek. But of the five authors selected, our protagonist, Eustathios, is the most interesting. He seems to understand the graphic possibilities of a judiciously selected perfect. He may suggest potential for the past with a future indicative in historic sequence. He substitutes the future indicative for the subjunctive in many other constructions. Inother instances the future tense may suggest perpetuity, be it indicative and a substitute for the subjunctive in a final clause, or optative, where the future tense may reinforce the wish for permanence. We may note that, in many of these cases, rhe choice of construction is deliberate: Eustathios very frequently understands what he is doing and is not merely confused or being hypercorrect.

At the other end of the spectrum is Niketas Choniates, a brutal proponent of *variatio,* whether he appreciated the finer points of Atticism or not. Our other authors fall between the two extremes.

Perhaps Eustathios was a reactionary in some sense, bolstering Atticising "Asiatic" Greek against the inroads of the vernacular, keeping it alive and demonstrating the possibilities of his chosen medium. Eustathios, the best of the five authors, was inventive in his language, and sought to master the idiom, in the way that poets try to elevate and vitalise with

their diction: such an approach was highly appropriate for panegyric. We must therefore refrain from appraising him as an uncomprehending user of hypercorrect forms, and appreciate him as the inventive master of the Greek language that he was.

Abbreviations

Blass – Debrunner: *Grammatik*: F. Blass – A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, ed. by F. Rehkopf, 17th edn Göttingen 1990

Browning, *Greek*: R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, 2nd edn Cambridge 1983

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Turner, *Syntax*: in J. H. Moulton – W. F. H. Howard – N. Turner, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek*, vol. 3, Edinburgh 1963

Εγκλισεις και Χρονοι στον Ευσταθιο Θεσσαλονικης και Κειμενα Υψηλου Υφους του Οψιμου 12ου Αιωνα

Η μελέτη εξετάζει ορισμένες ιδιαιτερότητες ρηματικών τύπων που εντοπίζονται σε ομιλίες του Ευσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης και συγχρόνων του συγγραφέων. Αποσκοπείται να δειχθεί ότι τα γραμματικά αυτά φαινόμενα δεν πρέπει να αποδίδονται απαραίτητα σε τάση υπερβολής ως προς την χρήση αρχαιοπρεπών τύπων, αλλά ότι οι συγγραφείς της εποχής είχαν βαθιά γνώση της κλασικής ελληνικής γλώσσας και επάνω στα πρότυπά της δημιούργησαν το προσωπικό τους ύφος.