Glimpses of Joy in Byzantine Literature

Glimpses of Joy in Byzantine Literature

Luigi D'Amelia

Ὥσπερ ἀνήρ τις τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ οἴκου ἀπόδημος,
ἐπὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ οὐκ ἔχει ὅτι καὶ γένηται ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς,
ὅτι κατηξιώθη τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐντυχεῖν …

To the lovely memory of my father,
may he have found true joy.

Contrary to the common perception of Byzantium as a stern and gloomy civilization, overshadowed by a permanent sense of guilt and a need for repentance, joy and its emotional cognates—such as amusement, delight, pleasure, and elation—are far from absent in artistic and written Byzantine productions. In a study on certain corporeal expressions of emotions in Byzantine literature— namely, tears, laughter, and smiles—Martin Hinterberger noted that

in comparison with tears, Byzantine laughter is much less conspicuous in texts, and, consequently, barely researched. The prominence of tears and the corresponding absence of laughter seem to support the widespread, and of course distorting, image of Byzantine culture as a joyless one, especially in contrast to the ancient Greek civilisation.[1]

Studies on Byzantine emotions are still in their early stages. So far, they have primarily focused on negative emotions like anger, envy, fear, grief/sorrow/mourning, shame, guilt, and weariness.[2] Among

[1] Hinterberger 2017, 136. It should be noted that, in Byzantine studies, scholars have only recently become interested in emotions in literature; therefore, the study of the latter through the tools of textual criticism is still at the beginning stages. For an overview of the research on emotions in Byzantine studies and a *mise au point* of the state of the art, see Mullett 2022a, 8–17; Hinterberger and Pizzone 2022b. For a methodological survey of the historical and philological approaches to emotions, see for instance Xanthou 2022. For a brief presentation of the main hermeneutical issues, when studying emotions in Byzantine literary texts, see for instance Bernard 2022a, 157–159.

[2] See for example Maguire 1977; Seban 1982; Dombrowski 1998; Hinterberger 2004, 2005, 2009, 2010b, 2013a, 2013b, 2022a, and 2022b; Radić 2000; Papadogiannakis 2017; Ashbrook Harvey 2017; Mullett 2017; Angold 2017; Agapitos. 2017; Pizzone 2022b; Doerfler 2022; Bernard 2022b; Ivanov 2022.

the bodily expressions of emotions, laughter and tears have received the most scholarly attention.[3] Hinterberger has pointed out the ambiguity, or rather, the multiple meanings conveyed by bodily signs expressing emotions in Byzantine literature. While laughter was commonly acknowledged as a clear sign of joy and gladness,[4] it could also express contempt or condemnation, and could be morally reprehensible, particularly in the case of loud, unrestrained, and unseemly laughter.[5] An emblematic attack on hedonistic culture promoting worldly passions and laughter is made, for example, by the learned poet George of Pisidia (seventh century) at the beginning of his hexameter poem *On Human Life*: "Men who wake laughter, you who amidst the ashes of life's play | rekindle with the passions the glowing ember, mingle with grief | unlaughing joyfulness, since amidst darts of laughter | takes arms against your limbs a warrior who eats out the soul."[6]

Nevertheless, it is equally valid that joy is neither exclusively nor necessarily represented by laughter alone: it can also find expression in tears,[7] be occasionally accompanied by blushing,[8] or, at the zenith of its intensity, be exhibited through leaping and dancing. These latter acts serve as physical manifestations of spiritual exultation among both men and women, as well as amongst angels, who dramatically unveil the indescribable joy of heaven.[9] Furthermore, leaping and dancing are emotional responses that also find attestations in non-religious contexts, as exemplified by a mother's rejoicing upon her son's return.[10]

---

[3] See for example Hinterberger 2017; Marciniak 2017; Walker 2017; Nilsson 2017. On laughter in Antiquity, see for instance Halliwell 2008.

[4] See for example Antiochos of Mar Saba (seventh century), *Pandects of Holy Scripture* (*CPG* 7843), *Homily* 91: "Καιρὸς τοῦ γελάσαι [Eccl. 3.4] … Τὸ γὰρ γελάσαι χαρμοσύνη ἐστίν" (*PG* LXXXIX, 1712); Nikephoros Blemmydes (thirteenth century), *Epitome logica* 26.10: "ὡς ὁ στεναγμὸς καὶ ὁ θρῆνος ὀδύνην σημαίνουσι· καὶ ὁ γέλως καὶ ὁ καγχασμὸς χαρὰν καὶ ψυχῆς διάθεσιν ὑπερβάλλουσαν" (*PG* CXLII, 888). For a parallel from Hellenistic Judaism, see for example a passage in Philo, *praem.* 31, who defines joy as the best of emotions (εὐπάθειαι) and the reward for the virtuous, and who also states that: "γέλως δὲ σημεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος φανερὸν ἀφανοῦς τῆς κατὰ διάνοιαν χαρᾶς ἐστι" (Cohn 1962, 343, ll. 2–3).

[5] See Hinterberger 2017, 136–140. In his oration *On the Seven Ecumenical Councils* 16, Neophytos the Recluse (twelfth–thirteenth century) recalls the famous episode involving Krum, the khan of the Bulgarians (802–814), who defeated and killed the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros I (802–811). It is said that Krum had the emperor's skull lined with silver and used it as a drinking cup. Neophytos envisions that, while doing so, the Bulgarians mocked the "greediness" and "foolishness" of Nikephoros: "οἱ Βούλγαροι, ἔπινον εἰς αὐτό, τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπληστίας καὶ ἀπροσεξίας καταγελῶντες εἰκότως" (Constantinides 2005, 286, ll. 180–181). On derision in Byzantine literature, see for example Magdalino 2007.

[6] George of Pisidia, *On Human Life*, vv. 1–4: "Ἄνδρες ἐγερσιγέλωτες, ὅσοι βιοπαίγμονι τέφρῃ | ἀνθρακιὴν παθέεσσιν ἀνάπτετε, μίξατε πένθει | χαρμοσύνην ἀγέλαστον, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τόξα γελώτων | θυμοβόρος μελέεσσι κορύσσεται ἀσπιδιώτης" (Gonnelli 1991, 123; ET: Whitby 2014, 438).

[7] See for instance Hinterberger 2006, 46, 48 and passim; Hinterberger 2017, 125–126, 131–132, 135; on this see also Mullett 2017, 315–316.

[8] See Hinterberger 2010a, 125.

[9] As is widely acknowledged, the very acts of leaping and dancing, especially when characterized by convulsive and disjointed body movements (as seen, for example, in the verbs βακχεύω, κορυβαντιάω, μαίνομαι), could also signify an evil or malicious joy, often accompanied by laughter or drunkenness. For further insights into the association between frenetic dancing and demonic possession in Late Antiquity, see for example Webb 2008; Resta 2022 (with further bibliography); Tronca 2016. On dancing in Byzantium, see for example Webb 1997; Brubaker 2022.

[10] See, for example, a passage from the Byzantine epic poem *Digenes Akritas* (twelfth century), written in early demotic Greek and composed in political verses, Versio G, III, vv. 116–117: "Η δὲ μήτηρ ὡς ἤκουσε τοιαύτην ἀγγελίαν, | μικρόν περ καὶ ὠρχήσατο ἀπὸ περιχαρείας" (Jeffreys 1998, 50); see also Versio Z, III, vv. 965–968: "Η μήτηρ δὲ ὡς ἔμαθεν τὴν

In a recent article, art historian Henry Maguire observed that in Byzantine art, "Joy was acceptable, and was even an attribute of angels, but laughter was a different matter, and was generally condemned by Church writers. With a few exceptions, laughter was only portrayed in secular art in Byzantium." Maguire further notes that "Unlike laughter, the depiction of joy in Byzantine religious art was neither unacceptable nor marginal, but absolutely central."[11] As is well known, the Biblical ground for the joy of the angels can be found in Lk. 15.10 ("γίνεται χαρὰ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι"),[12] and in general, Biblical references played a significant role in shaping the representation of emotion in Byzantine literature and art. To some extent, the treatment of emotions in the Scriptures, as filtered through the exegetical and preaching activity of church writers, became prescriptive, freezing emotions into a conventional and timeless formulary.[13] This, in turn, poses challenges for historical investigations of emotions, particularly in detecting their synchronic and diachronic variations.

The Byzantine historian George Hamartolos (ninth century), in his *Chronikon*, reflects upon the error committed by Hezekiah, the king of Judah. Hezekiah, "puffed up by too much joy" allowed Babylonian ambassadors to view his treasures.[14] In his moral reading of this Biblical episode, George Hamartolos cautions against the risk that joy (χαρά) may deteriorate into boastfulness and arrogance (ἀλαζονεία, μεγαλοφροσύνη). He asserts that "one ought to rise above both joy and grief and confront the approach of each moderately and wisely,"[15] thereby echoing the ancient maxim: "Consider that nothing in human life is stable; for then you will not exult overmuch in prosperity, nor grieve overmuch in adversity."[16]

ἔλευσιν ἐκείνου, | τοῦ υἱοῦ της τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ, τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ, τοῦ ξένου, | οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅστις ἐξειπῇ, ἧς χαρμονῆς ἐπλήσθη· | μικροῦ γὰρ καὶ ὠρχήσατο ἀπὸ περιχαρείας" (Trapp 1971, 137).

[11] Maguire 2022, 329 and 330.

[12] See Maguire 2022, 331.

[13] For example, the synonym couplet χαρά/εὐφροσύνη, sanctioned by the Septuagint (for instance Esth. 8.17, 9.17, 9.18; 1 Macc. 4.59, 5.54; Wis. 8.16; Sir. 1.12), as well as the oxymoric couplet χαρά/φόβος (see Mt. 28.8) are widespread in Byzantine literature, see *TLG*, *s.vv.*, although they also occur in some ancient Greek novels. To give just an example of the Scriptural influence on Byzantine poetry, the couplet χαρά/φόβος in Matthew's tale of the myrrhbearers at the sepulchre produces another emotional oxymoronic couplet (εὐφροσύνη/λύπη) in the twenty-second stanza of a *kontakion* for Christ's resurrection by Romanos the Melodist (sixth century), vv. 1–2: "Μίξασαι φόβῳ τὴν χαρὰν καὶ εὐφροσύνην τῇ λύπῃ | ὑπέστρεψαν τοῦ τάφου, ὡς διδάσκει τὸ βιβλίον" (Grosdidier de Matons 1967, 416).

[14] See 4 Kgdms. (2 Kgs) 20.12–20; Isa. 39. 1–8.

[15] Unless otherwise specified, translations are my own. Here, I provide a broader section of the passage by George Hamartolos, *Chronikon*, 16: "Δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης ὑψηλότερον εἶναι καὶ μετρίως καὶ ἐπιστημόνως τῆς ἑκατέρας φέρειν τὴν ἔφοδον. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἐζεκίας, ἡνίκα εἶδε τρόπαιον κατὰ Περσῶν ἐγειρόμενον καὶ θαύματος κρεῖττον καὶ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης ῥώμης καὶ ἐλπίδος ὑπέρτερον, καὶ λίαν ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς φυσηθεὶς καὶ μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον φρονήσας, τότε δὴ τότε νόσῳ βάλλεται, ἵνα τὰ σκιρτήματα τῆς ψυχῆς χαλινοῦ ἀξιωθέντα μὴ ἔξω τοῦ δέοντος αὐτὸν ἀναγκάσωσι παριππεῦσαι καὶ τὴν τῆς νίκης ὑπόθεσιν ἀλαζονείας διαδέξεται πόλεμος. Ὅπερ καὶ πέπονθε μικρὸν ὕστερον. Περιχαρὴς γὰρ μάλα γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ προσδοκίαν εὐρωστίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν παρουσίᾳ τοσοῦτον, ὡς καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς Κυρίου ἐκ πολλῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης θριαμβεῦσαι" (de Boor and Wirth 1978, 233, ll. 5–17).

[16] Isoc., *To Demonicus* 41: "Νόμιζε μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιον· οὕτω γὰρ οὔτ' εὐτυχῶν ἔσει περιχαρὴς οὔτε δυστυχῶν περίλυπος," see also Arist., *EN* (Bekker 1124a).

The semantic polyvalence observed by Hinterberger regarding the bodily expressions of emotion also applies to emotions themselves: generally, those depicted in the diverse wealth of Byzantine literature can hardly be univocally judged. One will barely single out any emotion that is consistently either positive or negative, legitimate or illegitimate, devout or impious, and so forth, unless, for some reason, it has turned into a spiritual illness or sin.[17] To use an artistic analogy, the emotional world of the Byzantines in literary sources can be likened to the result of *chiaroscuro* and contrast technique: the same emotion is subject to a tonal band depending on its origin, intensity, and directionality. For example, according to John Climacus (sixth–seventh century), joy is among the natural emotions of the human soul, but "it should be joy on account of the Lord and for the sake of doing good to our neighbour."[18]

Frequently, this sense of ambivalence is intensified by rhetorical devices such as oxymorons and paradoxes,[19] which, in a way, hinder scholars from sorting Byzantine emotions into a univocal and clear-cut classification, and even more so if the latter is built upon modern concepts and definitions of emotions.

A significant and extensively studied example of a distinct emotion is associated with the Byzantine neologism χαρμολύπη (joyful sorrow) and the ascetic concept of χαροποιὸς πένθος (mourning which causes joy), which is closely tied to the practice of κατάνυξις (compunction).[20] Generally, Byzantine writers were inclined to associate emotions that might sound mutually contradictory to modern ears.[21] Interestingly, the topic of joy has been left relatively unexplored by textual scholars when it comes to research on Byzantine emotions. Nonetheless, brief and scattered reflections on this subject in specific

[17] The word πάθη, commonly used by the Byzantines to refer to emotions, typically carried a negative connotation. It encompassed the meaning of "passions" and "affections/illnesses of the soul" and was often associated with sins, see for instance Hinterberger 2010a, 126–128; Hinterberger 2017, 127–128, 137; see also Mullett 2022a, 19–20; see also Lampe 1961, *s.v.* πάθος (II.A.1–5).

[18] Jo. Clim., *scal.* 26: "Κακὸν μὲν ὁ Θεὸς οὔτε πεποίηκεν, οὔτε δεδημιούργηκεν. Ἠπατήθησαν δέ τινες φήσαντες φυσικὰ εἶναί τινα τῶν παθῶν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἀγνοήσαντες ὅτι τὰ συστατικὰ τῆς φύσεως ἰδιώματα ἡμεῖς εἰς πάθη μετηνέγκαμεν. Οἷον, φύσει ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ σπορὰ διὰ τὴν τεκνογονίαν, μετεποιήσαμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτὴν εἰς πορνείαν. Φύσει ὁ θυμὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατὰ τοῦ ὄφεως, κεχρήμεθα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμεῖς κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον. Ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ ζῆλος διὰ τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ζηλοῦν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῷ ζηλοῦμεν. Φύσει τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ τῆς δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἄνω· φύσει τὸ ὑπερηφανεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων. Ὁμοίως ἡ χαρά, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλησίον εὐπραγίαν· εἰλήφαμεν καὶ μνησικακίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς ψυχῆς. Εἰλήφαμεν ἔφεσιν τροφῆς [*var. l.*: τρυφῆς], οὐ μέντοι ἀσωτίας" (*PG* LXXXVIII, 1068; ET: Luibheid and Russell 1982, 251).

[19] See for example Hinterberger 2017, 132, 140–141; Pizzone 2022b, 267; Krueger 2022, 355. Although not focused on a Byzantine author, see also Crislip 2022, 241 and 243.

[20] See for instance Chryssavgis 1985; Hunt 2004; Hinterberger 2010a, 130; Hinterberger 2017, 132, 141–142; Müller. 2000, 239; Chilikov 2021.

[21] For example, in Leont. N., *v. Jo. Eleem.* 52 (*CPG* 7882, *BHG* 886–886d), St John informed his travel mate, the patrician Niketas, that he had received a vision of an angel announcing his imminent death, for the King of Kings called for him in the kingdom of heaven. At that point, Niketas was "filled with both joy and sorrow" ("περιχαρὴς οὖν καὶ περίλυπος γενάμενος," Festugière and Rydén 1974, 403, l. 46); see also the emotions that the hagiographer Gregory the Monk (eleventh century) declares to be willing to raise in his audience in the *Life of Lazarus of Mount Galesios* 197 (*BHG* 979): "καὶ πρῶτον τὰ τοῦ μοναχοῦ ὑμῖν Ἡσαΐου ἐκδιηγήσομαι, ὧν ἡ διήγησις οὐ λύπης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρᾶς τυγχάνει πεπληρωμένη" (Delehaye 1910, 568). See also the passage by John Climacus quoted above.

authors, works or contexts are not uncommon.[22] From this perspective, liturgy and liturgical poetry—namely hymnography—have been the privileged areas of research.[23] Joyful emotions, indeed, held a central role in the religious experience, devotional practices, and liturgical customs of the Byzantines: the annunciation to the Virgin, the birth, incarnation, and resurrection of Christ, the festive commemoration of the saints,[24] the joyful anticipation of the second coming of the Lord (Δευτέρα Παρουσία), and the hope for eternal salvation promised to the righteous[25] all invited the assembly of the faithful to rejoice. The practice of Christian virtues itself was expected to generate feelings of joy.[26]

These themes, which are internal to the religious sphere, are frequently referenced in various literary sources. Byzantine literature, encompassing secular genres, is profoundly imbued with a religious *ethos*, largely influenced by monastic values which were authoritative even in lay society. Emotions in this literature often appear to be metabolized through the Christian eschatological perspective. Naturally, liturgical chants, hagiographical accounts, and homiletic writings stand out in this regard, often employing intricate rhetorical strategies and vividly evocative imagery to emotionally engage the audience.[27]

---

[22] See for instance Adashinskaya 2020; Manolova 2022, 90–93 (Theodore Metochites, thirteenth–fourteenth century); MacDougall 2022, 135–136 (Photius, ninth century.); Pizzone. 2022b, 155 (John Sikeliotes, eleventh century); Bernard 2022a, 158, 163, 169–170 (joy as aesthetic and ethical value in the eleventh-century urban elite culture).

[23] See for instance Newman 2016; Krueger, 2017 and 2022; Frank 2019; see also Mullett 2022b, 291–292, and *passim*. Byzantine hymnography and the liturgical performances are particularly inspiring for scholars of all kinds of emotion, see Hinterberger and Pizzone 2022b, 42.

[24] In this respect, particularly meaningful is the digression on the legitimacy of joy in the eighteenth homily by the emperor Leo the Wise (tenth century), dedicated to the feast of St Demetrius (*BHG* 537): "Τιμήσωμεν τὸν ἀριστέα δι' ὧν ἐν τῇ ἐκείνου μνήμῃ εὐφραινόμεθα, εὐφρανθῶμεν δὲ δι' ὧν ὁ τῶν ὅλων βασιλεὺς εὐφραίνεται. Εἰ γὰρ βασιλέως χαίροντος συναπολαύουσιν ὅσοι καθαρῶς φιλοῦσιν τῆς χαρᾶς, πόσης ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἀπολαύειν χαρᾶς, μάλιστα μὲν ὅτι καὶ Θεὸς χαίρει; Προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐμόν, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὁ ἐν Θεῷ βασιλεύς, ὃν καθαρῶς φιλεῖτε ὑμεῖς, ἄφατον ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρικῇ μνήμῃ δέχομαι τὴν χαράν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ *ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν* (Ps. 117.24) μάλιστα μὲν τὴν ψυχῆς εὐφροσύνην· αὕτη γὰρ οἰκεία ἀνθρώπῳ χαρά. Οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει δοῦναί τι καὶ τῷ σαρκίῳ χαρᾶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπεικὸς συμμετέχειν τῆς ἑορτῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῆς δεσποζούσης ἡδομένης ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν συνήδεσθαι σῶμα—οἷα δὴ ἄρτι διεξῄει ὁ λόγος, ἐν βασιλέως εὐφροσύνῃ τοὺς ἔγγιστα συνευφραίνεσθαι—ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ ἔστι φόβος τὴν ψυχικὴν ἀλλοιῶσαι χαρὰν δι' ὧν ἐπιτρέπει τῷ σώματι· μεγάλην γὰρ ἔχει ῥοπὴν πνευματικὴ ἀγαλλίασις, ἱερῶς τὰς αἰσθήσεις διατάξαι" (Antonopoulou 2008, 259–260, ll. 19–36).

[25] See Prov. 29.6 ("δίκαιος δὲ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἔσται").

[26] The so-called Ephraem Graecus (fourth century?), in a short paragraph dedicated to the virtue of patience (μακροθυμία), stated that: "Μακάριος ἀληθῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὅστις μακροθυμίαν ἐκτήσατο, ὅτι τὸν τοιοῦτον καὶ ἡ ἁγία Γραφὴ ἐπαινεῖ, λέγουσα· *μακρόθυμος ἀνὴρ πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει* [Prov. 14.29]. Καὶ τί πλέον τούτου; Ὁ γὰρ μακρόθυμος πάντοτε *ἐν χαρᾷ* ἐστιν, *ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ* [Prov. 29.6], ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει· ἐλπίζει γὰρ ἐπὶ Κύριον," Ephraem Graecus, *Homily on virtues and vices* 6 (*CPG* 3905; Phrantzolas 1988, 43–44).

[27] See for example George of Nicomedia (ninth century), *Homily* 9 (*On the Virgin Mary at the Holy Sepulchre and Thanksgiving for the Resurrection*, *BHG* 1156): Ὦ γλυκείας καὶ ὑπερέκεινα παντὸς ἐφετοῦ φωνῆς σου τῆς τὴν χαρὰν τῷ κόσμῳ διὰ τῶν μυροφόρων ἐνηχησάσης· τῆς τὰ λυπηρὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας διαρρηξάσης δεσμά· τῆς εὐφροσύνην ταῖς τῶν ἁπάντων ἐνοικησάσης ἀκοαῖς. Ἔδει γὰρ τὴν αὐτοχαρὰν καὶ θυμηδίαν τοιούτῳ προκηρύγματι τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων προοιμιάσασθαι κλήσει, τοιούτῳ περιχαρεῖ προσφθέγματι τοῖς τῷ λυπηρῷ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐνεχομένοις ἐπιτιμίῳ προσομιλῆσαι τοιαῦτα, καὶ τῆς παρουσίας καὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας σου προδραμεῖν Εὐαγγέλια. Ἐσκίρτησεν ἡ σύμπασα κτίσις" (*PG* C, 1501). The Byzantine neologism ἡ αὐτοχαρά occurring in this passage refers to Christ, the "Joy Personified," and is rarely employed, see Trapp 1996, *s.v.* "die Freude selbst." On Byzantine emotions in homiletics see for example Tsironis 2011, 185–186, 189–191, 195; Duluș 2022, 267, 275–276.

However, joy has not yet been the object of a systematic survey aiming to identify, classify, and analyse its multifaceted and complex manifestations in Byzantine literature. To this purpose, one should first explore and define the rich Greek vocabulary related to joyful emotions found in Byzantine sources.[28] This examination should seek to understand whether, in what ways, and in which contexts words linked to joy—which I am calling "joy words"—differed from one another, from their classical usage, and from our modern concepts. Besides, one may inquire whether joy words underwent semantic developments throughout the Byzantine period. A step in this direction has recently been taken by Alicia Walker,[29] who investigated the moral and intellectual implications of the Greek term ἀπόλαυσις (enjoyment, not to be confused with "joy") and its relationship with and distinction from ἡδονή (pleasure). Walker, in her analysis of Nemesios of Emesa's treatise *On Human Nature*, some early Byzantine texts, and the personifications of Apolausis in the mosaics of early Byzantine baths, highlighted how, in specific contexts, Byzantine "emotionology"[30] endorsed ἀπόλαυσις as "restrained enjoyment" and stigmatized its degeneration into "unmitigated pleasure."

The moral disapproval of pleasure (ἡδονή) is notoriously rooted in Stoicism, which developed a theory of emotions along with a detailed technical vocabulary. The Stoic theory was particularly successful in Christian ethics and was adapted and incorporated into monastic and ascetic spirituality.[31] As known, the notion of εὐπάθειαι (good states of feeling),[32] that the Stoic wise person was permitted to experience included joy, that is "knowledge that a present thing is good, such that we are (rationally) elated about it," whereas its immoderate counterpart was pleasure (ἡδονή), meaning the "(mistaken) belief that a present thing is good, such that we are (irrationally) elated at it."[33] However, both the terms ἡδονή and εὐπάθεια, like many other emotion-related words, appear

[28] Byzantine Greek exhibits a wide range of joy words. Some of them are already attested in ancient Greek literature (for example γηθοσύνη, ἡδονή, θυμηδία, ἱλαρότης, τέρψις, χαρά, χάρμα, χαρμονή), some others had become widespread in Christian texts especially through the Greek of the Septuagint (for instance ἀγαλλίασις and χαρμοσύνη). Some ancient grammarians tried to explain semantic differences among joy words, see for example the so-called Ambrosian Ptolemy, *On the Difference between Words*, letter χ, n. 168: "Χαρά, εὐφροσύνη, τέρψις, εὐθυμία, ἡδονὴ καὶ ἀπόλαυσις διαφέρει. Χαρὰ μέν ἐστι ψυχῆς πρόσφατος ἔπαρσις καὶ διάχυσις, εὐφροσύνη <δὲ> πόθος χρόνιος μετὰ σωφροσύνης γινόμενος, τέρψις δὲ οἱονεὶ ψυχαγωγία ἀπὸ ἀηδοῦς τινος ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον, εὐθυμία δὲ ψυχῆς βραχεῖα χαρά, ἡδονὴ δὲ ψυχῆς ἀρέσκεια, ἀπόλαυσις δὲ ἕξις κοινὸν ἐπὶ πάσης μεταλήψεως τασσομένη ἀγαθῆς τε καὶ φαύλης" (Palmieri 1981–1982, 224, ll. 4–9; see also Ammon., *diff.* (Nickau 1966, 131–132, n. 510). According to Poll., *Onom.* 3.97: "περιχάρεια τὸ ἀμέτρως χαίρειν ὑποδηλοῖ" (Bethe 1900, 186).

[29] Walker 2022.

[30] The notion of "emotionology," widely employed so far in the studies on history of emotions, refers to the set of emotional attitudes or standards explicitly or implicitly acknowledged and promoted by a society or a community in a given cultural-historical context. On this notion see Stearns and Stearns. 1985. On the concept of emotional community, see for instance Rosenwein. 2002, 824–825; Lynch 2017; Hinterberger 2010a, 125; Xanthou 2022, 38–40; see also Bernard 2022b, 414.

[31] For a full discussion and a reassessment of Stoic moral psychology, see Graver 2007, and Richard Sorabji's considerations in his review of Graver's book, in Sorabji 2009; see also Gill 2016. On Stoic heritage in Christian and Byzantine treatment of emotions, see for example Sorabji 2000; Young 2022, 225–226 and 235; Crislip 2022, 244 and 248–249; Hinterberger 2010a, 127; Hinterberger 2022, 326–327 and 336–337.

[32] On the concept of εὐπάθεια in Stoic ethics, see among others Brennan 2003, 269–274; Graver 2007, 51–54, 58–59 and passim; Gill 2016, 143–144.

[33] Gill 2016, 144.

in Byzantine literature as *mediae voces*, with both positive and negative meanings depending on the context in which they are invoked. Thus, while the ascetic rejection of φιληδονία (fondness for pleasure) was based on the notion of ἡδονή representing a dangerous passion, in certain cases, this very term underwent a semantic shift toward the positive notion of χαρά.[34] Similarly, while the technical and philosophical meaning of εὐπάθεια was known to the Byzantines,[35] the same word could also bear a negative connotation, for instance, when signifying excessive indulgence in pleasure, especially of the flesh.[36] Consequently, given that language serves as a crucial gateway to understanding emotions in Byzantium, one should also consider that there is no stable one-to-one correspondence between emotions and emotion words. This means that it is necessary, therefore, to consider the author of each text's sources and purposes, argumentative contexts and target audiences. The Byzantines drew upon a diverse array of sources to construct their literary emotional system. In addition to the Bible and the ancient or late antique philosophical traditions—namely, Plato and Neoplatonism, the Aristotelian corpus, and Stoicism—they incorporated imagery and lexicon from classical Greek literature.[37] Furthermore, ideas and notions were also sourced from atypical fields such as those of herbal medicine and *pharmacopoeia*.

---

[34] A good example of the synonymy between the two words is in the *Life of St Spiridon* 25 (*BHG* 1648) by Symeon the Metaphrast (tenth century), where the hagiographer recalls a miracle that made a dead child return to life and to his sorrowful mother. The joyful emotion both of the hagiographer and of the mother at the sight of the child is expressed through the term ἡδονή, which surely has nothing to do here with "pleasure" or "enjoyment": "Δακρύων ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐπλήσθην ἐγὼ τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω γάρ μου διέθηκε τὸ λεχθησόμενον τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς νοῦν ἐμπεσόν. Ἀκούοιτε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς. Ὡς γὰρ τὸ φίλτατον ἡ μήτηρ ζῶν ἐθεάσατο, ὦ τῶν σῶν κριμάτων, Χριστέ, τῶν ἀρρήτων! Τὴν ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα τῆς ἡδονῆς, παρὰ τῇ γῇ πεσοῦσα διαπεφώνηκεν" (*PG* CXVI, 445). A similar example of this employment of ἡδονή may be found in a letter by Michael Psellos (*epist.* 128), wherein he describes with enthusiasm the birth of his grandchild, particularly rejoicing in the fact that the child was born male: "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἄμφω φιλῶν (νὴ τὸν φίλιον!), καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, εἰ καὶ θῆλυ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἦν, ἡδέως ἂν τὴν εὐάγγελον ἐδεξάμην φωνήν· τί γὰρ εἰ οὕτως, ἢ ἐκείνως διατετύπωται, θηλύτερον, ἢ ἀρρενικώτερον; Πάντως γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν γονέοιν οὐσίωται. Ἀλλά με τὸ ἄρρεν εἰς ἡδονὴν μᾶλλον ἐκίνησεν" (Papaioannou 2019, 332, ll. 6–10). However, in this context, it cannot be ruled out that the term may also carry an alternative, peculiar meaning of "satisfaction" or "pleasure" in a positive or, at least, benign sense.

[35] See *Souda Lexikon* (tenth century), *s.v.* Εὐπάθεια: "διάχυσις καὶ ἄνεσις τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τρυφή. ἡ εὐπάθεια διαιρεῖται εἰς χαράν, εὐλάβειαν, βούλησιν. καὶ ἡ μὲν χαρὰ ἐναντία ἐστι τῇ λύπῃ καὶ τῇ ἡδονῇ οὖσαν εὔλογον ἔπαρσιν· τὴν δὲ εὐλάβειαν τῷ φόβῳ, οὖσαν εὔλογον ἔκκλισιν. φοβηθήσεσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν οὐδαμῶς, εὐλαβηθήσεσθαι δέ. τῇ δὲ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐναντίαν εἶναι τὴν βούλησιν, οὖσαν εὔλογον ὄρεξιν. καθάπερ οὖν ὑπὸ τὰ πρῶτα πάθη πίπτει τινά, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας εὐπαθείας. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν βούλησιν εὔνοιαν, εὐμένειαν, ἀσπασμόν, ἀγάπησιν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν εὐλάβειαν αἰδῶ, ἀγνείαν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν χαρὰν τέρψιν, εὐφροσύνην, εὐθυμίαν" (Adler 1931, 462, n. 3633); Ps.-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Εὐπάθεια (Tittmann 1808, 910). On the tradition of this passage, see Gilbert-Thirry 1977, 295.

[36] See the third strophe of the fourth ode of the canon for St Mary of Egypt by Symeon the Metaphrast for 1 April: "Τρυφήν, εὐπάθειαν, | ἀσέμνους γέλωτας | καὶ λειότητα πᾶσαν, | ὑφ' ὧν τὸν νοῦν | ἠπατήθης πρότερον, | καλῶς ἠμείψω τὸ τραχὺ [that is, τῷ τραχεῖ] | κατ' αὐτῶν ἀντιστρατεύσασα" (Nikas 1970, 38, *cola* 71–77), or a passage from the eighteenth *Catechetical Discourse* of Symeon the New Theologian (tenth century): "Ἀλλ' ἔστω μᾶλλον ἀκτήμων, μισόδοξος, μισῶν ἡδονὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ βίου καὶ εὐπάθειαν τῆς σαρκός, ταπεινός" (Krivochéine and Paramelle 1964, 300, ll. 456–457).

[37] For example, as Sophia Xenophontos has recently highlighted, Theodore Metochites (thirteenth–fourteenth century)—statesman, polygraph, and patron of arts—reflected in detail on emotions, developing a complex moral psychology and a cognitive aetiology for them. The starting point of Metochites' moral psychology are Aristotle's ethical writings and the Aristotelian bipartition of the soul into two parts, the rational and the irrational. On the other hand, in localising emotions, Metochites deploys a repertoire of classical reminiscences, especially Homeric, for example by localising happiness (through the verb τέρπομαι, "enjoy" or "delight oneself") in the heart, see Xenophontos 2021, 425, 434–435.

For instance, the so-called *Garden of the Soul*, an anonymous eleventh-century mystical work,[38] describes an eschatological garden where each plant symbolizes a specific virtue of the soul. In this allegorical garden, the grapevine represents—predictably, we could say—"spiritual joy" (πνευματικὴ εὐφροσύνη) and "freedom from grief" (ἀλυπίας). These emotions arise only when the causes of anger and grief—which the author identifies with pleasure (ἡδονή) and wealth (χρήματα)—are removed and dwell in the hope for the eternal reward.[39] In the context of the *Garden*, this association is likely, albeit implicitly, suggested by Ps. 103.15^{LXX} ("and wine gladdens a human heart"),[40] and it is also built upon a parallelism between the beneficial effects of spiritual joy on the soul and the purported therapeutic properties of the grapevine in treating physical ailments. This approach aligns with the notion that remedies derived from grapevine could alleviate conditions like stomachache, since the stomach was considered the *locus* of sadness. In doing so, the unknown author of the *Garden* complements his moral (and emotional) discourse with medical knowledge drawn from works such as *On Medical Material* by Pedanius Dioscorides.[41]

Almost all the examples of joy in Byzantine literature that have been considered thus far fall under the vast domain of Byzantine emotionology.[42] In fact, the authors constantly endeavour to delineate

---

[38] In general, Byzantine mystical literature offers a still unexplored but very promising field of research for history of emotions. A first step in this direction has been made by Bernard 2022a, 170–176, who discusses the emotional conditioning of the monk in the textual corpus of Symeon the New Theologian.

[39] *Garden of the Soul* 15: "Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ συκῆ ἐθαυμάζετο ὡς εὐθαλὴς καὶ εὔκαρπος, ὥφθη ταύτῃ παρακείμενος ἄμπελος, βρίθουσα μὲν τῇ τῶν ὡραίων βοτρύων εὐθηνίᾳ, ἔκπληξιν δὲ ἐν ἡδονῇ κατακόμῳ τῶν ὀρπήκων ἀμφιλαφίᾳ παρεχομένη, ἀλυπίας καὶ πνευματικῆς εὐφροσύνης ὑπεμφαίνουσα εἰκασίαν. Ὁ γὰρ θυμοῦ κρείττων γενόμενος, χαρὰν σύνοικον τῇ ψυχῇ ἕξει· ἀφῃρημένων γὰρ τῶν τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ λύπης αἰτιῶν, ἡδονῆς καὶ χρημάτων, τὰ τῆς πραότητος καὶ εὐφροσύνης αἴτια ὑπεισέρχεται, ἅπερ εἰσὶν ἐλπὶς καὶ ὑπομονὴ συνημμένη, ἔχοντα τὴν παράκλησιν·*Τῇ ἐλπίδι*, φησί, *χαίροντες, τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντες* [Rom. 12.12]· καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει. Οἱ ἕλικες τῆς ἀμπέλου, λεῖοι καταπλασθέντες, καυσουμένῳ στομάχῳ ἀνάψυξιν ἐμποιοῦσι. Καὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς χαρᾶς οἱ ἀνακλητικοὶ καὶ περιληπτικοὶ λόγοι τὸν καυσωθέντα περισσοτέρᾳ λύπῃ τὸν στόμαχον—λύπης γάρ φησι ὄργανον στόμαχος—δροσίζειν καὶ ἀναψύχειν δύνανται. Τὸ κόμμι τῆς ἀμπέλου, σὺν οἴνῳ ποθέν, τοὺς ἐν κύστῃ λίθους προβάλλεται τὸ δὲ δάκρυον τῆς πνευματικῆς χαρᾶς, ψυχῆς γέλωτι συγκερασθέν, τὴν στενοχωροῦσαν τὰ ἔγκατα ἀθυμίαν ἐκπέμπεται· διὸ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔγραφε·*Χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ πάντοτε* [Phil. 4.4]. Δέον οὖν πάσῃ νήψει καὶ προσοχῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην τὸν σπουδαῖον μετέρχεσθαι· μή πως ἄλλην ἀντ' ἄλλης χαρὰν ἀλόγως χαίρῃ· δι' οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ἐκείνη ὑφέστηκεν, ἢ δι' ἐλπίδα· οὐχ ὅτι ἀγαθόν τι εἰργάσατο, οὐ δ' ὅτι πολλῶν διενήνοχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν Θεῷ κεῖται ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς [see Mt. 5.12]. Οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἔλεγεν·*Ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς καὶ χαρήσεται ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία* (Jn. 16.22)·καὶ πάλιν, *Χαίρετε ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν γέγραπται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ* [see Lk. 10.20]" (Thomson 1960, 41). Thomson re-edited the text, incorporating some significant changes, on the basis of a newly discovered manuscript from Florence, and provided an English translation in Thomson 1989, 47 and 49. An Italian translation, based on a further revised Greek text, is found in Rigo 2008, 297–298.

[40] See also Sir. 40.20 ("οἶνος καὶ μουσικὰ εὐφραίνουσιν καρδίαν").

[41] Rigo 2008, 288.

[42] On the notion of emotionology, see ~~Walker 2022~~ fn. 30 in this chapter. The most fleeting emotional domain is represented, instead, by subjective emotions experienced in daily life and not strictly determined by social, cultural, or literary conventions. This kind of emotions get relatively little room in Byzantine literature, which is notoriously hyper-formalised and rarefied in its imagery, tone, and language. Among the sorrowful emotions, the private mourning for the death of a family member occasionally comes out in historiographical or in the rare autobiographical texts from Byzantium, see for instance Hinterberger 1999, 76–77; Hinterberger 2006, 46 note 67; Hinterberger 2010a, 125; Doerfler 2022, 293. However, several Byzantine prose and verse compositions for the death of a beloved person are not utterly bereft of subjective emotional tones. Just to mention few examples, see Michael Psellos's funeral orations for his mother and for his young daughter Styliane (ET: Kaldellis 2006, 51–109 and 118–138 respectively); John Geometres' lament on the death of his father (tenth century), see for example Lauxtermann 2003, 220; or Christopher of Mytilene's poem for his dead sister (eleventh century), see Bernard and Livanos 2018, 153–161 (no. 77).

good or bad emotions, to elucidate the conditions under which they are permissible, and prescribe how they should be managed. The quoted *loci* thus possess a normative character. Concepts like discipline, order, self-control, continence (ἐγκράτεια) and moderateness (μετριότης) serve to prevent good emotions and their outward manifestations from degenerating into their negative counterparts. What is more, on a more intellectualized level, the emotionology of the Byzantine elite urban culture seems to parallel this ethical ideal of moderateness and the aesthetic value of χάρις (grace). This value implies the ability to conveniently adapt one's emotions to particular circumstances as well as to literary conventions, as observed in the emotional *etiquette* demanded by the epistolographic genre.[43]

While the majority of examples reviewed thus far are situated within the religious sphere, involving behavioural prescriptions and spiritual guidelines for achieving salvation of the soul and so forth, Byzantine writers also acknowledge other reasons for rejoicing in earthly human endeavours. These include themes found in ancient literature and in the Bible. The *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet (tenth century) provides predictive interpretations of dreams, and outlines numerous circumstances that typically (and understandably) elicit joy in individuals such as wealth, health, triumph over adversaries, marriage, and the expecting of a baby.[44]

With regard to the association of joy with wealth and riches, it becomes evident that while Christian morality condemns avarice and the love of money (φιλαργυρία) as sins, for the average person—to use a witticism—money could indeed *purchase* happiness or, more precisely, joy. In the *Oneirocriticon*, while interpreting dreams related to the worship of idols made of different materials, Achmet stated: "For just as silver is interpreted as women, so gold causes for men who have dreamed of it as much sorrow as the joy that it brings them when they are awake."[45] In the *Life of St Philaretos the Merciful* (*BHG* 1511z) by Niketas the Monk (ninth century), a striking simile captures the essence of this contrast: "Then, although he [St Philaretos] suffered all this, he never grieved nor blasphemed nor became angry, but as when a man who suddenly becomes rich is filled with joy, so this man

[43] On this Byzantine notion of grace see Bernard 2022a, 161–166, 168–169.

[44] See Achmet, *Oneirocriticon* 3: "Εκ τῆς κρίσεως τῶν ὀνειράτων μεγίστην γνῶσιν καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἐφευρών, ζωῆς τε καὶ θανάτου, πενίας τε καὶ πλούτου, νόσου τε καὶ ὑγείας, χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης, νίκης ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἥττης" (Drexl 1925, 2–3); ch. 41: "Ἐὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ἴδῃ τὸ ὅραμα τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ τρίχες τῆς ἥβης αὐτοῦ, πολέμους καὶ θλίψεις δέξεται παρ' ἔθνους ἀντιπάλου· ἐὰν δὲ ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτι ἔπεσον αἱ τρίχες αὗται, νίκας κατ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ χαρὰν ἐλπιζέτω. Γυνὴ δὲ ἐὰν ἴδῃ ταῦτα, εἰ μὲν ἐπληθύνθησαν, θλιβήσεται καὶ τιμωρηθήσεται ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς· εἰ δὲ ἀπεβλήθησαν, εὑρήσει χαρὰν διὰ γάμου" (Drexl 1925, 27, ll. 3–9); ch. 127: "Ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι συνουσιάζων γυναικὶ εὗρεν αὐτὴν ὡς ἄνδρα κατὰ τὰ κρυπτά, εὑρήσει χαρὰν τοῦ ἔτους ἐκείνου καὶ τεκνώσει τέκνον ἄρσεν ἐξευγενίζον τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν" (Drexl 1925, 77, ll. 20–23); ch. 288: "Ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι εὗρε πελαργόν, εὑρήσει χαρὰν καὶ ὑγείαν ἐκ νόσου... ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι ἔφαγε κρέας γεράνου ἢ πελαργοῦ, τῷ μὲν εὑρήσει νόσον, τῷ δὲ δόξαν καὶ ὑγείαν καὶ πλοῦτον. ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις, ὅτι εὗρε πτερὰ πελαργοῦ, εὑρήσει πλοῦτον ἀνάλογον ἀπὸ ἐνδόξου ἀνδρός" (Drexl 1925, 234, ll. 18–24).

[45] Achmet, *Oneirocriticon* 12: "διότι, ὥσπερ ὁ ἄργυρος εἰς γυναῖκας διακρίνεται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ χρυσός, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὅσην χαρὰν ἐμποιεῖ ἔξω ὕπνου, τοσοῦτον εἰς θλῖψιν ἄγει τοὺς ὁρῶντας αὐτὸν καθ' ὕπνους" (Drexl 1925, 8–9; ET: Oberhelman 1991, 90).

rejoiced when he became poor, throwing off his wealth like a great burden."[46] St Philaretos had been deprived of his goods by the devil as a test of his spirit. This reversed simile highlights the disparity between the emotional responses of an ordinary person and that of the holy man, who remains emotionally detached from material wealth.

The concept of ἀπάθεια (impassibility, freedom from emotion) in the lives of holy men or women and their disregard for earthly possessions—including transient and illusory joy—was counterbalanced by the intensity with which emotions were felt in the afterlife, the realm of genuine and complete emotions. Here, the lost happiness of the prelapsarian state would be rekindled in the joyful beatitude of eternal blessedness. In particular, when referring to joy, various adjectives or modifiers were often used to convey its quality, such as ἀληθής (true), ἔνθεος (divine), οὐράνιος (heavenly), and πνευματικός (spiritual) or to emphasise its intensity, such as ἀνεκλάλητος (unspeakable), ἀνυπέρβλητος (unsurpassable), ἀπέραντος (boundless), ἄπληστος (measureless), and ἄρρητος (ineffable).

Finally, let us shift our focus to joy emotions within the context of parental and filial love.[47] As mentioned earlier, while some examples of subjective mourning for the death of a family member have been found in Byzantine literature,[48] expressions of joy in familial relationships are less frequently explored. Here, I would like to draw attention to a couple of rhetorical similes. The first comes from the already mentioned *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Climacus, where the author delves into the emotional psychology of a child:

When a baby starts to recognize its father, it is filled with happiness. If the father has to spend time away on business before returning home, it has its fill of joy and sadness—joy at seeing the one it loves, sadness at the fact of having been deprived so long of that same love. Sometimes a mother hides from her baby and is delighted to note how sadly the child goes about looking for her, because this is how she teaches the child to be always attached to her and stirs up the flame of its love for her.[49]

---

[46] Niketas the Monk, *Life of St Philaretos the Merciful* 2: "Εἶτα ταῦτα πάντα παθὼν οὐδέποτε ἐλυπήθη ἢ ἐβλασφήμησεν ἢ ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὅτε ἐξαπίνης πλουτήσει ἄνθρωπος χαρᾶς ἀνάπλεως γίνεται, οὕτως ἐκεῖνος πτωχεύσας ἔχαιρε, ὡς μέγα φορτίον ἀποβαλλόμενος τὸν πλοῦτον," Greek text and English translation from Rydén 2002, 63–65.

[47] For insights into this particular form of affection and love, commonly expressed by the Greek word στοργή in both pagan and Christian contexts, see Tsironis 2022, with a special focus on a mother's feelings toward child; see also Mullett 2022b, 285.

[48] ~~Rigo 2008, 288~~ See fn. 42 in this chapter.

[49] Jo. Clim., *scal.* 7 ("On Mourning"): "Ἐν ἀρχαῖς μὲν αὐταῖς γνωρίζων ὁ νήπιος τὸν πατέρα, χαρᾶς ὅλος πεπληρωμένος γίνεται· τούτου δὲ πρὸς χρόνον οἰκονομικῶς ἀποδημοῦντος, εἶτα πάλιν ἐπιδημοῦντος, χαρᾶς ὁ παῖς καὶ λύπης ἀνάμεστος γίνεται· χαρᾶς μὲν, ὡς τὸν ποθούμενον ἰδών· λύπης δὲ, διὰ τὴν τοῦ τοσούτου χρόνου τοῦ καλοῦ κάλλους στέρησιν. Κρύπτει μήτηρ ἑαυτὴν τοῦ νηπίου, καὶ τούτου ἐνοδύνως ἐπιζητοῦντος αὐτὴν ὁρῶσα, τέρπεται, παιδεύουσα, αὐτὸ διηνεκῶς προσκολλᾶσθαι αὐτῇ· καὶ τὸ φίλτρον αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν σφοδρῶς ἀναφλέγουσα" (*PG* LXXXVIII, 813); ET: Luibheid and Russell 1982, 143. This tender scene can be counted among those "striking metaphors and images that have all the simplicity and earthiness of a Homeric simile," Duffy 1999, 8. The metaphor of the monks as infants is frequent in Climacus' work, see Parrinello 2007, 79. On the similes from everyday life in the *Ladder*, see also Kalish 2019, 154–156, 159.

The second simile is found in the treatise *On Watchfulness and the Guarding of the Heart* by the spiritual writer Nikephoros the Athonite (thirteenth century). In a section dedicated to the psycho-physical technique of the hesychast prayer, the monk suggests that when the mind is drawn into the heart along with the inhaled air: "What follows will be neither dismal nor glum. Just as a man, after being far away from home, on his return is overjoyed at being with his wife and children again, so the intellect, once it is united with the soul, is filled with indescribable pleasure and delight."[50]

These similes portray moments of family life but do neither recount autobiographical emotions nor express subjective emotions. At the same time, in these two works, such a display of emotions cannot even be considered as a *topos*, nor does it obey the literary conventions of a genre. However, both John Climacus and Nikephoros the Athonite seem to attribute a paradigmatic significance to these two images. Thus, we may conclude that, while these similes do not explicitly convey a normative character, they underscore—as Barbara H. Rosenwein might put it—a shared "system of feeling" rooted in one of the possible "social communities," that is to say, the family.[51]

The examples presented in this paper, though just a small selection, offer a glimpse into the rich tapestry of literary sources and testimonies that should be considered in a comprehensive and systematic study of joy in Byzantium, and may hopefully provide some valuable insights for future research on this topic.

[50] Nikephoros the Athonite, *On Watchfulness and the Guarding of the Heart*: "οὐκέτι ἀνεύφραντα, οὐ δὲ ἄχαρι γενήσεται τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀνήρ τις τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ οἴκου ἀπόδημος, ἐπὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ οὐκ ἔχει ὅτι καὶ γένηται ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς, ὅτι κατηξιώθη τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐντυχεῖν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ νοῦς, ἐπὰν μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἑνωθῇ, ἄρρητον ἡδονὴν καὶ εὐφροσύνην ἐμπίπλαται" (*PG* CXLVII, 964). I have reproduced the English translation recently published in Trizio 2023, 252, which is a slight adjustment of Palmer, Sherrard and Ware 1995, 205.

[51] ~~Walker 2022~~ See fn. 30 in this chapter.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

TLG. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, available at <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>.

Secondary literature

Adashinskaya, A. (2020) “Sweat, Fear, Joy, and Amazement: Personal Experience and Mental Journeys of Orthodox Pilgrims to the Holy Land (12th to 15th Century).” *Изкуствоведски четения* 1: 41–59.

Adler, A., ed. (1931). *Suidae Lexicon*. Vol. II. *Δ–Θ*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Agapitos, P. (2017). “‘Words Filled With Tears’: Amorous Discourse as Lamentation in the Palaiologan Romances.” In: M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (eds.). *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp. 353–374.

Angold, M. (2017). “Laments by Nicetas Choniates and Others for the Fall of Constantinople in 1204.” In: M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (eds.). *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp. 338–352.

Antonopoulou, T., ed. (2008). *Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Ashbrook Harvey, S. (2017). “Guiding Grief: Liturgical Poetry and Ritual Lamentation in Early Byzantium.” In: M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (eds.). *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp. 199–216.

Bernard, F. (2022a). “Emotional Communities in the Eleventh Century: Bodily Practices and Emotional Scripts.” In: D. Cairns *et al.* (eds.). *Emotions Through Time: From Antiquity to Byzantium*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. Pp. 157–177.

Bernard, F. (2022b). “Poetry in Emotion: The Case of Anger.” In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 405–426.

Bernard, F. and C. Livanos, eds. (2018). *The Poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropous*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Bethe, E., ed. (1900). *Pollucis Onomasticon*. Vol. I. Leipzig: Teubner.

Brennan, T. (2003). “Stoic Moral Psychology.” In: B. Inwood (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. Cambridge: University Press. Pp. 257–294.

Brubaker, L. (2002). “Dancing in the Streets of Byzantine Constantinople.” *Culture & History Digital Journal* 11/2: 1–14.

Chilikov, S. (2021). “The Joyful Sorrow (χαρμολύπη) in the Works of the Ascetic and the Hymnographer Fathers.” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 70/2: 288–300.

Chryssavgis, J. (1985). “Χαρμολύπη: Joyful Sorrow in the Ladder of St. John Climacus.” *Κληρονομία* 17: 137–142.

Cohn, L., ed. (1906). *Philonis Alexandrini: Opera quae supersunt*. Vol. V. Berlin: Reimer. (repr. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962).

Constantinides, C.N. (2005). “Λόγοι ἐκ τοῦ κώδικος 13 τῆς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Ἄνδρου.” In: *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*. Vol. V. Paphos: Ἱερὰ Βασιλικὴ καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου. Pp. 235–288.

Crislip, A. (2022). “The Ascetic Construction of Emotions. *Lupe* and *Akedia* in the Works of Evagrios of Pontos.” In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 240–265

de Boor, C. and P. Wirth, eds. (1978). *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*. Vol. I. Stuttgart: Teubner.

Delehaye, H., ed. (1910). *Acta Sanctorum (Novembris)*. Vol. III. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.

Doerfler, M. (2022). “Emotional Communities and the Loss of an Individual: The Case of Grief.” In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 292–313.

Dombrowski, D.A. (1998). “Anger in the Philokalia.” *Mystics Quarterly* 24/3: 101–118

Drexl, F., ed. (1925). *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Duffy, J. (1999). “Embellishing the Steps: Elements of Presentation and Style in *The Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53: 1–17.

Duluș, M.G., (2022). “*Ekphrasis* and Emotional Intensity in the *Homilies* of Philagathos of Cerami.” In: D. Cairns *et al.* (eds.). *Emotions Through Time: From Antiquity to Byzantium*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. Pp. 247–279.

Festugière, A.-J. and L. Rydén, eds. (1974). *Léontios de Néapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Frank, G. (2019). “Singing Mary: The Annunciation and Nativity in Romanos the Melodist.” In: T. Arentzen and M.B. Cunningham (eds.). *The Reception of the Virgin in Byzantium: Marian Narratives in Texts and Images*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 170–179.

Gilbert-Thirry, A. (1977). *Pseudo-Andronicus de Rhodes, “ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΘΩΝ”: Éd. critique du texte grec et de la traduction latine médiévale*. Leiden: Brill.

Gill, C. (2016). “Positive Emotions in Stoicism: Are They Enough?” In: R.R. Caston and R.A. Kaster (eds.). *Hope, Joy, and Affection in the Classical World*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 143–160.

Gonnelli, F., ed. (1991). “Il *De vita humana* di Giorgio Pisida.” *Bollettino dei Classici* 12: 123–130.

Graver, M.R. (2007). *Stoicism and Emotion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Grosdidier de Matons, J., ed. (1967). *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes*. Vol. IV. *XXXII–XLV*. Paris: Cerf.

Halliwell, S. (2008). *Greek Laughter: A Study of Cultural Psychology from Homer to Early Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hinterberger, M. and A. Pizzone (2022). "Research on Emotions in the Byzantine World." In: D. Cairns *et al.* (eds.). *Emotions Through Time: From Antiquity to Byzantium*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. Pp. 41–48.

Hinterberger, M. (2022a). "*Alazoneia* and *Aidōs*/*Aischunē* in Anna Komnene's and Niketas Choniates' Histories." In: D. Cairns *et al.* (eds.). *Emotions Through Time: From Antiquity to Byzantium*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. Pp. 303–338.

Hinterberger, M. (2022b)."The Neighbour's Unbearable Wellbeing: *Phthonos*/Envy from the Classical to the Modern Greek World." In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 60–89.

Hinterberger, M. (2017). "'Messages of the Soul': Tears, Smiles, Laughter and Emotions Expressed by them in Byzantine Literature." In: M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (eds.). *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp. 125–145.

Hinterberger, M. (2013a). "Φόβω κατασεισθείς: Τα πάθη του ανθρώπου και της αυτοκρατορίας στο Μιχαήλ Ατταλειάτη. Το αιτιολογικό σύστημα ενός ιστοριογράφου του 11ου αιώνα." In: V.N. Vlyssidou (ed.). *Η αυτοκρατορία σε κρίση (;): Το Βυζάντιο τον 11ο αιώνα (1025–1081)*. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute of Byzantine Research. Pp. 155–167.

Hinterberger, M. (2013b). *Phthonos: Mißgunst, Neid und Eifersucht in der byzantinischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Hinterberger, M. (2010a). "Emotions in Byzantium." In: L. James (ed.). *A Companion to Byzantium*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwall. Pp. 123–134.

Hinterberger, M. (2010b). “Envy and Nemesis in the *Vita Basilii* and Leo the Deacon: Literary Mimesis or Something More?” In: R. Macrides (ed.). *History as Literature in Byzantium: Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007*. Farnham: Ashgate. Pp. 187–203.

Hinterberger, M. (2009).“*Zelotypia* und *Phthonos*: Eifersucht in der byzantinischen Literatur.” *Νέα Ρώμη/Nea Rhome: Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 6: 11–36.

Hinterberger, M. (2006). “Tränen in der byzantinischen Literatur: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Emotionen.” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 56: 27–51.

Hinterberger, M. (2005). “Ο φθόνος στη Δημώδη λογοτεχνία.” In: E. Jeffreys and M. Jeffreys (eds.). *Αναδρομικά και Προδρομικά: Approaches to Texts in Early Modern Greek: Papers from the Conference* Neograeca Medii Aevi V, *Exeter College, University of Oxford, September 2000*. Oxford: Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages, University of Oxford. Pp. 227–240.

Hinterberger, M. (2004). “Ο φθόνος, ανθρωπίνη αδυναμία και κινητήρια δύναμη.” In: C.G. Aggelidi (ed.). *Το Βυζάντιο ώριμο για αλλαγές: Επιλογές, ευαισθησίες και τρόποι έκφρασης από τον ενδεκάτο στον δέκατο αιώνα*. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation. Institute of Byzantine Research. Pp. 299–312.

Hinterberger, M. (1999). *Autobiographische Traditionen in Byzanz*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Hunt, H. (2004). *Joy-Bearing Grief: Tears of Contrition in the Writings of the Early Syrian and Byzantine Fathers*. Leiden: Brill.

Ivanov, S.A. (2022). “Power and Fear. Awe before the Emperor in Byzantium.” In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 427–442.

Jeffreys, E., ed. (1998). *Digenis Akritis: The Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaldellis, A. (2006). *Mothers and Sons, Fathers and Daughters: The Byzantine Family of Michael Psellos*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Kalish, K. (2019). "The Language of Ascetism: Figurative Language in St. John Climacus' *Ladder of Divine Ascent*." In: P. Guran and D.A. Michelson (eds.). *Faith and Community around the Mediterranean: In Honor of Peter R.L. Brown*. Heidelberg: Herlo Verlag UG. Pp. 153–162.

Krivochéine B. and J. Paramelle, eds. (1964). *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Catéchèses*. Vol. II. Paris: Cerf.

Krueger, D. (2022). "Liturgical Emotion: Joy and Complexity in a Hymn of Romanos the Melodist for Easter." In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 347–370.

Krueger, D. (2017). "The Transmission of Liturgical Joy in Byzantine Hymns for Easter." In: B. Bitton-Ashkelony and D. Krueger (eds.). *Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 5th to 11th Centuries*. London: Routledge. Pp. 132–150.

Lampe, G.W.H, ed. (1961). *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lauxtermann, M.D. (2003). *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts*. Vol. I. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Luibheid, C. and N. Russell, eds. (1982). *John Climacus: The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. London: Paulist Press.

Lynch, A. (2017). "Emotional community." In: S. Broomhall (ed.). *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*. London: Routledge. Pp. 3–6.

MacDougall, B. (2022). "Lend a Sympathetic Ear: Rhetorical Theory and Emotion in Late Antique and Byzantine Homiletic." In: D. Cairns *et al.* (eds.). *Emotions Through Time: From Antiquity to Byzantium*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. Pp. 121–139.

Magdalino, P. (2007). “Tourner en dérision à Byzance.” In: E. Crouzet-Pavan and J. Verger (eds.). *La dérision en Moyen Âge: De la pratique sociale au rituel politique*. Paris: Presses Paris-Sorbonne. Pp. 55–72.

Maguire, H. (2022). “Grief and Joy in Byzantine Art.” In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 314–346.

Maguire, H. (1977). “The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31: 123–174.

Manolova, D. (2022). “Wondrous Knowledge and the Emotional Responses of Late Byzantine Scholars to Its Acquisition.” In: D. Cairns *et al.* (eds.). *Emotions Through Time: From Antiquity to Byzantium*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. Pp. 75–94.

Marciniak, P. (2017). “Laughter on Display: Mimic Performances and the Danger of Laughing in Byzantium.” In: M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (eds.). *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp. 232–242

Müller, B. (2000). *Der Weg des Weinens: Die Tradition des “Penthos” in den Apophthegmata Patrum*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Mullett, M. (2022a). “Introduction.” In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 1–35.

Mullett, M. (2022b). “Tragic Emotions? The *Christos Paschon*.” In: D. Cairns *et al.* (eds.). *Emotions Through Time: From Antiquity to Byzantium*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. Pp. 281–302.

Mullett, M. (2017). “Do Brothers Weep? Male Grief, Mourning, Lament and Tears in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Byzantium.” In: M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (eds.). *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp. 312–337.

Newman, N. (2016). “Classical Imagery and the Joy of the Resurrection: Arsenios’ *Stichoi on the Sunday of the Resurrection*.” *Parekbolai* 6: 103–117.

Nickau, K., ed. (1966). *Ammonii qui dicitur liber de adfinium vocabulorum differentia*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Nikas, C., ed. (1970). *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*. Vol. VIII. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici – Università di Roma.

Nilsson, I. (2017) "Comforting Tears and Suggestive Smiles: To Laugh and Cry in the Komnenian Novel." In: M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (eds.). *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp. 291–311.

Oberhelman, S.M., ed. (1991). *The* Oneirocriticon *of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University.

Palmer, G.E.H., P. Sherrard and K. Ware, eds. (1995). *The Philokalia*. Vol. IV. London: Faber and Faber.

Palmieri, V., ed. (1981–1982). "Ptolemaeus, De differentia vocabulorum." *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 24: 155–225.

Papadogiannakis, I. (2017). "Lamenting for the Fall of Jerusalem in the Seventh Century CE." In: M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (eds.). *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp. 187–198.

Papaioannou, S., ed. (2019.) *Michael Psellus: Epistulae*. Vol. II. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Parrinello, R.M., ed. (2007). *Giovanni Climaco: La Scala del Paradiso*. Milan: Edizioni Paoline.

Phrantzolas, K.G., ed. (1988). *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri: Opera omnia*. Vol. I. Thessaloniki: Το Περιβόλι της Παναγίας.

Pizzone, A. (2022a). "Emotions and λόγος ἐνδιάθετος: Πάθη in John Sikeliotes' Commentary on Hermogenes' *On Types of Style*." In: D. Cairns *et al.* (eds.). *Emotions Through Time: From Antiquity to Byzantium*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. Pp. 141–156.

Pizzone, A. (2022b). "*Katepheia*: From Heroic Failure to Christian Dejection." In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 266–291.

Radić R. (2000) *Strah u poznoj Vizantiji, 1180-1453* [Fear in Late Byzantium]. 2 vols. Belgrade: Evoluta.

Resta, M. (2022). "Il 'premio della ballerina è la morte del profeta' (Ambr., *Virg.* 3,26): la danza della figlia di Erodiade nella polemica contro i balli conviviali di IV-V secolo." In: L. Arcari and L. Carnevale (eds.). Dignus es accipere librum*: Miscellanea in onore di Edmondo Lupieri per il suo LXXII compleanno*. Bari: Edipuglia. Pp. 247–256.

Rigo, A. (2008). *Mistici bizantini*. Turin: Einaudi.

Rosenwein, B.H. (2002). "Worrying about Emotions in History." *The American Historical Review* 107: 821–845.

Rydén, L. (2022). *The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indices*. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library.

Seban, C. (1982). "La peur à Byzance aux 13^{e}-14^{e} s." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/1: 187–193.

Sorabji, R. (2009). "Did the Stoics Value Emotion and Feeling?" *The Philosophical Quarterly* 59/234: 150–162.

Sorabji, R. (2000). *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stearns, P.N. and C.Z. Stearns. (1985). "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards." *The American Historical Review* 90: 813–836.

Thomson, M.H. (1989). *The Symbolic Garden: Reflections Drawn from a Garden of Virtues: A XIIth Century Greek Manuscript*. North York: Captus Press.

Thomson, M.H., ed. (1960). *Le jardin symbolique: Texte grec tiré du* Clarkianus *XI*. Paris: Les belles lettres.

Tittmann, J.A.H., ed. (1808). *Iohannis Zonarae: Lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*. Vol. I. Leipzig: Crusius.

Trapp, E., ed. (1996). *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Neogräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*. Fasz. II. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Trapp, E., ed. (1971). *Digenes Akrites: Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für Byzantinistik.

Trizio, M. (2023). "The Neoplatonism of Barlaam the Calabrian." In: E. Anagnostou-Laoutides and K. Parry (eds.). *Later Platonists and their Heirs among Christians, Jews, and Muslims*. Leiden: Brill. Pp. 244–278.

Tronca, D. (2016). "Restricted Movement: Dancing from Late Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages." *Journal of the LUCAS Graduate Conference* 4: 52–63.

Tsironis, N.J. (2022). "*Storge*: Rethinking Gendered Emotion Apropos of the Virgin Mary." In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 184–207.

Tsironis, N.J. (2011). "Emotion and the Senses in Marian Homilies of the Middle Byzantine Period." In: L. Brubaker and M.B. Cunningham (eds.). *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*. Farnham: Ashgate. Pp. 179–196.

Walker, A. (2022). "*Apolausis*: Feelings at the Juncture between Body and Mind." In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 375–404.

Walker, A. (2017). “Laughing at Eros and Aphrodite: Sexual Inversion and Its Resolution in the Classicizing Arts of Medieval Byzantium.” In: M. Alexiou and D. Cairns (eds.). *Greek Laughter and Tears: Antiquity and After*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Pp. 263–287.

Webb, R (2008). *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Webb, R. (1997). “Salome’s Sisters: The Rhetoric and Realities of Dance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium.” In: L. James (ed.). *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*. London: Routledge. Pp. 119–149.

Whitby, M. (2014). “A Learned Spiritual Ladder?: Towards an Interpretation of George of Pisidia’s Hexameter Poem *On Human Life*.” In: K. Spanudakes (ed.). *Nonnus of Panopolis in Context: Poetry and Cultural Milieu in Late Antiquity*. Berlin: De Gruyter. Pp. 435–458.

Xanthou, M.G. (2022). “Theorising Emotions. Methodological Tools for Research.” In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 36–59.

Xenophontos, S. (2021). “Exploring Emotions in Late Byzantium: Theodore Metochites on Affectivity.” *Byzantion* 91: 423–463.

Young, R.D. (2022). “An Early Christian Understanding of Pride.” In: M. Mullett and S. Ashbrook Harvey (eds). *Managing Emotion in Byzantium: Passions, Affects and Imaginings*. London: Routledge. Pp. 214–239.