

" Φάρας " in Byzantine Vernacular Literature

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In his article on the Escorial version of *Digenes Akritas*(1905: pp.332,342-3), K.Krumbacher observes⁽¹⁾ :

Escor.fol.180^r .

...ἀπὸ πλαγίου μου ἦλθεν καὶ κονταρέαν μ'ἔδωκεν
τὴν φάραν εἰς τὰ μηρία...

Crypt.VI V.507ff.

...λαθῶν με ὁ φιλοπαπποῦς καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐκ πλαγίου,
κονταρέαν ἐν τῷ μηρῷ τιτρώσκει μου τὸν Ἰππον...

Andr.V.3487 ff.

...πλανῶντας με ὁ φιλοπάππος ἦλθεν ἐκ πλαγίου
καὶ ᾽ς τὸ μερὶ ἐλάβωσεν τὸ ἄλογόν μου ἐκεῖνος,

Oxon.V.2751 ff.

ὁ φιλοπάππους, βλέποντας, κουρφὰ ἀπὸ τὸ πλάγι
εἰς τᾶλογο τοῦ Διγενῆ μ'ἔναν κοντάρι πάγει
καὶ κονταριά τᾶλόγου του εἰς τὸ μερ'ἔδοσέν του...

Interessant ist, wie sich die Verschiedenheit der stilistischen Tendenz und der Zeit hier im Worte für "Pferd" widerspiegelt: Escor. bietet das mittelalterliche φάρα, Crypt. das gelehrte Ἰππος, Andr. und Oxon. das gemeinmittel- und neugriechische ἄλογον.
[Emphasis not in the original]

It must be noted that this remark does not mean that each version of *Digenes* includes only one of three words for "horse" but in some

versions we find more than one word within the same text.

In this paper we will consider with what kinds of semantic nuance these words , especially φάρας (and its diminutive form φαρί), are used when found within the same version.

As Krumbacher notes above, φάρας is a characteristic word for Medieval Greek and most dictionaries and glossaries appended to the texts give the meanings "a horse" or "a steed, a war-horse",e.g.:

- φάρα,ἡ. jument,cavale. [Sathas and Legrand(1875)p.298]
φαρίον. coursier,cheval de luxe. [Ibid.]
φαρί,τὸ (ἵπκαριον? √ φερ?) coursier,cheval. [Lambros(1880)p.369]
φάρα,φαρίον [?] arab.faras, Pferd. [Τριανταφυλλίδης(1909)p.448]
φάρα. cheval [Hesseling(1912)p.554]
φάρας. the Semitic שָׁרָס = ἵππος. horse,steed.
[Sophocles(1914)p.1135]
φάρα,φάρας,φαρίν,φάριτζα. Pferd. [Trapp(1971)p.392]
φάρα. ἄλογο. ἄραβ.faras. [Αλεξίου(1985)p.248]
φαρί(ν)(τὸ) (ἄραβ.)μσν.κ.δημ,ἵππος, κ.ιδ.ὸ πολεμικός
[Δημητράκος.Vol.15,p.7570]

However, a close examination of this word in *Digenes Akritas* shows that it is used with a more specific and special meaning. First, we shall look closely into all lines which include ἵππος or φάρας(or φαρί) from volumes I-III of the Grottaferrata version, the so-called *Emir-Lied*, and the corresponding part of the Escorial version⁽²⁾.

The Grottaferrata version (Vols.I-III)

- Αὐθις ἵππων ἐπέβησαν καὶ ὄχοντο τοῦ δρόμου. G.I.86
{ Constantinus & his brothers}
'Ο δὲ ἐφ' ἵππου ἐπιβὰς μαύρου, γενναιοτάτου, G.I.146
{ Constantinus}
τὸν ἵππον ἐπελάλησεν, εἰς τὸν κάμπον ἐξήλασε. G.I.150
{ Constantinus}

- 'Εξέβη καὶ ὁ ἀμηρῶς εἰς φάραν καβαλλάρης. G.I.161
 { Emir}
- 'Ο φάρας ἔπαιξε τερπνῶς πάντας ὑπερεκπλήττων. G.I.166
 { Poss.: Emir}
- Οἱ ἵπποι ἡγανάκτησαν, πάντας ἔκκληξίς εἶχεν. G.I.182
 { Poss.: Emir & Constantinus}
- 'Ελάλησαν τοὺς ἵππους των, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ῥυάκιν. G.I.226
 { Constantinus & his brothers}
- 'Ιδοὺ ἔστειλά σοι, ὡς ὄρθς, ἐπίλεκτα φαρία. G.II.94
 { Emir's mother}
- εἶθ' οὕτως ἵππον εὐθειον καὶ κομιδῆ γενναῖον
 ἐπιβάντες οἱ ἄγουροι ἐξήλθασιν τοῦ οἴκου,
 καὶ ὕστερον ὁ ἀμηρῶς εἰς φάραν καβαλλάρης. G.II.294-6
 { Emir's companions/ Emir}
- " ἄγουροι, δυναμώνεσθε: φαρία, μὴ κατοκνεῖτε, G.III.22
 { Poss.: Emir's companions}

The Escorial version (*the Emir-Lied*)

- φάρην ἐκαβαλλέκευσεν φιτυλὸν, καὶ ἀστερῶτον. E.10
 { Emir}
- αὐτοῦ φαρία σὲ ἔστειλα ἐπιλεκτά, δρομαῖα E.275
 { Emir's mother}
- Καὶ οἱ φάρες ἄν σε ἀκολουθοῦν, ἐσὲν κανεῖς οὐ φθάνει. E.281
 { Here "the horses" have a generic meaning.
 The speaker of this sentence is Emir's mother.}
- αὐτοῦ φαρία σὲ ἀπέστειλαν, ἐπίλεκτα, δρομαῖα E.341
 { Emir's mother and others}
- παλουκωσίς ἡστέκοντα δεμένα τὰ φαρία E.429
 { poss.: The messengers from Emir's mother}
- νὰ πάρω καὶ τὸ πλοῦτος μου καὶ τὰ φαρία μου ὄλα, E.461
 { Emir}
- Καὶ <πάλιν> διεχώρισεν κᾶν ἑκατὸν φαρία,
 ὄλα καλὰ καὶ θαυμαστά, σελοχαλιναμένα, E.575-6
 { Emir}
- Καὶ τὰ γομάρια ἐφθάσασιν ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐπιθυμοῦσαν,

τὸ πράγμα εἰς τὸ σπείτιν του καὶ τὰ φάρια ἕως τὸν στάβλον·

E.599/600-601/2

{ Poss.: Emir}

From the above examples it can be observed that *φάρας* (or *φάρι*) is selected in the sentences wherein the subject or possessor of the horse is a Saracen (Emir, his mother, his companions...), while *ἵππος* is used in the sentences in which the subject or possessor is a Greek (Constantinus or his brothers)⁽³⁾. Since the grammatical subjects in the above examples are semantically coincident with the rider or possessor of the horse, it can be concluded that, from the viewpoint of semantics, *φάρας* is used for a horse which a Seracen rides or possesses and *ἵππος* for a horse which a Greek rides or possesses. This leads to the further assumption that during the time when this part of *Digenes* was formed, one was conscious that the word *φάρας* was borrowed from Arabic⁽⁴⁾, and that based on this idea the writer preferred to use it with the special meaning observed above.

An examination of the Andros version can give a different perspective of this point. In the *Emir-Lied* of this later version, almost all examples of the words for 'horse' maintain the same semantic difference as observed in the Grottaferrata and Escorial versions, but we find in a few lines the counterexamples, wherein Emir and his mother cooccur with *ἵππος*, not *φάρας*. This fact betrays that the author of this version did not have any longer a enough knowledge of the etymology of *φάρας*.

καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπέστειλε μὲ <u>ἵππους</u> ἐκλεκτοὺς τε	A.713
	{ Emir's mother}
<u>ἵππον</u> ἐκαβαλλίκευσε δαγάλλον, ἄστερῶτον,	A.1216
	{ Emir}

Further, in the Oxford version, a rhymed revision dated 1670, the specific meaning for *φάρας* had been abridged to the general term of horse.

καὶ ἄν ἐπῆρεν τὴν εὐχὴν σελλόνει τὸ <u>φαρί</u> του	0.199
	{ Constantinus}
Τὸ <u>ἄλογο</u> τοῦ Κωνσταντῆ ἔτρεχεν ἔς τὸν ἀέρα	0.201
	{ Poss.: Constantinus}
εἰς <u>τᾶλογα</u> ἐκάτσασιν ὄλοι τους ἄγριακωμένοι	0.210
	{ Constantinus' brothers}
Ἐπηλαθοῦν τὰ <u>φαρία</u> τους, τὰ πτερνιστήρια κροῦσι	0.247
	{ Constantinus & Emir}
...καὶ γιὰ τοῦτο καθίζει/εἰς <u>τᾶλογο</u> ...	0.279/280
	{ Emir}
Τότες καβαλλικεύουσιν, καθίζουν ἔς τὰ <u>φαρία</u> τους	0.383
	{ Constantinus' brothers}
Καὶ τρία σοῦ στέλλω <u>ἄλογα</u> ποῦ πετοῦν ἄν γεράκια	0.619
	{ Emir's mother}
Ἐδῶκάν του καὶ <u>τᾶλογα</u> τὰ χρυσοσελλωμένα,	0.659
	{ Emir's mother}
Τρία <u>ἄλογα</u> μοῦ ἤστειλεν γιὰ νὰ καβαλλικεύσω	0.679
	{ Emir's mother}
Τοῦτά ἄν καὶ ἐκάθισεν καθένας ἔς <u>τᾶλογό</u> του	0.763
	{ Constantinus' brothers}
Ἐπῆράν τους καὶ <u>τᾶλογα</u> κείνα τὰ διαλεμμένα	0.773
	{ Poss.: Emir's mother}
καὶ παλληκᾶρι ἄρδίνιασες, <u>ἄλογα</u> σελλωμένα	0.785
	{ Emir}
Τρία <u>ἄλογα</u> τοῦ ἔστειλεν σελλοχαλινωμένα	0.881
	{ Emir's mother}
Ἐπειτα καβαλλίκευεν πάλι εἰς <u>τᾶλογόν</u> του	0.961
	{ Emir}
...ὁ πόθος.../μὲ κάμνει νὰ σκοτώσω/ τὸ <u>ἄλογο</u> ...	0.967-9
	{ Emir}
διακοσι <u>ἄλογά</u> ἔστειλεν σελλοχαλινωμένα	0.1169
	{ Emir}
καὶ ἄλλοι εἰς τὰ <u>ἄλογα</u> ἀπάνω ἐκαθίζαν.	0.1182
	{ Emir's companions}

In the above examples it can be found that Emir, a Saracen, and his companions are riding an ἄλογο(O.280,785,961,969,1169,1182) and his mother sends him an ἄλογο(O.619,659,679,773,881) while Constantinus, a Greek, and his brothers are sitting on a φαρί(O.199,382) as well as on an ἄλογο(O.201,210,763). Ignatius Petritzes, the author of this later version in the period of the Turkish Domination, is not conscious of the etymology of the word φαρί at all and does not hesitate to use this word freely with a Greek rider as well as with a Saracen rider. The semantic difference in the previous periods has been lost completely over time.

It may be briefly here that in *Armures* only one example of φαρί is found in the words which a Saracen uttered toward Armuropulos, the hero of the poem, and that these φαρία are possessed by Saracens.

Σαρακηνοὶ ἔχουσιν φαρία τὰ διώχνουν τοὺς ἄερας. Αρ.34

A few lines below, though, this Saracen calls Armuropulos' horse παρίπιν.

καὶ ἐσὺ μὲ τὸ παρίπιν σου θέλεις νὰ τὸν περάσης; Αρ.40

Besides, Armuropulos, the Greek hero, never rides any other horse than μαῦρος, except the above example of the line 40.

περνιστηρίαν τὸν μαῦρον του, διὰ νὰ περάση πέρα. Αρ.42

These observations show that in *Armures* φαρί is still fully realized to be a loan word from Arabic.

Returning now to *Digenes*, in the remaining part of the Grottaferrata version (Vols.IV-VIII) and the corresponding part of the Escorial version, the so-called *Digenes-Romance*, the same semantic feature concerning this word as observed in the *Emir-Lied* cannot be found. All examples of this part can be represented in a simple list as follows:

I .Those who ride or possess "φάρας" (and its diminutive form)

Digenes	G.V.27,31,58,181.	E.1422-4,1440,1452,1759.
Kore's brothers		E.970
Haplorabdes' daughter	G.V.73.	
A Roman	G.V.167.	
Maximo	G.VI.735,761.	E.1486,1544,1546,1547, 1558,1592,1546,1547.
Apelatai	G.VIII.108.	
Kinnamos	G.VI.261.	E.1276,1284.
Milimitzes		E.1448.
Sudales		E.930,942.

II .Those who ride or possess "ἵππος" (and its diminutive form)

Digenes	G.IV.149,232,241,244.	G.V.237,278.
	G.VI.186,477,502,510,512,522,524,572, 574,581,682,717,729,730,759.	
	G.VII.116.	G.VIII.29.
Digenes & Maximo		G.VI.743.
Kore(Digenes' wife)		G.VI.530.
Kore's brothers		G.VIII.76.
Haplorabdes' daughter		G.V.98.
A Roman	G.V.117,123.	
Maximo	G.VI.609,674.	E.1554,1588,1589(ἱπάρτιν)
Maximo's followers	G.VI.614.	
Apelatai	G.VI.135,149,167, 635,708,710.	E.1159,1498(ἱπάρτια)
Philopappos	G.VI.215,385,404.	
Ioannakes	G.VI.253.	
Kinnamos	G.VI.256,258.	
Milimitzes	G.VI.436.	E.1404(ἱπάρτια)
Leandros	G.VI.629.	
Indefinite person	G.IV.343	E.1234

III .Those who ride or possess "ἄλογο"

Digenes		E.1211,1312,1517.
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Philopappos
Maximo

E.1244.
E.1550.

A clear criterion as observed in the *Emir-Lied* cannot be found in this list. Therefore, a few observations can only be mentioned:

- a) Digenes' horse is called ἵππος in almost all the cases except some examples found all in the Volume V.
- b) Kore (Digenes' wife) and her brothers, who are naturally Greeks, are always riding ἵππος.
- c) Apelatai's horses are called ἵππος in almost all the cases.
- d) Sudales ὁ Σαρακηνός is riding φαρί.

Finally, it is helpful to look at examples found in other Romances of Byzantine Vernacular Literature, which were written after the 13th century. The word φαρί here no longer has the specific meaning observed above, but only a general meaning of "horse", since the theme of these works is not concerned with an antagonism between Saracens and Greeks.

ἀρμάτων ἦτον ἕξαις καὶ δοκιμὴ φαρῶν	Καλλιμ.1021
	{ Poss.: a king's vassals }
λέγει των: Τὰ φαρῖα σας στρώσετέ τὰ οἱ πάντες,	Βελθ.113
	{ King Rodophilus' soldiers }
Χαρίζω σου καὶ τὸ φαρῖν μὲ τὴν ἐξόπλισίν του	Φλωρ.624
	{ Florius }
Φτάνει, στολίζει τὸ φαρῖν ἢ ὑποταγὴ τὴν εἶχεν.	Φλωρ.639
	{ Florius }
Τὴν πλευτικὴν ἐδιόρθωσε, βάνει καὶ τὰ φαρῖα του.	Φλωρ.1273
	{ Florius }
Γοργὸν μὲ στρώσετε φαρῖν νὰ πάω νὰ δῶ τὸν πύργον,	Φλωρ.1377
	{ Florius }
σύσσελλον τὸν ἀπέταξεν ἀπάνω ἐκ τὸ φαρῖν του.	Ιμπ.128
	{ Poss.: a knight }
Σύρνει σπαθὶν ὁ Ἰμπερίος, πεζεύει ἐκ τὸ φαρῖν του.	Ιμπ.428
	{ Imberius }

It should be added that the special meaning of φάραξ discussed above is quite correctly described only in Du Cange's *Glossarium ad scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*(p.1665):

φάραξ, φαρλίον, φάρης. Equus Arabicus, & quivis equus sella instructus...

φαρίον. Leo Imp. In *Tacticis* cap.18. § .137. de Saracinis

οὕτω γὰρ τῶν Ἰππων αὐτῶν τοξευομένων, τῶν λεγομένων φαρίων...

[Emphasis not in the original]

In summary, the following have been observed in this article. In the *Emir-Lied* of the Grottaferrata version and the Escorial version, an Arabic word φάραξ (or φαρλί) collocates only with a Saracen rider or possessor, while Ἰππος is used only for a Greek rider or possessor. On the other hand, the *Digenes-Romance* of these versions and, in the later periods, the Andros and Oxford versions never show the same clear semantic criterion in the usage of these words. Through these facts we can trace a history of one borrowed word which was gradually incorporated into the vocabulary of Medieval Greek⁽⁵⁾.

Notes

- (1) For the abbreviations of the versions of *Digenes Akritas*, see "Texts" below.
- (2) The persons' names in the { } 's show a subject of each sentence and { poss.: } 's indicate the possessor of the horse included in each passage.
- (3) This semantic criterion has its single exception in G.II 249, wherein Ἰππος collocates with Emir's companions.
- (4) It is generally accepted that φάραξ is a loan word from Arabic, as shown in the above citations from the dictionaries and glossaries.

Cf. فَرَس (faras) A horse; and a mare. (E.R.Lane. *An Arabic-English Lexicon* Vol.6, p.2367.)

(5) Note that it is only the word itself that is discussed in this article, so that we should ask specialists for expert opinions on the historical introduction of an Arabic horse into Greece. e.g.:

" Ὁ ἀραβικὸς ἵππος διεδόθη ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ἀφ' ἑνὸς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Μουσουλμάνων κατὰ τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἑτέρου ὑπὸ τῶν Σταυροφόρων. Μετέπειτα ἐξηκολούθησε πληθωρικὴ εἰσαγωγὴ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ, ἵππου πάντοτε ἀπελάμβανε μεγάλης ἐκτιμήσεως λόγῳ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ φυσικῶν προτερημάτων του. " (Μεγάλη ἑλληνικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια τομ.ΙΓ', σ.167.)

" The Byz. appreciated " Arab " horses; it is unclear whether the term refers to a breed or to animals imported from the caliphate. "(A.P.Kazhdan(ed.)The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium.p.948)

Texts

A.:Βασίλειος Διγενῆς Ἀκρίτας.Τόμ.1. ed.by Π.Καλονάρος(1970) Ἀθήνα.
Αρ.: "Ἀρμούρης" Βασίλειος Διγενῆς Ἀκρίτης. ed.by Στ.Αλεξίου
(1985) Ερμής.

E.:Βασίλειος Διγενῆς Ἀκρίτης. ed.by Στ.Αλεξίου(1985) Ερμής.

G.:*Digenes Akritas*. ed.by J.Mavrogordato(1956) Oxford Univ. Press.

O.: "Διήγησις ὠραιοτάτη τοῦ ἀνδριωμένου Διγενῆ". *Collection de romans grecs* ed.by Sp.P.Lambros(1880) Paris.

Καλλ.: "Τὸ κατὰ Καλλίμαχον καὶ Χρυσορρόην ἐρωτικὸν διήγημα".

Βυζαντινὰ ἵπποτικά μυθιστορήματα ed.by Ε.Κριαρᾶς(1955) Ἀθήνα.

Βελθ.: "Διήγησις ἐξάιρετος Βελθάνδρου τοῦ Ρωμαίου".

Βυζαντινὰ ἵπποτικά μυθιστορήματα ed.by Ε.Κριαρᾶς(1955) Ἀθήνα.

Φλωρ.: "Διήγησις ἐξάιρετος ἐρωτικὴ καὶ ξένη Φλωρλου τοῦ πανευτυχοῦς καὶ κόρης Πλάτζα Φλώρης". *Βυζαντινὰ ἵπποτικά μυθιστορήματα* ed. by Ε.Κριαρᾶς(1955) Ἀθήνα.

Ἰμπ.: "Διήγησις ἐξάιρετος ἐρωτικὴ καὶ ξένη τοῦ Ἰμπερίου θαυμαστοῦ καὶ κόρης Μαργαρόνης. *Βυζαντινὰ ἵπποτικά μυθιστορήματα* ed.by Ε.Κριαρᾶς(1955) Ἀθήνα.

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manuscrit de Madrid." *Λογογραφία* 3, pp.536-604
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épopée byzantine du dixième siècle publiée pour la
première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de Trébizonde*.
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periods*. Harvard Univ. Press.
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Versionen*. Wien.
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Vulgärliteratur". *Ἀπάντα Μ.Τριανταφυλλίδη* 1 (1963)
pp.299-494. *Θεσσαλονίκη*.

ビザンツ民衆文学における " φάρας "

(要 旨)

中世ギリシャ語に特有の単語 φάρας (または φαρί) はアラビア語からの借用語であり、一般的に「馬」を意味すると考えられている。しかしながら、中世ギリシャ語叙事詩「ディゲニス・アクリタス」のグロッタフェラータ版、エスコリアル版の一～三巻 (いわゆる「エミールの詩」) におけるこの語の用法を検討してみると、サラセン人が乗馬する場合、あるいは、彼らの所有である場合に限られており、ギリシャ人の馬に対しては、常に ἵππος が用いられている。すなわち、「エミールの詩」の成立時期には、φάρας は、借用語であるためにその用法が限定されていた、と考えられる。他方、四巻～八巻 (いわゆる「ディゲニス物語」) や後代のアンドロス版、オックスフォード版等においては、この様な使い分けは見られず、「馬」を指す一般名称となるに至っている。