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Charis Messis & Ingela Nilsson

- 9** **The *Description of a Crane Hunt* by
Constantine Manasses: Introduction,
text and translation**

Averil Cameron

- 91** **Byzantium now – contested territory or
excluded middle?**

Thomas Arentzen

- 113** **Arboreal Lives: Saints among the Trees in
Byzantium and Beyond**

Adam J. Goldwyn

- 137** **Greek Jews on the American Stage: Gender,
Nationalism, and Assimilation in Rae Dalven's
Unpublished Autobiographical Plays**

- 177** **Book Reviews**

The *Description of a Crane Hunt* by Constantine Manasses: Introduction, text and translation*

Charis Messis & Ingela Nilsson

In any period and any society, the culture of hunting reveals the relationship of men with nature as well as their relationships with each other – relationships of equality and solidarity, but also of inequality, hierarchy or conflict. The practice of hunting thus becomes subject to technical, financial and ideological control; it becomes a language and a code likely to convey and express political, economic and social conceptions and values. Much has been written on hunting both in Antiquity and in the Western Middle Ages; numerous texts have been edited and translated into modern languages.¹ In the case of Byzantium, however, where hunting made up a field of multiple meanings which require a deeper investigation, studies have remained rather few and to some extent superficial.² The present contribution therefore takes the opportuni-

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¹ For Greco-Roman antiquity, see Aymard 1951; Vidal-Naqué 1981, esp. 151-175; Anderson 1985; Schnapp 1997; Barringer 2001; Trinquier & Vendries 2009. For occidental and oriental Middle Ages, see Lindner 1940; Lombard 1969; Verdon 1978; Åkerström-Hougen 1981; Paravicini Bagliani & van den Abeele 2000; Bord & Mugg 2008. For historical and anthropological perspectives on hunting, see Sidéra 2006 and Hell 2012².

² In many cases, there is mostly repetition of the texts and conclusions presented by Faidon Koukoules; see Koukoules 1948-56, vol. 5, 387-423 (resumption of Koukoules 1932). On hunting on Byzantium, see also Bréhier 1970², 159-161; Patlagean

ty to provide a thorough background for the new edition and translation of an ekphrasis written by Constantine Manasses in the twelfth century: the *Description of a crane hunt* (Τοῦ Μανασσῆ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἔκφρασις κυνηγεσίου γεράνων). This rhetorical piece offers a vivid image of an imperial hunt using birds of prey; at the same time, it poses a series of important cultural questions as regards hunting and its practices in Byzantium.

1. Constantine Manasses and the *Description of a crane hunt*

Constantine Manasses (c. 1115-after 1175) was one of many twelfth-century authors who worked for aristocratic and imperial circles in Komnenian Constantinople.³ He is known primarily through his own texts, which represent a large variety of genres: the best known are a large chronicle in verse and a novel (preserved only in excerpts), but there are also a series of ekphraseis, several pieces of oratory and various texts that seem to belong in an educational setting.⁴ His preserved production, consisting of some thirty texts, is marked by its occasional character, most often commissioned by or written for certain aristocratic or imperial patrons and performed at specific events. The *Description of the crane hunt* is no exception: a piece of rhetoric that uses the Graeco-Roman tradition in order to describe a contemporary event, thus combining literary imaginaries with lived experiences shared by the author and his audience.⁵

The *Description of a crane hunt* is preserved in a single manuscript of the thirteenth century, the Oxford Barocci 131. This codex, produced by a group of copyists with well-defined literary and philosophical interests, contains a series of texts by authors from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶ In addition to this ekphrasis (f. 180^v-182^v), the manuscript

1992; Delobette 2005; Caseau 2007, 150-154; Sinakos 2011.

³ For a recent account of Manasses' biography, see Paul & Rhoby 2019, 4-5. See also Nilsson 2021 (forthcoming).

⁴ For a list of texts attributed to Manasses, see Chrissyogelos 2017: 13-20; Paul & Rhoby 2019: 5-7 (a discussion rather than an inventory); Nilsson 2021 (forthcoming).

⁵ On this kind of referentiality as characteristic of occasional literature, see Nilsson 2021 (forthcoming).

⁶ For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Wilson 1978. See also Papaioannou

also has other texts by Manasses: the *Encomium of Emperor Manuel Komnenos* (182^v-184^v) follows directly after the ekphrasis, and the manuscript also includes the *Monody on the death of his sparrow* (f. 174^r-175^r) and large chunks of the *Verse Chronicle* (*Synopsis Chronike*) (447^r-474^r).⁷ As clear from the indication of folia, these texts do not constitute a codicological unit but are scattered throughout the manuscript. The ekphrasis was edited for the first time by E. Kurtz in 1906, together with the *Encomium of Emperor Manuel Komnenos*.⁸ Our edition offers a limited number of corrections, a translation and comments on linguistic, literary and cultural aspects of the ekphrasis.

The structure of the text follows more or less the traditional composition of an ekphrasis: a narrative frame containing a series of descriptions of characters and events. Opening with two paragraphs on the beauty and benefits of hunting (§1-2), the narrator states his own presence at a crane hunt and his desire to describe it (§3). A description of the emperor follows, because it was an imperial hunt with the participation of Manuel I Komnenos (§4). The event took place in the autumn and the organization of the hunting party is described in detail, underlining the warlike atmosphere of the occasion (§5-6). The emperor carries a falcon, carefully depicted in much detail: it is old and noble, a female falcon with piercing eyes and greyish plumage (§7-8). There are also other birds of prey, whose names are unknown because they are not Greek (§9). The hunt starts and quickly turns into a bloodthirsty war scene. The emperor does not release the female falcon, but uses another old and experienced bird for the hunt (§10). The war goes on, a fierce battle between cranes and birds of prey, and one particular crane is brought down (§11-12). In order to train the young birds of prey, the same crane is finally torn apart and killed (§13). A close description of the crane follows (§14), after which the narrator concludes, underlining the beauty of crane hunting in particular – a pleasurable hunt for men to

2019, lxxxvii-xc.

⁷ The manuscript also contains a letter copied twice under the name of Manasses, but attributable to Michael Italikos (175^v and 484^{rv}).

⁸ Kurtz 1906, 79-88. For a translation into modern Greek with introduction and notes, see Nimas 1984.

simply watch. The text closes with an ekphrastic turn of phrase, defining the function of the description “for me as a vivid reminder of the event and for others as a clear representation of what they have not seen” (§15).

In the following, we will focus on four aspects of the ekphrasis: first, hunting as a substitute for war in Byzantine literature; second, falconry in Byzantium; third, the crane as a game of distinction; and finally, the significance of the presence of Emperor Manuel in the hunt described by Manasses.

2. Hunting as a substitute for war

The close relationship between hunting and war is programatically indicated in the opening paragraphs of Manasses’ ekphrasis: hunting makes men healthy while also preparing them for war. The hunt is “a battle without deaths, an Ares unarmed who does not have his right hand covered by blood, nor a spear drenched in murder” (§2). This affiliation is always explicit or implicit in Greek texts that speak of hunting – an organic link that unites the two activities, based on the regulation of violence. Like war, hunting requires a mixture of skill and courage, guile and vigilance.⁹ The association of war with hunting is not only a topos of imperial rhetoric, but also part of the advice found in tactical manuals. In such texts, hunting is presented as a preparation for war (the education of young boys in violence and cunning), as an exercise during war (to boost the morale of the soldiers or to refuel the army), or as an alternative activity to war in peacetime.

The first known reference to the affiliation between war and hunting dates back to Xenophon’s treatise on hunting, the *Cynegeticon*: “hunting is the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed.”¹⁰ Xenophon clearly sees hunting as a preparation for war, primarily for young men. In ancient Greek society, where war was a regular summer

⁹ On the role of cunning during hunting based on the hunting treatises by Oppian, see Detienne & Vernard 1974, 35-40.

¹⁰ Xenophon, *Cynegeticon* 1.18, tr. E. C. Marchant.

activity, hunting was aimed mainly at young men and had an educational character. This concern reappears in twelfth-century Constantinople, so we will return to it below. Byzantine military manuals consider hunting as an exercise of the military during wartime. The *Strategikon*, attributed to Emperor Maurice, devotes significant space to hunting during military expeditions. First, he prohibits hunting during a march against the enemy, stressing that “hunting is necessary for soldiers only during peacetime”.¹¹ Then he makes a comparison between war and hunting and points out their affiliation by emphasizing that victory is a question not of force, but of skill and cunning: “Activities of war resemble those of hunting. As we succeed in hunting animals through scouts, nets, traps, espionage, encirclements and such artifices rather than by force, we must do so also against enemies, be they many or few”.¹² Finally, the author offers an entire chapter “On hunting: how to hunt wild beasts without damage, accident and injury”, where he returns to the relationship between war and hunting.¹³

A fine example of hunting during war is provided by the *Passion* of the commander Eustathios Placidas, martyred in Rome under Trajan. According to the tenth-century metaphrastic version, “when his spear was not turned against the enemies, hunting was his study of war” (μελέτη πολέμου τὰ κυνηγέσια).¹⁴ The hunting episode that follows is analogous with the progression of a battle:

¹¹ Maurice, *Strategikon* 1.9.55-59 (Dennis & Gammilscheg). ‘Peace’ (ἐν δὲ καιρῷ εἰρήνης) should here be understood rather as inaction between two battles. Cf. Leo VI, *Taktikon* 9.20 (Dennis): ὄτ’ ἂν δὲ καιρὸς ἐστὶν εἰρήνης καὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη ἐπιίχεται, τότε χρήσιμά εἰσι τὰ κυνήγια τοῖς στρατιώταις.

¹² Maurice, *Strategikon* 7 A Pr 45-49 (Dennis & Gammilscheg). Cf. also Leo VI, *Taktikon* 12.107 (Dennis): τὰ γὰρ τῶν πολέμων κυνηγίους εἰσὶν ὅμοια. See also Patlagean 1992, 260; Dennis 2009, 132.

¹³ Maurice, *Strategikon*, 12 D 3-6 (Dennis & Gammilscheg).

¹⁴ *Passion of Eustathios*, ch. 2 (van Hooff). On the text and the legend, see Delehaye 1919; on the fortune of this text in the West, see Boureau, 1982. The link between hunting and war seems to have been a metaphrastic initiative; in the ancient Acts of the martyr there is no such explicit link: Eustathios is a commander and ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν θήραν σπουδαῖος καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἠδέως κυνηγῶν (PG 105, 377D). For another version of this episode, see John of Damascus, *Third oration on the images*, PG 94, col. 1381.

When once he went out to hunt, the scout told him that a herd of deer was grazing nearby; the commander, as usual, gave order to the hunters and organised the hunting party (κυνηγέσιον). During these preparations, a very large deer, much swifter than the others, appeared in the wood, attracted the gaze of the commander and, like an illustrious enemy, provoked the commander to combat. The latter left the other hunters to take care of the herd according to the orders he had given and in the company of other soldiers he went after the deer. Once his companions were tired, he continued the chase alone with his tireless horse and with all his zeal until the deer, seeing that the commander was left alone, jumped, better than a real deer, onto a steep cliff over a precipice. There he stopped running and thus stopped the chase of the hunter. This showed that it was not the hunter who approached his game, but that he had become the game of the animal he was chasing.¹⁵

The deer is clearly an exceptional animal, one that exceeds the nature of a real deer (κατ' ἐλάφου φύσιν); the story will reveal that it is an incarnation of Christ who will lead the commander to the Christian faith and martyrdom.¹⁶ But beyond its instructive character, this narrative 'beneficial for the soul' (ψυχωφελής) describes the habit of a Roman and, presumably, Byzantine army: the game localized by the scouts, the organisation of an almost military expedition for its capture, the various challenges and the individual battle. Hunting is merely another form of war.

The relationship between war and hunting also has a literary function in the portrait of the ideal emperor. In imperial panegyrics, hunting animals becomes a powerful metaphor for victories over the enemies of the empire. To cite but one eloquent example, we may turn to Theodore Daphnopates and his praise of Romanos II (959–963), an emperor who was slandered in later historical writings for the same reasons that he is applauded here. In a letter to Romanos about a hunt in which the emperor succeeded in killing a goat, a hare and a partridge, Daphnopates writes:

¹⁵ *Passion of Eustathios*, ch. 2 (van Hooff), our translation.

¹⁶ On the significance of the deer as a christological animal, see Pastoureau 2004, 84–88.

As for me, I saw there signs and symbols of your victorious and powerful reign against the barbarians. These, first of all, like the wildest of goats, whose presumptuous pride is symbolized by their excessive horns, also like to frequent the desolate escarpments and set up their camp there; the ferocity and strangeness of their way of life and their cult give them before most people the reputation of being elusive. But then, when they are attacked by you, they are like fearful hares, they seek their salvation in flight and fall into a double misfortune: on the one hand, they reveal their own weakness and wantonness, on the other their capture manifests the difficulty of escaping your most sovereign power. However, even as they raise the horn of pride high, they yield like hares to fear and cowardice, they adopt the trick of the partridge and seek like it salvation in flight, trying to hide in the depths of the lairs and ruins – in the end, experience shows that they are easy to capture and to surrender to your imperial valor, and they suffer the price of war awaiting them.¹⁷

Hunting as preparation for combat characterizes positive historical figures and dictates their behaviour. There are, however, cases of several emperor-tyrants who, being fanatic hunters, were nevertheless pitiful warriors. The *Suda* includes a citation attributed to Polybios that considers this possibility: “Some are courageous in the hunt for animals in the hunting party; the same, however, are cowards when it comes to war and enemies.”¹⁸ Hunting is valued when it is a supplement to war, but discredited as a substitute for war.

Recreational hunting was established in Byzantium at the end of the eleventh century, following the militarization and provincialization of its elites, but it was always justified by continuous reference to war, especially in the Komnenian period. Anna Komnene noted how her father Alexios I Komnenos and her uncle Isaac “indulged often in hunting, when there was no great pressure of work, but they found military affairs more exhilarating than hunting (πολεμικοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ κυνηγετικοῖς ἔχαιρον πράγμασιν).”¹⁹ When Theophylact of Ochrid addressed Alex-

¹⁷ Daphnopates, *Letter* 14.37-50 (Darrouzès & Westerink), our translation.

¹⁸ *Suda*, ed. Adler, a 3744, our translation.

¹⁹ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 3.3.5 (Reinsch & Kambylis); tr. Sewter, rev. Frankopan

ios in an *encomium*, he highlighted the significance of hunting in the training of a new soldier:

When you relax after the military campaigns, you do not succumb to horse racing and the delirium of the crowds, you do not soften your hearing by the tones of effeminate music, but you wake up your drowsy ardour by the pursuit of game and hunting with hounds, making the children of the nobility taste, like young dogs, the exploits of their age.²⁰

In this passage the educational character of hunting is clear: Alexios becomes a pedagogue, a living example of imitation for the aristocratic youth. In a similar vein, Isaac and John Komnenos were assigned “as a residence the Stoudios monastery and this for two purposes: so that they could both practice virtue by imitating the best men and easily leave the city to devote themselves to hunting and military exercises”.²¹

The same theme persisted in the writings of Theophylact’s successors. Besides Manasses justifying the hunting of Manuel I Komnenos in his ekphrasis, Michael the Rhetorician, in his *encomium* of the same emperor, wrote: “you practise fighting against enemies by fighting wild beasts and you rightly consider hunting to be identical to preparation for war ... Hunting is so close to war.”²² Nikolaos Kataphloron, presenting a portrait of a noble soldier, went one step further:

He was also skillful in the art of hunting, of setting traps, of foreseeing the places through which the game could escape, of encouraging and reminding dogs with a loud whistle, of aiming at the deer with precision and of tracking the hare better than the rustic gods of mythology and Chiron; for these are divine things.²³

2009. See also *Alexiad* 14.7.9 (Reinsch & Kambylis) for similar statements about Alexios and hunting.

²⁰ Theophylact of Ochrid, *Encomium of Alexios I Komnenos* 233.24-235.2 (Gautier), our translation.

²¹ Nikephoros Bryennios, *History* 1.1.23 (Gautier).

²² Michael the Rhetorician, *Encomium of Manuel I Komnenos* 180.4-6 and 10-11 (Regel & Novosadski).

²³ Nikolaos Kataphloron, *Encomium of a Byzantine governor* 106 (Loukaki), our trans-

Hunting was thus elevated to a divine activity, suitable for all men and their sons. Theodore Prodromos, dedicating verses to the birth of the son of Sebastokrator Andronikos in the middle of the twelfth century, predicted for the baby a future devoted to hunting and war.²⁴

To conclude, the affiliation between hunting and war formed the basis of aristocratic and masculine ideology of the Komnenian period. It imbued imperial rhetoric, but also fictional representations of heroic men. The father of Digenis Akritis was not only a great man but also a great hunter: “and every day he found recreation in battles against wild beasts, testing his daring and displaying his bravery, he became a wonder to all who observed him.”²⁵ The only way to obtain glory was through fighting with animals. So in the Komnenian period, men indulged in hunting and amused themselves, but they needed to appeal to the relationship between hunting and war in order to present hunting as a legitimate activity.

3. Falconry in Byzantium

For any scholar interested in falconry in the Greek tradition, the confusing terminology constitutes a first obstacle.²⁶ For the ancients and the Byzantines, the term *ἰέραξ* is generic and indicates several categories of birds of prey. The simplest definition they offer is that of “a hunting bird, known to all”.²⁷ *Κίρρις*, *κόκκυξ*, *κίρκος*, *πετρίτης* and *ὄξυπτερίον* are other terms used to describe ‘falcons’ which could belong to the two most important categories of birds of prey: the falconids and the accipitrines (like the goshawk and the sparrowhawk).²⁸ The *Paraphrase* of the

lation.

²⁴ We will return to this poem in more detail below. For similar advice to a son in a didactic poem in the vernacular of the same period, see *Spaneas* 122-23 (Anagnostopoulos).

²⁵ *Digenis Akritis* G, 1.40-42 (Jeffreys), tr. Jeffreys.

²⁶ For a recent survey of falconry in Byzantium, see Külzer 2018. See also Maguire 2011 and *ODB*, s.v. Hawking.

²⁷ *Cyranides*, 3.18.2 (Kaimakes): *ἰέραξ πτηνὸν θηρατικόν, πᾶσι δῆλον*.

²⁸ According to the *Mega Etymologicon* 659.31 (Gaisford) there are eight categories of *ἰέρακες*, while Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Comment. Ad Hom Il* 3.727 (van der

Ixeutica of Dionysius (uncertain date) establishes another categorization according to the type of hunt: “There are several breeds of falcons and some of them are quick in the hunt, harmful especially for doves and pigeons ... others collaborate with hunting men, being held by a leash and scaring the hunted birds.”²⁹ Here we find the two primary uses of birds of prey in ancient hunting: those that fly and attack, and those that assist the hunters by scaring the small birds. These two forms of hunting are well illustrated in both texts and images. Manases offers an image of the birds of the first category: he calls the bird carried by Manuel a *ιέραξ*, but he is very elusive about the other birds that participate in the hunt. He even avoids naming them, saying twice (§6 and 9) that their names are foreign (without indicating a western or eastern origin). The description of the imperial *ιέραξ* with its grey and dappled plumage makes us think of a gyrfalcon, a falcon specialized in crane hunting according to later Western hunting treatises.³⁰

Obviously, Byzantine authors were no zoologists and their knowledge of the varieties of birds of prey was limited. Manasses, in either case, does not seem to be more knowledgeable than us when it comes to hunting birds (even though birds of different kinds appear frequently in his works). In the following we will use primarily the term falcon to translate Greek words that indicate a falconid or an accipitrine.³¹ If the Greek text juxtaposes *ιέρακες* and *φάλκονες*, we translate as “hawks and falcons”, simply to keep the stylistic variety.

Valk), says there are ten. On the Byzantine terminology, see Külzer 2018: 703. On the different categories of birds of prey, see also Van den Abeele 1992, 51-86. In general, the birds sitting on the wrist of the falconer are goshawks, sparrowhawks, gyrfalcons or merlins.

²⁹ *Paraphrase* of the *Ixeutica* of Dionysius 1.6.1-2 and 6-7 (Garzya).

³⁰ See e.g. the treatise *De arte venandi cum avibus* (book IV) by Frederick II Hohenstaufen; translation and discussion in Paulus and Abeele 2001.

³¹ In the western texts, as we shall see, there is a certain differentiation in the use of the terms *falcon* and *goshawk*, while in the Byzantine texts all terms used seem to be considered synonymous and are used, in their diversity, to vary the style rather than to achieve an exact terminology.

A brief history of falconry from antiquity to the eleventh century

The first references to the use of falcons in hunting dates back to antiquity.³² Falconry seems to have been an Iranian or Mongolian habit that reached Europe by two routes: the northern route of Germans, and the southern route through Syria. For the ancient Greek world, however, this practice seems to have been largely unknown. The rare references to falcons relate rather to cases where a bird of prey scares the small birds which are then killed by men. In late antiquity, a series of texts rewrite information contained in Aristotle's *History of animals* about the way in which inhabitants of Thrace hunt birds using falcons (μετὰ τῶν ἱεράκων) in the manner described above.³³ The falcons do not seem to be trained for an organized hunt, but they facilitate with their presence the hunting of small birds in a swamp. In another version of this kind of hunt, the falcons are part of hunting with bird lime (ixeutics): the birds, terrified by the appearance of the falcons, throw themselves on the twigs the hunters have covered in lime.³⁴ Such a scene may be represented in

³² We will not include the use of eagles for hunting. For this, see Epstein 1943, 503 (on Ctesias); see also Aristotle, *History of the animals* 9.32. On falconry in antiquity, see Lindner 1973, 111-156. Falconry in the western Middle Ages is very well studied; see esp. van den Abele 1990 and 1994; Oggins 2004; for the High Middle Ages, see also Verdon 1978.

³³ Aristotle, *History of the animals* 9.36, 620b. See also Pseudo-Aristotle, *Mirabilia* 118; Antigonos, *Mirabilia* 34; Aelian, *Natural history* 2.42, Pliny, *Natural history* 10.10, which all reproduce (with some variety) Aristotle. On the multiple reworkings of this story in late antiquity, see Epstein 1943, 501-504, and Åkerström-Hougen 1974, 91-92. One may add Eusthathios of Antioch, *Commentary on the Hexameron* (PG 18, 728), of an uncertain date, which introduces the information and states that ὁ δὲ ἱεράξ εὐνούστατος τυγχάνει περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Under his name has been preserved a world history, the first part of which is a *physiologus*; this is where the information about the falcon is inserted. On this author and text, see Odorico 2014.

³⁴ The *Paraphrase* of the *Ixeutica* of Dionysius 3.5.1-9 (Garzya) describes a hunt that is similar but has several differences. It involves placing a hawk like a scarecrow on the stump of a tree, while the hunted birds remain terrified in the trees and become easy victims of the hunter. See also Vendries 2009, 123. Other ancient references include e.g. Manetho, Oppian and Paulinus of Pella.

one of the palace mosaics of Constantinople, depicting a monkey with a hunting bird perched on a basket that he carries on his back.³⁵

In the fifth century, references to actual falconry become more common. Procopius of Gaza in his well-known *Ekphrasis Eikonos* speaks of a waiter who carries on his wrist a hunting bird that intervenes to save an abused woman.³⁶ In the same century, but in the western part of the Roman empire, Sidonius Apollinarius describes a society that makes extensive use of birds of prey in hunting; the falcon is here one of the attributes of the young aristocrat.³⁷ From the same period date the mosaics of Argos in Greece³⁸ and those of Madaba in Syria,³⁹ both of which represent a man holding a hunting bird on his gloved left hand. In the sixth century, the astrologer Rhetorios of Egypt devotes a chapter to hunting and falconry, speaking of a particular stellar constellation (συναστρία) that gives birth to falconers.⁴⁰ This indicates that there were persons who devoted themselves professionally to the training of falcons. In the seventh century, at least two mosaics of the Great Palace represent scenes that refer to falconry: a bird of prey that attacks another bird; two children on a camel, one of which has a bird that resembles a falcon on his left hand.⁴¹

³⁵ Tilling 1989, fig. 33; Külzer 2018, 702.

³⁶ Procopius of Gaza, *Ekphrasis of a painting*, ed. Amato, ch. 26 (p. 203, 10-13); cf. Drbal 2011, 115-117.

³⁷ Sidonius Apollinarius, *Letter* 3.3 (ed. Loyen, p. 86); *Letter* 4.9 (ed. Loyen, p. 131); *Poem* 7, v. 202-206 (ed. Loyen, p. 62). On the author and his hunting descriptions, see Aymard 1964.

³⁸ Åkerström-Hougen 1974, fig. 12-13. On the representations of the months in the west and the presence of a hunting bird in October, see Stern 1951. See also Külzer 2018, 701-702.

³⁹ Buschhausen 1986, table 9. Cf. also Drbal 2011, fig. 2 and Külzer 2018, 702, fig. 2. On Arabo-Byzantine coins of the seventh century which often represent a person holding on his left fist a goshawk, see Oddy 1991, 59-66. On Byzantine representations of falcons that capture animals, see also Dautermann Maguire & Maguire 2007, figs 44, 45, 84, 85, 87; Maguire 2011, figs 9.4 et 9.5; von Wartburg 2001. On western representations, much more diversified, see Oggins 2004, 126-138.

⁴⁰ Rhetorios, ch. 92 (Hellen & Pingree). Rhetorios supposedly continued an earlier astrological treatise, attributed to a certain Antiochos; see Cumont 1918, 38-54.

⁴¹ Tilling 1989, figs C, 19 and 21.



*Gunilla Åkerström-Hougen in Argos, October 1973
(private photo)*

For the next three centuries, there are no literary reference or artistic representations of falconry in Byzantium. This does not mean that it was not practiced, but rather that tastes had changed or that no evidence has been preserved. Iconophile witnesses say that the iconoclast emperors, especially Constantine V (741–775), preserved in the palace the “satanical” representations of hunting scenes of the sixth century,⁴² but we possess no texts describing hunting from this period. The only indications we have of such activities come from the Arab world. To properly

⁴² *Life of Stephen the Younger* 26 (Auzépy).

measure the value of this information, it has to be noted that specialized treatises on falconry, containing theoretical considerations and practical advice, as they appeared from the eighth century onwards in the Arab and Western world, are completely absent in Byzantium.⁴³ For a very long time in Byzantium, zoology was in the shadow of authorities of the past, like Aristotle or Aelian, as regards the physiology and history of animals, and of the different versions of the *Physiologos*, as regards their moral meaning. A treatise on falconry would have constituted an unlikely novelty, even if the Arab treatise of Al-Gitrif, dating from the eighth century, indicates the existence of such a book:

Michael, son of Leo, high dignitary of the Byzantines (al-Rum), having heard of the passion that the Caliph al-Mahdi had for hunting and the pleasure he took in it, offered him as a gift a work due to the Greek ancestors on the trained birds of prey. Al-Mahdi had then called on Adham ibn Muhriz al-Bahili, because he had already heard him reporting information (on falconry) of the Arabs, and he asked him to edit for him a treatise, gathering the words of the Persian physicians, of Turks, of Byzantine philosophers as well as the Arabs who had experience in this field.⁴⁴

This note is puzzling. First, there is a reference to a text handed over by a high dignitary, but not an emperor; this person might be an official of the border area, but he is impossible to identify. The treatise contains advice of “the Greek ancestors on the trained birds of prey”, who towards the end of the note seem to become “Byzantine philosophers”. This is confusing, because if such a treatise existed in Greek it could not have been written by “Greek ancestors” since they were unaware of falconry and imagining that Byzantine philosophers would write a technical treatise

⁴³ On such texts, produced from at least the eighth century onwards in the West, see Van den Abeele 1994, 19-35. It is true that many of these Latin treatises contain “références fictives ou non, à des autorités grecs” (ibid. 35) from Antiquity (ibid., 23) or Late Antiquity (ibid. 25), but this could be a way of lending authority to information coming from a vaguely oriental direction. Most of these texts have an epistolary character, a literary choice that underlines often their fictionality.

⁴⁴ Al Gitrif, *Treatise on birds*, Prologue (Viré & Möller). Cf. also Kultzer 2018, 701.

on falcons seems unlikely. Two solutions are then possible: either the note refers to a treatise on zoology, like that of Aristotle or one of his Byzantine commentaries, a treatise that could have been consulted on the nature of birds but not on the training of falcons; or the Arab author invented a source, presenting a treatise to which he attributed the authority of both “Greek ancestors” and “Byzantine philosophers”, alongside Persian physicians, Turks and Arabs of the past. In any case, there is no trace of such a treatise in Byzantium before the fourteenth or fifteenth century. These late treatises could well be indicative of an earlier tradition, or more probably of translations of one or several treatises on falconry circulating in the West or in the Arab or Turkish East at the same time. On the Arab side, we can add another piece of information which concerns the ninth century and which seems fairly reliable. According to Al-Tabari, Nikephoros I (802-811) sent to the Caliph Harun al-Rashid, among other gifts, twelve falcons, four hunting dogs and three pack horses.⁴⁵ Byzantium thus exported, according to Arab authors, not only know-how, but also material for successful hunting.

The first Byzantine references to hunting with falcons, after this long interval, date to the middle of the tenth century, but with a significant difference. While texts from before the seventh century describe a hunting practice ‘of the people’ (the hunting of Thracian farmers, the lime hunt of simple people in Dionysius, the οἰκέτης in Procopius of Gaza), the context of hunting with birds of prey in the tenth century is clearly aristocratic and changes perspective: it no longer resembles the bird catching described by Aristotle, but noble hunting with birds of prey. Theodore Daphnopates, a learned man in imperial circles of the tenth century, is the first who refers to such an activity. A letter addressed to Romanos II (959–963) indicates that falcons were used for the imperial partridge hunt:

Despite its very fast flight and its speed much superior to that of falcons, the partridge could not escape the fatal hunting methods of the emperor. For, although usually it can find shelter in the thickets, in the

⁴⁵ Canard 1964, 54. Translation of the passage in Bosworth, *The History of Al-Tabari*, vol. 30 (1989), 264.

valleys and in the thick bushes, this time, surrounded on all sides by the agility of the falcons, it became too easy a prey for their flight: it still showed the numerous wounds of their claws, in which she was covered, but even more numerous were the blows of beaks which had opened and torn its entrails.⁴⁶

This text underlines the happy encounter between imperial hunting and the literarization of epistolography starting in the tenth century. From now on, letters – alongside ekphraseis, making a more marked literary reappearance a century later – will give us the most impressive images of hunting in Byzantium. In another letter, attributed to Daphnopates and presenting nature as an idyllic landscape, the author, when he presents the delights of life in the countryside, makes an allusion to falconry: “From then on an unforeseen death is prepared for the birds, seized by the falcons or caught by the nets.”⁴⁷

Two other witnesses of the tenth century come from the surrounding world and throw a probably biased look on Byzantine society. The first comes from the Slavic world and should be treated with some caution. According to the Slavic *Life* of Constantine/Cyril, Apostle of the Slavs, the young hero lives in Thessaloniki and engages in activities that suit his age and social class, namely falconry. One day he goes out into the fields with his falcon, but the bird is carried away by a wind provoked by divine providence.⁴⁸ The loss of the bird is so disturbing that it leads the young man to give up the delight of an ordinary life, such as hunting, and seek instead the harsh road of monasticism. The falcon thus becomes a symbol of what is futile in the life of a young aristocrat. The text is dated by its editor to the ninth or tenth century, but the oldest manuscript is from the fourteenth century and the text certainly attributes to Thessaloniki attitudes that are more suitable for the fourteenth century and the widespread use of the falcon by young nobles.⁴⁹ It is,

⁴⁶ Daphnopates, *Letters* 14.32-6 (Darrouzès), our translation.

⁴⁷ Daphnopates, *Letters* 37.63-4 (Darrouzès). On this letter and its attribution to Daphnopates, see Chernoglazov 2013, underlining the Prodromic character of the text through its use of themes and literary techniques present in the twelfth century.

⁴⁸ Dvornik 1933, 351.

⁴⁹ On the dating of the manuscript, see *ibid.* 339.

however, also possible that the text transposes to Thessaloniki a Slavic reality of the tenth century: the *De Administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus contains information that falcons were exchanged as diplomatic gifts among Slavic populations, as the Serbs proposed to Boris of Bulgaria a peace treaty where the tribute consisted in providing him with, among other things, two hunting falcons (φαλκώνια).⁵⁰

The second witness of a Byzantine taste for falconry in the tenth century comes from the Arab world in the form of a treatise on falconry dated to 995. In the chapter on goshawks, the author notes that “we have only seen two in our country and they were presented as gifts by the emperor of the Byzantines [Basil II] to our master, the Emir of Believers”.⁵¹ In the same treatise, there is an edifying story that involves Byzantium and birds of prey, more specifically goshawks. It is the story of a muslim who travels to Byzantium and comes across a Byzantine man who attracts goshawks, supposedly by imitating them, but then kills the first two birds that come to him. The third bird, “smaller and less beautiful than the first two”, is caught but not killed and the man celebrates by dancing and drinking himself into stupour. The visitor is very upset, takes the man prisoner and forces him to reveal why he killed the first two birds. The Byzantine man replies: “What made me decide to kill the two birds was that they were not purebred and that they were marked by famine; while this little goshawk is perfect and will fly to catch the crane.” He then promises to prove this, and a week later the Muslim man is offered a display of how the small goshawk catches a crane. This is “a good story”, concludes the narrator, “if it is true, but I have not witnessed the event, only heard it being told at a gathering.”⁵² There is reason to doubt the authenticity of the story, which more likely reflects the stereotypical characteristics that an Arab would attribute to his western neighbour: cruelty to animals, trickery and efficiency.

To this, we could add the most indicative example of the popularity of falcons in tenth-century Byzantium, even if the information comes,

⁵⁰ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Moravcsik, ch. 32.55-56.

⁵¹ Viré 1965, 262.

⁵² Ibid. 271-272.

again, from the oriental world in the form of a cultural hybrid. This indirect reference to the falcon is included in the Greek translation/adaptation of the Arabic *Oneirocriticon* of Achmed. In the chapter devoted to hawks and falcons, drawn from the wisdom of Persians and Egyptians, we learn that a king who dreams that he has liberated these birds for the hunt will send off his glorious commanders; an ordinary man who dreams the same will rise to success.⁵³ The text underlines what has already been noted in the case of tenth-century epistolography: the aristocratization of the falcon. In the dream world, the bird of prey signifies power, riches and glory, while the loss of it means the exact opposite. This dream book also contains a curious reference to the consumption of falcon meat: he who dreams of eating the meat or wings of a falcon “will be enriched by a very high and important person”.⁵⁴ With the falcon as an attribute of royalty, the partaking of its flesh is a way of sharing power. The same kind of renewed interest in falconry can be seen in art, with the multiplication of falcon scenes on clay objects.⁵⁵

From the eleventh century onwards, the falcon as part of the spectacular and aristocratic/imperial hunt is solidly attested. The most detailed descriptions from this period are written by Michael Psellos. In the *Chronographia*, he offers a depiction of the activities of the great ancestor of the dynasty, Isaac I Komnenos (1057-1059):

Isaac was passionately devoted to hunting (ἐπτόητο περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια). No one was ever more fascinated by the difficulties of this sport. It must be admitted, moreover, that he was skilled in the

⁵³ Achmed, *Oneirocriticon* 232.16-20 (Drex1).

⁵⁴ Achmed, *Oneirocriticon* 233.2-5 (Drex1). The *Oneirocriticon* of Achmed transplants Arab imagery of the falcon in Byzantine soil, but the bird of prey is also present in other dream books of the Byzantine period; see e.g. Nikephoros, *Oneirocriticon* appendix II, 54 (Guidorizzi).

⁵⁵ As stated by Wartburg 2001, 125, on the representation of hunting scenes with bird of prey: “from the mid 6th to the later 10th century equivalent representations are very rare. The end of the 10th century marks a significant change: the number of relevant examples increases perceptibly; the geographical range of their origin widens; the objects bearing such pictorial motifs become more varied. These tendencies steadily grow stronger towards the 12th and early 13th century.”

art, for he rode lightly and his shouts and halloos lent wings to the dogs, besides frightening the coursing hare. On several occasions he even caught the quarry in full flight with his hand. He was, too, a dead shot with a spear. But crane-hunting attracted him more, and when the birds were flying high in the air he still refused to give up the hunt. He would shoot them down from the sky, and truly his pleasure at this was not unmixed with wonder. The wonder was that a bird so exceptionally big, with feet and legs like lances, hiding itself behind the clouds, should, in the twinkling of an eye, be caught by an object so much smaller than itself (ὕπὸ βραχυτέρου ἠλίσκετο). The pleasure he derived from the bird's fall, for the crane, as it fell, danced the dance of death, turning over and over, now on its back now on its belly.⁵⁶

Isaac engages in an athletic hunt that demonstrates his courage and skills; he prefers the hunting of cranes and small animals to that of wild beasts. This text heralds the framework of imperial hunting on the twelfth century: the heroic hunt (of wild beasts) turning into pleasure hunting, even though both types are practiced in the Komnenian period. Crane hunting becomes a specialisation, at least according to the texts that have come down to us – the most noble kind of hunt for an aristocratic society. Psellos here indicates that the hunt was effectuated by a smaller bird (ὕπὸ βραχυτέρου ἠλίσκετο), that is, through a bird of prey. We here have the two elements present in the ekphrasis by Manasses, the falcon and the crane; Manuel thus becomes a replica of the founder of the dynasty, Isaac.

Psellos also uses the imagery of hunting in three letters addressed to John Doukas. In the first, he expresses the distance between hunter and intellectual, before presenting a romantic image of his hero as ideal hunter:

I used to ridicule hunting and make fun of such activities; and I tried to dissuade you from them and used to advise you to instead spend time with books. But now I have changed my mind, I am not that demented.

⁵⁶ Psellos, *Chonographia* 7.72 (Reinsch); tr. Sewter. On this passage, see Patlagean 1992, 259; Delobette 2005, 288. Cf. also a reference to the qualities of the same emperor as hunter in Psellos, *Letter* 142.56-64 (Papaioannou).

What do I prescribe for you? Ride your horses, hunt, jump through trenches, traverse rivers, gallop downhill and run up steep paths! Carry the falcon to your right, sitting unbound on your arm, and send him against geese, against partridges, against pigeons. If he captures the game in his flight, don't expect the Laconian dogs to trace the escaped animal. But if the latter has taken refuge somewhere, surround the grove, urge the dogs and don't give up until you catch it.⁵⁷

With characteristic irony, Psellos describes in some detail the hunting with falcon that he tends to despise, but that he now tolerates because it is being practiced by his friend (and brings somewhat exotic food to his table). Doukas is accompanied not only by his falcon, but also by a pack of dogs. If the falcon drops the game, the dogs will find it.⁵⁸

In a second letter to the same addressee, Psellos presents an account of a hunt that he has heard from someone else, involving the noble reaction of John Doukas faced with the loss of his brave hunting bird.

My dearest Andronikos [the son of John Doukas] graciously told me about the crane hunt and how the smallest animal, the most insidious of its species, hunts the big crane reaching beyond the clouds (ὕπερνεφοῦντα) with her wings; how he sneaks in under (ὕπεισιδόν) the wings of the crane, besieges her and knocks her down like a wall and tears her up with his claws. Then, when Andronikos concluded his story by the fact that recently your wonderful animal was killed by a crane and that you felt no grief, but were instead glad and almost jumped with admiration for the animal's demise, saying that he died fighting and that he sacrificed his life in war, and you sung a kind of funeral speech to the animal, and then you did not consider it right to dispose of your arms, but buried the bird while wearing your breastplate and the rest of your gear – to hear this admirable story, extraordinary and brave, made me jump, o sacred soul.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Psellos, *Letter* 54.3-14 (Papaioannou), our translation.

⁵⁸ Similar advice is offered at Demetrios Pepagomenos (?), *Hieracosophium* 301.185-9 (Hercher): καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ πτεροῦ θηρεύσῃ, μείζον τὸ ἔργον εἰ δὲ ἐν καταφυγίῳ εἰσέλθοιεν οἱ διωκόμενοι πέρδικες, ἄνω δὲ πέταται ἢ καθίση ἐγγὺς ὁ ἰέραξ, δεῖ σε τὸν θηρατικὸν κύνα καλέσαι καὶ ταῖς εἰθισμέναις προσλαλιᾷς παροτρύνειν.

⁵⁹ Psellos, *Letter* 67.41-54 (Papaioannou), our translation.

Psellos shows in an allusive manner, through the use of prepositions (ὑπερνεφούντα - ὑπεισιδόν) a certain preference for the crane “reaching the clouds with her wings” to the sneaky animal that acts “stealthily”. At the same time, irony is even more pronounced than in the former letter: first, it is a failed hunt, because the hunter (the bird of prey) is defeated and killed by the hunted bird (the crane); second, the losing party is treated like a war hero and buried with military honours. We know nothing about the circumstances of this hunt, but we may note that several of the images presented in the letter are also present in the ekphrasis by Manasses, who probably was familiar with the letters of Psellos and may have entered into a fruitful literary dialogue with his predecessor.⁶⁰

In a third letter to the same addressee, Psellos imagines himself as a hunter: “Even I, though a philosopher and completely devoted to books, if a man would take me out of my beloved academic pursuits, put a glove on my hand and give me a bird of prey, I would look at him approvingly and cover his chest with kisses.”⁶¹ In fact, Psellos does not imagine himself as a hunter, but as an aristocrat. The falcon is not a means of catching birds, but a symbol and attribute of social standing, and the image of a man carrying a falcon on his hand is a model of nobility.

Falconry in the twelfth century

References to falconry increase from the twelfth century onwards. Anna Komnene narrates a story of a man in charge of the imperial falcons,⁶² and a series of other texts support the central position of falcons in the life of aristocrats. The description by Manasses is of particular importance here, together with an ekphrasis by Constantine Pantechnes.⁶³ In the following we will examine the information that the two texts offer

⁶⁰ On the presence of Psellos’ letters among intellectuals of the twelfth century, see Papaioannou 2012 and 2020 (forthcoming).

⁶¹ Psellos, *Letter* 76. 36-39 (Papaioannou).

⁶² Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 7.9.2 (Reinsch & Kambylis).

⁶³ Ed. Miller 1872. The ekphrasis by Pantechnes is preserved in the same manuscript that contains also Manasses’ *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches* and *Description of a little man* (Scorialensis Y II. 10 – Andrés 265); for editions of the texts by Manasses, see Horna 1905, 6-12; Messis & Nilsson 2015.

on methods and techniques of falconry. The two ekphraseis are different in many ways; a primary difference is Manasses' vagueness as regards technical details – instead he focuses on visual and emotional aspects of the hunt.

Manasses presents an imperial hunt that involves several types of birds of prey. It is organized as a military campaign of the single combat type in which the hero-fighter (Manuel), his multiple aids (a staff responsible for the organization of the hunt) and a crowd of spectators (among which the narrator of the ekphrasis) take part. The weapons used for this kind of hunt were dogs and birds of prey. The birds of prey fall into two categories: beginners and veterans, the latter being more valuable than the former (§6). There were also birds of prey specializing in different kinds of game (§6 and 9). Whoever held the hunting bird had to wear gloves to avoid being torn by the talons of the animals (§7) and the birds were held back by leashes or jesses (§9). The most noble birds came inexperienced from Iberia (today's Georgia); it was the emperor and his servants who were responsible for their training (§10). Throwing the falcon at the right moment required attention so that it could spot and surprise its target (§10). The moment the attacking bird was about to be defeated, substitute birds were released to rescue the fighter (§8). Finally, when the crane fell for the first time, they cut its talons and trimmed its beak before releasing it to fly and then sent young birds after it to learn to hunt without risk (§13).

This concrete information on falconry provided by Manasses is complemented by the detailed description of the majestic falcon of the emperor which appears in the text as an archetypical image of the perfect bird of prey (§8). But this falcon does not take part in the hunt; it is another experienced bird that launches the battle against the cranes: “This bird, sitting on the emperor's wrist, was very strong, had a fiery heart, was of venerable age, experienced in a thousand killings and trained in several Olympiads of this kind –an old Nestor, one would say, who instructed his own breed in the killing of cranes” (§10). When the crane has been released to fly again, after having her talons and beak cut, the young birds are launched against her “to upset, to tear with their beaks, to taste blood and flesh and lean about similar things”

(§13). Crane hunting thus functions like a school to train a new generation of bird hunters.

The ekphrasis of Pantechnes falls into two parts: the first is devoted to hunting with birds of prey and dogs, while the second is devoted to another peculiarity of the period, namely hunting with leopards or cheetahs.⁶⁴ Leaving the hunting leopard aside, we will concentrate on the references to hunting by means of “cruel falcons and mountain herons (τοὺς ἐπιβούλους ἰέρακας καὶ τοὺς πετραίους ἐρωδιούς).”⁶⁵ Pantechnes speaks of an imperial hunt without the presence of the emperor, but carried out by his staff under the orders of a high dignitary (ὁ μεγιστάν) in order to provide the imperial cuisine with game. This dignitary was “in charge of managing the imperial table” (καὶ γὰρ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης ἐπεμεμέλητο) and the hunting party was looking in particular for “partridges and wild beasts” (εἰς περδίκων καὶ κνωδάλων ἀνεύρεσιν).⁶⁶ Pantechnes refers first to the staff who were responsible for the birds of prey, calling them “pedagogues of noble birds” (εὐγενῶν ὀρνίθων παιδαγωγοί) and then offers a description of the birds:

Perched on their wrists were multicoloured and long-winged falcons (ἰέρακες), black and sharp-seeing hawks (φάλκωνες), herons (ἐρωδιοί) with crooked talons; most of their feathers were white while others leaned towards black and thus it looked like a speckled arrangement. You would have thought that many were covered with frost, especially those that time had turned white. Each of these birds had their feet attached; the falconer had made a kind of strap for the birds, the end of which was wound around the fingers of the falconers. This is how they were kept.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ The terminology is as confused as that of falcons and hawks. Buquet 2011 has argued for the difference between leopards and panthers, while Nicholas 1999 proposes that the Greek word *πάρδαλις* correspond to the cheetah. On the hunting with leopards, see Papagiannaki 2017.

⁶⁵ Pantechnes, *Ekphrasis* 47 (Miller).

⁶⁶ Pantechnes, *Ekphrasis* 47 (Miller).

⁶⁷ Pantechnes, *Ekphrasis* 48 (Miller), our translation.

Pantechnes only describes the birds that take part in the hunt, which is presented in a summary manner in the following. There is no better description of the hunting process, so we allow ourselves a long citation:

They throw... the impetuous hawks for which they let go the straps. As they are used to, as soon as they are released from their bond, they take off, soar lightly into space and float from the air above in order to locate the hunted beast ... the hawk makes a hissing sound, rushes on the animal, tears it with its talons and stops it from fleeing ... The falconers then throw against the partridges the birds they have in their hands, trained for this purpose. Some flee, others attack; it is like a sort of struggle and combat between the hunter and the hunted. Most partridges finally manage to escape, but some have the unfortunate fate of being caught. The carnivorous birds dig the tips of their talons into the flesh of the partridges, tear them apart and kill them. These wretches cry out painfully and fill the air with the sound of their flapping wings. As for the proud hawk, it is preched proudly on the partridge, as if it takes pride in the spectacle, turning often to one side and the other, seeming to threaten those who would try approach at this moment.⁶⁸

Pantechnes clearly speaks of a staff specialised in the care of falcons, the *ἱερακάριοι* whom we know of since Late Antiquity, but who have been absent in texts for a long time. Finally, he adds another piece of information that is missing in Manasses, the reward for the bird of prey after a succesful flight:

They give a little, or almost nothing, of the entrails of the game to the dogs and falcons that have hunted to taste, not to cure their hunger, but just to turn their beaks red and flatter their palates with the taste of blood; then they send them back starving for a second hunt, furious and with gaping jaws. In fact, unless hunger torments birds of prey, they will not be ready to fly and will be ill-disposed for hunting.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Pantechnes, *Ekphrasis* 49-50 (Miller), our translation.

⁶⁹ Pantechnes, *Ekphrasis* 49 (Miller), our translation.

This is what the information provided by Manasses and Pantechnes on falconry amounts to. The two twelfth-century authors offer the most important texts on the use of hunting birds, on imperial hunting, its theatricality and the participation of spectators, but with some compelling differences. First, the presence of the emperor turns the hunt described by Manasses into a political act of high significance. The second difference, closely related to the first, is the nature of the game. In the hunt of Pantechnes, they explicitly hunt birds and hares for the imperial table, while in the hunt of Manasses, even if we know that cranes were prepared as food, the hunt is for pure pleasure; at least, there is not reference at all to any utilitarian use of the game.

In the twelfth century, falconry was a kind of aristocratic custom that concerned not only soldier and adults; from then on it became part also of the education of young princes. In a poem addressed to the Sebastokratorissa Eirene, Theodore Prodromos presents the education of a young aristocrat who would eventually learn to become the ideal soldier. Concerning the birth of Eirene's son Alexios, Prodromos assigns to the mother of the boy an energetic role in the education of her child. The boy should be trained as a soldier and accustomed to handling weapons from the earliest age:

Leaving aside the multiple cares of childbirth, prepare the armour of the young soldier; foals of the same age as the newborn should be trained, Arab and Thessalian foals, servants in combat; bridles should be prepared, caparisons made; a breed of hunting dogs that run to track should be raised with the child during as well as a breed of falcons (γένος κυνῶν θηρευτικῶν ἰχνευτικῶν δρομάδων / συνανηβάτω τῷ παιδί καὶ γένος ἱεράκων).⁷⁰

All other equipment must be prepared in detail: the breastplate, the javelins, the bows, the swords. Elsewhere, he addresses the child himself, characterizing him as “a beautiful chick of a falcon flying high (ἱέρακος ταχυπετοῦς νεόττιον ὠραῖον) ... that intelligently exercises hunting from a most tender age” (καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἄγραν εὐφυεὲς ἐξ ἀπαλῶν

⁷⁰ Theodore Prodromos, *Poem 44, 67-73* (Hörandner), our translation.

ὄνυχων),⁷¹ presenting at the same time the ideal of the aristocratic life: “defeat the children of your age, and the older ones as well, go from being a baby to a boy, from a boy to an adolescent and then play with the ball nimbly, hunt with nobility (ἀρίστως κυνηγέται), ride, shoot with the bow, practice combat.”⁷² The aristocratic ideal of the twelfth century incorporates the images of the soldier and the hunter, as we have already seen, but in this case it is a rather delicate hunter who engages in pleasure hunting with his falcons, a young aristocrat, aspiring to be a young soldier experimenting as he is reaching maturity.

Strength, efficiency, cleverness and intelligence govern the metaphorical uses of the falcon, when one wants to praise someone. Thus, according to Eustathios of Thessalonike, Andronikos Lapardas, “whom the Turkish sultan had decided to call ‘the Hawk’ because of his intelligence and swiftness of action”, was very familiar with military art.⁷³ Manasses, speaking of Romanos Diogenes and his manner of attacking the enemies, compares him with “a swift falcon, killer of birds”.⁷⁴ Anna Komnene, describing the eyes of her unfortunate fiancé as a child, Constantine Doukas, writes that “his eyes were not light-coloured, but hawk-like (ἰέρακος ἐοικότες), shone from beneath the brows, like a precious stone set in a golden ring”,⁷⁵ and she cites a popular song addressing Alexios as falcon (γεράκιν), saying (in Anna’s ‘translation’) that he flew off “like some falcon (ἰέραξ) soaring on high, away from the scheming barbarians”.⁷⁶ The eyes of a falcon signifies in a man a particular attribute; at the same time it can be adapted as a kind of theatrical appearance, as in the case of Kroustoulas, cited by Psellos, who performs the Passions of the Martyrs in the churches “adapting the look of a cherub or a lion, an ape and a falcon too (παρόμοιον καὶ ἰέρακι).⁷⁷ It is difficult to imagine what exactly this means, but it should be a penetrating look, firm and unyielding.

⁷¹ Theodore Prodromos, *Poem* 44, 135 and 137 (Hörandner), our translation.

⁷² Theodore Prodromos, *Poem* 44, 170-172 (Hörandner), our translation.

⁷³ Eustathios of Thessalonike, *The Capture of Thessalonike* 22.5-7; tr. Melville-Jones.

⁷⁴ Constantine Manasses, *Verses chronicle* 6460 (Lampsides): στρουθιοφόνης, εἶποι τις, ἰέραξ ὠκυπέτης.

⁷⁵ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 3.1.3 (Reinsch & Kambylis), tr. Sewter & Frankopan.

⁷⁶ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 2.4.9 (Reinsch & Kambylis), tr. Sewter & Frankopan.

⁷⁷ Michael Psellos, *Eulogy of Kroustoulas* 314-315 (Littlewood).

In Prodomos, the eulogy of a soldier and his father is accompanied by comparisons drawn from the animal world in which the falcons holds an honorary position; the person is described as “cub of a brave lion, chick of a golden peacock / the airborne son of a falcon flying high in the sky (ὕψιπετοῦς ἰέρακος αἰθεροδρόμον τέκνον)”,⁷⁸ or elsewhere as “beautiful chick of a falcon flying high in the sky”.⁷⁹ In Niketas Choniates, the bird that appears to Andronikos I and announces his destiny as he enters Hagia Sophia is “a falcon used for hunting (ἰέραξ τοῦ θηρεύειν ἐθάς), with white plumage and feet held by a cord”.⁸⁰

If we are to believe Eustathios of Thessalonike, hunting with birds of prey reached even beyond aristocrats to the ranks of clergy and monks. According to the pamphlet that he composed against certain monks in Thessalonike, there were religious men who went to the countryside in the company of dogs to hunt and who also had “birds of prey (θηρατικοὶ ὄρνις) perched on their arms, so that they would fetch the game for them”.⁸¹ In this case, falconry loses its justification of being a preparation for war; it becomes instead an eloquent symptom for moral decadence.⁸²

The ancient Greek storyworld of the Komnenian novels includes no birds of prey, so the only reference to this kind of hunt in fictional literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is to a *hierakarios* (ἰερακάριος) who travels in the service of a rich man and falls in love with his wife. This is the protagonist of an edifying story in *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, a series of oriental tales translated and adapted into Greek by Symeon Seth. The naughty and shameless falconer, facing the resistance of his beloved, comes up with a strategy: he hunts and captures magpies – with the obvious help of his falcon – and trains them so that they say, in Persian, that the woman committed adultery

⁷⁸ Theodore Prodomos, *Poem* 19.144-145 (Hörandner) (to John Komnenos, having returned victorious from an expedition against the Persians).

⁷⁹ Prodomos, *Poem* 44.135. On this poem, see above.

⁸⁰ Niketas Choniates, *History* 251 (van Dielen).

⁸¹ Eustathe, *De emendenda* 169.8-9 (Metzler). On clergy and falconry in the West, see Oggins 2004, 120-126.

⁸² See also the comparison between monk and falcon in the tradition of the Church fathers: Ephraim the Syrian, *Ad imitationem proverbiorum* 238.4 (Frantzolis).

with her janitor. After the scandal breaks out, the woman protests and the falconer when questioned denies what has happened, it is the falcon that re-establishes the truth: it attacks the eyes of his trainer and pierces them (καὶ τοῦτο λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ἄφνω ἀναπηδήσας ὁ ἰέραξ τοὺς δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐξεκέντησεν).⁸³ The relationship between falcon and falconer must be based on honesty, it is a relationship of equality and mutual respect and not of hierarchy and injustice. The noble falcon cannot serve a mean man.

The falconer that embodies the atmosphere *fin de siècle* and offers a bitter critique of an entire era of political and social evolution, is not a fearless Byzantine soldier, but a shameless Western woman: Euphrosyne, wife of Alexios III Angelos, who, according to Niketas Choniates, “wore on her hand leather fitted around the fingers and shot through with gold, on which she held a bird trained to hunt game; going out for the chase, she clucked and shouted out commands and was followed by a considerable number of those who attend to and care after such things.”⁸⁴ Her presence signals the complete denigration of hunting turned into pure leisure with no military purpose: hunting has become an affair of foreign women about whom the parrots of the city, trained by the indignant people, cried in the streets: “the whore makes the law” (πολιτικὴ τὸ δίκαιον).⁸⁵ If the men of the Komnenian dynasty are exalted to have exercised hunting between and as a preparation for wars, Byzantium at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century knows its decline in the figure of the woman-hunter – a prostitute who plays with birds while the Empire is collapsing.

Henry Maguire has explained the link between emperor and bird of prey in art and literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as a conscious effort of the learned elite to demonstrate the stranglehold

⁸³ *Stephanites and Ichnelates* 2.71 (Sjöberg).

⁸⁴ Niketas Choniates, *History* 520 (van Dieten), tr. Magoulias.

⁸⁵ Niketas Choniates, *History* 520 (van Dieten) our translation; Magoulias translates “O strumpet, a fair price if you please!”, while Pontani 2014, 151 and 505, n. 85, has “alla puttana il giusto”. The woman with the falcon (most often a prize for her beauty) is one of the portrayals of heroines in the Western romances; see Le Rider 1998 on *Erec et Enide* by Chrétien de Troyes; on the use of birds of prey by Western women, see Oggins 2004, 118-19.

of the emperor on foreign peoples.⁸⁶ Maguire speaks of an “iconography of ‘soft power’” which is exercised through the representation of falconry.⁸⁷ He concludes that “from the Byzantine perspective the symbol of the trained and obedient falcon was a new and more subtle variant of the old idea of the victorious emperor destroying wild beasts by himself; it was an image more in tune with the new political reality in which the Byzantines found themselves in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries.”⁸⁸ From our perspective, that conclusion seems a little forced. Without excluding a specific political message, to which we shall return, the relationship between the emperor and the falcon is a symbol of both political and aesthetic order: in our view, the description by Manasses is a demonstration of a new aesthetics of imperial power rather than a political message that relates to a concrete situation.⁸⁹

4. A noble game: the crane

The third aspect of Manasses’ ekphrasis that deserves special attention is the game of the hunt: the crane, or rather the common crane (*grus cinerea*). The crane seems to have been a popular motif in Byzantine literature of the twelfth century: in addition to this ekphrasis, Manasses also refers to the Homeric confrontation between pygmies and cranes in the *Description of a little man* and to the leftovers of a crane that has been part of a meal in the *Description of the Earth*.⁹⁰ Theodore Prodromos discusses its consumption on more than one occasion,⁹¹ while Niketas

⁸⁶ Maguire 2011.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 137; see also 140: “the birds of prey symbolise the ruler’s ability to get others to do his killing for him.”

⁸⁸ Ibid. 145.

⁸⁹ Cf. ibid. 141: “... here, the falconry is seen as a kind of analogue of the kind of diplomacy that sought to use foreigners to fight on behalf of the empire.”

⁹⁰ Manasses, *Description of a little man* 7-8 (Messis & Nilsson), cf. *Il.* 3.3-7; Manasses, *Description of the Earth* 189-205 (Lampsides), here esp. 146: πέρδικος σκέλος καὶ κνήμη γεράνου καὶ ῥάχης λαγώ.

⁹¹ Prodromos, *Letter* 26.12-14 (Op de Coul); Prodromos (?), *Schede tou myos* 1.17 (Papathomopoulos). The latter is almost identical to the line in Manasses’ *Description of the Earth* cited above. The attribution of the *Schede tou myos* to Prodromos has

Choniates uses the imagery of crying cranes for describing the anguish of the Latins of Constantinople on the eve of the fall of the city in 1204, when their neighbourhood is attacked by the angry mob.⁹² John Tzetzes describes, in his *Chiliades*, their spectacular migration, following the ancient account of Aelian:

The cranes, acting jointly, travel together and when winter approaches, they head for Egypt. Flying, they form a triangle because thus they traverse more easily the air. They also have guards: rear guards and vanguards. When they are about to leave for Egypt and reach the river Eubros in Thrace, they line up by troops and lines. The oldest crane of all first makes a tour and controls the army; then she falls down dead. After having buried her, the others help each other during attacks from eagles and other birds.⁹³

There are numerous examples like these throughout the twelfth century. It is reasonable to imagine that the topic belonged to the school curriculum, which would have provoked the interest that has left literary traces.⁹⁴ The description by Manasses is, however, an ekphrastic masterpiece with its detailed description of the bird with its long and slender neck, tall and straight legs and a plumage in various dark shades of black and grey (§14). Competing with a small child in height, the large bird clearly impressed its spectators.

As already noted, descriptions of cranes can be traced back to Homer, lending them a special place in ancient and late antique literature.⁹⁵ One of the most interesting examples from the Byzantine period is that provided in the *Miracles* of Thekla, describing the creation of a menagerie for birds or a paradisiacal garden by the atrium of the saint's church – the birds were supplied by the pilgrims as votive gifts. Among these

been questioned; see Nilsson 2021 (forthcoming) and Lauxtermann (forthcoming).

⁹² Choniates, *History* (van Dieten) 392.

⁹³ John Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 4.52-64 (Leone), our translation. Cf. Aelian, *On the nature of animals* 2.1.

⁹⁴ See e.g. *Schedos* 103 (Τοῦ Περιβλεπτηνοῦ) in Vassis 2002, 53 (on geese and cranes).

⁹⁵ See e.g. Homer *Il.* 2.460; 3.3-7; 15.692. Cf. Tzetzes, *Allegories in the Iliad* 2.97 and 3.1-5 (Hunger).

birds was a crane that had taken out the eye of a sick child, thus curing him from his eye illness.⁹⁶ The crane, captured and offered by a pilgrim to the garden of Thekla, transforms into an instrument of the saint's grace, performing miracles on the child. The author does not mention how the bird was captured, but we may assume that it was not in a brutal hunt. According to the Byzantine paraphrase of the *Ixeutica* of Dionysius, cranes could be caught by three different methods: lime,⁹⁷ birds of prey or noose.⁹⁸ In the case of the crane of Thekla's garden, he would have been caught by the first or the third method.

But cranes were caught primarily with the use of falcons, which means that they were highly valued as game for the rich and noble. The crane being a royal game par excellence among the Arabs from at least the tenth century,⁹⁹ crane hunting by falcons is more frequent in Byzantine literature starting in the eleventh century. We have already seen above that for Psellos, in his praise of Isaak Komnenos and letters addressed to John Doukas, crane hunting with falcons becomes the most noble kind of hunt for aristocrats, anticipating the amusing and recreational hunt of the next century. In one of his letters to Doukas, Psellos even metamorphizes into a bird (earlier he mentions cranes), ready to be captured by his hero: "If you want to hunt me, I will fly above your head and cover myself in clouds for you. And you will catch me if I want to be caught, and not catch me if I don't want you to catch me; I too am a free and wild animal at ease, and I will not listen to the voice of the tax collector."¹⁰⁰ Among all hunted animals, he chooses to be the game of a noble hunt.

⁹⁶ *Miracles of Thekla* 24.25-28 et 32-41 (Dagron). As noted by Dagron in his introduction (p. 70), this description could be inspired by a mosaic floor.

⁹⁷ *Paraphrase* 3.11 (Garzya). Cf. also Vendries 2009, 123.

⁹⁸ Dionysius, *Ixeutica* 3.11 (Garzya) and *Paraphrase* 3.11 (Garzya). For a French translation of the passage, see Prioux 2009, 179. See also *Greek Anthology* 6.109 (Antipater on the capture of cranes by strings).

⁹⁹ See Lévi-Provençal 2002², 55, on a royal falconer at the court of Cordoba in the tenth century, responsible for crane hunting. See also the account of Al-Aziz bi-llah on the Byzantines in the tenth century, cited above.

¹⁰⁰ Psellos, *Letter* 53.36-38 (Papaioannou). See also Psellos, *Letter* 76.40-45 (Papaioannou); here he chooses to be a bird that sings (ὡς κίτταν, ὡς ψιττακόν, ὡς εὐκέλαδον τέττιγα, ὡς ἄλλο τι τῶν μουσικῶν), calling his hunter.

In another letter to the same recipient, Psellos reprimands Doukas for abandoning books for the delights of hunting. On this occasion, he lists the preferred game of his addressee : “You, you turn not to a logical and intellectual impulse, but to the effort to bring out of the forest any deer or a wild boar with sharp teeth and pierce it through the collar bone or to bring down any crane that flies above the clouds and laugh pleasantly when seeing how it dances its own death.”¹⁰¹ In the universe of Psellos, hunting is presented as a noble activity, related to his own quest for knowledge; it also becomes a literary metaphor to describe Psellos’ relation with the aristocrats: he takes on the appearance of a noble game, a majestic bird or a songbird that offers itself voluntarily to the more powerful.¹⁰² The crane is an integral part of this imagery that translates the social relationships between the hunter and the hunted. Psellos in a way anticipates the ekphrasis of Manasses and the literary interest in the crane in the Komnenian period. When the empire collapses in 1204, crane hunting continues in Nicaea and Epiros, but without the brilliance, symbolism and political effectiveness of the previous era.¹⁰³

The crane was also a consumable bird in Byzantium and in the medieval West, eaten primarily by aristocrats and kings. There are several references to this, at least in the twelfth century. The texts by Manasses and Prodromos, presenting the leftovers of a sumptuous meal, both include a crane leg, and we can add a text by their contemporary Michael Italikos.¹⁰⁴ In a satirical poem, probably dated to the same century, a poor man fills his belly with vegetables and onions while watching a representation of various game in the utensils he is using: he dreams of eating hares, peacocks and cranes and he tells his imaginary servant to bring him rich man’s food: peacock, pheasant, crane and swan. The poor

¹⁰¹Psellos, *Letter* 76.25-30 (Papaioannou).

¹⁰²Cf. the frequent imagery employed by Constantine Manasses, presenting himself as a songbird in the service of his patrons; see Nilsson 2021 (forthcoming).

¹⁰³For Nicaea, Theodore Doukas Laskaris speaks of crane hunting with a bird of prey in a letter to Joseph Mesopotamites; *Letter* 112.9-13 (Festa). In another letter to George Mouzalon, he regrets the fact that he was obliged to fight the Bulgarians instead of hunting; *Letter* 202.24-25 (Festa). For Epiros, see *Chronicle of Tocco* 3466-3467 (Schiro).

¹⁰⁴Michael Italikos, *Letter* 1, 62.17-19 (Gautier).

man's imagination even costs him a trial because of an accusation from an envious neighbour!¹⁰⁵ In a vernacular text of the fourteenth century, staging a fight between different kinds of birds, the crane brags of being part of royal tables and of the fact that its legs, prepared with wine, is an exquisite treat for commanders.¹⁰⁶

In light of this, it is quite a surprise that in the dream books, the crane symbolises poverty. According to the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmed, finding cranes means that one will make no profit, and cranes in general signify the poor.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, even if the flesh of a crane was a generally appreciated dish, to eat it in a dream signified poverty and even illness.¹⁰⁸ The combat between cranes and falcons – symbolizing, in the dream books, the commanders – thus becomes a sort of class war: the large bird must bow before the strength and bellicose value of the small-bodied bird. To conclude, war and pleasure, falcon and crane define, summarize and exemplify some of the core values of Komnenian society. Crane hunting with falcons becomes a literary effect revealing multiple social attitudes.

5. The presence of Emperor Manuel in Manasses' ekphrasis

After this survey of texts concerned with hunting, falconry and cranes, we shall return to where we began: the ekphrasis by Manasses and the hunting of cranes with Manuel I Komnenos at its center. The description is dominated by three portraits: Manuel (§4), his falcon (§7-8) and the crane (§14). There is also a series of secondary portraits: Manuel's other bird of prey, the other birds used for the hunt, the army of cranes acting as soldiers. The portraits may be seen as pearls embedded in the principal description of a hunting expedition and an aerial battle. The involvement of the author-narrator and the spectators in the events plays an auxiliary role in commenting emotionally on the different stages of the hunt. The author-narrator intervenes at least four times: the first time

¹⁰⁵ Zagklas 2016, 901, no 2.1-2.

¹⁰⁶ *Poulologos* 83-5 (Eideneier).

¹⁰⁷ Ahmed, *Oneirocriticon* 234.10 and 12-17 (Drexl).

¹⁰⁸ Ahmed, *Oneirocriticon* 234.21-2 (Drexl).

is to underline his pleasure and his emotions (§3); the second is to say that he was part of the suite of the emperor in search of pleasure (§5); the third is to express his admiration of hunting (§10); and the fourth is to ‘sign’ the ekphrasis with an expression often encountered in such ekphrastic texts (§15: “I have described...”). The reactions of the spectators, shared by the author, express pleasure, astonishment and fright (§11, 13 and 15).

The portrait that Manasses devotes to Manuel is a complex image divided into several parts, of which three are the most important. The first and longest presents Manuel alone in his majesty and praises the protagonist as an ideal soldier and hunter in accordance with the political ideology and rhetorical habits of Komnenian authors. The purple-born emperor is not only a brave and virtuous man with mighty hands, he is also a lion and an eagle who terrifies his enemies (§4). This image emphasizes the military activity of the emperor, without forgetting to add a romantic touch to a man whom “the entire catalogue of graces embraced and breastfed and offered milk of myriad virtues”. The first image of Manuel thus presents him as a statue of bravery and grace. The second image presents him once again alone, circulating majestically among his hunting companions: “In the middle rode the emperor gently, without hurrying, without frequently spurring his horse and without inciting him to gallop” (§6). The third image presents him together with his bird of prey and again endows him with grace and nobility. The bird is not any bird, but “an old and noble falcon, capable of daring also large animals” (§7) – his beauty and grace matches and reflects that of the emperor, who has also trained him.

Manasses’ portrait of Manuel, holding his falcon on his left arm, supervising the preparations of the hunt and then giving the signal to start, is intended to be monumental – like a painting that manifests his heroic character. It is significant that the imperial falcon does not participate in the hunt – in order to launch the hunt, Manuel uses another bird, as old and noble as the first (§10). The first falcon participates only as a spectator by choice. It should also be noted that the imperial falcon is a female. It is a falcon for display only: the *alter ego* of the emperor, the prolongation of his left hand, his female counterpart and a symbol of

his power. With the description of the imperial falcon that follows the portrait of the emperor, Manasses wishes to paint a portrait of perfect and monumental beauty which is a pendant to the preceding portrait of Manuel. The text presents the falcon as an element of the décor of imperial ritual. A fictional narrative of the late eleventh or the early twelfth century, a free adaptation of an oriental text, *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, offers a suitable comment on this image: “the falcon, because it is wild (ὁ ἰέραξ ἄγριος ὄν), is summoned and taken by kings, because of the profit (λυσιτέλειαν) to be gained, and carried on the fist.”¹⁰⁹ The profit to be gained is clearly symbolic rather than economic.

Is this image of the emperor with a falcon related to a chivalrous hero, fashionable in this period in the Western romances, where the bird of prey is an attribute of the courtly lover?¹¹⁰ Are we dealing with an image that infiltrates Constantinople because of the contacts with the Westerners or with a natural evolution of the image of the “noble man with a falcon” that we have encountered in Byzantine literature of the eleventh century? To us, it seems more likely that Manasses was inspired by the Byzantine tradition: the portraits of the eleventh century and the Manassean portrait of Manuel underline the military and not the amorous character of the protagonist. The lover’s image is only implied: Psellos wants to become the falcon, that is, the object of almost erotic attentions, of his hero, while in all portraits of Manuel, including this, the graces are always awaiting in the background. In the ekphrasis, the fact that Manuel’s falcon does not participate in the hunt means that the only female character present in the scene is given the role of spectator of the exploits of the hero – a scenario known from the romance. Accordingly, we cannot exclude the possibility that we could be dealing with an adaptation, or a kind of reappropriation of a Western imagery which is attractive to the Byzantines. Romance imagery of the Western-style falcon was admittedly rejected by Choniates in the case of Euphrosyne, but Choniates was describing a different storyworld: that of the Fall in 1204.

¹⁰⁹ *Stephanites and Ichnelates* 1.10 (Sjöberg).

¹¹⁰ Van den Abeele 1994, 41: “l’oiseau de vol est un attribut de l’amant courtois”; see also Van den Abeele 1990, 251.

The *Description of a crane hunt* was written and performed at a certain point in history, and it might be tempting to propose concrete events and dates that could help determine the immediate significance of the text. There are certainly similarities between the ekphrasis and another text by Manasses, the *Encomium of Emperor Manuel Komnenos*, which offers a praise of Manuel's victories against Hungarian tribes in the last years of the 1160s.¹¹¹ The cranes could be seen as symbols of the enemies of the North-West, the birds of prey could indicate the allies of Manuel and the falcon, majestic and motionless, could exemplify his own imperial power. However, we will refrain from such interpretations. We read this ekphrasis as an occasional piece of literature with which Manasses wishes to display his ability to create a vivid and clear (ἐναργές) story according to the rules of the ekphrastic art. He did this in order to praise his patrons or those he wished to have as patrons (in this case the emperor and his entourage), showing off his capacity for fine observations and creative imagination – two qualities that could assure him a certain standard of living.

¹¹¹Ed. Kurtz 1906. On Manuel's campaigns against Hungary (1162-1172), see Magdalino 1993: 78-83. For a comparison between the two texts, see Nilsson 2021 (forthcoming).

Τοῦ Μανασῆ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἔκφρασις κυνηγεσίου γεράνων

1. Ἰππηλάσια δὲ ἄρα καὶ κυνηγέσια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπινενόηται, οὐ πρὸς γυμνάσια μόνον καὶ πρὸς ἐπίρρωσιν σωμαίων συμβάλλεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς καρδίαις τέρψιν ἐνστάζει καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι γάργαλον¹· καλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνόσους ποιοῦσι, πᾶν τὸ νοσηματικὸν ἀποκρίνοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔμβιον συναιρόμενα· καλὰ δὲ καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τὰ πολέμια προεθίζουσιν, (f.181) ἵππευειν καὶ ἐπελαύνειν διδάσκοντα καὶ τάξιν τηρεῖν καὶ μὴ τῆς φάλαγγος προπηδᾶν καὶ τὴν ἐπευθὺ προπαιδεύοντα διώξιν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰ ἐπαρίστερα καὶ ἐνδέξια, πῆ μὲν ἐνδιδόναι τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ἀνέτοις ῥυτῆρσι σφᾶς ἐπὶ δρόμον¹⁰ προτρέπεσθαι, πῆ δὲ πέζειν καὶ ἄγχειν περιστομίους δεσμοῖς, οὓς σίδηρος ἐργάζεται πυριμάλακτος.

2. Καὶ εἶεν ἂν ταῦτα μετρίων, ὡς ἂν εἴποι² τις, ἄσκησις³ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μειζόνων ὑπόμνησιν· ταῦτα μάχη οὐκ ἀνδρολέτειρα⁴, ταῦτα Ἄρης ἀσίδηρος καὶ μὴ λυθρόφυρτον ἔχων τὴν δεξιᾶν μηδὲ τὸ δόρυ φονοσταγῆς. Καλὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μόνοις ἐκείνοις ἀχαρίτωτα καὶ ἀθέλητα, ὅποσοι ἀνέραστοι τοῦ καλοῦ· χαρίεντα δὲ οὐχ ἦττον, ὅτι καὶ ψυχῆς ἄχθος δυσάγκαλον ἐλαφρύνουσι καὶ τὸ δακέθυμον ἀποκρούονται καὶ τὸ λυποῦν ἀπελαύνουσι· καὶ τό γε παρὰ Πυθαγορείοις λεγόμενον, ὡς μέλος ὑπηγήσασα κίθαρις καὶ δόναξ ὑπολύριος ἐμπνευσθεῖς καὶ εἴ⁵ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐμπνευστῶν ὀργάνων καὶ ἐντατῶν, καὶ πρὸς θυμὸν καρδίαν ἐκμαίνει καὶ τινα⁵ εἰς γῆν καχλάζοντα λέβητα δείκνυσι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡμεροῖ καὶ θηλύνει καὶ καταστέλλει τὸ ἀνοιδοῦν καὶ τὸ φλεγμαῖνον⁶ μαλάσσει καθάπερ ἐπίπλαστον ἀκεσώδυνον, τοῦτο κὰν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις κατίδοι τις ἂν· ὄπλοφορίας τὲ γὰρ καὶ ἀνδροκτασίας ὑπομιμνήσκει καὶ ἀσπίδων δούπου καὶ Ἄρεος φιλαιμάτου καὶ νέφος ἀθυμίας ἀπορραπίζει καὶ ἀκτῖνας ἠδονῆς ἐπαφίησι, καὶ οὐχ οὕτω δριμεῖαν ὀδύνην ἔχοι τις ἂν ἐπικάρδιον, ὡς μὴ ταύτην ἀκέσασθαι, λαγίναν ἰδὼν δειλοκάρδιον ἀνισταμένην, διωκομένην, κύνας δρομικοὺς ἀλυσκάζουσιν.

¹ γάργαλον B corr. ex γάργαρον

² εἶπη B, εἴποι K

³ ἄσκησιν B, ἄσκησις K

⁴ ἀνδρολέτηρα B, ἀνδρολέτειρα K

⁵ τὰ B, τινα K

⁶ φλεγμένον B, φλεγμαῖνον K

3. Ἐγωγέ τοι θήρα⁷ γεράνων παρατυχῶν καὶ τῆς τούτων θέας ἐμφορηθεῖς ³⁰
καὶ ἰδὼν ὄπως ὄρνιθες οὕτω βραχύσωμοι τὰ πτίλα ἐπιρροιζοῦσι καὶ
μέχρις αἰθέρος ἐλαφριζόμενοι τοὺς τετανοσκελεῖς ἐκείνους εἰς γῆν
καταφέρουσιν, ἠδονῆς τε ἀπλέτου τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγεμίσθην, καὶ τὴν
μακαρίαν φύσιν κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποθειάζων, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος
ἐθαύμασα, ὅτι τῶν ζῴων τὰ ταπεινόσωμα κραταιοτέρως ἐφώπλισε⁸ καὶ
τοῦ μεγέθους ἀφελομένη τῇ ἰσχύϊ προστέθεικεν.

Εἶδον μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔλαφον ἐλαυνομένην φυζακινήν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φυγῆς
ἀνακοπτομένην τὸ ἄσθμα καὶ καρχαλέαν τῷ δίψει καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν
προβαλλομένην τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος ψυχρίας μεθέξουσιν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν
ἄμα καὶ κυνῶν καρχάρων ἐπειγομένην καὶ ὑπερπηδῶσαν τὰς λόχμας καὶ ⁴⁰
τῆς δενδρίτιδος ὑπεραλλομένην καὶ κατασκιρτῶσαν τῆς ἀρουρίτιδος,
ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ λίμναις⁹ πιστεύουσιν ἑαυτήν, ὡς δῆθεν τὴν ἄγραν ἀλύξῃ,
καὶ κυβιστῶσαν κατὰ τῆς ἄλμης ὥσπερ τὰ θαλασσόβια, τοὺς γε μὴν
κύνας καταταχοῦντας¹⁰ καὶ ἄνδρας φαρετροφόρους ἐπικειμένους καὶ
νευροσπαδέσιν ἀτράκτοις τὴν δειλαίαν ποιουμένους ἐκκόλυμβον. Εἶδον
δὲ καὶ ἀκανθυλλίδας ἀλισκομένας καὶ σπίνους καὶ ἀστρογλήνους καὶ
ὅσοις ὅλοις μικρὰ τὰ πτερύγια καὶ οἷς δαφνοστοίβαστοι ῥᾶβδοι τὸν
δόλον ἀρτύνουσι, φυλλάδας ἀλλοτρίας προβεβλημένοι καὶ προἰσχύμενοι
λύγους ἀηλιμμένους ἰξῶ. Ἐτερπνέ με ποτὲ καὶ μελάμπτερος ψᾶρ καὶ
λάλος ἀκανθυλλίς καὶ ὁ στωμυλώτατος σπῖνος καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα στρουθάρια, ⁵⁰
δόναξιν ἰξῶ¹¹ κεκαλυμμένοις σχεθέντα καὶ θέλοντα μὲν φυγγάνειν καὶ
περυγίζοντα, εἰργόμενα δὲ τοῖς ἐνύγροις ἐκείνοις δεσμοῖς καὶ πυκνὰ
πυκνὰ τὰ στέρνα πατάσσοντα, οἷα τρέχοντα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς, ἀλισκόμενά
τε καὶ μαχαιρίδι κεντούμενα καὶ κατὰ βόθρου ἀκοντιζόμενα, ἔνια δὲ
ζωγρούμενα καὶ τηρούμενα, ὀπόσοις δηλαδὴ δαψιλεστέρου κάλλους ἢ
κομμώτρια φύσις μετέδωκεν.

Ἀλλὰ μοι τὸ χρῆμα τῆς τῶν γεράνων ἄγρας τοσοῦτον ἐκείνων
ἐπιτερπέστερον, ὅσον ἀκανθυλλίδων καὶ σπίνων αἱ μακραύχενες
ὑπὲρέχουσι γέρανοι καὶ λύγων ἰξοφόρων ἰερακες δραστικώτεροι καὶ

⁷ θῆρα B, θήρα K

⁸ ἐφώπλισεν B, ἐφώπλισε K

⁹ λίμνας B, λίμναις K

¹⁰ κατὰ χοῦντας B, καταταχοῦντας K

¹¹ ἰξῶν B, ἰξῶ K

ὅσον¹² γυμνασίων ἀνδρικοτέρων παιδαριώδη ἀθύρματα λείπεται· καὶ ὅ⁶⁰
γε θήραν ταύτης ὑπερτιθεὶς ταυτόν τι νομισθήσεται δρᾶν, ὡς εἴ τις τῶν
ἀργυρέων προκρίνοι τὰ καττιτέρηνα καὶ τῶν χρυσεῶν τὰ χολοβάφιννα.
Δοτέον τοίνυν τὰ ὀραθέντα γραφῆ· τί γὰρ κωλύει κᾶν¹³ τῇ γραφῇ τῷ
πράγματι ἐντροφῆσαι με¹⁴, εἴ γε ἰθακησίων ἀνθρώπων κυνηγεσίου καὶ
Ἵμηρος μέμνηται;

4. Ἐξῆει ποτὲ πρὸς θήραν ὁ καλλίνικος βασιλεὺς, ὃν πορφύρα μὲν
ἐμαυεύσατο, ἀλουργίς δὲ τεχθέντα προσεῖπε, σοφία δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεία
καὶ σύνεσις καὶ ὁ τῶν χαρίτων κατάλογος ἐνηγκαλίσαντο καὶ
ἐμαστοτρόφησαν καὶ γάλα μυρίων προτερημάτων ἐπότισαν· οὗ χεῖρες,
γίγαντος χεῖρες, οὗ καρδία, φρονήσεως θάλαμος, οὗ ψυχῆ παλάμαις ⁷⁰
δορυφορεῖται θεοῦ· ᾧ νοῦς ὑψηλὸς καὶ αἰθέριος, μικροῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
ἀσωμάτους¹⁵ νόας ἀνθαμιλλώμενος· οὗ κυνηγέσιον καὶ γυμνάσιον τὸ
μὲν δοκεῖν εἰς τέρψιν ὀρᾶ καὶ διάχυσιν, τὸ δ' ἀληθές, εἰς νίκας καὶ
τρόπαια καὶ μεγάλων διαθέσεις πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς Ἑρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας
συντήρησιν τελευτᾶ· ὡς γὰρ λέοντος σκύμνος καὶ καθεύδων τοῖς
τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγρήγορεν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ βλέπει καὶ προφυλάττεται καὶ
ἐφάπτεται· φυλάττεται μὲν πείραν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιόντων, ἐφάλλεται δὲ
βλεφάροις ἀγριοθύμοις μηδὲ προῖδοῦσι τὴν ἔφοδον· καὶ ὡς ἀετὸς τῆς
βαθυγνωμοσύνης τὰ πτίλα κινήσας καὶ τὸ πτέρωμα τῆς μεγαλοβουλίας
περιρροϊζήσας ὄλας ἀγέλας πολεμίων φοβεῖ. Καί ποτε πρὸς ἄγρην ⁸⁰
ζώων δόξας σταλῆναι, ὁ δὲ ἀλλὰ σατράπας, ἀλλὰ χωράρχας θηράσας
ἐπαλινόστησεν.

5. Ἐξῆει τοίνυν θηράσων, εἰπόμεν δὲ καὶ αὐτός, τὸ τῆς θήρας τερπνὸν
ἐποψόμενος· ἦν δὲ ὁ καιρὸς περὶ¹⁶ φθίνουσας τὴν ὀπώραν, ἡνίκα
αἱ κραύγασοι γέρανοι τὴν δυσχείμερόν τε καὶ χιονόβλητον Θράκην
ἐκλείπουσαι ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων ἡλίους καθάπερ
εἰς¹⁷ ἀποικίαν ἀπαίρουσι· τὰ δὲ κατὰ θήραν ὧδέ περ τετάχατο.

6. Παρ' ἐκάτερα μὲν πλῆθος παρήει καὶ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν κεχυμένον καὶ ἐπὶ

¹² ὅσων B, ὅσον K

¹³ κᾶν B, κᾶν K

¹⁴ ἐντροφήσαιμεν B, ἐντροφῆσαι με K

¹⁵ ἐν σώματι B, K

¹⁶ ἐπὶ B, K

¹⁷ ἐς K

μακρὸν τῆς πεδιάδος παρατεινόμενον· εἶχετο δὲ ἕτερος ἐτέρου καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλω¹⁸ ἐπεστοιβάζετο καὶ οὕτω τὸ σμῆνος πεπύκνωτο, καθάπερ ⁹⁰ πάλαι τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς σαγηνεύοντας πόλεις ἢ ἱστορία φησὶν¹⁹. Ἐν μέσοις δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο βάδην πῶς²⁰ καὶ σχολαίως καὶ οὐ θαμὰ κεντρίζων τὸν ἵππον οὐδὲ κατατεινὼν εἰς δράμημα. Ἐστέλλοντο²¹ οἱ μὲν (181ν) κατὰ τοὺς εὐζώνους τῶν ὀπιλιῶν καὶ περιέκειντο τόξα καὶ γωρυτούς, τοῖς δὲ ξίφη μόνα τὸ περὶ τὴν ζώνην μέρος ἐπέσφιγγε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν σκυλάκια τὴν ὄσφρησιν ἀγαθὰ προσεπήγοντο, τὰ μὲν ἔποχα τοῖς ὀπισθίοις τῶν ἵππων, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς πορείας²² ταλαιπωρίας πειρώμενα· οἱ δὲ κύνας ἀελλόποδας ἐφείλκοντο²³ καὶ πτηνόποδας· ἕτεροι δὲ γαμψόνηχας καὶ ἀγκυλοχεύλας ἰέρακας²⁴, τοὺς μὲν ἐπετειούς καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ κελύφους ἀπορραγέντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πολλάκις ¹⁰⁰ ἀποδουθέντας τὸ πτέρωμα καὶ περιβαλομένους²⁵ καινότερον, τῆς τε τοῦ χρόνου παλαιότητος ἀπολαύσαντας κάντευθεν ἐν τοῖς περισπουδάστοις καὶ λόγου ἀξίους²⁶ ἀριθμουμένους· καὶ οἱ μὲν γερανοφόντας καὶ νησσοφόνους ὄρνιθας ἐπεφέροντο (οὐκ οἶδα τὰ τῶν ζῴων ὀνόματα, ὅτι μὴ δὲ²⁷ ἑλλήνια)· ἕτεροι²⁸ τοῖς θηρευταῖς ἐπαρήξοντες εἶποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο θεαταὶ τῆς ἄγρας ἐσόμενοι. Ἦσαν δὲ πάντες ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ σιωπῇ καὶ ὡς Μενεσθέα προδιέγραψεν Ὅμηρος ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατατάττοντα· εἰ δὲ τινα μικρὸν προσηδῆσαι τῆς φάλαγγος ἢ φρενῶν νεωτερισμὸς παρηρέθισεν²⁹ ἢ θράσος ἵππου καὶ γοργότης ἠνάγκασεν³⁰, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀλλὰ τις τῶν βασιλείων³¹ δραστηκῶν δορυφόρων ¹¹⁰

¹⁸ ἄλω B, ἄλλω K

¹⁹ φησί B, φησὶν K

²⁰ πῶς B, πως K

²¹ ἐστέλλοντο B, ἐστέλλοντο K

²² πορίας B, πορείας K

²³ ἐφείλκωτο B, ἐφείλκοντο K

²⁴ ἰερας B, ἰέρακας K

²⁵ περιβαλλομένους B, περιβαλομένους K

²⁶ ἀξίους B, ἀξίους K

²⁷ μηδὲ K

²⁸ ἕτεροι <δὲ> K

²⁹ παρηρέθισε B, παρηρέθισεν K

³⁰ ἠνάγκασε B, ἠνάγκασεν K

³¹ βασιλέων B, K

ἀπειλητῆρσι χρώμενος λόγοις τὴν ῥύμην ἀνέκοπτε καὶ ἀνέστελλεν³², ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ ῥάβδῳ προσχρώμενος, ἔνθα μηδὲν τοὺς λόγους ἀνύοντας ἔβλεπεν· οἱ δὲ οὐ σὺν πόνῳ³³ καὶ αὐθις εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο τὸν τε τῆς τάξεως φροντιστὴν δεδιότες καὶ ἅμα μὴ καὶ τὴν τελετὴν τῆς ἄγρας ταράττειεν ὑφορώμενοι. Ἀριπρεπεῖς δὲ τινες ἄνδρες ἦσαν περὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μεγαλογενῶν αἱμάτων οὐκ ἁμαυρὰ δεικνύοντες τὰ σύμβολα.

7. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἰέρακα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικάρπιον ἔφερεν· εἶχε δὲ ὧδέ πως τὰ κατ' αὐτόν· ἐπιδερμίδα ζῶου λαβόντες οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοί, χειρίδας τεκταίνονται, δακτύλους τε δερματίνους δημιουργοῦντες καὶ περιβλήμα ἐπικάρπιον, καὶ περιαμπίσχουσι τοὺς δακτύλους καὶ τοὺς καρπούς καὶ 120 ὀλίγα τοῦ πήχεος, ἅμα τὴν τε τοῦ κρύους πυράγραν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν γαμψωνύχων ἀμυγᾶς ἐκτρεπόμενοι (δειναὶ γὰρ σάρκας δακεῖν αἱ τῶν ὀνύχων τούτων ἀκμαί). Ἄμφω τοίνυν τῷ χεῖρε τοῦ βασιλέως τοιαύτας χειρίδας περιεδέδυντο· καὶ ἡ ἀριστερὰ ἐπικαθίζοντα εἶχεν ἰέρακα, οὐ τῶν κοινῶν τούτων καὶ εὐπορίστων³⁴, ἀλλὰ παλαιόχρονόν τινα καὶ γεννάδα καὶ οἶον καὶ κατὰ τῶν μεγαλοσώμων ζῶων ἀνδρίζεσθαι, τοῦ τε μεγέθους ἅμα καὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπόβλεπτον³⁵, τούτου γε μὴν ἔνεκα ὄντα εὐδαιμονέστατον, ὅτι χειρὶ βασιλέως καὶ τηλικούτου βασιλέως ἔφερετο. Ἦν δὲ ὁ μεγάλθυμος ἐκεῖνος ἰέραξ ἰβηρικός, ὁποῖων πολλῶν Ἰβηρία μήτηρ καὶ θρέπτειρα³⁶· οὐ τὴν ἄγχουρον λέγω Γαδείρων, τὴν 130 παρωκεανίτην, τὴν τῶν Ἄφρων ἀντίπορθμον, ἣν οἱ κατὰ Λυσιτανίαν νέμονται Ἰσπανοί, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑώαν, τὴν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα³⁷ ἥλιον, ἣν Φάσις ὁ πολλὸς περιρρεῖ καὶ Κόλχοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαρπίζοντο. Τὴν γε μὴν περὶ τὴν θήραν πείραν οὐκ ἄφ' ἐστίας ἔχοντες ἤκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἄμαθεῖς ἰόντας καὶ ἀδιδάκτους ὁ βασιλεὺς πανδεξίους καταρτίζει παραλαβόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπους μόνον ἀναπαιδεύειν ἐπίσταται³⁸ καὶ φρενοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γοργοπτέρους ὄρνις ἀεροπόρους ἐς ὄρνεοφονίας γυμνάζει καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐμπειρομάχους καθίστησιν.

³² ἀνέστελλε B, ἀνέστελλεν K

³³ συμπόνῳ B, σὺν πόνῳ K

³⁴ εὐπορίτων B, εὐπορίστων K

³⁵ ἀπόβλεπτον B, ἀπόβλεπτον K

³⁶ θρέπτειρα B, θρέπτειρα K

³⁷ προσανίσχοντα B, πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα K

³⁸ ἐπίσταται B corr. ex ἐφίσταται

8. Ὁ ἱέραξ οὔτε παντελῶς κεχιόνωτο οὔτε ἀκριβῶς μεμελάνωτο· ἀγκύλον τὸ ράμφος, τομὸν τὸ ράμφος ὑπὲρ τὰς μαχαιρίδας· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ ράμφη¹⁴⁰ τοῖς σαρκοφάγοις ἢ φύσις ἐφιλοτιμήσατο· ἡ κεφαλὴ οὔτε λελεύκαντο οὔτε μεμέλαντο, θαψίνη δέ τις ἦν τὴν χροιάν καὶ ὑπόκαπνος· γλαυκὸν τὸ ὄμμα, γοργὸν τὸ ὄμμα καὶ τὴν τῆς καρδίας γνωρίζον ἀρρενωπότητα· ὁ περὶ τὰς βλεφαρίδας κύκλος ὑπόκιρρος· αὐχὴν οὐ τετανὸς οὐδὲ ἐπιμήκης, ὅτι μὴδὲ τὰ σκέλη μακρά· τὰ πρηνῆ τοῦ πτερώματος ἐπὶ τὸ καπνηρότερον καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀμφίβολον μέλαν ἐχρῶζετο, τὰ δὲ ὕπτια τὸ μὲν πλεόν λελεύκαντο (τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πτηνοῖς τὰ πρεσβυγενέστερα), ἐνιαχοῦ γε μὴν καὶ μελανίας σταλάγματα ἔφερον, οὐκ ἀνώμαλα οὐδὲ ἄτακτα οὐδ' ὅποι καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γραμμὰς ἐπιστοίχους μορφαζόμενα καὶ χρωζόμενα καὶ οἷον ζώστροις πολλοῖς¹⁵⁰ περισφίγγοντα τὰ τε περὶ γαστέρα καὶ ὅσον προστέρνιον, ἐκάτερον σκέλος ὑπόκιρρον, οὐ τετανόν, οὐ σαρκῶδες, ἀλλὰ παχυμερές, ἀλλ' ὀστῶδες καὶ οἷον ἂν τοιοῦδε σώματος ἄχθος ἀνέχοι· πέζα πλατεῖα καὶ τοιοῦτοις κατάλληλος σκέλεσι· δάκτυλοι περὶ μὲν τὰ πρόσθια τρεῖς, ὀξεῖς τινὰς καὶ ἐπάκμους ὄνυχας προβαλλόμενοι, περὶ³⁹ τὰ οὐραῖα καὶ τὰ ὀπίσθια ἕτερος, τοσαύτην ἀποπληρῶν τῷ σώματι χρεῖαν, ὀπόσῃν ἀντίχειρ ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ χειρί· καὶ ὑπὲρ μαχαιρίδας ἐστόμωτο καὶ ὑπὲρ βέλη ἠκόνητο⁴⁰· καὶ τοσαύτη τις ἦν ἰσχύς ἅμα καὶ ὀξύτης τοῖς ὄνυξιν, ὡς μὴ μόνον νῆτταν ἰσχύειν σπαράττειν καὶ γέρανον καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα περιδέδυνται πτέρωμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύρων καὶ κάπρων καὶ βουβαλίδων¹⁶⁰ ἐπίδερμίδας ἀμύσσειν καὶ διαπερονᾶν καὶ ὅσοις στερεμνιώτερον ὁ τοῦ σώματος πεπύκνωται φλοῦς ἢ δαψιλῇ τῇ λάχῃ τὸ δέρμα πεπύκασται. Τοιαύτη μὲν ἦν ἡ παλαιγενῆς καὶ τῷ πλείονι λευκοπτέρωτος ἱέραξ ἐκεῖνη, ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπικάρπιον ἔφερε.

9. Συχνοὶ γε μὴν καὶ ἄλλοι ζωοφόντας ὄρνις ἐπήγοντο⁴¹, τοὺς μὲν περδίκων ἐρυθροράμφων καταταχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑγροβίους νήττας⁴² ἀντιπαλαμᾶσθαι ἰσχύοντας, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ταῖς λαγίνας ἄνωθεν ἀφ' ὕψους ἐποφθαλμίζοντας, κἂν ὑπὸ θαμνίσκουσ κοιτάζοινο⁴³, κἂν

³⁹ περὶ <δὲ> K

⁴⁰ ἠκόνηστο B, ἠκόνητο K

⁴¹ ἐπήγοντο B corr. ex ἐπέιγοντο

⁴² νῆτται B, νήττας K

⁴³ κοιτάζοιτο B, κοιτάζοιτο K

τῶν πεδιάδων καταχορεύοιεν, καὶ γινομένους προσγειοτέρους, μαστίζοντάς⁴⁴ τε ταρσοῖς τῶν τλαιπύρων ἐκείνων τὰ προμετώπια καὶ τοῖς ¹⁷⁰ ὄνυξι ῥηγνύοντας τὸ δέρμα καὶ διασπῶντας τὸ ῥάκος τοῦ σώματος· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδε γλῶσσα ἐλλήνιος⁴⁵ τὰ τῶν μαχίμων τούτων ζῶων ὀνόματα. Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀκράτῳ τῇ μελανίᾳ κατάβαπτοι τὰ τε περι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ ἐπινώτιον πτέρωμα, οἱ δὲ ποικιλόπτεροί τινες καὶ κατάστικτοι, οἷς ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν τὸ πτερόν ὑπεπύρριξε, πῆ δὲ καὶ μελανίας ἔφερε χαλαζώματα· πάντες δὲ ὁμοῦς ἄλκιμοι καὶ μεγάθυμοι καὶ πνέοντες φόνου καὶ ὁ θυμὸς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὠρᾶτο ἐπικαθήμενος· καὶ τὰ ῥάμφη ὀξύτερα ἦσαν καὶ ἔπακμα· εἶπεν ἄν τις νεακονήτους μαχαιρίδας ὀρᾶν. Θαμὰ τὰ βλέφαρα τῆδε κάκεῖ περιέφερον καὶ ὄδιον πετασμοὺς καὶ ὄργων πολεμησεῖιν⁴⁶ καὶ ἐφαντάζοντο (182r) ὄρνιθας οἷς συμπλακῆσονται ¹⁸⁰ καὶ περιέχασκον τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἐδυσχέρανιν καὶ τὸν ὄνυχα θηκτὸν⁴⁷ ὡς σίδηρον προεβάλλοντο, καθάπερ ὀπλίται γεννάδει τινὲς βοῆς πολεμιστηρίας ἀκούοντες.

10. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὸ κυνηγετικὸν τύμπανον ἐδουπήθη καὶ πάταγον ἄσημόν τινα καὶ ἄγριον ἤχησεν, ὡς ἐς μόνον προκαλούμενον τὰς γεράνους καὶ τὰς σφῶν καρδίας προκατασεῖοντα· κέλαδον ἄν εἶπε τις ἐνυάλιον, ὃν ἄνδρες σιδηροθώρακες ἀλαλάζουσιν, ἠνίκα μὴ κλέπτειν τὴν νίκην⁴⁸ μηδὲ ἀκηρυκτεῖ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς⁴⁹ ἐπέρχεσθαι βούλοιντο. Ὡς δὲ καὶ γεράνων κλαγγαζουσῶν ἐγένετο αἴσθησις καὶ αἱ γέρανοι ἀναπτᾶσαι εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο καὶ ἀλλήλας⁵⁰ ἐς συνασπισμὸν παρεκάλουν καὶ ¹⁹⁰ ἐπύκνουν τὴν φάλαγγα, τότε δὴ τότε νόμους κυνηγετικούς καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἀπεθαύμασα καὶ ἐτέρφθην ὡς οἱ γευόμενοι τοῦ λωτοῦ καὶ γάνος μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνέσταζε τῇ ψυχῇ. Εἶχε δὲ ὧδέ μοι τὸ θέαμα· τέτραχα τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς διανείμας, ὡς ἀπὸ τετραγώνου τὰς γεράνους κυκλώσοντάς τε καὶ ὑπαντιάσοντας, τὴν μὲν παλαιγενῆ ἐκείνην ἰέρακα ἠρεμεῖν τέως ἀφῆκε καὶ ἔξω μάχης ἐστάναι⁵¹ καὶ εἶναι ἀπόλεμον, ἄλλον

⁴⁴ μαστίζον τὰς B, μαστίζοντας K

⁴⁵ ἐλλήνιος B, ἐλλήνιος K

⁴⁶ πολεμησήειν B, πολεμησεῖιν K

⁴⁷ θῆκτον B, θηκτὸν K

⁴⁸ νύκτα B, νίκην K

⁴⁹ ἐχθοῖς B, ἐχθροῖς K

⁵⁰ ἀλλήλοισ B, ἀλλήλας K

⁵¹ ἐστάναι B, ἐστάναι K

δὲ ὄρνιν, γένους μὲν ὄντα ἐτέρου ἀξιόμαχον δὲ πρὸς γεράνους, αὐτὸς δὲ⁵² λαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ταῦτόν ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέψας καὶ ἐπικαιρότατον τόπον καταλαβὼν, ὡς οἱ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, τὴν τῶν γεράνων πτῆσιν ἐκαραδόκει. Ἦν δ' ὁ τῆ⁵³ βασιλείῳ 200
χειρὶ προσφερόμενος ὄρνις καὶ τὴν ῥώμην πολὺς καὶ φλόγεος τὸν θυμὸν γεραρός τε τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ φόνους μυρίοις ἐνηθληκῶς καὶ πολλῶν τοιούτων ὀλυμπιάδων μεστός, πρεσβυτικός, ἂν εἶπε τις, Νέστωρ ἐς τὰ γερανοφόνια τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παιδοτριβῶν. Οἱ γε μὴν παρ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἄλλοις νεαροὶ μὲν ἦσαν καὶ πρωτοδίδακτοὶ καὶ ὀλίγοις αἵμασι πολεμίων ζώων χρανθέντες· ἐσφάδαζον δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐπτερύγιζον καὶ ἐθύμαινον καὶ προῖπτασθαι ἤθελεν ἕκαστος καὶ ὡς πολεμησείων γοργότερον ἴσθη τὸ ὄμμα καὶ ἐσοβείτο καὶ τὸν συγγενῆ θυμὸν ἀνελάμβανεν⁵⁴. ἐπείχοντο δὲ τέως καὶ ἄκοντες καὶ περιέμενον προπηδῆσαι τὸν πρωτόαθλον ὄρνιν ἐκεῖνον καθάπερ ἀριστεῖα πρωτόμαχον. 210

11. Ἦσθοντο τῆς μάχης οἱ⁵⁵ γέρανοι καὶ καταστάντες εἰς τάξιν καὶ φαλαγγηδὸν ἀρτύναντες ἑαυτοὺς ἔφευγον μὲν, καθάπερ εἴ⁵⁶ τινες ἄνδρες ἀντοφθαλμεῖν οὐ τολμῶεν τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὐδ' ἀντιμέτωποι ἵστασθαι· τεῖναντές γε μὴν τὸ πτερόν, ὠγύγιόν τι χρῆμα καὶ ἄντικρυς σάκος εὐρύ, καὶ τοὺς τραχήλους σφῶν ὀρθιάσαντες καθάπερ τινὰ μακροκόντια καὶ τοὺς ἐπιποδίους ὄνυχας ἐτοιμάσαντες οἷοι τε ἦσαν ἐνδεξόμενοι τε τοὺς ἐπιόντας καὶ ἀμνυόμενοι καὶ ῥάμφεσι καὶ ὄνυξι καὶ πτεροῖς. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ παλαιόπειρος ὄρνις ἐκεῖνος ἀφείθη καὶ τὸ πτερόν ἐλαφρίσας εἰς βάθος ἀέρος κατετάχισε τῶν γεράνων καὶ ἤδη κατέλαβε φεύγοντας, τότε δὴ τέρψις τὲ ἅμα καὶ δέος κατεῖχε τοὺς θεατὰς καὶ τὸ φοβούμενον ἔχαιρε 220
καὶ ὑπεστέλλετο τὸ τερπόμενον· τοιαύτη τις ἡδονή τε ἅμα καὶ ἀγωνία περὶ ἐκεῖνον τῷ ὄρνιθι. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ὅλης ἀγέλης κατατολμήσας καὶ εἰς μέσους θυμῷ ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἕνα ἀποτεμόμενος, Μέμνονα φασὶν ἢ Τιθόντην ὁ Τελαμώνιος, ἀπρίξ τε εἶχετο τοῦ γεράνου καὶ ἐμάστιζε τὰ πλευρὰ καὶ ἔδρυπτε τὸ προστέρνιον καὶ τοῖς⁵⁷ τοῦ τραχήλου τὸ ῥάμφος

⁵² τὲ K

⁵³ ἦν δ' ἐν τῆ B, ἦν δ' ὁ τῆ K

⁵⁴ ἀνελάμβανε B, ἀνελάμβανεν K

⁵⁵ οἱ K

⁵⁶ καθάπερ B, καθάπερ εἴ K

⁵⁷ τὰ B, τοῖς K

ἐπῆγε καὶ τοῖς ὄνουσιν ἤμισσε καὶ παντοῖος ἦν κατάξων εἰς γῆν τὸν γιγαντοσκελετὴ καὶ δολιχόδειρον γέρανον. Ἀλλὰ τὸ πλῆθος οἱ γέρανοι μὴ ἐν παρέργῳ τὰ κατὰ τὸν κινδυνεύοντα θέμενοι περιείσαντο τε τὸν πολέμιον ὄρνιν καὶ ἀμφεκύκλουν καὶ οἷοι τε ἦσαν ἀνδρῖσασθαι καὶ ἀλεξῆσαι⁵⁸ τῷ κάμοντι, καθάπερ ὀπλίται τινὲς ἀγαθοὶ πονοῦντι ²³⁰ στρατιώτῃ ἐπικουροῦντες καὶ τοῦ συμφύλου προκινδυνεύοντες· οὕτως ἢ φύσις οὐ μόνον γένη ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀεροπόρα καὶ πτερωτὰ φιλάλληλα ἔθετο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνθρώποις διὰ τῶν ζώων προσονειδίζει τὸ ἀφιλάλληλον. Ἡμύοντο οὖν τὸν ὄρνιν οἱ γέρανοι καὶ ἐσόβουν καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο (σχέτλιον γὰρ τοσοῦτων ἕνα κατακαυχήσασθαι ᾧοντο) καὶ ὁ πόλεμος εἰς πλεον ἀνήπτετο. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν τὰ δεινὰ καὶ αἰ καρδίαι τοῖς θεωμένοις ἐπάλλοντο, ὅτι μὴ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς μοίρας ἦν ὁ ἀγών· ἐν μέσοις γὰρ ἐκείνοις ὁ ὄρνις ἀπολειφθεὶς, μικροῦ καὶ ἀπαλλάξαι κακῶς ἐκινδύνευεν, εἰς φυγὴν τρέψας τὸ πτέρωμα καὶ οὐτόσον δράσας ὅσον παθῶν· ὑπὸ γὰρ μυρίων ἐνύσσετο καὶ ἐβάλλετο· καὶ ἦσαν τοῖς ²⁴⁰ γεράνοις οἱ τράχηλοι ὡς ἀνεμοτρεφεῖ καὶ μείλινα δόρατα, τὰ ράμφη προβεβλημένα ὥσπερ αἰχμᾶς καὶ κατευστοχοῦντα τοῦ ὄρνιθος.

12. Ἀλλὰ φθάνει καὶ τὸ δέος λυθὲν καὶ τὸ τῶν γεράνων σμῆνος τὸν ἀγγελίτην⁵⁹ ἐκείνον τὸν συστρατιώτην ἀποβαλόν. Ἀνὴρ γὰρ τις ἔποχος ἵππῳ (κατάλευκος δὲ ἦν <ὁ>⁶⁰ ἵππος ἐκείνος) ἐπὶ μικρὸν εἰς κύκλον περιδινήσας τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοῦτο σύνθημα δοὺς τοῖς ἐπαγομένοις τοὺς ὄρνιθας συμμαχούς, ὑπερμάχους ἀφειθῆναι τῷ κινδυνεύοντι⁶¹ διεπράξατο. Ἄμα τὲ οὖν ἀφειθήσαν οἱ πρὶν ὀργῶντες εἰς πετασμοὺς καὶ ὁ πρόμαχος ἐκείνος ὄρνις ἐθάρσησε, στρατὸν ἐπικουρον κατιδῶν· καὶ ἦν ὁ πόλεμος ἐνεργὸς καὶ τὰ ζῶα μάχην ἀερίαν στησάμενα κλαγγῆ ²⁵⁰ καὶ ροιζήμασιν ἀλλήλοις συνέπεσον καὶ ἐνδηλα ἦσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ μετρίοις τὸν πόλεμον παύσοντα· θροῦς δὲ καὶ βόμβος τὸν ἀέρα ἐγέμιζε καὶ κατεκτύπουν τὰς ἀκοὰς τὰ τῶν πτερῶν παταγήματα⁶² καὶ θούριος Ἄρης παρ' ἀμφοῖν τοῖν στρατοῖν ἐπεμαίνετο· οἱ μὲν βιάζεσθαι ἤθελον, οἱ δὲ τὴν βίαν ἐκκρούεσθαι· οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀγέλην ἠπειγόνο ζημιούν, οἱ

⁵⁸ ἀλεξίσαι B, ἀλεξῆσαι K

⁵⁹ ἀγγελίτην B K

⁶⁰ <ὁ> K

⁶¹ κινδυνεύοντο B κινδυνεύοντι K

⁶² παταγήματα B, παταγήματα K

δὲ ἀμύνεσθαι ἔσπευδον· οἱ μὲν παρασπᾶν καὶ ἀφέλκειν ἐθύμεινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ σφάζειν ὄργων τὸ σύμφυλον καὶ μὴ τὴν νίκην καταπροΐεσθαι· ἔνυσσόν τε πυκνὰ καὶ ἐνύσσοντο· καὶ οἱ μὲν συμμαχεῖν τῷ κάμνοντι ἤθελον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ἀντεστάτου καὶ ἐντεφέροντο· οὕτω μέγας ἦν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν στρατευμάτοιν ἀγὼν καὶ οὕτω μέγας θυμὸς ἐκάτερα ²⁶⁰ ὥπλιζε. Τέλος οἱ γέραναι ἔκλιναν εἰς φυγὴν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις λιπόντες τὸν σύμμαχον ὄχοντο· οἱ γὰρ ζωοφόνται ὄρνις ἐμάχοντο κραταιότερον καὶ τὰς γεράνους ἐπέζον· οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐφοβήθησάν τε ⁶³ καὶ ἐδραπέτευσαν ὅπῃ ἂν ἕκαστον ἔφερε τὸ πτερόν, ὁ δὲ πρωτόαθλος ὄρνις, ἐπεὶ τῆς μακραύχενος γεράνου ἐκείνης ἐλάβετο, οὐκέτι μεθίεσθαι ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ἐπικλινῆ τὴν τετανὴν ἐποίει δειρῆν, ἐπέσφιγγέ τε καὶ ἔκαμπτεν ὅποια τόξον κερατοξόος θυμομαχήσαντά τε καὶ ἤδη ἀπαγορεύσαντα εἰς γῆν ἐαυτῷ συγκατήνεγκεν, ὀλιγηπελέοντα καὶ ἀσθμαίνοντα· καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τερψίθυμόν τι καὶ θελξικάρδιον θέαμα, γέρανον τετανοσκελῆ καὶ μακρόδειρον ὑφ' οὕτω μικροῦ καταφερόμενον ⁶⁴ ὄρνιθος καὶ ὡς ἀπ' ²⁷⁰ οὐρανοῦ τανταλούμενον καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ νεφῶν δισκευόμενον ⁶⁵· ὡς ἄρα οὐ μέγας σώματος ὄγκος δύναται σφάζειν, ἀλλὰ καρδία περιίθερμος καὶ ἀρρενωπότης ⁶⁶ ψυχῆς {ὡς} ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τὸ κράτος ἀυχοῦσιν, ὅποια ⁶⁷ βαφαὶ στομοῦσαι τὰ ζῷα καὶ εἰς ἀνδρείαν ἀπαίρουσαι.

13. Ὡς δὲ ὁ γέρανος ἦν ἐν χερσὶ καὶ οἱ (182v) προῦμμάτων ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος οὐκέτι ἐφαίνετο φύξιμος, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπλοῦς ὁ ὄλεθρος ἦν οὐδὲ οἷος ἐπάγειν ἐτοίμην τὴν τελευτήν, μυρία δὲ ὅσα δεινὰ περιεστῆκει τὸν τάλανα· τὰς τε γὰρ τῶν ὀνύχων ἀκμὰς μαχαιρίσιν ἀποτεμόντες καὶ τὸ ράμφος ἀμβλύτερον ⁶⁸ θέμενοι, ὡς μηκέτι τοὺς τῆς μάχης κατάρχοντας ἔχοι ἀπειργεῖν, οἷα τὴν σύμφυτον ὀπλοφορίαν ²⁸⁰ ἀποβαλὼν, τὸν μὲν ἀφήκαν ἐλευθέρῳ πετάζεσθαι τῷ πτερῷ, συχνοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὄρνις προσεπαφῆκαν γερανοφονίων ἔτι ἀγεύστους, λυπήσοντάς τε καὶ νύξοντας ράμφεσι καὶ γευσομένους αἵματος καὶ σαρκῶν καὶ σκυλακευθησομένους ἐς ὅμοια. Καὶ οἱ ὄρνιθες πυκνὰ τῷ τάλαιπῶρῳ

⁶³ ἐφόβηθέν τε B, ἐφοβήθησάν τε K

⁶⁴ καφερόμενον sive καθεπόμενον B, καταφερόμενον K

⁶⁵ δυσκευόμενον B, δισκευόμενον K

⁶⁶ ἀρρενωπότης B, ἀρρενωπότης K

⁶⁷ ὅποια B, ὅποια K

⁶⁸ ἀμβλύτερον B, ἀμβλύτερον K

ἐπεπερύσσοντο καὶ ἐκέντουν καὶ ἔδακνον· καὶ τοῦτο τῶν μελλόντων εἶχον⁶⁹ ἐχέγγυον, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἀποίσονται μίσθωμα κατὰ γεράνων μαχίμων ποτὲ ἀνδρισάμενοι· ὁ δὲ τάλας ἐκεῖνος ὁ γέρανός εἰς ἄθυρμα πᾶσι καὶ χλεῦν προέκειτο καθάπερ⁷⁰ τις στρατιώτης τὰς χεῖρας περιαικωνισθεὶς καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀποδυθεὶς καὶ βρεφυλλίοις προβεβλημένος εἰς παίγιον· καὶ ἤλγει μὲν καὶ εἰς ἄμυναν ἔσφυζεν, ἔφερε δὲ ὅμως²⁹⁰ καὶ ἄκων τοὺς σπαραγμούς· παρήρητο γάρ τοι τὰ ἀμυντήρια· καὶ ἦν τὸ γινόμενον παίγιόν τε ἅμα σεμνὸν καὶ ἐθισμὸς τῶν ὀρνίθων εἰς μάχην γερανολέπειραν. Ὡς δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει τῶν ἀθυρμάτων καὶ ὁ ταλάντατος οὐ πλευρὸν μόνον ὡς ὁ Προμηθεὺς καὶ περύγιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄλον τὸ σῶμα διατετόρητο, μόλις αὐτῷ καὶ θάνατον ἦνεγκαν τὸν παυσίπονον, πολλῶν τῶν σπαραγμῶν ἐκείνων καὶ περιδρύψεων κερδαλεώτερον⁷¹ ὄντα καὶ εὐκταιότερον.

14. Μέγας ἦν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς χῆνας ὁ γέρανός· ὁξὺ τὸ ράμφος, ὅτι καὶ σπερμοφάγον ἀλλ' οὐ σαρκοβόρον τὸ ζῶον· ὁ αὐχὴν τετανός, μηκεδανὸς ὁ αὐχὴν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σκέλος μακρὸν καὶ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τὸ σῶμα³⁰⁰ ἐρείδεται· ὁ φάρυγξ⁷² εὐρυχανής· τοῦ πτερώματος τὸ μὲν πλεόν κατὰ <τὸ>⁷³ τῶν ὑακινθίνων ἀμφίβολον, μᾶλλον γε μὴν εἰς τὸ ὑπόκαπνον κέχρωστο, ὀλίγα δὲ τῶν πτερῶν καὶ ἀκράτῳ βέβαπτο μέλανι· εὐρεῖα πτέρυξ, οὐραῖον μακρὸν, μέλαν τὸ σκέλος, πηχυαῖον τὸ σκέλος· ὁ ποὺς ἰθυτενής⁷⁴ τις καὶ ὄρθιος καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐξετέτατο⁷⁵ καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα ὠργύωτο· πέζα εὐρυτενής, ὄνυχες εὖ ἔχοντες τῆς ἀκμῆς· ἐρίσοι δ' ἂν γέρανός εἰς ὕψος ἡλικιώσεως ὀλιγοχρόνω παιδί· εἰ δέ που τὸν τράχηλον εἰς γῆν καθεῖναι⁷⁶ δεῆσοι, ὄρμιάν τις δόξει βλέπειν λινόστροφον ἰχθύας ἐκ βάθους ἀνέλκουσαν ποντοβάμονα. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ νικῶνται οἱ γέρανοι καὶ ἐπὶ κακῶ τῶν οἰκείων μανθάνουσι, τοῖς γενναίοις ἐκείνοις³¹⁰ ἀντιμαχόμενοι ὄρνισιν· ἐνίοτε <δὲ>⁷⁷ καὶ τὰ τῶν γεράνων γίνονται

⁶⁹ εἶχεν B, K

⁷⁰ καθάπερ B, καθάπερ K

⁷¹ κερδαλαιώτερον B, κερδαλεώτερον K

⁷² φάρυξ B, φάρυγξ K

⁷³ <τὸ> K

⁷⁴ ἰθυτενίς B, ἰθυτενής K

⁷⁵ ἐξεπέτατο B, ἐξετέτατο K

⁷⁶ καθῆναι B, καθεῖναι K

⁷⁷ <δὲ> K

καθυπέρτερα καὶ ὁ γερανοφόντης ὄρνις οὐπω⁷⁸ προσπτάμενος ἔφθη, καὶ ὄνυξι προκαταταχήσαντος γεράνου πελάσας ἀθρόον τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξεφύσησεν⁷⁹. εὐπάλαμοι γὰρ τινες καὶ μεγαλοδύναμοι καὶ αἱ γέρανοι.

15. Τοιοῦτον τὸ χρῆμα ταύτης τῆς θήρας⁸⁰, ἐπιτερπὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔγκοπον· δορκάδων μὲν γὰρ καὶ λαγωῶν κυνηγέσιον πολὺν παρέχει τὸν κάματον καὶ οὐχ⁸¹ ἐτοίμη σφῶν ἢ ἄγρα οὐδ' ἀταλαίπωρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππος διώκων ἀσθμαίνει καὶ κάμνει καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πνευμόνων ἄλγος ἀνθάπτεται καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐπελαύνει καὶ εἰς δρόμον ἑαυτὸν⁸² κατατείνει καὶ ὄμους καὶ χεῖρας καὶ ἰξὺν βαρύνεται καὶ γλουτούς· ἐνίοτε δὲ καί, ³²⁰ τῆς ἀγραίας Δίκης νεμεσησάσης, ὅ τε ἵππος αὐτὸς καταφέρεται καὶ ὁ ἐποχούμενος ἐπὶ βρεχμόν τε καὶ ὄμους ρίπτεται κύμβαχος καὶ εἰς μέγα τοῦτο κακὸν τὸ κυνηγέσιον ἀποτελευτᾷ. Γεράνων δὲ ἄγρα (μὴ καὶ περιττὸν εἶη λέγειν) ὡς εὐχείρωτός⁸³ τις καὶ εὐμαρῆς καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ὑποκόλιος. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὄρνιθες οἱ θηρευτικοὶ καὶ ἐφίπτανται⁸⁴ καὶ συμπλέκονται καὶ αὐτῶν ἐξήπται⁸⁵ τὸ πᾶν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ἐστήκασιν ἄερα περιγιάσκοντες καὶ νεφέλας καὶ μηδὲν ὅτι καὶ συμπονήσαι τοῖς ὄρνισιν εἰς τὸν ἐναέριον δυνάμενοι πόλεμον, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἀφ' ὕψους τῶν πολεμουμένων караδοκοῦντες κατάρραξιν. Γέγραπται δὴ μοι τὰ ὀραθέντα, ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰς ζώπυρον τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ἀνάμνησιν, ἄλλοις ³³⁰ δὲ ἴσως ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἐναργὲς προζωγράφημα οὐ μὴ θεάονται.

⁷⁸ οὐτω B, οὐπω K

⁷⁹ ἐξεφύσησε B, ἐξεφύσησεν K

⁸⁰ θύρας B, θήρας K

⁸¹ οὐκ B, οὐχ K

⁸² ἑαυτὸν B corr. ex ἑαυτῶ

⁸³ εὐχύρωτός B, εὐχείρωτος K

⁸⁴ ἐφίπταται B, ἐφίπτανται K

⁸⁵ ἐξήπτε B, ἐξήπται K

Sources and parallel texts

1) Ἰππηλάσια δὲ ἄρα καὶ κυνηγέσια: Psellos, Chron. VII, 40 τὰ ἰππηλάσια ἀλλαξάμενοι, Manasses, Chron. v. 4271 τὰ φίλα κυνηγέσια καὶ τὰς ἰππηλασίας, Choniates, Hist. p. 333 καὶ ἦν ἰππηλάσια καὶ κυνηγέσια ζωγραφούμενα, Digenis Akrites G. IV.70 ἐντεῦθεν ἰππηλάσια καὶ κυνηγεῖν ποθήσας, Pantechnes (Miller), p. 48 τὸ κυνηγέσιον, p. 50 τὰ τῶν πτηνῶν κυνηγέσια; **ταῖς καρδίαις τέρψιν ἐνστάζει:** Manasses, De Aristandro (Mazal) fr. 64 Ὁ παῖς γὰρ Ἔρωσ εὐκραῶς, ὡς φασιν, ἐπιπνεύσας γάνος ἐνστάζει ταῖς ψυχαῖς, **ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι γάργαλον:** Lucianus, Gallus 6 τοιοῦτον γάργαλον παρείχετο μοι τὰ ὀρώμενα, Manasses, Chron. v. 4720 καὶ λιγυρὸν μουσικεῦμα γάργαλον ἀπορρέον. Plato, Phaedrus 253e5-7 ὅταν δ' οὖν ὁ ἡνίοχος ἰδῶν τὸ ἐρωτικὸν ὄμμα, πᾶσαν αἰσθήσει διαθερμήνας τὴν ψυχὴν, γαργαλισμοῦ τε καὶ πόθου κέντρων ὑποπλησθῆ; Choniates, Hist. p. 152 καὶ ὄν εἶχον γάργαλον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ; **καλὰ μὲν ... καλὰ δέ:** Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, l. 5-6; **νοσηματικὸν ἀποκρίνοντα:** Platon Rep. 407d.1 νόσημα ἀποκεκριμένον; **πρὸς τὰ πολέμια προεθίζουσιν:** Heliodorus, Aeth. 7.24.6 πρὸς τὴν βασιλικὴν διακονίαν πόρρωθεν προεθίζουσιν; **τῆς φάλαγγος προπηδᾶν:** Chrysostomus, PG 60, 19 οὐδὲ ἵππους προπηδᾶν τῆς βαλβίδος, Psellus, Chron. I.33.12 (=Anna Comnena, Alex. 7.3.7) οὐδενὶ προπηδᾶν ἐνετέλλετο, οὐδὲ τὸν συνασπισμὸν λύειν, Pantechnes, p. 50 ἐφ' ἧ μὴ δεῖ προπηδήσαντα; **τὴν ἐπευθὸν προπαιδεύοντα διώξιν:** Hippiatrica Cantabrigiensia (Hoppe - Oder) ch. 81.7: οὐ δύνανται ἐπευθὸν ποιήσασθαι τὸν περίπατον; **ἐπαρίστερα:** Psellus, Chron. VII.41.7-8 οὔτε ἐς αἰεὶ ἐπαρίστερα τὰ τέλη ταῖς δεξιάς ἀπαντῶσι ἀρχαῖς; **ἀνέτοις ῥυτῆρσι:** Cinnamus, Hist. p. 49.8 ὄλοις ῥυτῆρσιν ἐδίωκεν; **περιστομίους δεσμοῖς:** Orpianus, Hal. 3, 603 δεσμῶ δὲ περιστομίω; **πυρμιάλακτος:** Stilbes, Carmen de incendio 1.717 ὄξυ πυρμιάλακτον ἀφεῖσα βέλος, Manasses, De Aristandro (Mazal) fr. 102.4 ὡς πῶλος πυρμιάλακτον στόμιον ἀποπτύων.

2) ἀνδρολέτειρα: Aeschylus, Agam. 1465 Ἐλένην ... ὡς ἀνδρολέτειρα, Manasses, Epist. II.17: τὴν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀνδρολέτειρα, Manasses, Schede (Polemia) 5.12: θεᾶν ἀνδρολέτειρα; **ἀσίδηρος:** Simocatta, Quaestiones physicae (Massa Positano) p. 12.7 πόλεμος τις ἀσίδηρος, Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam, l. 82 βέλη ἀσίδηρα, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 6.5 et 116.2 βέλος ἐστὶν ἀσίδηρον, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum (Kurtz) l. 51-2 βέλος ὀδύνης ... ἀσίδηρον; **λυθρόφυρτον:** Manasses, Chron. v. 2049 καὶ δόρατα γεγόνασι λυθρόφυρτα καὶ ξίφη et 3129, 3495, 5808; **φονοσταγῆς:** Manasses, Chron. v. 2050 ἀσπίδες αἰμοφόρυκτοι, φονοσταγῆς παλάμαι et 6465; **ἀχαρίτωτα** Manasses, Chron. v. 99 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀχαρίτωτον οὐδ' ἀτελεὲς παρήχθη et 5450, 5712, Choniates, Hist. p. 115 οὐδ' ἀκαλλῆ τε καὶ ἀχαρίτωτον, Eustathius, Comm. ad Hom. Iliad. IV.417.22 ἀχάριστος, ἤγουν ἀχαρίτωτος; **ἀνέραστοι τοῦ καλοῦ:** Synesius Epist. 55.8 ἀνέραστοι τῶν καλῶν, Choniates, Hist. p. 649

οί τοῦ καλοῦ ἀνέραστοι οὗτοι βάρβαροι; **ἄχθος δυσάγκαλον:** Plutarchus, De facie in orbe lunae 923c1 ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον, Manasses, Chron. v. 4492-3 ἄχθος, οὐ κοῦφον, οὐδ' εὐάγκαλον, οὐδ' ἐλαφρὸν βαστάσαι, Manasses, De Aristandro fr 72.3 δυοῖν δυσάγκαλον μεριζομένων ἄχθος; **δακέθυμον:** Gregorius Naz., Carmina de se ipso 1229.8 εἶ τινα καὶ δακέθυμον ἐρῶ λόγον, Manasses, Chron. v. 4803 καὶ λύπην μὲν δακέθυμον ἔσχε κατὰ καρδίας et 5369; **δόναξ ὑπολύριος:** Aristophanes, Ran. 232-3 ἔνεκα δόνακος, ὃν ὑπολύριον ἐνυδρον ἐν λίμναις τρέφω, Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam lg 260 ὡς οἱ ὑπολύριοι δόνακες; **καχλάζοντα λέβητα:** Anna Comnena, Alexias 14.1.4 εἰς λέβητας ἐμβαλεῖν καχλάζοντας, Choniates, Hist. p. 481 διακεχαλακῶς καχλάζοντι λέβητι; **τὸ ἀνοιδοῦν καὶ τὸ φλεγμαιῖνον:** Oribasius, Coll.Med. 50.47.4 ἀνοιδούντων καὶ φλεγμαιόντων; **ἀκεσῶδνον:** Theophranis Continuatus p. 434.20 θλίψεων ἀκεσῶδνον φάρμακον, Manasses, Chron. v. 5289 φάρμακον ἀκεσῶδνον τοὺς λόγους ἐπιπάττων; **ἀνδροκτασίας:** Manasses, Chron. v. 480 σφαγὰς ἀνδροκτασίας τε φόνους, ἀκολασίας et 1336, 1414 etc.; **Ἄρρεος φιλαίματος:** Anacreon Epigr. 7.226 ὁ φιλαίματος Ἄρης, Suda η 369 ὁ φιλαίματος Ἄρης, Manasses, Chron. v. 5220 καὶ πόλεμοι φιλαίματοι καὶ συνεχεῖς φροντίδες; **νέφος ἀθυμίας:** Chrysostomus, PG 47, 322 τῆς ἀθυμίας ἀποσείσασθαι νέφος, Psellus, Chron. IV.53.4-5 νέφος πάντας ἀθυμίας κατέσχε; **λαγίνας:** Manasses, Chron. v. 171 καὶ κύνες καρχαρόδοντες, πτηνόποδες λαγίνας et 6107, Choniates, Hist. p. 290 οἱ πτηνόποδες λαγίνας καὶ κύνες αἱ θηρευτικαί; **δειλοκαρδίον:** Manasses, Chron. v. 6467 ὡς εἶ τις λέων ἐντυχῶν δειλοκαρδίῳ ζῶῳ et 2004, 5960; **ἀλυσκάζουσαν:** Manasses, Chron. v. 6394 καὶ φεύγων οἶον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ μάχας ἀλυσκάζων.

3) τὰ πτίλα ἐπιρροϊζοῦσι: Manasses, Chron. v. 6394 στρουθοῖς ἀπαλοπτέρυξιν ἐπιρροϊζῶν τὰ πτίλα, Manasses, In Manuelem Comnenum (Kurtz) l. 40 ἐπιρροϊζήσας σου τοῖς πτεροῖς; **ἐλαφριζόμενοι:** Choniates, Hist. p. 123 καὶ πετροῦ αὐθις ἐλαφριζόμενος, Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam, l. 76-7 καὶ ὑπὲρ πτερόν ἐλαφρίζεται; **ἀποθειάζων:** Philostorgius, Hist. Eccl. 10.6.20 τοὺς δὲ λόγους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀποθειάζων; **φυζακινή:** Homerus II.13.102 φυζακινόις ἐλάφοισιν εἰοίκεσαν, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 164.5 φυζακίνας πρὸς μάχας; **καρχαλέαν:** Homerus II.21.541 δίψη καρχαλέοι κεκοινήμενοι ἐκ πεδίοιο; **κυνῶν καρχάρων:** Homerus II.10.360 καρχαρόδοντε δύο κύνε, Manasses, Chron. v. 4403 οὐ τίγρις, οὐδὲ κάρχαρος οὐδὲ λυσσῶδης κύων, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 30.15 τοῦτο καὶ κύων κάρχαρος et fr. 166.2; **δενδρίτιδος:** Manasses, Chron. v. 4350 καὶ κάμπαι τὰς δενδρίτιδας φυλλάδας ἀναλοῦσι; **ἀρουρίτιδος:** Manasses, In Manuelem Comnenum l. 135-6 καρπίζεται δὲ πολλὴν τὴν ἀρουρίτιν; **ὑπεραλλομένην:** Psellus, Chron. V.23.20-21 οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐδάφους ὑπεραλλόμενος, Choniates, Hist. p. 142 θηράτρων κούφως ὑπεραλλόμενος; **ἄγραν ἀλόξη:** Gregorius Naz., Carmina de se ipso 978.3 θηρὸς

ἀλύξει; **καταταχοῦντας**: Polybius, Hist. 15.9.10 ἐὰ δ' ἐκβιάζονται κατὰ τὴν τῶν θηρίων ἔφοδον, ἀποχωρεῖν, τοὺς μὲν καταταχοῦντας, Manasses, Chron. v. 5097 δεῖν ἔγνω προκαταλαβεῖν καὶ προκαταταχῆσαι et 5596 καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν καταταχῆσας φθάνει; **ἄνδρας φαρετροφόρους**: Aelianus, Varia Historia 12.43.1 Δαρεῖον ἀκούω τὸν Ὑστάσου φαρετροφόρον, Manasses, Chron. 3628: χρυσεοπήληκας, ἄβρους, πάντας φαρετροφόρους et 2207, 3192, 5416, Manasses, In Manuelem Comnenum I. 51 καὶ φαρετροφόρους; **νευροσπαδέσιν ἀτράκτοις**: Sophocles Phil. 290 νευροσπαδῆς ἄτρακτος, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 125.7 ἐπιτυχεῖς τε τίθησι νευροσπαδεῖς ἀτράκτους, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum I. 103 τὸ κατὰ τοὺς νευροσπαδεῖς ἀτράκτους στοιχόν; **ἐκκόλυμβον**: Manasses, De Aristandro, fr. 69.4 καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἐκκόλυμβον οὐ δύναται γενέσθαι; **δόλον ἀρτύνουσι**: Eutecnius, Paraphrasis in Opp. Cyneg. (Tüselmann) 42.16-17 τοῦτο ... θεωρήσαντες τὸν δόλον ἀρτύνουσιν εὐθύς; **ἀλλημιμένους ἰξῶ**: Georonica 5.38.3 ἰξῶ ἐπαλείψομεν, Paraphrasis Dionysii (Garzya) 1.1.12 ἰξῶ τις ἐπαλείψας, Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 7.32 ἀλλημιμένον θολῶ, Manasses, Ecphrasis de spinis (Horna), I. 87-88 ἰξῶ τοὺς λόγους ὑπῆλειφε, I. 184 ἰξὸν περιέχριον; **μελάμπτερος ψᾶρ**: Manasses, Chron., v. 258 οἱ ψᾶρες οἱ μελάμπτεροι τὸ πτίλον ἐπεσόβου, Manasses, Ecphrasis de spinis I. 193 μελάμπτερον τὸ περυγίον, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 47.1 ὀνειρών γὰρ τῶν σκοτεινῶν, τῶν μελανοπερυγίων, Pantechnes, p. 48 φάλκωνες ... μελανόχροοι; **λάλος ἀκανθυλλίς**: Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 5.4 λάλος τις ἦν, Manasses, Ecphrasis de spinis, I. 61 λάλα στρουθία; **φυγγάνειν**: Sophocles, Electra 130-1 οὐ τί με φυγγάνει; **πυκνὰ πυκνά**: Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 6.27 καὶ πυκνὰ πυκνά; **τρέχοντα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς**: Manasses, Ecphrasis de spinis I. 108-9 οἷα τρέχουσα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς; **μαχαιρίδι**: Manasses, Chron. v. 157 τομὸν τὸ ράμφος ἔχοντες ὑπὲρ τὰς μαχαιρίδας, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 77.8 ὡς μαχαιρίδας; **κατὰ βόθρου**: Manasses, Ecphrasis de spinis I. 80-1 κατὰ βόθρου τινὸς ἠκοντίζετο, I. 165 ὃ τε βόθρος πεπλήρωτο; **κομμώτρια φύσις**: Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 8.14 τὴν κομμώτριαν φύσιν, Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae I. 98 (φύσις) ἐγὼ καὶ τῶν ἀνθέων κομμώτρια, Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam I. 5 πολὺς δὲ τὴν κομμώτριαν φύσιν μιμήσασθαι; **παιδαριώδη ἀθύρματα**: Orpianus, Hal., 3, 619 ἅτε παῖδες ἀθύρμασι καγχαλόωντες, Gregorius Naz., Carmina moralia 844.6 παιδῶν ἀθύρματα, Chrysostomus, PG 57, 319 τὰ παιδικὰ ἀθύρματα, Anna Comnena, Alexias 15.3.1 ὡς παιδαρίων ἀθυρμάτων, Choniates, Hist. p. 509 τὰ μειρακιώδη ταῦτα ἀθύρματα, Manasses, In Manuelem Comnenum I. 90 νηπίους ἄθυρμα δέδωκας; **καττιτέρινα – χολοβάφινα**: Psellus, Orationes panegyricae (Dennis), no 4.350-351 καττιτερινὸς ἢ χολοβάφινος καὶ τὸ ὄλον ψευδόχρυσος, Manasses, Chron. v. 4693 καὶ χρῶμα χολοβάφινον βάμματι πορφυρέω, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum I. 348-9 καὶ χολοβάφινα μὲν ὄντα, χρύσεια δὲ φιλοτιμούμενα φαίνεσθαι, Choniates, Hist. v. 189 τὴν χροίαν

χολοβάφινον, ‘οὐκ εὐσύμβολον τὸ χρῶμα τοῦτο’; **ἰθακησίων ... Ὅμηρος μέμνηται:** Homerus Od. 19, 429-31 βάν ρ’ ἴμεν ἐς θήρην, ἡμὲν κύνες ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ υἰέες Αὐτολόκου.

4) ἄλουργίς: Manasses, Chron. v. 4305 καὶ πάλιν ὁ μισόθεος φορεῖ τὴν ἄλουργίδα et 5516, 6410, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum l. 98-9 ἄνθει κοσμουμένου τῆς ἄλουργίδος ἢ τὴν ἄλουργίδα καθωραΐζοντος; **γίγαντος χεῖρες:** Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam l. 156-7 ἔργα γίγαντος ἥρωος τούτου τὰ ἔργα; **ἐφάλλεται:** Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam lg. 23 οἱ καὶ ἀτάκτως τῶ ἀέρι ἐφάλλονται; **ἀγριοθύμοις:** Opprianus, Cyn. 2.103 ἄγραυλοι, σθεναροί, κερραλακές, ἀγριοθύμοι, Manasses, Chron. v. 3483 οὐκ ἀγριοθύμος ὀρμη βαρβάρου τοῦ χαγάνου et 3981, 4374; **σατράπας - χωράρχας:** Manasses, Chron. v. 927 ἔθνος τε πᾶν καὶ πάσης γῆς χωράρχαι καὶ σατράπαι et 603, 2499, 4153, 4298, 4951; **ἐπαλινόστησεν:** Manasses, Chron. v. 916 μόλις φυγῶν καὶ διαδράς αἰσχροῶς ἐπαλινόστει.

5) περὶ φθίνουσαν τὴν ὀπώραν: Eutecnius, Paraphrasis in Opp. 10.32.33 περὶ δέ γε φθίνουσαν ὀπώραν, Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 5-6 περὶ φθίνουσαν τὴν ὀπώραν; **κραύγασοι γέρανοι:** Choniates, Hist. p. 478 καὶ τοὺς πλείους δε κραυγᾶσους καὶ στασιώδεις, Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 4.10 κορώνη τῆ κραυγᾶσῳ, p. 5.30 ὄξυβόας σπίνος καὶ κραύγασος, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 40.1 ὀχλώδης γὰρ καὶ κραύγασος ἅπας ληστής καὶ ἄλαος, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum l. 361 οὐ κραύγασος ἦν; **δυσχειμέρον:** Apollonius, Argonautica 1.213 Θρήκης δυσχειμέρου, Theophanis Continuatio p. 61.9 καὶ τῆς Θράκης τῶν ἄλλων οὔσης δυσχειμέρου, Manasses, Chron. v. 6353 πέλαγος γὰρ δυσχειμέρον ὑπήνοιγε τὸ στόμα, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 165.4 οὐ πέλαγος δυσχειμέρον; **χιονόβλητον:** Aristophanes, Nub. 270 εἶτ’ ἐπ’ Ὀλύμπου κορυφαῖς ἱεραῖς χιονοβλήτοισι κάθησθε, Arrianus, Hist. Indica 6.7-8 ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ χιονόβλητα εἶη ἂν τὰ Αἰθιοπῶν ὄρεα ὑπὸ καύματος.

6) ἐπεστοιβάζετο: Nicetas Heracl., Comm. XVI orat. Gregorii Naz. 61 ἄλλα ἐπ’ ἄλλοις ἐπεστοιβάζετο εἰς ὕψος; **τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς σαγηνεύοντας πόλεις ἢ ἱστορία φησίν:** Herodotus, Hist. 3.149.2 τὴν δὲ Σάμιον σαγηνεύσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι et passim; **τοὺς εὐζώνους τῶν ὀπλιτῶν:** Anna Comnena, Alexias 15.3.6 εὐζώνους στρατιώτας; **βάδην πως καὶ σχολαίως:** Pantechnes p. 49 σχολαίως καὶ βάδην; **σκυλάκια:** Pantechnes p. 48 et 50 τοῖς σκυλάξι ... σκυλάκων σαίνουρα, τὰ τῶν σκυλάκων κυνηγέσια, Manasses, Chron. v. 4402 οὐχ οὕτως ἀγριαίνεται κατὰ τῶν σκυλακίων et 4027, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 36.7 κἄν σκυλακίου, κἄν ἀνδρός; **ἀελλόποδας:** Manasses, Chron. v. 3999 ἵπων ὠκέων ἐπιβάς πτηνῶν ἀελλόποδων; **πτηνόποδας:** Manasses, Chron. v. 171 καὶ κύνες καρχαρόδοντες, πτηνόποδες λαγῖναι, Choniates, Hist. p. 290 οἱ πτηνόποδες

λαγίναι καὶ κύνες αἱ θηρευτικά; **γαμψώνυχας καὶ ἀγκυλοχεύλας:** Alciphron, Epistulae 3.23.3 ἐξαίφνης δὲ ἐπιπτόντα μοι γαμψώνυχα καὶ μέγαν ἀετόν, γοργὸν τὸ βλέμμα καὶ ἀγκυλοχεύλην τὸ στόμα; Pantechnes p. 48 ἐρωδιοὶ τε γαμψώνυχες, Manasses, Chron. v. 155 οἱ μὲν μεγαλοπτέρυγες, μεγαλαγκυλοχεύλαι; **ἐπαρήξοντες:** Agathias, Hist. 139.7-8 καὶ ἐξ δύναμιν ἐπαρήξοντες, Choniates, Hist. p. 92 καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν ἀρπάζειν τοῦ ἐπαρήξαντος et 371, 639; **ὄτι μὴ δὲ ἑλλήνια:** Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam l. 1 λόγος οὗτος ἑλλήνιος, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum l. 127-8 παραρτυτέον ... καὶ τι ἑλλήνιον; **οἱ ... θεαταὶ τῆς ἄγρας:** Pantechnes p. 48 καὶ θεαταὶ τούτοις εἶποντο; Μενεσθέας: Homerus, Il 2.552 et passim, Manasses, Chron. v. 1230 ἦν Μενεσθεύς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν; **γοργότης:** Xenophon, De re equestri 1.10.2-3 καὶ γοργότερον τον ἵππον ἀποδεικνύουσιν, Pantechnes p. 50 γοργὸν τὸ πτερόν; **δραστικῶν δορυφόρων:** Nicetas David Paphlagon, Laudatio Danielis (Halkin), p. 5.20 ὡσπερ δορυφόροι πιστότατοι καὶ δραστκότατοι; **ἀπειλητήρσι:** Homerus, Il 7.96 ὦ μοι ἀπειλητήρες Ἀχαιῖδες οὐκετ' Ἀχαιοί, Eustathius, Comm. ad Hom. Il. I.780 ὁ ἀλαζῶν καὶ ὁ ἀπειλητῆρ βαρὺ βέμειν λέγονται; **ἀριπρεπεῖς:** Manasses, Chron. v. 1234 ἀριπρεπεῖς, διογενεῖς, ἀρεῖκοί, γεννάδαι; **μεγαλογενῶν:** Manasses, Chron. v. 6554 εἰς δὲ τις μεγαλογενῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκ πρώτης ρίζης.

7) **χειρίδας:** Homerus, Od. 24.230 χειρῖδας τ' ἐπὶ χερσὶ βάτων ἔνεκ'; **περιαμπίσχοσυ:** Agathias, Hist. p. 46.17-18 οἱ δὲ καὶ σκυτῖνας διαζωννύμενοι τοῖς σκέλεσι περιαμπίσχονται; **πυράγραν:** Lucianus, Dial. Deor. 8.4 ἄρτι τὴν πυράγραν ἀποτεθειμένον, Manasses, Chron. v. 520 ὡς ἀποτρέψαιτο λιμοῦ τὴν φθαρτικὴν πυράγραν; **γαμψώνυχον:** Manasses, Chron. v. 156 γαμψώνυχες, ὡς βέλεμα τοὺς ὄνυχας αὐχοῦντες, Choniates, Hist., p. 308 γαμψώνυχες ὄρνιθες; **παλαιόχρονον:** Manasses, Chron. v. 5959 καὶ ταῦτα παλαιόχρονος πέμπελος ὢν τριγέρων; **τῶν ὀνύχων τούτων ἀκμαί:** Pantechnes p. 50 τὰς τῶν ὀνύχων ἀκμάς; ἀπόβλεπτον: Eustathius, Comm. ad Hom. Il. 1.393.11 ἀπόβλεπτον τοῖς θεωμένοις οὕτω ποιεῖν; **θρέπτεира:** Orprianus, Hal. 5.336 γαῖα, φίλη θρέπτεира, Manasses, Chron., v. 30 καὶ γῆν τὴν παντοθρέπτεираν; **ἄγχουρον:** Lycorhron, Alexandra 418 Ἀψυνθίων ἄγχουρος ἠδὲ Βιστόνων; **παρωκεανίτην:** Polybius, Hist. 34.5.6 τὴν παρωκεανίτην τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδείρων, Stephanus, Ethnica 259.4.20 Ἐβόρα, πόλις παρωκεανίτις μετὰ τὰ Γάδεια; **πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον:** Paraphrasis Dionysii (Garzya), p. 203.13 καὶ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τὸν ἥλιον; **πανδεξίους:** Manasses, Chron. v. 2073 πρὸ χρόνου τὸν πανδέξιον, κρατήσαντ' ἔτη δύο; **ἀεροπόρους:** Manasses, Chron. v. 2758 ἀεροπόρους πτέρυγας ἰδίας ἠπλωκότα, Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam, l. 266-7 καθάπερ ἀεροπόροις ὀρνέοις ἐπιβουλαί; **ἐμπειρομάχους:** Cinnamus, Hist. 71.6 Προσοῦχ ἀνδρὶ ἐμπειρομάχῳ.

8) κεχιόνωτο: Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 7.24 κεχιόνωτο οί τὸ ράμφος, Manasses, Ecphrasis de spinis l. 195-6 ὅσον ὑποπύγιον, κεχιόνωτο, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum l. 202 ἤδη κεχιονωμένος τὸ τρίχωμα, Pantechnes, p. 48 τὰ πτίλα χιονώδη τὰ πλείω; **μεμελάνωτο:** Chrysostomus, PG 60, 728 ποῦ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ προσώπου; ἰδοῦ μεμελάνωται; **ἀγκύλον τὸ ράμφος:** Lucianus, Dial. Deor. 10.1 οὐκέτι ράμφος ἀγκύλον ἔχοντα; τομὸν τὸ ράμφος ὑπὲρ τὰς μαχαίριδας; Manasses, Chron., v. 157 τομὸν τὸ ράμφος ἔχοντες ὑπὲρ τὰς μαχαίριδας; **λελεύκαντο:** Cinnamus, Hist. 205.12 λελεύκονται δὲ ὑπὲρ χιόνα, Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 8 λελεύκαντο οί τὸ σκέλος; **θαψίνη:** Aristophanes, Vesp. 1413 γυναικὶ κλητεύεις εἰκοῦς θαψίνη, Plutarchus, Phoc. 28.5 θάψινον ἀντὶ φοινικοῦ χρῶμα, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 174.18 καὶ θάψινος τὴν χρόαν, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum lg. 23 θαψίνην τινὰ καὶ νεκράδῃ χροίαν; **γοργὸν τὸ ὄμμα... ἄρρενωπότητα:** Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam, l. 29-30 τὸ βλέμμα γοργόν, ἄρρενωπὸν καὶ αὐτό; **ὑπόκιρρος:** Manasses, Chron. v. 74 κυαναγωγίης, πορφύρεος, ὑπόκιρρος ἑτέρα, Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 7.25 τὸ μὲν ὑπόκιρρον ἦν καὶ τὸ κιρρὸν ὑπεχρύσιζε, Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, l. 130 τὸ λέπος ὑπόκιρροι; **καπνηρότερον:** Choniates, Hist. p. 51 οὔτε μὲν ἄγαν καπνηρός, ὡς οἱ πολὺν τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου δεξάμενοι, Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, l. 12 πρόσωπον καπνηρόν, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 106.2 καὶ καπνηρότης ὄψεων et fr. 174.9; **μελανίας σταλάγματα:** Sophocles, Antig. v. 1239 φοινίου σταλάγματος, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum l. 109 σταλάγματα χρυσέα; **χρῶζόμενα:** Choniates, Hist. p. 362 φοινικοῦν χρῶζόμενα, Eustathius, Comm. ad Hom. Il. 1.483.2 χρῶζόμενα διόλου κατὰ πελαργούς; **ζώστροις** Homerus, Od. 6.38 ζώστρά τε καὶ πέπλους καὶ ῥήγεια σιγαλόεντα; **ἐπάκμους ὄνυχας:** Dioscorides, De materia medica 1.90.1 ἐπάκμους ἔχει τὰς ἀκάνθας, Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 8.10 τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ὄνυχων καὶ ἐπάκμους διέσφζεν; **ὑπὲρ βέλη ἠκόνηστο:** Manasses, Ad Hagiotheodoritam, lig. 58-9 ὑπὲρ ξίφος ἠκονημένην; **ἀμύσσειν:** Eustathius, Comm. ad Hom. Il. 1.148.15: ἀμύσσειν δὲ κυρίως τὸ ξεῖν, ὡς καὶ αἶμα ρύϊσκεσθαι; **στερεμνιώτερον:** Manasses, Chron. v. 1918 καλλίπυργον πεποίηκα λιθίνην στερεμνίαν et 2944, 5364; **φλοῦς:** Eustathius, Comm. ad Hom. Il. 1.147.30-31 συναيرهθὲν γίνεται φλοῦς; **λάχνη:** Homerus, Il. 2.219 φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλὴν, ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη et passim, Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 4.18 τὴν λάχνην αὐτοῦ διαδαίρων τοῖς ὄνυξι; **πεπύκασται:** Atheneaus, Deipn. 2, 2.52.10-11 (=Xenophanes, fr. 1.12) βωμός δ' ἄνθεσιν ἂν τὸ μέσον πάντη πεπύκασται; **παλαιγενής:** Manasses, Chron. v. 5183 ἀντικρὺς ἐστὶν ἀετὸς παλαιγενῆς τριγέρων et 924, 6569.

9) ἀντιπалаμᾶσθαι: Manasses, Ecphrasis hominis, l. 7-8 τοὺς ταῖς γεράνοις ἀντιπалаμωμένους Πυγμαίους, Anna Comnena, Alexias, 2.9.1 μηδ' ἀντιπалаμᾶσθαι δυνάμενος; **κοιτάζονται:** Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 7.16

ἔνθα ὁ στρουθὸς ἐκοιτάζετο, Manasses, Monodia in Theodoram (Kurtz) l. 116 ποῦ κοιτάζει; Manasses, Ecphrasis hominis, l. 3 ἐν καλαθίσκῳ κοιτάζεσθαι; **μαστιζόντας**: Manasses, In Manuelem Comnenum l. 59-60 τὸν ἄερα μαστίζων κινήσεσι; **ταρσοῖς**: Lucianus, Herc. 8.4-5 πτερύγων ταρσοῖς παραπετέσθω, Eriphanus, Ancoratus 84.4 καὶ ταρσοῖς ἰδίους τὰ στήθη τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μαστίζας πολλά, Photius, Lexikon tau 569 ταρσοῖς; πτεροῖς ἄκροις; **ἐπινώτιον πτέρωμα**: Choniatas, Hist. p. 558 τὴν ἐπινώτιον τρίχα, Manasses, Monodia in Obitum p. 8.2 τὸ δὲ ἐπινώτιον πτέρωμα, De spinis l. 192 τὸ ἐπινώτιον ἅπαν ὑπόκιρρον; **ποικιλόπτεροι καὶ κατάστικτοι**: Euripides, Hipp. v. 1269-70 ὁ ποικιλόπτερος, Pantechnes, p. 48 ἰέρακες ποικιλόδειροι ... οὕτω κατάστικτα, Tzetzes, Hist. II.845 τὸν ξενοποικιλόπτερον τὸν κολοῖον ἐκείνον; **ὑπεπύρριξε**: Dioscorides, De re medica 2.146.1 ἐκ μέρους δὲ ὑποπυρρίζοντα, Atheneaus, Deipn. 2, 1.142.11-12 οἱ μὲν γὰρ μέλανες, οἱ δὲ ὑποπυρρίζοντες; **χαλαζώματα**: Manasses, Chron. v. 259 καὶ χαλαζώματά τινα λευκότητος ἐφόρου, Manasses, Monodia in Theodoram l. 100-1 κατὰ τῶν προσώπων φέρουσι χαλαζώματα συμφορῶν, Manasses, Consolatio ad Joannem Contostephanum l. 208 καὶ τραυμάτων ἔφερες ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ χαλαζώματα; **νεακονήτους**: Sophocles, Elec. v. 1394 νεακόνητον αἷμα χειροῖν ἔχων et Scholia in Soph. Elec. 1394 νεακόνητον αἷμα, τὸ ξίφος τὸ ἠκονισμένον; **πετασμούς**: Manasses, Chron. v. 152 εἶχον ἐλεύθερον πτερόν εἰς πετασμούς συντόνους et 6432; **πολεμησεῖιν**: Photius, Lexicon pi 438 (=Souda pi 1881) πολεμησεῖιν· πολεμητικῶς ἔχειν; **περιέχασκον τὸν ἄερα**: Tattius, Leucippe, 2.22.4 τὸν ἄερα περιέχασκεν; **θηκτόν**: Souda theta 330 θηκτόν· ἠκονισμένον, Christus patiens v. 492 μὴ θηκτόν ὥση φάσγανον δι' ἥπατος.

10) μόθον: Homerus, Il 7.240 οἶδα δ' ἐπαίξαι μόθον ἵππων ὠκειῶν et passim, Hesychius, Lexicon kappa 1271 κατὰ μόθον· κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον; **ἐνυάλιον**: Homerus, Il. 210-211 Ἄρης δεινὸς ἐνυάλιος, Timarion (Romano) l. 187 ἄνδρες Ἄρεος ἐνυάλιοιο, Manasses, Chron. v. 5914 ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐνυάλιον καὶ μάχιμον ὑπήγει et 5897, 6531; **κέλαδον ἐνυάλιον**: Heliodorus, Aethiop. I.3.1.3 οὐδὲ τὸν ἐνυάλιον ἐνιοὶ κέλαδον ἀνασχόμενοι; **σιδηροθώρακες**: Scholia in Odysseam 286.4 χαλκοχιτώνων· σιδηροθωράκων; **γεράνων κλαγγαζουσῶν**: Pollux, Onomasticon 5.89.1 κλαγγάζειν δὲ γεράνους, Chrysostomus, PG 61, 763 καὶ πᾶν ὀρνίθων χορός, ἀνά τὸν αἰθέρα πετώμενος, ταῖς μελωδίαις κλαγγάζει, Paraphrasis Dionysii (Garzya) p. 227.6-7 τῶν μεγίστων κλαγγανόντων γεράνων; **ἐνυάλιον**: Manasses, In Manuelem Comnenum l. 180 πρὶν σαλπῖσαι τὸ ἐνυάλιον; **κλέπτειν τὴν νίκην**: Plutarchus, Alex. 31.12 οὐ κλέπτω τὴν νίκην, Malalas, Hist. 18.44 ἵνα μὴ νομισθῶμεν κλέπτειν τὴν νίκην καὶ δόλω περιγίνεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, Bryennius, Hist. 4, 5 ἐβούλετο γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὴν πολεμίων ἐφοδεῦειν ἔφοδον καὶ τὴν νίκην κλέπτειν; **ἀναπτᾶσαι**: Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 2.42.6-7 αἰ δὲ Γοργόνες ἐκ τῆς κοίτης ἀναπτᾶσαι τὸν Περσέα ἐδίω-

κον; **γευόμενοι τοῦ λωτοῦ**: Homerus, Od. 9.84 sq; **γάνος ... τῆ ψυχῆ**: Manasses, De Aristandro, fr. 64 γάνος ἐνστάζει ταῖς ψυχαῖς; Tzetzes, Epistulae, no 19, p. 35.3 τῆ ψυχῆ θελκτῆριον γάνος ἐνέσταξεν **ἐρυμνά**: Manasses, Chron. v. 3120 ἐντεῦθεν ὑπερίσχυσε τῶν ἐρυμνῶν φρουρίων et 3638; **φλόγεος**: Manasses, Chron. v. 1124 βλέπειν γὰρ ἔδοξε δαλὸν φλόγεον ἀνθρακίαν; **φαλαγγηδὸν ἀρτύναντες**: Homerus, Il. 12.43 οἱ δέ τε πυργηδὸν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες et 13.152; **πρεσβυτικὸς, ἂν εἶπε τις, Νέστωρ**: cf. Theodori Lascari Epist. p. 112.5-6 τῆ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ Νέστορος παιδεία τὴν ἰππικὴν ἀσκήσοντες.

11) ἀντοφθαλμεῖν οὐ τολμῶεν: Acta Apostolorum 27.15.2 καὶ μὴ δυναμένου ἀντοφθαλμεῖν. cf. etiam Polybius, Hist. 3.14.9 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντοφθαλμεῖν ἐτόλμα; **ὠγύγιόν τι γρῆμα**: Photius, Lexicon omega 658 ὠγύγια κακά ... ὠγύγιον· ἀρχαῖον, παλαιὸν ἢ ὑπερμέγεθες, Manasses, In Manuelem Comnenum I. 102 ὑπερωμίας τις ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὠγύγιος ἀτεχνῶς; **ὀρθιάσαντες**: Manasses, Ecephrasis de spinis I. 127 ἀλλ' ὀρθιάσας αὐτόν, Nic. Choniates, Orat. no 8, 82.26 πρὸς τὰ παρηγούμενα ὀρθιάσαντες; **μακροκόντια**: Eugenianus, De Drosilla (Conca) V, v. 398 Ἄραβες εἰργάσαντο μακροκοντία; **Μέμνονα ... ἢ Τιθόντην ὁ Τελαμώνιος**: cf. Malalas, Hist. V.27; **ἔδρυπτε τὸ προστέρνιον**: Orprianus, Cyneg. 3.214 δρυπτομένην ἀπαλὴν τε παρηΐδα; **δολιχόδειρον**: Aelius Herodianus, Partitiones 23.9-10 δολιχόδειρος γέρανος, ἢ μοκροτράχηλος, Choniates, Hist. p. 116 τὴν δολιχόδειρον καὶ καλλίσφυρον Λάκαιναν et 559, 652, Pantechnes p. 49 ταῖς ἀκωκαῖς καταδρύπτουσι; **ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς μοίρας ... ὁ ἀγών**: Procopius, De bellis 2.3.52 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται, Suda α 2699 ἀντίπαλον: τρία σημαίνει· τὸ ἐναντίον καὶ τὸ ἰσόπαλον καὶ τὸ ἰσόστροφον. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται, Psellus, Orat. Paneg. no 1, 64 οὐτ' ἀντιθέειν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου μοίρας ἠνέσχετο; **ἀνεμοτρεφῆ**: Homerus Il. 11.256 ἀλλ' ἐπόρουσε Κόωνι ἔχων ἀνεμοτρεφῆς ἔγχος, Manasses, Chron. v. 5363 φυτὸν γὰρ ἀνεμοτρεφῆς καὶ γυμνασθὲν ἀνέμοις; **μείλινα δόρατα**: Homerus, Il. 13.715 οὐδ' ἔχον ἀσπίδας εὐκύλους καὶ μείλινα δούρα et passim, Choniates, Hist. p. 305 : μετὰ δοράτων μελίνων.

12) ροιζήμασιν: Aristophanes, Av. 1182 ῥύμη τε καὶ πτεροῖσι καὶ ροιζήμασιν, Eutecnius, Paraphrasis in Opp. Cyneg. 36.10 τῶν πτερῶν τῷ ροιζήματι, Pantechnes p. 49 ἄνωθεν γὰρ ροιζηδὸν οἱ φάλκωνες καταπτερουσόμενοι... ὁ ροιζος τῆς πτήσεως; **παταγήματα**: Photius, Lexicon pi 402 : πατάγημα· ἀντίπαλος καὶ πανοῦργος; **θοῦριος**: Homerus Il.5.29 et passim θοῦρον Ἄρηα, Aeschylus, Pers. 718 θοῦριος Ξέρξης, Sophocles, Ajax 212 θοῦριος Αἴας, Héphaestion, Enchiridion de metris 18.10 θοῦριος μολῶν Ἄρης; **δειρῆν**: Rufus, De corpori 61.1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν, τράχηλος· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ δειρῆ καὶ ἀσχήν, Orprianus, Cyneg. 1.406 δειρῆ μηκεδανῆ, Manasses, Chron., v. 1166 δειρῆ μακρά, κατάλευκος; **κερατοζῶος**: Nonnus, Dionysiaca 3.76: οὖς Κρονίη κερατοζῶος

εὔρατο τέχνη; **ὀλιγηπελέοντα:** Homerus, Od. 19.356 ὀλιγοπελέουσα περ ἔμπης; **τερψίθυρον ... θέαμα:** Michael Glycas, Annales p. 21.16 θέαμά τι τερψίθυρον; **θελξικάρδιον:** Manasses, Chron. v. 311 ἔφκει θελξικάρδιον γλυκυθυμίαν στάζειν; **τανταλούμενον:** Soph. Antig. 134 : ἀντιτύπα δ' ἐπὶ γὰ πέσε τανταλωθεῖς, Manasses, Hist. 3522 καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκκυλισθεῖς τάλας ἐτανταλώθη; **περίθερμος:** Manasses, Chron. v. 5977 καὶ σφαδαρμοῖς σωματικοῖς περιθερμαιομένη.

13) προῦμμάτων ὁ θάνατος: Lycophron, Alexandra v. 82 προῦμμάτων δεδορότες et v. 251, Prodromus, Catomyomachia v. 18 προῦμμάτων ἴδοιμεν οἰκείων μόρον; **σκυλακευθησομένους:** Manasses, Vita Orpiani v. 18 καὶ σκυλακεύων τὸν υἱὸν ἐς τὰς ὁμοίας θήρας; **κερδαλεώτερον:** Manasses, Chron. v. 2552 πολλῶ κερδαλεώτερον τὸ πάρεργον εὐρίσκει, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 122.3 πολλῶ κερδαλεώτερος μεγαλοπόνου βίου; **Προμηθεύς:** cf. Aeschylus, Prom. 1021-1025; **περιδρύψεων:** Homerus, Il. 23.395 ἀγκώνάς τε περιδρύφθη, Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum l. 609-10 ἂν σὺ περιδρύπτῃς τὰς παρειάς.

14) ὄξυ τὸ ράμφος: Manasses, Ecphrasis de spinis l. 192 ράμφος ὄξυ καὶ λεπτόν; **σπερμοφάγον:** Sextus Ermiricus, Pyrr. 1.56.4 τὰ δὲ σπερμοφάγα τὰ δὲ σαρκοφάγα, Eustathius, De capta Thess., p. 104.21 οἷς χαίρουσιν οἱ τῶν ὀρνίθων σπερμοφάγοι; **εὐρυχανής:** Orpianus, Halieut. 3.344 γαστήρ τ' εὐρυχανής, Eutecnius, Paraphrasis in Orp. Cyneg. 15.32 τὸ στόμα εὐρυχανής τε καὶ κάρχαρος, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 74.3 εὐρυχανὲς οὐκ ἦνοιξαν οἱ πειρασμοὶ τὸ στόμα; **ὑακινθίνων:** Homerus, Od. 6.231 οὐλας ἦκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνω ἄνθει ὁμοίας, Apocalypsis Ioanni 9.17.3 θώρακας πυρίνους καὶ ὑακινθίνους καὶ θειώδεις; **ὄρμιάν:** Orpianus, Halieut. 5.354 μείονες ὄρμιαι, μείων γένος ἀγκίστροιο ; **ποντοβάμονας:** Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 147.1 τὸ ποντοβᾶμον ζῶον.

15) ἐπιτερπές: Manasses, Ad Nicephorum Comnenum, l. 11 ἐπιτερπὲς δὲ καὶ χάριεν et l. 334 τὴν ιδέαν ἐπιτερπῆς; **βρεχμόν - κύμβαχος:** Homerus, Il. 5.586 ἔκπεσε δίφρου κύμβαχος ἐν κόνιῃσιν ἐπὶ βρεχμόν καὶ ὦμος, Manasses, Chron. v. 4953 καὶ κύμβαχος κατέπεσεν ἐπὶ βρεχμόν καὶ νῶτα, et v. 5521, Manasses, De Aristandro fr. 78.3 καὶ καταβάλλει κύμβαχον ἐπὶ βρεγμόν, ἐπ' ὦμος, Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, lig. 179-80 οἷα κύμβαχος ἔπεσε; **κατάρραξι:** Anonymus, Peri tōn tessarōn merōn tou teleiou logou 3.580.1 τῶν ἐφίπτων κατάρραξις; **ζώπυρον:** Manasses, Chron. v. 395 ὡς σπέρμα χρηματίσαιεν καὶ ζώπυρον τοῦ γένους.

Constantine Manasses, *Description of a crane hunt*

1. Horse racing and hunting and other such things that men have invented do not contribute only to exercise and the strengthening of the body, they also instil pleasure in the hearts and a tickling to the senses.¹ For they are good because they keep men from illness, rejecting anything causing disease and contributing to what supports life, but they are also good because they accustom men for war, teaching them to ride, attack, and keep the ranks, and preparing them for the direct pursuit as well as that from the left or from right, training them when to yield to the horses and encourage them to run with relaxed reins and when to pressure them and hold them with bridles made by iron softened by fire.

2. All this would be, as one might say², an exercise in moderate things, as a reminder of greater things; this is a battle without deaths, an Ares unarmed who does not have his right hand covered by blood, nor a spear drenched in murder.³ These and other such activities are accordingly good and only for those who do not love beauty are they without grace or unwanted; they are in fact graceful, because they relieve the insufferable burden of the soul and drive away what eats the heart and expel what brings sorrow. And just like what the Pythagoreans say, namely that the kithara that sounds a melody and the reed that supports the lyre when blown⁴ and any other string or wind instrument drive the heart to

¹ The verb ἐνστάζει ('instills') belongs to medical vocabulary; Manasses wants to underline, throughout this paragraph, the therapeutic aspect of hunting.

² Cf. Ioannes Doxapatres, *Prolegomena in Aphthonii progymnasmata* (ed. Rabe) 143,15-17: Ὅρίζονται τοίνυν τὸ μὲν καθολικὸν προγύμνασμα οὕτως ἑπιπρογύμνασμα ἔστιν ἄσκησις μετρίων πρὸς μειζόνων ἐπίρρωσιν πραγμάτων.

³ The rhetorical image of Ares unarmed (Ἄρης ἀσίδηρος) might echo the playful activities which the soldiers would engage in at the court of Manuel I in times of peace; see, for the same period, *Anacharsis ou Ananias* 1152 (Christidis): Ἄρης ἐκεῖ τελεῖται ἄδακρυς καὶ ἀσίδηρος; see also Ἄρης ἀνάμακτος in the description of a tournament, on which Schreiner 1976.

⁴ The ὑπολύριοι δόνακες are drawn from Aristophanes, *Ranae* 232-3, employed by Manasses also in the *Encomium of Michael Hagiotheodorites* 253-60 (Horna). According to Pollux, *Onomasticon* 4.62 (Bethe), these reeds used to be placed on (under?) lyres instead of horns: καὶ δόνακα δὲ τίνα ὑπολύριον οἱ κωμικοὶ ὠνόμαζον, ὡς

anger and make it like a pot that boils over and then again calm down and soften and reduce the swelling and sooth the inflammation like a bandage allaying pain⁵ – the same thing can also be observed in hunting. For it resembles the carrying of arms, the killing of men, the thudding of shields, and the blood-thirsty Ares, and it drives away any cloud of faintheartedness and produces rays of pleasure, but nobody could have such a piercing distress in his heart that it would not be healed upon seeing a doe hare with a coward heart appear, being hunted and fleeing from running dogs.

3. I myself, being present at a crane hunt, being filled with the sight of them and seeing how birds with such small bodies make a rustling sound with their wings and, while flying lightly into the air, bring down those long-legged birds to the ground, had my soul filled with immense pleasure and, while praising also for other reasons the blessed nature, I admired also this part, that she armed small-bodied animals with superior strength and added in vigor what she had removed in size.

Indeed, I have also seen a running doe being pursued and running out breath from the hunt and driven by thirst and sticking out her tongue to taste the fresh air, being hunted by both men and dogs with sharp teeth, jumping over the thickets and leaping across the woods and ascending towards the fields, sometimes even entrusting herself to lakes in order to escape the chase, and plunging into the sea like marine animals, while the dogs accelerated and the quiver-bearing men followed and with arrows ready to fly made the poor animal swim.⁶ I have also seen captured

πάλαι ἀντὶ κεράτων ὑποτιθέμενον ταῖς λύραις. Written in the second century, this explanation is likely to be imaginative rather than technically correct, and it seems likely that Manasses uses the expression as a metonym for pleasant, ancient-sounding music, but here curiously as a wind instrument. On musical instruments in Byzantium, see Maliaras 2007.

⁵ We have not been able to identify the exact source of this theory. On the Pythagorean idea of music as the perfect union of contradictions or opposites, see Theon of Smyrna, *On mathematics useful for the understanding of Plato* 12.10-12 (Hiller).

⁶ On this kind of hunt in ancient and late antique sources, see Xenophon, *Cynegeticon* 9.20 and Dio Chrysostom, *The Euboean discourse* 7.3-4. See also Linant de Bellefonds 2006.

goldfinches and siskins and chaffinches⁷ and all those shortwinged birds for which twigs covered in sweet bay prepare a trap, projecting unnatural branches and holding out twigs smeared with glue.⁸ Once⁹ I also rejoiced at a starling with black wings and a singing goldfinch and the chattering siskin and other such birds, held by twigs covered in glue, wanting to escape and fluttering their wings, but prevented by those fluid bonds and with hearts beating in their chests, as if fighting for their lives, they were caught and pierced by a small knife and thrown in a basket, but some were kept alive, those to whom embellishing nature had given more abundant beauty.

But for me, the crane hunt is so much more pleasurable than all those other hunt as much the cranes with their long necks are superior to goldfinches and siskins, as much the falcons are more efficient than the twigs covered in glue, and as much children's plays are inferior to men's sports. And whoever would think another hunt to be superior will be viewed as doing the same thing as the one who prefers copper coins to silver coins and plated coins to golden ones.¹⁰ What I have seen must thus be given to writing; for what prevents me from indulging in this

⁷ The text speaks of three kinds of birds: ἀκανθυλλίδα, σπίνου, ἀστρογλήνου; however, ἀκανθυλλίδα and ἀστρογλήνου seem to indicate the same bird: the chaffinch or *aigithalus pendulinus*; see Koukoules 1952, 399-400, esp. n. 7. For Manasses, the use of different names seems to have rather the function of stylistic variety; see also Nilsson 2021 (forthcoming). The chaffinch, the goldfinch and other small birds appear frequently in Manasses' works; see esp. the *Monody on the death of his goldfinch* (Horna 1902).

⁸ A description of this kind of hunt appears in Manasses' *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches* (Horna 1905). See also Garzya 1995, 231.6-11 for a catalogue of birds caught with lime: καὶ ἰξῶ μὲν αἰροῦνται κορῦδαλοι καὶ οἱ ταχεῖς ἀστραγαλῖνοι οἱ τε ἀμπελιῶνες οἱ κουφότατοι καὶ οἱ ἄσθενεῖς βουδῦται οἱ τε βαρῖται καὶ αἱ σῶδες καὶ σπῖνοι καὶ τρυγόνες καὶ ἀστέρες, οἷς ἐρυθρός τε κύκλος ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἀστὴρ, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις στρουθίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βορρᾶν ἐπιδημοῦσι τοῦ ἀέρος ἰξῶ θηρῶνται, τοῖς καλάμοις ἐπικαθίσαντες.

⁹ Possible reference to the *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches*, which may have been written before the *Description of a crane hunt*. The image that follows is a development of the preceding phrase.

¹⁰ Crane hunting is the most prestigious kind of hunt, because it is not carried out by means of glue (like the socially less valued hunting of small birds) but with the help of falcons.

even by describing it, when Homer himself offered an account of the hunt of Ithacian men?¹¹

4. Once, the triumphant emperor went hunting, he whom purple had brought to birth and whose purple robe proclaimed his breed,¹² whom wisdom and bravery and intelligence and the entire catalogue of graces embraced and breastfed and offered milk of myriads of virtues. His hands are the hands of a giant, his heart is a chamber of prudence, his soul is protected by the hands of God—his mind is elevated and lofty, close to rivalling the minds of angels.¹³ His hunting and exercise appears to aim at pleasure and relaxation, but in truth they lead to victories and trophies and the arrangement of important affairs and the preservation of the rule of Romans. Like a lion's cub, even in his sleep he keeps watch with the eyes of his soul, sees, guards, and catches; he guards against the attempt of attacking enemies and leaps with ferocious eyes without their anticipating his charge.¹⁴ Like an eagle, he moves his wings of profound judgment and, by rustling his feathered plumage of high counsel,¹⁵ he terrifies entire herds of enemies. So, when once he seemed to go hunting wild animals, he returned having pursued foreign satraps, having captured foreign rulers.¹⁶

¹¹ Homer, *Od.* 19.429-31.

¹² ἀλουργίς: a purple robe, metonymy of royalty. Cf. *Souda*, π 1064: ἀλουργίς δὲ ἡ πορφύρα.

¹³ The manuscripts have ἐν σώματι, accepted by Kurtz, but it seems to make no sense in the context. Manasses wishes to underline the unwordly, nearly divine nature of Manuel.

¹⁴ Note the elliptic syntax and effects of alliteration: προφυλάττεται, ἐφάπτεται, φυλάττεται, ἐφάλλεται.

¹⁵ Manasses here uses the verb περιρροζήσας, while previously he used ἐπιρροζοῦσι (3); he seems to be using the two verbs as synonyms.

¹⁶ This is an allusion to an occasion at which Manuel was hunting during a military campaign that led to victory and the captivity of enemies; either the campaign of 1148 against the Cumans, when Manuel, during a hunt, found out about the enemy attack and organized a counterattack which led to the victory of the Byzantines (Kinnamos, *Hist.* 3.3 [Meineke]) or the campaign of 1159 in Antioch, when Manuel, during a hunt, was ambushed by the enemies (Kinnamos, *Hist.* 4.21 [Meineke]).

5. So he went out hunting, and I too followed to observe the pleasure of the hunt. It was towards the end of the autumn,¹⁷ the time when the screaming cranes leave a wintry Thrace covered in snow and depart for Libya and Egypt and their sunny skies, as if to found a colony. The hunt was organized in the following manner.

6. On all sides, a crowd was advancing, overflowing and spreading out over most of the plain. One held on to the other and attached himself to the other and thus the crowd became dense, as history says about the Persians who in the past surrounded the cities.¹⁸ In the middle rode the emperor gently,¹⁹ without hurrying, without frequently spurring his horse and without inciting him to gallop. Some men were sent there as light-armed foot soldiers and carried bows and quivers; others had only daggers fastened to their belts. Some men brought small dogs with good sense of smell, some of which were carried on the backs of horses²⁰ while others were tried by the hardship of the walk; other men brought with them fast-running dogs with winged feet.²¹ Others had falcons with crooked talons and hooked beaks; some were only a year old, having just separated from their shells, while others, who had been stripped of their plumage several times and regained it, profited from their seniority and, for this reason, were counted among the most sought after and worthy of praise. Still others carried with them birds, killers of cranes and ducks (I do not know the names of these animals, for they are not Greek).²² More men followed to help the hunters, others only to be spec-

¹⁷ The time for crane hunting was November. Here, too, we have made a correction of the manuscript and the Kurtz edition by replacing *ἐπί* with *περί*. The construction *ἐπι φθίνουσας τὴν ὀπώραν* does not appear anywhere else and is probably a mistake of the copyist.

¹⁸ Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.149.2.

¹⁹ The phrase *βάδιην πῶς* literally translates “as if on foot”.

²⁰ Animals for the hunt (some dogs, but also panthers) were transported on the backs of horses. For panthers, see Pantechnes, *Ekphrasis* 50 (Miller): *ἔφερον τὰς παρδάλεις οἱ τούτων παρδαλαγωγοὶ ἐφ’ οἷς ὠχούντο θαλαδίας ἵπποις*. The word *σκυλάκια* is used by Xenophon to indicate small dogs; *Cynegeticon* 7.1-7.

²¹ On dogs and canine terminology in Byzantium, see Rhoby 2018.

²² Manasses avoids details by refusing to use non-Greek names. Pantechnes is more precise when it comes to birds of prey (see the introduction above). On different names of birds used for hunting in Byzantium, see Koukoules 1952, 396.

tators of the hunt. All marched in order and in silence and as Homer described Menestheas who arranged the Greeks for battles.²³ If a rebel impulse spurred someone or the rashness and speed of a horse made him jump to the front of the lines of the phalanx, one of the vigilant imperial guards cut off his movement by using menacing words and sent him back; sometimes the guard used a stick, when he saw that the words had no effect. Without complaining and quickly they returned to order,²⁴ fearing the keeper of the order²⁵ and taking care not to disturb the ritual of the hunt.²⁶ Around the emperor were some distinguished men who displayed illustrious signs of their highborn blood.

7. The emperor himself also carried a falcon on his wrist; here follows its description. Leather specialists take the skin of an animal and make gloves, creating leather fingers and a cuff, and cover with that the fingers, the wrist and part of the arm to protect them from the intensity of the cold²⁷ and from the tears caused by birds with crooked talons (for the tips of these talons are able to bite the flesh). Both hands of the emperor were covered by such gloves, and on his left hand sat a falcon, which was not of the common type and easy to get, but an old and noble falcon, capable of daring also large animals, a falcon admired for its grandeur and beauty, but even more blessed than that because it was carried by the hand of an emperor – and by what an emperor! This magnanimous falcon was from Iberia, which gives birth to and nurture many such birds; I am not talking about Iberia which is next to Gadeira, the one which borders on the ocean, the one which is opposite Africa and which is dominated by the Spanish, installed in Lusitania,²⁸ but of the one in the

²³ Homer, *Il.* 2.552.

²⁴ The manuscript has οὐ συμπόνῳ, corrected by Kurtz to οὐ σὺν πόνῳ. On the significance of careful order during a hunt, see also Maurice, *Strategicon* 12 D.29-35 (Dennis & Gammilscheg): εἰ γὰρ διὰ ἀταξίαν τινὰ διαλοθῆι τὸ κυνήγιον, ἐπιτιμίῳ σωφρονισθήσεται ἐκεῖνος, δι' οὗ ἀποφεύγειν τοῦτο δυνατὸν ἔστι.

²⁵ τῆς τάξεως φροντιστὴν: the word does not indicate any official function in the organization of the hunt.

²⁶ Manasses speaks of the ritual of the hunt in order to underline the repetition of such hunting expeditions.

²⁷ Metaphorical image of piercing and biting cold (τοῦ κρύου πύραγρον).

²⁸ Λυσσιτανίαν: Manasses prefers Λυσσιτανίαν, following Strabo (*Geographica* 3.3.3: Τοῦ δὲ

East, that which is towards the rising of the sun, that which is traversed by the great Phasis and that the ancient inhabitants of Colchis enjoyed.²⁹ The falcons arrive without having been trained in hunting in their homeland, but – ignorant and uneducated – it is the emperor who takes them on and teaches them their many skills. For he does not only know how to educate and enlighten men, but he also trains fast-flying birds to murder in the sky and makes them great warriors in this respect.

8. The falcon was not completely white as snow, nor exactly black. Its beak was hooked and sharper than razors; nature rewarded carnivorous birds with such beaks. Its head was neither white nor black, but of a rather sallow and ashy colour. It had sparkling eyes, lively eyes that revealed the virility of its heart; the circle around the eyebrow was yellowish. The neck was neither thick nor long, just like its legs were not long. The feathers on its back were rather ashy in the colour that is called not exactly black, while the inner part of the plumage was largely white (this is how the oldest among the birds usually are); in some places it also had black spots, neither uneven, nor disorderly and irregular, but having the form and colour of successive lines that encircled its belly and part of the chest. Each foot was yellowish, neither long nor fleshy, but formed of thick and bony parts, capable of supporting the weight of such a body. The ankle was flat, suitable for such feet. There were three toes in the front part, revealing pointed and sharp talons, and another toe in the back or rear part; this latter fulfilled a similar need for the body that the thumb does for the human hand, but it was sharper than a razor and more pointed than an arrow. The strength and sharpness of the talons was such that not only they could tear up a duck, a crane or another winged creature, but also cut and rip up the skin of bulls, wild boars and antelopes and all those whose hide is dense and whose skin is covered

Τάγου τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄρκτον ἢ Λουσιτανία ἐστὶ μέγιστον τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πλείστοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολεμηθέν), to Λουσιτανία of Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* λ 89 (Billerbeck).

²⁹ See also *Digenis Akritis* G 4.905 (Jeffreys): χιονίδασι ἰέρακας δώδεκα Ἀβασγίτας; Niketas Choniates, *History* 251 (van Dieten): ἰέραξ τοῦ θηρεύειν ἐθάς, λευκὸς τὴν πτίλωσιν. On these rare falcons in the Arabic tradition, see above, introduction, and Viré 1965, 262.

in abundant hair. Such was this old female falcon with plumage largely white that the emperor carried on his wrist.³⁰

9. Several others also carried animal-killing birds; some of these could quickly overtake the read-beaked partridges, others could fight the ducks that love in water, others yet could see from up high the does, either they were hiding in the bushes or dancing in the plains, and flying towards the ground they whipped with their wings the front of those miserable hares, cut up their skin with their talons and tore up the rest of their bodies. The Greek language does not know the names of these warrior creatures.³¹ Some were deep black in colour on the head and on the feathered back, others had mottled and spotted wings which in some places had reddish feathers and in other places had black specks. All these birds, however, were valiant, courageous, breathing murder and their spirit was visibly installed in their eyes; and their beaks were even more sharp and pointed – recently sharpened knives, one would say. They frequently turned their eyes in all directions, spread out their wings, were impatient to fight and imagined the birds³² they would attack, they opened their beaks in the air and could not stand the jesses,³³ they exposed their talons sharp as iron, like brave soldiers who hear the sound calling them to war³⁴.

10. The tambourine of the hunt had already sounded and given off a great noise, indistinct and savage, as if to provoke the cranes for fight and make their souls waver; one would call this a warlike din that iron-armoured men emit when they do not want to steal the victory³⁵ or

³⁰ Cf. *Digenis Akritis* E 754 (Jeffreys): και ἐβάσταζαν γεράκια ἄσπρα ἐκ τοῦς μουτάτους.

³¹ Manasses repeats himself; cf. 7: οὐκ οἶδα τὰ τῶν ζῴων ὀνόματα, ὅτι μὴ δὲ ἑλλήνια.

³² ὄρν(ε)ις / ὄρνιθας: Manasses uses both ὄρνι- et ὄρνιθ-, so that the we encounter in the same text ὄρνις (poetic form instead of ὄρνεις) / ὄρνιθες for the nominative plural and ὄρνις / ὄρνιθας for the accusative plural. This variety of form does not seem to bother the author.

³³ On these leashes used to control the birds of prey, see Koukoules 1952, 397.

³⁴ βοῆς πολεμιστηρίας ἀκούοντες: cf. Manasses, *Chronicle* 5954 οὐδὲ τῆς σάλπιγγος βοᾶς τῆς πολεμιστηρίας. Also: Aristophanes, *Achamenses* 573 βοῆς ἤκουσα πολεμιστηρίας;

³⁵ The manuscript has μὴ κλέπτειν τὴν νύκτα, but the correction of Kurtz to μὴ κλέπτειν τὴν νίκην gives a better sense to the phrase. That said, it is possible that Manasses

even attack the enemy without declaring war. When the piercing cries of the cranes was heard and the cranes arrayed and organized themselves, one inciting the other to line up and make the phalanx dense, it was exactly then that I saw and wondered at the laws of the hunt and I rejoiced like those who taste the lotus and the event instilled pleasure in my soul³⁶. The spectacle proceeded as follows. The emperor divided his company into four groups, so that they would surround and approach the cranes from four sides. He let that old falcon of his be at rest, stay out of the battle and far from war; instead he took another bird³⁷ (and he allowed the others to do the same), of another breed but capable of fighting cranes, and he moved to a most convenient place, as do those who in war take up strongholds in advance, and watched the cranes fly. This bird sitting on the emperor's wrist was very strong, had a fiery heart, was of venerable age, experienced in a thousand killings and trained in several Olympiads of this kind – an old Nestor,³⁸ one would say, who instructed his own breed in the killing of cranes. The birds of the other participants were young novices, coated with only little blood of animal

alludes to nocturnal hunting (cf. Delobette 2005, 281, 288 and 290) or that he refers to Anna Komnene, who describes how her father, using a hunting trick, “stole the night” to deceive the Scythians; *Alexiad* 7.9.2: “As the space between the two armies happened to be rather small, he dared not allow the trumpet to sound the alert (ἐνυάλιον σάλπιγγα), for he wanted to take the enemy by surprise. The man in charge of the imperial falcons, one Constantine, was summoned and told to obtain a drum (τύμπανον) in the evening; all night long he was to walk round the camp beating his drum (τύπτειν δι’ ὅλης νυκτός), warning all to be ready because at sunrise the emperor planned to do battle with the Scythians and there would be no trumpet call.” The text by Manasses has several words in common with Anna’s (τύμπανον, ἐνυάλιον, νυκτός) along with a similar tone, which could indicate an intertextual play on the part of Manasses. The expression κλέπτειν τὴν νίκην, on the other hand, is linked to Alexander the Great in the form of a maxim; see e.g. *Florilegium sacro-profanum* (Sargologos): Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλέως· Οὗτος παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων νυκτός ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἶπεν· οὐ βασιλικόν ἐστιν κλέπτειν τὴν νίκην.

³⁶ καὶ γάνος μοι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐνέσταζε τῇ ψυχῇ: Cf. above ἐνστάζει καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι γάργαλον.

³⁷ Manasses makes a clear distinction between the imperial falcon (ιέραξ) and the other bird of prey (ὄρνις). The first does not take part in the combat.

³⁸ πρεσβυτικὸς Νέστωρ: a proverbial expression that indicates the intelligence of experienced men.

enemies; but they were excited, flapped their wings, they were irritated and each of them wanted to fly off first and had the grimmest gaze for making war, was agitated and resumed its innate spirit; but they were held back, even unwillingly, and waited for the champion bird to make the first move, since he was the most distinguished fighter.

11. The cranes sensed war, and lining up and placing themselves in a phalanx, they backed away, like men who would neither dare to face the enemies in front of them nor rise up against them. They stretched out their wings, an almost gigantic³⁹ thing that looked like a large shield, and after having straightened their necks like long spears and prepared the talons attached to their feet, they were ready to receive the attackers and defend themselves with beaks, talons and wings. When the old and experienced bird of prey was launched and, flying lightly into the depths of the sky, overtook the cranes and caught them in their flight, a joy mingled with fear took possession of the spectators and the part that was afraid felt joy and the part that rejoiced withdrew by fear.⁴⁰ Such was the pleasure and at the same time the fear for the fate of that bird of prey! He turned against the whole flock and full of anger attacked them in the middle, and he isolated one of the cranes, like Ajax son of Telamon facing Memnon or Tithon;⁴¹ he held her firmly, whipped her ribs, tore up her chest, brought his beak to her neck, clawed with his talons and did everything to throw to the ground the crane with giant legs and long neck. But the crowd of cranes, not remaining indifferent to the fate of the one in danger, rose up against the enemy bird, surrounded him and were ready to show courage and defend the crane in trouble, like good soldiers who come to help a companion in distress and run the risk for their comrades of the same race. Thus, nature has attributed mutual love

³⁹ ὠγύγιόν τι χρῆμα: the word ὠγύγιον, an adjective derived from the name of the son of Cadmus, Ωγύγος or Ωγύγης, indicates something very old and very large.

⁴⁰ Manasses wishes to describe the contradictory feelings (fear and joy) experienced by the spectators. For a similar technique, see Manasses, *Description of the Earth* 151-163 (Lampsides) and Theodore Prodromos/ Constantine Manasses, *Sketches of the mouse* 15-23 (Papademitriou).

⁴¹ Manasses alludes to a story of the Trojan cycle, preserved by Malalas, *History* 5.27 (Thurn), according to which Ajax confronted in combat Memnon, king of Indians, and Tithon, an ally of Priam who brought him Indian cavalry and Phoenicians as support.

not only to humans, but also to winged creatures that roam the air; rather, she rebukes humans by the example of animals for their lack of solidarity. The cranes defended themselves against the bird of prey, attacked him and pushed him back (they found it shameful that so many cranes should be overtaken by a single bird) and the war spread. And here came the misfortunes and the hearts of the spectators were beating for fear that the combat would not end justly; for the bird of prey, abandoned in the middle of the cranes, almost died badly, turning his wings to flight and suffering more pain than causing it – he was being bitten and attacked by a myriad of cranes. Their necks were like spears fed by the wind and made of ash wood, and their beaks were projected like spearheads that successfully pierced the bird of prey.

12. But it happened that the anxiety was resolved and the crowd of cranes lost the comrade in arms who belonged to the flock.⁴² A man mounted on a horse (his horse was all white) made a little tour with the horse and thus gave signal to those who transported the hunting birds, ordering that they be released to go and help the bird of prey in danger. When these birds, which had long felt the urge to fly, were freed, the bird of prey that had started the battle took courage, seeing the auxiliary army. War broke out and the animals started an aerial battle, with crying and whirring they attached each other and everything indicated that the war would go on for a long time. A confused and thundering noise filled the air, the rattling of wings resounded in the ears and a rushing Ares⁴³ fell madly upon both armies. Some wanted to exercise violence, others sought to repel it; some hastened to harm the flock; others did everything to defend it; some tried to detach themselves and aim at them, others worked hard to save their comrade and not give up the victory. They continuously pierced each other and were pierced. Some wanted to rescue the bird of prey that was attacked, others lined up against the allies and counterattacked. That great was the battle between the two armies and the courage that armed them⁴⁴. Finally, the

⁴² This refers to the crane that was first attacked.

⁴³ θεούριος Ἄρης: Homeric image of Ares (e.g. *Il.* 5.29), but in the case of Homer, the adjective form is θεῶριος.

⁴⁴ Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 2,195 as well as 7,25 and 21,395. Cf. also Manasses, *Chronicle* 6453:

cranes fled and, abandoning their comrade to the enemies, took off. The bird-killers fought with even more ardour and pressed the cranes; these were afraid and each escaped where its wing took it. The bird of prey that had started the battle, when he captured the long-necked crane he no longer wanted to let go, but he bent the elongated neck, held it tight and twisted it in the way that someone who works with horn creates an arc; after a fierce battle, he brought down with him the crane which had already resigned to the exhausting and breathless fight. And one could see a pleasant spectacle that rejoiced the heart: a long-legged and long-necked crane to be brought down by a small bird, as if struck by lightning from the sky⁴⁵ and hurled from the clouds. For an enormous body volume cannot save anyone, but an ardent heart and a virile soul bring victory under such circumstances, because such bloody exercises sharpen the animals and bring them to bravery.⁴⁶

13. As the crane was captured, death was before her eyes and the danger seemed inevitable; however, death was not simple or such that would bring an easy end – rather, a multitude of evils awaited the poor crane. First they cut off with razors the ends of its talons and made the beak less sharp so that it could not prevent future combatants, having lost the weapons provided by nature. She was then set free to fly and they released many other birds inexperienced in crane killing so that they would harass, tear with their beak, taste the blood and the flesh and be trained in such things. The birds of prey continually beat the miserable crane with their wings, pierced and bit her; and this they had as a security for their future: that they would gain such a salary if they ever fight courageously warrior cranes. The miserable crane had become the entertainment and laughing stock of all, like a soldier with his hands tied behind his back, deprived of his arms and given over to small children like

μέγας ἐφόπλιζε θυμὸς ἄμφω τὰς στραταρχίας.

⁴⁵ *τανταλούμενον*: the verb *τανταλόομαι/οὔμαι* means to be struck by lightning like Tantalus.

⁴⁶ ἀλλὰ καρδία περίθερμος καὶ ἀρρενωπότης ψυχῆς {ὥς} ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τὸ κράτος ἀγχοῦσιν, ὅποια βαφαὶ στομοῦσαι τὰ ζῶα καὶ εἰς ἀνδρείαν ἀπαίρουσαι – a rather confused sentence. We propose to remove the ὥς of the manuscript (kept by Kurtz) but to keep the ὅποια (corrected by Kurtz to ὅποια).

a toy.⁴⁷ She suffered and fought fiercely to defend herself, but she was, even against her will, accepting the tearing, for she had lost all means of defense. What was going on was a majestic game that at the same time initiated the birds into the battling of cranes. When it seemed that the games had lasted long enough and the poor crane was pierced not just in the sides, like Prometheus, and in the wings, but all over her body, death that relieves pain was immediately imposed on her, a death much more advantageous and desired than the tearing and injuring.

14. The crane was larger than geese. Its beak was sharp, for the animal feeds on seeds and not flesh. The neck was long, slender was the neck, just as the leg was long and the body stretched up high. The throat was wide-mouthed.⁴⁸ Most of the plumage had the uncertain colour of hyacinths, or rather like ashes, but some of the feathers were of a deep black. It had a broad wing, a long tail, a black thigh, a thigh a cubit long; its leg was extended and straight and it was elongated and extended just like the neck; its foot was very wide, having really sharp talons. A crane could compete in height with a small child. If it were obliged to lower its neck towards the ground, one would have the impression of seeing a fishing line of twisted flax that draws from the depths of the sea fish that swim in the sea. Most of the times the cranes are defeated and learn from their own misfortunes, battling with these valiant hunting birds. Sometimes, however, the cranes prevail and the crane-murdering bird does not have the time to fly and, approaching the talons of a faster crane, loses its soul at a stroke, since cranes are often very skilled and very strong.

15. This is how it happened with the hunt, which was pleasant and at the same time not wearisome. The hunting of deer and hares is exhausting and the capturing of animals is not easy and without pain. Both the horse chasing them becomes short of breath, tires and feels pain in his

⁴⁷ On military crimes and humiliating treatment of failing soldiers, see Koliai 1997; on various forms of public humiliation in Byzantium, see Messis (forthcoming).

⁴⁸ Manasses uses the word εὐρυχανής (as he does in his novel), while in other texts he uses figuratively the word εὐρυχανδής which has the same meaning: *Origins of Oppian* 23 (Colonna) ἦν ἀμφικλύζει πέλαγος εὐρυχανδῆς Ἄνδριου; *Description of the Cyclops* 60 (Sternbach): τὸ στόμα εὐρυχανδῆς.

lungs, and the man must follow the chase, is forced to run and suffers in the shoulders, hands, hips and buttocks; there are times, when Dike, the goddess of the hunt⁴⁹, is annoyed and the horse falls and also his rider falls to the ground, head first, forehead and shoulders forward, and the hunt ends with this great misfortune. But crane hunting (perhaps it is even unnecessary to say), is so easy, so effortless and, as they say, safe and easy! For the hunting birds fly and fight and everything depends on them, while the men stand there gaping at the sky and the clouds without being able to help the birds in their aerial combats and just wait for the enemy to fall from the sky. I have described what I have seen, for me as a vivid reminder of the event and for others as a lifelike representation of what they have not seen.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ In the proverbial expression Ἄρτεμις Ἀγροαία, Manasses replaces Ἄρτεμις with Δίκη; this could be to neutralize or Christianize the citation, but more likely to create variation.

⁵⁰ Cf. Manasses, *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches* 206-207 (Horna): τῷ ξεναγῶ χαριζόμενος καὶ ἑμαυτῷ περισώζων τὴν τῶν θεαμάτων ἀνάμνησιν.

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