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The *Description of the catching of siskins* and chaffinches by Constantine Manasses: Introduction, Text and Translation*

Charis Messis & Ingela Nilsson

onstantine Manasses (ca 1115–after 1175) appears to have had a certain predilection for birds - at least that is what his extant works indicate. In Manasses' texts, birds appear not only in gardens or in rhetorical turns of phrases, but as a recurring imagery associated primarily with reading, writing and learning. Sometimes described in great detail, at other occasions fluttering by more or less in passing, birds function as a kind of literary mascot or trademark intrinsic to the Manassean voice.1 Moreover, he dedicated a series of texts more or less exclusively to birds: the Description of a crane hunt, the Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches, and the Monody on the death of his goldfinch. The two hunting ekphraseis are unique in their detail and offer the most elaborate descriptions of such procedures that have come down to us. We have previously translated and discussed in detail the Description of a crane hunt;² here we will focus on the Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches by offering a new edition and translation, along with a discussion of its place within the literary production of Manasses.

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¹ Nilsson 2021, esp. 45 and 106.

² Messis & Nilsson 2019; see also Nilsson 2021, 35-46.

A pleasure trip to a literary topos

The Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches offers a bucolic scene of countryside hunting, experienced and depicted by a city scholar who relishes in the delights of nature. The author-narrator has crossed the Bosphorus in order to enjoy the hot baths of the other side, where he encounters a friend who invites him to spend the night in a tent and then, early the next morning, take part in, or rather witness the hunting of small bird be means of glue traps (ἴξευτική).³ The setting has all the characteristics of a *locus amoenus* – the grass is soft, the herbs fragrant and the air fresh – but the beauty of nature is contrasted with the clever artificiality of the traps aimed at the birds, prepared by a troupe of boys under the leadership of an old man. The different techniques of glue-hunting are described in great detail along with the hunt itself (3-7, 9) and the reactions of the beholder. The purpose of the hunt is to capture pretty and singing birds, presumably to sell them, but there is also a 'spontaneous meal' consisting of the birds that could not be sold, roasted over an open fire (10). A series of small ekphraseis of birds are inserted into the larger text: a goldfinch (4), a falcon (8) and another unspecified song-bird (11).

The protagonist of the *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches* is, however, no bird, but the old man in charge of the young boys. He is a ridiculous character who provokes the laughter of the beholder-narrator (esp. 8), and presumably also the reader-listener: he is a vain and stubborn perfectionist, angry and easily provoked, who aims for rigorous discipline but fails and falls on his face twice. When his hat flies off, his bald head is revealed and he becomes the subject of ridicule without even noticing, absorbed as he is with his own pride. The comical characterization is obtained not only through slap-stick actions and the iconographical features of Silenos, but also by the ironizing choice of

³ On glue-hunting in antiquity and Byzantium, see Vendries 2009; more recently, and with a greater focus on the literary depictions of glue-hunting in Byzantium, see Messis & Nilsson 2021.

mythological and historical exempla, underlining the old man's vanity and failure (4, 6, 8).⁴

The ekphrasis accordingly takes the beholder-narrator to a literary place, a bucolic topos known from ancient authors like Theocritus and Longus. Daphnis and Chloe may be seen as a subtle hypertext to Manasses' ekphrasis, containing both scenes of glue-hunting and numerous comical characters drawn from New Comedy.5 The motif of glue-hunting is prevalent in several ancient texts, especially in the later periods, with examples ranging from the Meleager poems included in the *Greek Anthology* to the fictional letters of Alciphron. ⁶ This probably explains the motif's presence not only in this ekphrasis by Manasses, but also in twelfth-century texts such as Eumathios Makrembolites' Hysmine and Hysminias and other depictions of the months.⁷ Similar scenes also appeared in mosaics, decorating the Great Palace and probably other buildings in Constantinople. We shall return to this literary and iconographical setting below; suffice it to note here that the scene depicted by Manasses was well-known to a learned twelfh-century audience, who was invited to revisit a familiar place drawn from ancient texts and images: "for what prevents me from enjoying the spectacle through writing as well?" (2).

The significance of glue-hunting in Manasses' texts

The two ekphraseis of bird hunts by Manasses are often associated with each other because of their similar motifs, but they are very different

⁴ On this character, see Chryssogelos 2016, 149-151.

⁵ On glue-hunting, see Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.5-6 and 3.10; for the influence from New Comedy, esp. in book 4, see e.g. Zeitlin 1990, 427-428. In Longus, glue-hunting is used as a pretext for desire (see Messis & Nilsson 2021, 91-92); cf. Manasses, *Aristrandros and Kallithea* fr. 116.9 (Mazal): ἰξός ἐστι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς πτερωτὰς συνέχει.

⁶ Messis & Nilsson 2021, 91-98.

⁷ Eumathios Makrembolites, Hysmine and Hysminias 4.12 (Marcovich). On depictions of the months (in the case of bird-hunting, usually October), see Messis & Nilsson 2021, 99-100; on the function of these descriptions in *Hysmine and Hysminias*, see Nilsson 2001, 126-130.

when it comes to both content and form. The crane hunt, undertaken with the use of falcons, is marked by the presence of Manuel I Komnenos – it is an imperial hunt. The catching of small birds, using glue and other traps, is of a socially baser kind – hunting for ordinary people in the countryside. In this particular case, the 'common people' are represented by the young boys under the direction of the comical old man, that is, people with no clear role in society. The grandiosity of the participants in the first hunt gives way to the irony and condescension that marks the characterization of those involved in the hunt for small birds – the imperial yields to the bucolic.

One passage in the *Description of a crane hunt* points directly at this difference in status between the two situations: a small ekphrasis of glue-hunting inserted within the longer description, the aim of which is to show that crane hunting is by far superior to the catching of small birds:

εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἀκανθυλλίδας ἁλισκομένας καὶ σπίνους καὶ ἀστρογλήνους καὶ ὅσοις ὅλοις μικρὰ τὰ πτερύγια καὶ οἶς δαφνοστοίβαστοι ῥᾶβδοι τὸν δόλον ἀρτύνουσι, φυλλάδας ἀλλοτρίας προβεβλημέναι καὶ προϊσγόμεναι λύγους άληλιμμένους ίξῶ. ἔτερψέ με ποτὲ καὶ μελάμπτερος ψάρ καὶ λάλος ἀκανθυλλὶς καὶ ὁ στωμυλώτατος σπίνος καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα στρουθάρια, δόναξιν ἰξῷ κεκαλυμμένοις σχεθέντα καὶ θέλοντα μὲν φυγγάνειν καὶ πτερυγίζοντα, εἰργόμενα δὲ τοῖς ἐνύγροις ἐκείνοις δεσμοῖς καὶ πυκνὰ πυκνὰ τὰ στέρνα πατάσσοντα, οἶα τρέγοντα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς, άλισκόμενά τε καὶ μαχαιρίδι κεντούμενα καὶ κατὰ βόθρου ἀκοντιζόμενα, ἔνια δὲ ζωγρούμενα καὶ τηρούμενα, ὁπόσοις δηλαδή δαψιλεστέρου κάλλους ή κομμώτρια φύσις μετέδωκεν. άλλά μοι τὸ χρῆμα τῆς τῶν γεράνων ἄγρας τοσοῦτον ἐκείνων έπιτερπέστερον, όσον ακανθυλλίδων καὶ σπίνων αὶ μακραύχενες ύπερέχουσι γέρανοι καὶ λύγων ίξοφόρων ίέρακες δραστικώτεροι καὶ όσον γυμνασίων ανδρικωτέρων παιδαριώδη αθύρματα λείπεται καὶ ὅ γε θήραν ταύτης ύπερτιθείς ταὐτόν τι νομισθήσεται δρᾶν, ώς εἴ τις τῶν άργυρέων προκρίνοι τὰ καττιτέρινα καὶ τῶν χρυσέων τὰ χολοβάφινα.

⁸ See Messis & Nilsson 2021 and forthcoming.

I have also seen captured goldfinches and siskins and chaffinches 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. Once 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 hunts 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.⁹

In this passage, which offers a kind of summary of the *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches* and indeed creates a textual connection between the two ekphraseis, the issue is not the size of the birds or the way in which they are captured; it is above all the idea that glue-hunting is for children (παιδαριώδη ἀθύρματα), while cranehunting is reserved for the masculine nobility of the Komnenian court (γυμνασίων ἀνδρικωτέρων).¹⁰

One more text is closely related to these two in a manner that is often ignored: the *Monody on the death of his goldfinch*. This is a playful lament of a writer-rhetorician who has lost his inspirational companion, a key text for any investigation of Manasses' use of bird imagery and recently interpreted as a representation of the complex relationship between writer and patron. ¹¹ But the monody also includes an interesting reference to glue-hunting, revealing the fact that the diseased goldfinch was once caught by means of glue in a scene of the kind that the author

⁹ Manasses, Description of a crane hunt 45-56 (Messis & Nilsson), pp. 46 and 67-68.

¹⁰ Messis & Nilsson 2019, 12-17; Nilsson 2021, 45-46

¹¹ Nilsson 2021, 76-82.

depicts at differing length in the two ekphraseis. The author-narrator is sad not only for having lost his pet and muse, but also because his bird now cannot be used as a decoy for the capture of birds of the same kind:

Τοιοῦτόν με χρῆμα καλὸν ὁ κατάρατος χειμὼν ἐζημίωσε, τηλίκον με παραμύθιον ἀπεσύλησε· κἀγὼ μὲν ἀνειροπόλουν τὸν τρυγητὸν καὶ τὸν περὶ φθίνουσαν τὴν ὀπώραν ἐκαραδόκουν καιρὸν καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πλέον γυμνάσων καὶ ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἄξων, ἔνθα τῶν στρουθῶν οἱ πρεσβυγενέστεροι τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παλεύουσι· ἐξ οὖ γάρ μοι τὸ δῶρον ἠνέχθη τὸ τηλικοῦτον, οὕπω καὶ νῦν ἐξεγένετο στρουθιοθήραν στήσασθαι ἄεθλον κἀκεῖνον εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα καταγαγεῖν καὶ ἀποπειράσασθαι τῶν μελῶν καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς λαλιᾶς.

The accursed winter has deprived me of such a fine creature, it has robbed me of such a great consolation. I dreamed of the harvest period and I waited impatiently for the end of autumn so that I could train it and take it to the stadium, where the oldest birds entrap their kins. Now, the place from which such an important gift was brought to me will not be the place where I erect a bird-hunting feat and bring my goldfinch into battle to try out its singing and rejoice in its voice. ¹²

The author-narrator has accordingly been deprived of a potentially useful tool for a successful bird hunt – his loss is not only metaphorical, but quite literal. And through this detail, the three texts become transtextually connected or perhaps one should rather say that they share the same storyworld: the *locus amoenus* that is described in such detail in the *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches*. If the songbird is partly metaphorical in the *Monody on the death of his goldfinch*, the connection to a topos in the sense of a 'real', potentially lived place and experience remains.¹³

The imagery of glue-hunting is pursued along different lines in two other texts by Manasses, most notably in the *Encomium of Michael*

 $^{^{\}rm 12}$ Manasses, Monody on the death of his goldfinch 7.4-10 (Horna).

¹³ See Nilsson 2021, 4-13, on the occasionality and potential referentiality of this ekphrasis, and 25-27 on the significance of space and place for the understanding of Manasses ekphraseis.

Hagiotheodorites. Hagiotheodorites, logothete of the drome in the 1160s and one of Manasses' powerful patrons, is here depicted as responsible for a grammar exam in the presence of the emperor.¹⁴ The exam is, somewhat surprisingly, depicted as a glue-hunt:

ἵσταταί ποτε καὶ παισὶ τροφίμοις γραμματικῆς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς βασιλέως ἀγών· καὶ κρύπτονται τούτοις παγίδες νόας θηρεύουσαι καὶ ὑπορύττονται θήρατρα φρενῶν δολωτήρια, καθάπερ ἀεροπόροις ὀρνέοις ἐπιβουλαί, ὰς τεχνάζονται ἰξευταὶ καὶ παλευταὶ καὶ βροχοποιοί. Τότε δὴ τότε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην ὁ λογοθέτης παραγυμνοῖ καὶ περιλαλεῖ τὰ ἀνάκτορα καὶ ἐτοιμάζει βρόχους τοῖς μείραξιν. ἴδοι τις ὰν τότε σοφιστικῆς δεξιότητα καὶ ἐπαινέσεται τὸ εὐσύνετον καὶ θαυμάσεται τὸ εὐμήχανον· ὁ μὲν τῶν μειράκων ἄκρας ἑάλω τῆς πτέρυγος, ὅ δ᾽ ἐκ μέσης ἐζωγρήθη δειρῆς, τοῦ δὲ νῶτον δέσμη περιέσχε πικρά, ὁ δὲ πτερύσσεται μὲν ὡς ὑπερπετασθησόμενος, ἡγρεύθη δὲ καὶ αὐτός· καὶ παντελῶς οὐδεὶς τὴν παγίδα ἐξήλυξεν.

At one occasion a contest is arranged for the foster children of grammar in the presence of the emperor; and traps preying on their minds are hidden for them and treacherous nets for their intellects are disguised, like the traps for airborne birds, which bird-catchers contrive with lime and decoy birds and snares. Then indeed the logothete discloses his art and fills all around the palace with his voice and prepares snares for the young boys. One would then see his skill in the sophistic art and praise his intelligence and admire his skilful contrivance. One of the young boys was caught by the tip of his wing, another was captured by the neck, one had bitter fetters bound around his back, another yet was fluttering his wings as if to fly away but was also caught; no one could get entirely out of the trap.¹⁵

Hagiotheodorites – the logothete – acts as bird-catcher, aiming to trap the pupils who behave like frightened birds. None of them emerges unscathed from the ordeal: education is a deadly path. And the situation

¹⁴ On this passage, see Nilsson 2021, 113-115; on Hagiotheodorites and his assumed relation to Manasses, see 91-106.

Manasses, Encomium of Michael Hagiotheodorites 265-274 (Horna). Tr. Nilsson 2021, 113-114.

is reversed in comparison to the *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches*: the boys were happy and playful hunters in the description, but in the contest they are hunted preys. ¹⁶ The focus here is on the skills of the bird-catcher – clearly an intellectually, grammatically and rhetorically able patron – whose performance impresses the rhetor.

A similar scene, marked by the same rather sinister tone of agony and war, appears in the *Funerary oration on the death of Nikephoros Komnenos*, probably written a few years later (*ca* 1173).¹⁷ Nikephoros Komnenos was another powerful man at the court, perhaps a former student of Manasses who had eventually become one of his patrons.¹⁸ In the oration, Manasses describes again a grammar exam or contest and praises the skills of Komnenos as a game-leader and bird-catcher:

Ένειστήκει καιρός, καθ' ον συνίασι παίδες άλλήλοις συμπλακησόμενοι, ους ή πρ . . . γραμματική ωδινήσασα καὶ σχεδικής προνοίας ουθαρ θηλάσαι ποιήσασα εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πέμπει γενναίους ἀθλευτὰς λογικῶς ἀγωνιουμένους ὑπὸ βραβευτή καὶ γυμνασιάρχη τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. καὶ τηνικαῦτα τὸ νεῦμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὸν Κομνηνόν· καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου πυγμάχοι παιδίσκοι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου γλῶτταν ἑώρων ὡς τῆς αὐτῶν ἰσχύος χρηματίζουσαν βασανίστριαν. ἀλλὰ τῆς σοφίας ἐκείνου, ἀλλὰ τῆς μελιχρότητος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τῶν δόλων τῶν λογικῶν. ὡς καλὸν ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐπιπόλαιον, ὡς εὐφυὲς ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ κατὰ βάθους, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὄψιν δέλεαρ ἐλκτικὸν καὶ τὸ λανθάνον ἄγκιστρον κραταιόν. ἐπέχαινε μὲν ὁ παιδίσκος τῷ φαινομένῳ θελγόμενος, ἡ δὲ παγὶς εὐθέως συνεῖχεν αὐτόν. οὕτως ἦν ταχὺς λογικὴν πλεκτάνην εὖ διαθέσθαι καὶ τεχνικῶν ἀρκύων ὑπορύξαι πλοκὴν ἐπαινούμενόν τε ψεῦδος ... καὶ θήρατρα μηχανήσασθαι δεξιώτατα.

The moment had come when boys gather to wrestle with each other, those whom the ... grammar has bred and made suckle the breast of schedographic foresight and now sends to the palace to fight like

¹⁶ Nilsson 2021, 129.

¹⁷ For an analysis of these two descriptions of grammar contests, together with a series of schede, see Polemis 1996.

¹⁸ On the oration and Manasses' assumed relationship with Komnenos, see Nilsson 2021, 71-76.

brave athletes in speechmaking before the emperor, who is acting as prize giver and game master. And then the command of the emperor to Komnenos – the child soldiers of words were watching his tongue, as though it were the judge of their strength. But what wisdom, what sweetness, what labyrinth of word-traps! How beautiful was there the surface, how cunning was there the depth; the bait was attractive to the eye and the hidden hook strong! The child was gaping, bewitched by what he saw, the trap immediately caught him. So capable was he [Nikephoros] of skilfully arranging a web of words and sneakily hiding a combination of industrious nets, and the praised fallacy ... and devising the most efficient hunting implements.¹⁹

In light of this, there is a clear connection between glue-hunting and learning, most clearly in the depictions of the grammar exams, but also in the *Monody on the death of his goldfinch* and the *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches*. While this latter ekphrasis can indeed be read as a depiction of a pleasure trip to the other side of the Bosphorus,²⁰ the bucolic topos with its parodical features presents a storyworld known from and through ancient learning. The beautiful and melodious birds are the sought-after products of *paideia*, the group of boys and adolescents are the pupils, the author and his friend are the spectators of the competition, and the comic figure of the old man with his obsession with results, his wan character and rigorous discipline, is a satirical portrait of a schoolmaster. According to such a reading, the ekphrasis is constructed as a metonymy or a mirror game between hunting and education.

Glue-hunting as a depiction of the process of learning

As already noted above, Manasses is not the only author to employ the imagery of glue-hunting in the twelfth century. We have collected and discussed the literary representations of glue-hunting elsewhere and do

Manasses, Funerary oration on the death of Nikephoros Komnenos 453-466 (Kurtz).
 Tr. Nilsson 2021, 74-75; cf. tr. in Polemis 1996, 280.

²⁰ Nilsson 2021, 138-139.

not wish to repeat everything here, 21 but it is worth noting once more that the Komnenian fondness of such an imagery does not necessarily reflect an intensification of the practice of this kind of hunt.²² Rather, it might be the result of an educational system that values texts such as those attributed to Oppian (hunting treatises)²³ and the literarypoetic compositions of the Second Sophistic, together with the new significance of hunting (of larger animals) at the Komnenian court (of which the *Description of a crane hunt* is a central expression).²⁴ The presence of bird-hunters in the depictions of the months – as in *Hysmine* and Hysminias, the most elaborate of such depictions – indicate this, as does other descriptions of glue-hunting in epistolography. 25 The imagery is also used figuratively in various other texts, by Manasses and others.²⁶ The connection between glue-hunting and learning is also shared by other authors of the same period,²⁷ but in the thought of Manasses it is a constant: the detailed descriptions of the hunts themselves, the prevalent use of bird imagery, his interest in and use of Oppian, and the casting of himself as a song-bird in the service of his patrons.

Among all these texts, the *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches* holds a central place, not only because it offers the most

²¹ Messis & Nilsson 2021, 91-102.

²² Messis & Nilsson 2021, 99.

See Nilsson 2021, 124-130 on Manasses and Oppian; also Messis and Nilsson 2021,82 on Oppian and glue-hunting.

²⁴ Messis & Nilsson 2019, 29-37, especially on falconry.

²⁵ Messis & Nilsson 2021, 101. See also Nilsson 2001, 127, n. 284.

To offer but one example from Manasses, see Consolation for John Kontostephanos 184-190 (Kurtz), speaking of the death of a woman who has escaped the trap of an evil bird-catcher (the devil): ἡ περιστερὰ ἡ παγκάλη τῆς γαλεάγρας τῆς πηλίνης ἐξέπτη καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐλάβετο, οὐ μετέσχε τῶν τοῦ γήρως κακῶν, οὐ συνεσάπη ταῖς ἀσθενείαις, ἀπῆρε πρὸς ἄλλον βίον ἐν ἀκεραίφ τῷ σώματι· ἡρπάγη, ἵνα μὴ κακία ἀλλάξῃ σύνεσιν αὐτῆς (τὸ Σολομῶντος ἀποφαίνεται στόμα), διέδρα τὰς πάγας τοῦ πονηροῦ ἰξευτοῦ, ὑπερεπετάσθη πάσης μηχανῆς παλευτοῦ, αἶς ἐκεῖνος καθ' ἡμέραν βροχίζει πολλούς. See also above, n. 5, on erotic imagery.

²⁷ See e.g. Nicephoros Chrysoberges, Oration to Patriarch John X Kamateros 5.8-12 (Browning): ἀλλ' ή καθ' ήμᾶς αὕτη ἡητορικὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς γραμματέα κάλαμον παροξύνασα, καὶ ἄσπερ εἰ τοὺς λύγους οἱ ἰξευταί, τῷ ἑαυτῆς αὐτὸν θερμῷ ἐπιβάψασα, ἰξεύει παραυτίκα τὴν τοῦ λόγου μοι πτέρυγα, καὶ περιέλκει τοῦτον εἰς τὸ προπέτασμα καὶ εἰς τὰ πρόθυρα περιίστησιν.

elaborate description of glue-hunting, but because – as we have seen above – it connects so many other texts and offers a kind of key to the metonomy between glue-hunting and education. The ekphrasis is a suitable form for such a mirror game for several reasons. First, it is a text form with a basically didactic function: it is central among the preliminary exercises in rhetoric (*progymnasmata*). Second, it has the power to bring life to a literary or iconographical topos: the authornarrator creates a space into which the reader-listener can step – a kind of virtual reality based on joint references. Third, the ekphrasis captures an occasion, actual or fictional, and preserves it for the future: "And so, I devoted myself to this task, as a favour offered to my host, and for myself as a way of preserving the memory of the spectacle" (11).²⁸

It is possible that Manasses took the boat to the other side of the Bosphorus and spent a lovely day or two in the company of his friend; if not, it is still possible that his audience would have experienced such outings and that they were a popular pastime with the aristocracy of Komnenian Constantinople. It is also possible that he was inspired by one of the mosaics of the Great Palace, as in the case of his *Description* of the Earth.²⁹ Among the preserved material are hunting scenes, animals, children (or little people) playing with birds, and bucolic scenes (Fig. 1-2). Among the figures there is even that of a bald old man who is resting and who seems to be a simple peasant (Fig. 3).30 Fragmentarily preserved, we do not know what the mosaic looked like in its entirety, nor if it was visible to visitors in the twelfth century, but the prominent place of ekphraseis in twelfth-century literature and especially those inserted in *Hysmine and Hysminias* and the independent ekphraseis by Manasses, makes it likely that ekphrases of actual objects were part of a literary game between authors and their audience.³¹ Not only mosaics might have served as inspiration for such games, but also

²⁸ See above, n. 13.

²⁹ Text and discussion in Lampsidis 1991; see also Bazaiou-Barabas 1994; Nilsson 2005 and 2021, 135-138; Foskolou 2018.

³⁰ Trilling 1989, fig. 22.

³¹ On the depiction of real objects, see Nilsson 2011. On the function and use of ekphrasis in the twelfth century, see Nilsson 2022.

manuscript illuminations: for the particular case of bird hunting, there are several representations that are close to Manasses' ekphrasis.³² It is, of course, also possible that Manasses conjured up the ekphrasis based on his ancient learning and iconographical experience, with no clear connection to the palace mosaics or any specific mosaic of the capital, but his audience would still have responded with memories of images and texts they had seen or read – this was, as already underlined, a description of a very familiar storyworld.

Regardless of which, the relationship between the old man and the children depicted in the *Description of the catching of siskins and chaffinches* is, in our reading, the relationship between teacher and students, represented in the transtextual language and imagery that was taught in schools in an educational system which was becoming more and more competitive.

Note on the edition and translation

The text is preserved in two manuscripts: Escorial Ypsilon II.10 (Andrès 265) of the 13th century (E, ff. 294v-296v)³³ and Vaticanus Urbinas graecus 134 of the 15th century (U, ff. 217-221).³⁴ U is a copy of E and has a considerable number of mistakes. The text has been edited twice: in 1902 Leo Sternbach edited U and in 1905 Konstantin Horna produced a critical edition based primarily on E. Our edition does not change the text proposed by Horna radically, but aims rather at restoring the readings of E and avoid some of Horna's 'purist' corrections. As regards the accentuation and punctuation of the edited text, we have respected modern expectations and aimed for an accentuation that supports our understanding of the text. There is a partial translation into German by Hans-Georg Beck,³⁵ based on the edition by Sternbach, but what we present here is the first full translation into a modern language.

³² Most notably the illumination to Pseudo-Oppians' *Cynegetica* in Marc. Gr. 479, f. 2v, depicting a scene of bird catching with a tent, in turn decorated with scenes of a hunt; see Spatharakis 2004, fig. 4 (and also the cover of Nilsson 2021).

³³ de Andrés 1965, 121-131.

³⁴ Stornajolo 1895, 248-255.

³⁵ Beck 1978, 325-328.



Fig.1: Various scenes from the Great Palace Mosaic Museum. Photo: David Hendrix.

E: Escorial Ypsilon II.10 (Andrès 265), 294v-296v, XIII s.

U: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. gr. 134, 217-221, XV s.

H: Horna
S: Sternbach

Τοῦ Μανασσῆ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἔκφρασις άλώσεως σπίνων καὶ ἀκανθίδων¹

1. Ἐσπάνισέ ποτε καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντίνου² λουτηρίων θερμῶν καὶ τὸ ἀναπλεόμενον μέρος τῆς Προποντίδος³ ἐστενοχώρητο⁴ τοῖς περαιουμένοις ἐπὶ λουτρά· χαρίεις δὲ ὁ χῶρος καὶ διατριβῶν ἀνεσίμων κατάξιος· παράδεισοί τε γὰρ⁵ πανταχοῦ κατάδενδροι καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖς καὶ ναμάτων διειδῶν ἀφθονία. Θάλασσα ταῖς⁶ ἠϊόσιν ἠρέμα προσπαίζει καὶ ταῖς ἠπείροις ἡμέρῳ κύματι προσγελῷ· καὶ γίνεται ταῦτα πανήγυρις ὀφθαλμῶν, ἑορτὴ τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

Fontes et loci paralleli

1. τὸ ἀναπλεόμενον μέρος τῆς Προποντίδος: Choniates, Historia, 344, 8 ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ἑῷον μέρος τοῦ ἀναπλεομένου τῆς Προποντίδος πορθμοῦ περὶ τὰ τοῦ Μηλουδίου κεκλημένα διατρίβειν βασίλεια; ἀνεσίμων: Manasses, Historia, 5843 καὶ βίον τὸν ἀνέσιμον ἀπέστυξε καὶ χαῦνον; κατάδενδροι: Manasses, Monodia in Theodoram, 35 ὁ κῆπος ὁ περιλάλητος ὁ πᾶσι κατάδενδρος ἀγαθοῖς; ἀμφιλαφεῖς: Manasses, Monodia in Nicephorum, 338 ἀμφιλαφὴς ἡ κόμη καὶ οὔλη; Manasses, Ecphrasis hominis, 32 ἀμφιλαφὴς ἡ κόμη; θάλασσα ... προσπαίζει: Gregorius Nazianzenus, In laudem Cypriani, PG 35, 1176 καὶ θάλασσα ἡπλωμένη, καὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς προσπαίζουσα μετὰ πνευμάτων στάσιν; Psellus, Epistulae, 127.53-54 θάλασσα ἡρέμα κυμαίνουσα, καὶ οὖον προσπαίζουσα ταῖς ἀκταῖς; ἡπείροις: Manasses, Historia, 1222 καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ συντρέχουσιν ἐκ νήσων, ἐξ ἡπείρων et 2324 ἢν ἤπειρος προσπτύσσεται, θάλασσα δεξιοῦται; προσγελῷ: Manasses, Hodoeporicon, 1.31 καὶ τοῦ πελάγους προσγελῶντος τῷ σκάφει; Manasses, Oratio ad Michaelem, 314 ἀκτῖνες ἡλίου προσεγέλων τῆ γῆ et Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, 64; πανήγυρις ὀφθαλμῶν: Aelianus, Varia Historia, 3.1.23 καὶ ἔστιν ὀφθαλμῶν πανήγυρις.

 $^{^1}$ Έκφρασις σπίνων καὶ ἀκανθίδων του σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Μανασσῆ U, Γοργίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἔλεγε τοὺς φιλοσοφίας μὲν ἀμελοῦντας, περὶ δὲ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα γινομένους ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν, οῖ τὴν Πηνελόπην θέλοντες ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν αὐτῆς ἐμίγνυντο, in marg. U 2 Κωνσταντινούπολις U 3 Προπομπίδος U 4 ἐστενοχωρεῖτο U S 5 γὰρ om. U S 6 καὶ ante ταῖς delevit U post θάλασσα sustul. καὶ U

Constantine Manasses, Description of catching siskins and chaffinches¹

1. Once, in Constantinople, hot baths became a rarity and the upper side of the Propontis was crowded with people who came there to bathe. That area is pleasurable and well worth idle stays: there are gardens everywhere, thickly wooded and wide-spreading, and an abundance of clear streams; the sea plays gently with the shore and smiles with light waves at the mainland; and all this becomes a festival for the eyes, a feast for the senses.

¹ Manuscript U has in the margin Γοργίας ὁ ἡήτωρ ἔλεγε τοὺς φιλοσοφίας μὲν ἀμελοῦντας, περὶ δὲ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα γινομένους, ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν, οῦ τὴν Πηνελόπην θέλοντες ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν αὐτῆς ἐμίγνυντο (Gorgias the rhetor said that he who neglects philosophy and devotes himself to general studies ressembles the suitors who, desiring Penelope, slept with her slave girls). The phrase, which appears in Diogenes Laertius (Vitae philosophorum 2.79.7-9) and Plutarch (De liberis educandis 7D.3-4), has a proverbial character; cf. e.g. Gnomologium Vaticanum e codice Vaticano graeco 743, n. 166 (Sternbach). Its presence here could be seen as a critique, on the part of the copyist or a later reader, of the futility of this ekphrasis.

Άνήειν τοίνυν⁷ κάγώ (τῆς γὰρ σαρκὸς ὁ κνησμὸς οὕτως ἐκέλευεν), ἦν δὲ καιρὸς ὁ μετὰ τὴν τρύγην εὐθύς. Καὶ ἄρτι τε τῆς σκάφης ἀπέβαινον⁸ καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἦμεν τὰ πρόθυρα, καί μοί τις τῶν φίλων ἀντιμέτωπος⁹ ὑπαντᾳ, καὶ φίλων ὁ χαριέστατος. Καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὰ εἰκότα καὶ προσειπών, «Σὰ μέν» ἔφη «τὴν σάρκα τῷ λουτρῷ παραμύθησαι, ἐγὰ δέ σοι ἑτοιμάσω καταγωγὴν καὶ ξενιῷ σε ἐν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ δειπνίσω· κὰν, εἰ βουλητόν σοι, ἐλεύσῃ καὶ στήσῃ καὶ ὄψει γλύκιον θέαμα· καὶ εἰ μή τι σοι προὕργου¹⁰, παραμενεῖς ἐφ' ἡμέρας καὶ ἀπολαύσῃ ψυχαγωγίας σωφρονικῆς». Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὰν ἀπηλλάττετο καὶ μικρὸν ὥρας μέρος¹¹ διαλιπὰν ἐπανῆκε καί (ἔτυχον γὰρ¹² τότε κάγὰ σὰν¹³ τοῖς λουτηρίοις ἀμφίοις κατακλινείς¹⁴) πολλήν μοι¹⁵ βίαν προσῆγεν¹⁶ ἕλκων εἰς τὴν ξενίαν· καὶ τέλος ἐνίκησε.

2. Τότε μὲν οὖν (ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῆς ὅρας ὀψὲ καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν οὕτως ἐπέταττεν) αὐτοῦ κατεμείναμεν. Ἄρτι δὲ μικρὸν ἡ νὺξ διηυγάζετο καὶ ἦν ἀμφιλύκη, καὶ θροῦς τὴν σκηνὴν κατελάμβανε¹⁷ καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἀγεννὴς¹⁸ παρακελευσμός, ἀλλήλους ἀφυπνιζόντων καὶ διανιστώντων

2. ἡ νὺξ διηυγάζετο: cf. Psellus, *Epistulae*, 45, 17 ἡμέρας ὅλας διαυγάζων καὶ νύκτας; ἀμφιλύκη: Homerus, *Il.*, 7.433 ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ; Manasses, *Monodia in Nicephorum*, 224-225 οὕτε μὴν βαθεῖα νὺξ ἀφεγγής, ἀλλ' ὁποίαν τὴν ἀμφιλύκην φασὶ ποιηταί; παρακελευσμός: Thucydides, *Historia*, 4.11.3.5 προθυμία τε πάση χρώμενοι καὶ παρακελευσμῷ; Cinnamus, *Historia*, 224.14-15 παρακελευσμοί τε συχνοὶ καὶ παραινέσεις ἐκατέρων ἡκούοντο; Manasses, *Historia*, 5916 καὶ θροῦς καὶ παρακελευσμὸς ἀμφοῖν τοῖν στρατευμάτοιν.

φίλων ὁ χαριέστατος: Eustathius Thess., Comm. Ad. Hom. Iliadem, II.251.13-14 οὐχ' ἀπλῶς χαρίεντα καὶ μέγαν καὶ φίλον, ἀλλὰ χαριέστατον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ φίλτατον; ξενιῷ σε ἐν ἐμαυτῷ : Heliodorus, Aethiopica, 2.21.7 ξενιῷ δε σε οὐκ ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ; εἰ μή τι σοι προὕργου: Heliodorus, Aethiopica, 2.21.6 εὶ μη σέ τι προὐργιαίτερον ἀπασχολεῖ; ψυχαγωγίας σωφρονικῆς: Manasses, Monodia in Theodoram, 28 σωφρονικοῖς κατάφυτον κάλλεσι et 145 ἦθος σωφρονικόν; εἰς τὴν ξενίαν: Acta Apostolorum, 28.23 ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες.

 $^{^7}$ τοίνυν om. U S 8 ἀπέβαινον E H: ἐπέβαινον U S 9 ἀντιμέτωπον U 10 ποὖργον U τοὖργον S 11 μέρος om. U S 12 γὰρ E H: ἄρτι U S 13 κἀγὼ σὲν om. U S 14 κατακλινής U S 15 μοι E H : δὲ U S 16 προσῆγεν E H: ἐπεισῆγεν U S 17 κατελάμβανεν U 18 ἀγενὴς U

I too went there, for the itching of my flesh demanded so; it was the time right after the vintage.² As soon as I got out of the boat and we approached the entrance of the baths, one of my friends – indeed the most gracious of friends – ran into me. After embracing and exchanging appropriate greetings, he said: "Off you go to comfort your flesh with the bath! I will prepare your lodging and host you in my quarters and treat you dinner; and if you wish, you shall come and set up your tent and witness a sweet spectacle! And if you are not in a hurry, you can stay a few days and enjoy a virtuous pastime." Saying this he left but came back some time later – I was then reclining wrapped in bath towels – and pressed me forcefully to accept his hospitality; finally, he won.

2. We thus then stayed there (it was late, after all, and the bath required it).⁴ Now night was lit up by the first rays of twilight, a noise invaded the tent⁵ and there were noble exhortations all around to wake up, to get ready for the action, denouncing sluggishness; this great was the zeal for

² That is, no later than the end of October. On vintage in the region of Bithynia, see Anagnostakis 2008, 44-48 et passim.

³ This passage vaguely recalls Heliodorus, *Aithiopika* 2.21.7, where Calasiris invites Cnemon for dinner.

⁴ The bath lasted an entire day; see Koukoules 1948-57, vol. 4, 442-443 and 455.

⁵ The bathers spent the night in tents. It is assumed that there were tents available for visitors, who would not bring their own. The narrator speaks of one tent, but it is not clear whether he shares it with others or not. On tents in Byzantine culture and literature, see Mullett 2013, 2018 and 2022.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ μεμφομένων τῆς βραδυτῆτος τοσοῦτος¹9 αὐτοῖς ζῆλος τῆς ἰξευτικῆς ἐπετρέφετο²0. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ παιδίσκοι συχνοὶ²1 καὶ μείρακες οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἀνὴρ πρεσβυτικὸς καὶ παλαιγενὴς καὶ πολλῶν ἰξευτικῶν²² ὀλυμπιάδων μεστός, μυρίοις τε τοιούτοις ἀγῶσιν ἐνηθληκὼς καὶ παιδοτριβῶν ἐκείνους τοὺς μείρακας ἐπὶ τοιάδε παγκράτια. Ταχὺ μὲν οὖν ἡμφιέσαντό²³ τε καὶ ὑπεδήσαντο²⁴ (ὁ γὰρ ἐπιστάτης γέρων κατήπειγε), πτηνοῖς δὲ ποσὶν ἔσπευδον τὸ χωρίον καταλαβεῖν, ἔνθα τοῖς στρουθαρίοις ἦσαν²⁵ ἐπιβουλεύοντες²⁶. Εἰπόμην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς τηλικαύτης σπουδῆς ἐποψόμενος καὶ συνδιῆλθον²γ καὶ εἶδον τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἦν ἀληθῶς χάριεν καὶ ἡδονήν μου²8 τῆ ψυχῆ ἐνεστάλαξεν. Ἐσχε²9 δὲ ὧδε τὰ κατ' αὐτό· τί γὰρ κωλύει κἀν³0 τῆ γραφῆ κατατρυφῆσαί με τοῦ θεάματος;

μεμφομένων τῆς βραδυτῆτος: Gregorius Naz., In sanctum pascha, PG 35, 396 εἴ τί μοι μέμφοισθε τῆς βραδυτῆτος; παλαιγενής: Manasses, Historia, 6569 ὁ γέρων ὁ παλαιγενής οὖτος ὁ Νικηφόρος; Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 163-164 ή παλαιγενής καὶ τῷ πλείονι λευκοπτέρωτος ἱέραξ ἐκείνη; ὀλυμπιάδων μεστός: Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, 4.44.15 τοιούτων Όλυμπιάδων μεστός; Manasses, Historia, 6559 καὶ γεγονὸς ἀρεϊκῶν μεστὸς Ὀλυμπιάδων ; Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 202-203 πολλῶν τοιούτων ὀλυμπιάδων μεστός, πρεσβυτικὸς (ἂν εἶπέ τις) Νέστωρ; Manasses, Oratio ad Michaelem, 146 πολλῶν λογικῶν ὀλυμπιάδων μεστοί; άγῶσιν ἐνηθληκώς: Eustathius Thess., Orationes, 6.15.6 νῦν βασιλεία ἐναθλεῖν τοιούτοις ἀγῶσι κατήρξατο; παιδοτριβῶν: Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum 204 ές τὰ γερανοφόνια τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παιδοτριβῶν; ἠμφιέσαντό τε καὶ ὑπεδήσαντο: Plutarchus, De fortuna, 98 D6 τὰ δ' ὑποδέδεται καὶ ἡμφίεσται φολίσι καὶ λάχναις; **πτηνοῖς δὲ ποσίν**: Philostratus, Heroicus, 26.15.7 πτηνὸν τὰ πόδε καὶ ταχὸν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κίνησιν; Basilaces, Progymnasmata, 27.83-84 καὶ τοὺς πόδας πτηνούς et 28.109; Anthologia graeca, 16.275.9 Τὸν γὰρ ἄπαξ πτηνοῖσι παραθρέξαντά με ποσσὶν et 9.557.3; κατατρυφῆσαί με τοῦ θεάματος: Gregorius Naz., In Machabaeorum laudem, PG 35,917 ἐνετρύφα γὰρ τῷ θεάματι; Manasses, Hodoeporicon, 1.88 κατετρύφησα ναμάτων Κασταλίας; Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, 39-40 ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἐνατενίσας καὶ κατατρυφήσας τῶν μορφωμάτων.

 $^{^{19}}$ τοιοῦτος S 20 ἐπετύφετο S 21 συγχνοὶ U 22 ἰξευτῶν U S 23 ἡμφιάσαντό S 24 ὑπεδήσαντο E post corr. H: ὑπεδέσαντο E ante corr. ἐνεδύσαντο U S 25 ἦσαν om. U S 26 ἐπιβουλεύσοντες U S 27 συνανῆλθον U S 28 ἡδονή μοι U ἡδονάς μοι S 29 ἔσχε E U S: εἶχε H 30 κὰν E H: καὶ U S

glue hunt that burgeoned in them. There were also many boys and quite a few young men there, as well as a very old man, born long ago and brimming with several Olympics of glue hunting – he was experienced in thousands such contests and was training those young men in such pancratic struggles. Quickly, they put on clothes and shoes (for the old man who presided over them hurried them on), and they rushed on swift feet to go to the place where they would set traps for the birds. I too followed in order to see the purpose of this great precipitation, I crossed the road with them and caught sight of their quest – it was really charming and poured pleasure into my soul. Here is how it went; for what prevents me from enjoying the spectacle through writing as well?



Fig. 2: Various scenes from the Great Palace Mosaic Museum. Photo: David Hendrix.

3. Χῶρός τις³¹ ἦν ὀλίγον³² ἄποθεν τῆς σκηνῆς, ἐν ἦ κατελύομεν· καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὕτε παντελῶς ἠνεμόεις καὶ ὑπερύψηλος οὕτε τις ταπεινὸς καὶ χαμαίζηλος, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν καταγωγῆς³³ ὑψηλότερος, εὐήνεμος δέ τις καὶ εὕπνους³⁴ καὶ αὕρας ἠπίας ὑποδεχόμενος· καὶ βοτάνη δὲ ἦν εὐώδης ἐν τούτῳ παντοδαπὴ³⁵ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ὑποκινουμένη τῶν ἰξευτῶν, ἀμβροσίαν³⁶ οἴαν³² ὀσμὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ῥίνας ἀνέπεμπεν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀρωματοφόρον, ὑπὲρ τὴν κιναμωμοφόρον³³, ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰνδικήν· τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ³³ τῆς εὐωδίας τὸ περιόν. Ὑπέστρωτο δὲ καὶ πόα πρασίζουσα δαψιλής, καλὴ μὲν ὑποπίπτειν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ἀφῆ⁴0,

^{3.} ταπεινός καὶ χαμαίζηλος: Cf. e.g. Gregorius Nyssenus, De vita Mosis, 2.149.6-7 τὸ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπικλίνειν τὴν ταπεινήν τε καὶ χαμαίζηλον; καταγωγῆς: Manasses, Historia, 4593 ἀνηρευνῶντο σπήλαια, καταγωγαὶ σεμνείων; εὐήνεμος δέ τις καὶ εύπνους καὶ αύρας ἡπίας ὑποδεγόμενος: Julius Pollux, Onomasticon, 5, 108 γωρίον έρεῖς ὑγιεινόν, ἄνοσον, ἀκήρατον, καθαρόν, εὕκρατον εὐκραές εὐκέραστον ταῖς ὥραις, εὐφεγγές, εὐήνεμον, εὖ ὥρας ἔχον, ἄριστα κεκραμένον, ἀναπνοὰς ἔχον, ἀναπνεόμενον, πνεύματα διαρρέοντα έχον, ἀνέμους διαθέοντας, εὔπνουν, ἀναψῦχον, αὔραις διαπνεόμενον; εύπνους: Manasses, Historia, 4905 ώς αύραις κυμαινόμενον εύπνόοις, ζεφυρίαις; Manasses, Monodia in Nicephorum, 6 έντεῦθεν καὶ τὸ αὐτόφυτον εὔπνουν καὶ τὸ κηπευόμενον ἀρωματίζον εὑρίσκεται; Manasses, Hodoeporicon, 1.323 ὡς οἶνος εὕπνους, ὡς μύρον συγκλείεται; αὕρας ἡπίας: Cf. Anthologia graeca, 10.17.1 Ἀργέλεω, λιμενῖτα, σὸ μέν, μάκαρ, ἠπίω αὕρη; **βοτάνη δὲ ἦν εὐώδης ... παντοδαπή**: Manasses, Historia, 66 παντοδαπήν ἐκέλευσε βοτάνην ἐκφυῆναι; ἀμβροσίαν ὀσμήν: Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, 4.430 τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμβροσίη ὀδμὴ πέλεν ἐξέτι κείνου; Philostratus, Heroicus, 3.5.2-3 ώς ἀμβροσία ἡ ὀσμὴ τοῦ χωρίου; ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀρωματοφόρον: Psellus, Epistulae, 3.5-6 κατὰ τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τρόπον, ἐγκρατής εἰμι τῆς ἀρωματοφόρου καὶ εὐδαίμονος Άραβίας; Stephanus Byzantius, Ethnica, 1. 367 Άραβία· ἡ χώρα, ὡς Αἰθιοπία. δύο δ' εἰσίν, ἡ μὲν ἀρωματοφόρος μεταξὺ Περσικῆς καὶ Ἀραβικῆς θαλάσσης, ή δὲ μᾶλλον δυτική συνάπτουσα πρὸς μὲν τὴν δύσιν Αἰγύπτω, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ Συρία; Cataphloron, Oratio ad praefectum Athenarum, 13.7 καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀρωματοφόρον; **κιναμωμοφόρον**: Strabonis *Chrestomathia* 2.24.2 διὰ τῆς Κιναμωμοφόρου καὶ Μερόης καὶ Σοήνης et 2.26.3; **πόα πρασίζουσα**: Manasses, *Historia*, 205 ὧδε τῆς γῆς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπράσιζε ταῖς πόαις; Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, 90 την ἐκεῖ καὶ κρόκεον άνθος καὶ φύλλον ἐξέρυθρον καὶ πόα πρασίζουσα.

 $^{^{31}}$ tic om. U S 32 δλίγος U S 33 κατατρυγης U κατατρύγης S 34 ξμπνους U 35 παντοδαπής U S 36 ἀμβροσίας U S 37 οἶαν U οἷον S 38 ὑπὲρ τὴν κιναμωμοφόρον om. U S 39 αὐτῆ U S 40 ὀφθαλμὸν U S ἀφὴν U S

3. There was a place not far from the tent where we were staying. This place was neither completely exposed to the wind nor extremely high, nor flat and low-set, but it was higher than where we were staying, airy and fresh with gentle breezes. All over this place there were various kinds of fragrant herbs and when they were trodden by the feet of the glue hunters, they dispersed to the nose a divine scent, better than the scent of the country producing aromatic plants, better than that of the country producing cinnamon, better than that of India⁶ – so exquisite was the scent of this area! It was covered by abundant green grass,



Fig. 3: Scene from the Great Palace Mosaic Museum: old man sitting on a rock.

Photo: David Hendrix.

⁶ It is not clear whether the narrator refers to three different countries (Arabia Felix, Ceylan and the Indian peninsula) or if one and the same country is presented as a climax. For the ancient authors on whom Manasses drew, India was a country of imprecise contours, from the Indian peninsula to Ethiopia, via the Arabic peninsula; see Muckensturm-Poule 2015. On the confusion between India and Ethiopia, see also Schneider 2004 and 2016.

μαλακή δέ τις ἀνακλιθῆναι καὶ ἀπαλὸν σχεδιάσαι χαμεύνιον. Ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἀποφορτισάμενοι (ἔφερον δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλό τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εἰς⁴¹ ἄγραν), ἔργου⁴² τὲ εἴχοντο (πῶς ἂν εἴποις;) ἐπιμελῶς. Καὶ ῥάβδους ἀφύλλους ἐπήγνυον κατὰ γῆς αἱ δὲ ῥάβδοι καθ' ἑαυτὰς μὲν ἄνοζοί⁴³ τινες ἦσαν καὶ ἄχλοοι, (προελέπισε γὰρ⁴⁴ αὐτὰς ὁ χαλκός⁴5), κλῶνας⁴6 δὲ δάφνης εἶχον συμβεβλημένους καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν φυλλάδα περιεβέβληντο καὶ ὀθνείοις ἐχλόαζον ὅρπηξι. Στοιχηδὸν δὲ κατετάττοντο⁴7 (εἴκασεν⁴8 ἄν τις, ὡς φυτῶν εἰσιν ὅρχατοι) καὶ αἱ μὲν σχῆμα ἔσφζον ἑτερόμηκες καὶ δάφνη πολλὴ καὶ ἀμφιλαφὴς ἐκείνας περιεπύκαζεν, αἱ δὲ κυκλικῶς ἐτορνεύοντο, πᾶσαι δὲ ὅμως κόμας δαφνῶν περιέκειντο. Ἐπὶ τούτοις λύγους ποθὲν ἐξενεγκόντες λεπτοὺς⁴9 ἰξῷ κατεκάλυπτον καὶ ταῖς ἐκδαφνωθείσαις ἐκείναις δάφναις⁵0 προσέφυον καὶ τεχνηέντως ἄγαν τὴν παιδιὰν⁵¹ διετίθεντο. Κατέταττε δὲ πάντα ὁ πολιόθριξ ἐκεῖνος ὁ πέμπελος στρατιάρχης (ἀν⁵² εἴποι τις), πολλοῖς πολέμοις ἐγγυμνασθείς.

σχεδιάσαι γαμεύνιον: Eutecnius, Paraphrasis in Opp. Cyneg., (Papathomopoulos) 188,12 καὶ σχεδιάσαι χαμεύνιον καὶ ὑπὸ σκιὰν ἀναπαύσασθαι; ῥάβδους ἀφύλλους: Dioscurides, De materia medica 4.154 σπαρτίον· θάμνος ἐστὶ φέρων ῥάβδους μακράς, ἀφύλλους; **ἄνοζοι καὶ ἄγλοοι**: Manasses, *Historia*, 6137 ἄγλοος ἐκινδύνευεν, ἄφυλλος, αὖος μένειν; δάφνης εἶγον συμβεβλημένους καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν φυλλάδα περιεβέβληντο: Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 47-49 μικρὰ τὰ πτερύγια καὶ οἷς δαφνοστοίβαστοι ῥᾶβδοι τὸν δόλον ἀρτύνουσι, φυλλάδας ἀλλοτρίας προβεβλημέναι καὶ προϊσχόμεναι λύγους ἀληλιμμένους ἰξῷ; **ὅρπηξι**: Manasses, Historia, 90 ἦν καὶ μηλέας εὐανθής ὄρπηξ ἀγλαοκάρπου et 5455; **ὅρχατοι**: Homerus, *II.*, 14.123 πολλοὶ δὲ φυτῶν ἔσαν ὄρχατοι ἀμφίς; Tatius, Leucippe, 5.17.3 διεβαδίζομεν τοὺς ὀρχάτους τῶν φυτῶν; Manasses, Historia, 96 βοτρυομήτωρ ἄμπελος, ὄρχατοι κληματίδων et 188, 215, 5629; Manasses, Monodia in Nicephorum 328-329 οἶον κλῆμα νοτίσι λόγου προεμοσχεύετο, τῆς ἐκφυτείας καὶ τῶν ὀρχάτων ἐπάξιον; περιεπύκαζεν: Basilaces, Progymnasmata 24.29-30 γῆν χλοηφόρον μυρίοις περιπυκαζομένην τοῖς ἄνθεσι ; **λύγους ... ἰξῷ** : Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 49 λύγους ἀληλιμμένους ἰξῷ; πέμπελος: Manasses, Historia, 5959 καὶ ταῦτα παλαιόχρονος πέμπελος ὢν τριγέρων et 6571; Manasses, Carmen morale, 638 "Ωσπερ γὰρ οἶνος πέμπελος τριγέρων ἀνθοσμίας; πολέμοις ἐγγυμνασθείς: Plutarchus, Caesar, 28.3 ὅσπερ ἀθλητής ἑαυτὸν ἀποστήσας μακράν καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς ἐγγυμνασάμενος πολέμοις; Basilaces, Orationes 1.451 έκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἄτε πολλοῖς 'πολέμοις' ἐγγεγυμνασμένος.

 $^{^{41}}$ εἰς Ε H: πρὸς U S 42 ἔργων U S 43 ἄλοξοί U ἄλοποί S 44 γὰρ Ε H : δὲ U S 45 χαλκὸς U post corr. χορηγός S 46 κλώνας U 47 κατετάσσοντο U S 48 εἰκάσειεν U S 49 λεπτὰς S 50 ἐνδαφνωθείσαις U S // δάφναις Ε H: ῥάβδοις U S 51 πεδιὰν U 52 στρατάρχης U S // ante ἂν add. δ' U [δ'] S

beautiful to the eye and to the touch, soft for anyone who would like to lay down on an improvised bed. Here, after unloading their burdens (they each carried a different tool needed for hunting), they set to work (how can you put it?) diligently. They drove into the earth rods without leaves; these rods had no branches or leaves (for they had been polished by iron), but small twigs of sweet bay were attached to them so that they were surrounded by foreign foliage and sprouted heterogeneous shoots. These rods were placed in orderly rows (some would say it looked like an orchard): some formed a rectangular pattern and were surrounded by thick and abundant laurel, others were placed in a circle, but all of them had laurel locks. Thereafter, thin sticks coated with glue were brought out and they attached them to the detached branches of sweet bay and arranged the game with great skill. That greyhaired old man organized it all, quite like a general one would say, experienced in many wars.

4. Οἱ δὲ παιδίσκοι παρέφερον φρουρίοις πλεκτοῖς ἐγκεκλεισμένα χειροήθη στρουθάρια· αἰγιθῆλαι δὲ ἦσαν καὶ σπίνοι καὶ ἀκανθίδες καί τινα⁵³ ἔτερα, μείζονα μὲν ἢ κατὰ σπίνους, βαρυφωνότερα δέ⁵⁴ (οὐκ οἶδα τούτων τὸ ὄνομα)· παρέφερον⁵⁵ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο στρουθίον περικαλλές, ὡραῖον τὴν ὄψιν, καλὸν ἰδέσθαι, λάλον ἀκοῦσαι, ἐπιτερπὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ πολύφωνον· ἡ κεφαλὴ φοινικέφ⁵⁶ περιήνθιστο βάμματι, τὸ δὲ πτερὸν ποικίλως ἐχρώζετο· ἀγλαόπτερον ἦν, περιπόρφυρον ἦν, κατάστερον, χρυσεόπτερον. Ἀστρόγληνον⁵⁷ ὁ γέρων ἐκάλει τὸ στρουθίον ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐρυθρόκρανον, καὶ ἐνεκαυχᾶτο τῆ τοῦ ζφου καλλιγλωττία καὶ

^{4.} αἰγιθῆλαι: Aristoteles, Historia animalium, 618b Ὁ δὲ καλούμενος αἰγοθήλας έστὶ μὲν ὀρεινός, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος κοττύφου μὲν μικρῷ μείζω; Aelianus, De natura animalium, 3.39.1 τολμηρότερος ἄρα ζώων ὁ αἰγιθήλας ἦν; Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, 116 αἰγιθήλας, οἶμαι, τὸ ζῷον; σπίνοι: Dionysius, Ixeuticon paraphrasis, 3.4.1 Οἱ δὲ σπίνοι καὶ αἱ τρυγόνες ὑπὸ δένδρων θηρῶνται; Aelianus, De natura animalium, 4.61.1 σπίνοι δὲ ἄρα σοφώτεροι καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ μέλλον προεγνωκέναι; Manasses, Historia 165 ἀκανθυλλίδες μουσουργοί, κόρυδοι, σπίνοι, ψᾶρες; Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum 45-46 είδον δὲ καὶ ἀκανθυλλίδας άλισκομένας καὶ σπίνους καὶ ἀστρογλήνους; Manasses, Monodia in passerem suum, p. 4.5 σπίνων ἐπιτερπέστερον, ἀκανθυλλίδων ύπερφερέστερον et p. 5.30, 6.9, 6.23, 6.26; ἀκανθίδες: Aristoteles, Historia animalium, 616b αἱ δ' ἀκανθίδες κακόβιοι καὶ κακόχροοι, φωνὴν μέντοι λιγυράν ἔχουσιν; Callicles, Carmina, 29.84 παίζουσιν ἀκανθίδες ἀμφὶ τοῖς ρόδοις; Tzetzes, Chiliades 4.7/889 αἱ ποτιστρίδες πᾶσαι τε ὀρνέων ἀκανθίδων; ἐπιτερπές: Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 315-316 τοιοῦτον τὸ χρῆμα ταύτης τῆς θήρας, ἐπιτερπὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔγκοπον; Manasses, Monodia in Nicephorum, 334 ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὴν ὥραν καλὸς καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν ἐπιτερπής; φοινικέω βάμματι: Eustathius, Thess, Comm. Ad. Hom. Odys., 2.304.4 φοινικῷ βάμματι φαεινόν; **περιπόρφυρον**: Manasses, De Aristandro, fr. 101.14 τὸ μέλαν δὲ μεταβαφὲν περιπορφύροις ἴοις; Manasses, Historia, 75 τινὰ μὲν περιπόρφυρα τῶν ῥόδων ἑωρᾶτο et 125, 203, 2187, 4926; Manasses, Epistulae, 3.6-7 καὶ τὸ ἄνθος οὐκ ἐξέρυθρον οὐδὲ περιπόρφυρον; κατάστερον: Manasses, Monodia in Theodoram, 54 καὶ ἦν κατάστερος καλλοναῖς; Manasses, Consolatio ad Joannem, 297 τὴν κατάστερον ἀγαθοῖς, τὴν κατάχρυσον ἀρεταῖς.

 $^{^{53}}$ τινα om. U S 54 μèν om. U S δè om. U S 55 περιέφερον U S 56 φοινίκφ U φοινικῆ S 57 ἀστρόγλινον U

4. The boys brought woven cages in which small tame birds were locked up: there were nightjars⁷ and siskins⁸ and goldfinches⁹ and some others, larger than the siskins but with deeper voices (I do not know their names). They also brought another very pretty bird, pleasant to the eye, beautiful to look at, loquacious to hear, as charming as multiloquent. Its head was dyed scarlet red and its wings were many-colored: the wings were spendid, they were purple, starry, sparkling with gold. The old man called this red-headed bird 'finch' and he praised the animal's pretty voice and he called the owner of such a bird more fortunate than

 $^{^{7}}$ αἰγιθῆλαι: nightjars (La. parra, parus). This bird is also called αἰγίθαλ(λ)ος. See Arnott 2007, 9.

⁸ σπίνοι: siskins. One of several kinds of sparrows, carrying the scientific name *fringilla coelebs* and being motley. On the different kinds of birds in the works of Manasses, see Petit 1898, 597-598; see also Arnott 2007, 323-324 (who calls the same species chaffinch; cf. below).

⁹ ἀκανθίς οτ ἀκανθυλλίς are two forms for the same bird (Etymologicon magnum 45.9 ἀκανθις ἢ ἀκανθυλλίς: στρουθίον ἐν ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καθήμενον). It should be noted that Manasses in other texts prefers the form ἀκανθυλλίς. The terminological problem does not end here, because according to several Byzantine authors (e.g. Tzetzes, Scholia et glossemata in Chiliades 4.889.1 (Leone): ἀκανθις ὁ στραγαλίνος παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἀκάνθαις διάγειν), this bird is also called ἀστρογαλίνος, ἀστογαλήνος, στραγαλίνος οτ ἀστρόγληνος, which appears further below. The official terminology indicates carduelis cannabina for ἀκανθίς (greenfinch or chaffinch) and carduelis carduelis for ἀστρόγληνος (goldfinch); see also Arnott 2007 14-15 and 31. According to Koukoules 1948-57, vol. 5, 399-400, n. 7, ἀστρόγληνος is frigilla cannabina or carduellis. The ἀστρόγληνος depicted by Manasses as having a scarlet head, we translate as goldfinch. Manasses wrote a monody on the death of his own goldfinch (Horna) on which see Nilsson 2021, 76-85 and 193.

όλβιοδαίμονα ἐκάλει τὸν ἔχοντα, ὑπὲρ Κροῖσον, ὑπὲρ Ἀντίοχον. Τὰ τοίνυν λάλα στρουθία μακρὰν ἀλλήλων ἀπαγαγόντες⁵⁸, οὕτω κρίναντος⁵⁹ τοῦ τῆς παιδιᾶς προάρχου⁶⁰, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκάθηντο καὶ περιέχασκον τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὰς νεφέλας περιεσκόπουν. Ἅμα τὲ οὖν πᾶσαν συνεσκευάσαντο⁶¹ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ τὰ χειροήθη στρουθάρια⁶² τὸν ἀέρα περιεβόμβει καὶ κατήχει τῆς χειροποιήτου λόχμης ἐκείνης⁶³ καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ μικρὸν ὑπεψέκασε⁶⁴ καὶ λεπτὴν ὀμίχλην κατέχεε καὶ ἀγέλαι μικροπτερύγων στρουθίων⁶⁵ περιέπτησαν⁶⁶.

5. Καὶ ὁ γέρων, πρῶτος ὡς ἤσθετο τῆς βοῆς, σιγὴν⁶⁷ τοῖς παιδαρίοις παρεκελεύετο· ἦλθον ἔπειθ' ὅσα τε φύλλα⁶⁸ καὶ ἄνθεα, ὑπὲρ⁶⁹ τὰς ἐν

5. ὅσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα: Homerus, Il. 2.468 ὅσσά τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὅρῃ et 9.51; Manasses, Monodia in Nicephorum, 473 ἄνθεσί τε καὶ φύλλοις νεοδρεπέσιν οἱ συμπατριῶται κατέπαττον; Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, 90 ϶Ην ἐκεῖ καὶ κρόκεον ἄνθος καὶ φύλλον ἐξέρυθρον; ἔαρι μυίας: Homerus, Il., 2.469-471 Ἡΰτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ/ αἴ τε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊον ἡλάσκουσιν/ ὅρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει; Libanius, Orationes, 18.130.6 ὑπὲρ τὰς μυίας παρὰ τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἐν ἦρι.

όλβιοδαίμονα: Homerus, Il 3.182 ὧ μάκαρ Άτρεΐδη μοιρηγενὲς ὀλβιόδαιμον; Manasses, Historia, 3847 καὶ τὴν ὀλβιοδαίμονα πόλιν Καρχηδονίων et 4071; Manasses, Monodia in Nicephorum, 40 καὶ ὀλβιοδαίμονα κρίνας τῆς εὐτεκνίας et 436; προάρχου: Manasses, Historia, 6077 πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς προάρχους καὶ προβούλους; περιέχασκον τὸν ἀέρα: Tatius, Leucippe, 2.22.4 ὁ δὲ λέων ἡγριαίνετο καὶ μετεστρέφετο πάντη καὶ τὸν ἀέρα περιέχασκεν; Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum 181 καὶ περιέχασκον τὸν ἀέρα et 327; ἀέρα περιεβόμβει: Stethatus, Vita Symeonis Novi Theologici, 77.33 καὶ φωνῆ διακένω περιβομβῶν τὸν ἀέρα.

 $^{^{58}}$ ἀπάγοντες U S 59 κρίνοντος U S 60 πρωτοάρχου H 61 ἐσκευάσαντο U S 62 στρουθία U S 63 post λόχμης semicolon H 64 ὑπεψέκασε E H: ὑπεμάλλαξε ante corr. U ὑπεψάλλαξε post corr. U ὑπεψάλλαξε S 65 στρουθίων om. U S 66 περιέπτησαν E U: παρέπτησαν H περιώφθησαν S 67 πρῶτος ὡς ἤσθετο τῆς βοῆς, σιγὴν E H: πρῶτος ἡσθάνετο τῆς βοῆς καὶ σιγὴν U S 68 post φύλλα transp. τε U H S 69 ante ὑπὲρ add. καὶ U S

Croesus¹⁰, more fortunate than Antiochus.¹¹ So they placed the chattering birds with some distance between them, for that was the decision of the game leader, and then they stationed themselves, eagerly scanning the sky and observing the clouds. As they prepared the entire trap, and the tame birds were humming in the air, and their voices echoed in that artificial thicket, the air became a little humid and spread a fine mist¹² and flocks of short-winged birds flew all around.

5. And the old man, when he first heard the sound of them, ordered the children to be silent. The birds then appeared, as numerous as the leaves and the flowers, more numerous than the flies in spring, more

¹⁰ Croesus: king of Lydia in the 6th century BCE, conquered by Cyrus the Great and famous for his wealth and fortune. On the use of Croesus in ancient literature, see e.g. Duplouy 1999).

¹¹ This is probably Antiochus III (241-187 BCE), who according to the Suda was first considered fortunate, but who later had his hopes thwarted (alpha 2693: Ἀντίοχος, βασιλεύς· οὖτος ἐδόκει κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς γεγονέναι μεγαλεπήβολος καὶ τολμηρὸς καὶ τοῦ προτεθέντος ἐξεργαστικός, προβαίνων δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐφάνη πολὺ καταδεέστερος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς προσδοκίας); for a general account, see Grainger 2015. Manasses' reference to these two historical figures is ironic, because they both proved to be unfortunate in the end. In fact, all references to ancient mythology and history in this ekphrasis concern the old man and serve a comic aim, consituting paradoxical comparisons (τὸ ἐναντίας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς εἰκόνας τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων in Ps.-Hermogenes, On the Method of Speaking Effectively 86-87 (Patillon). On Manasses' use of such paradoxical comparisons for comic effect, including the portrayal of the old man in this text, see Chryssogelos 2016, 148-151.

Beck 1978, 326, understands this passage differently: "Als alle Fallen gestellt waren und die zahmen Vögel in der Luft umherschwirrten und das künstiche Dickicht, das ich beschriben habe, umfolgen, da machte sich in der Luft ein leises Schwirren bemerkbar, wie wenn Nebel fiele; eine ganze Schar kleiner Vögel kam im Sicht."

ἔαρι μυίας⁷⁰, ὑπὲρ τὰς λειμωνίους βοτάνας· καὶ βοὴ κατεῖχε τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἐπευφήμησαν οἱ παιδίσκοι τῷ γινομένῳ· καὶ ὁ τριγέρων⁷¹ αὐτοῖς ἐχαλέπηνε⁷², μικροῦ δ' ἂν καὶ πληγὰς προσετρίψατο τοῖς ἀθλίοις. Τὰ δὲ χειροήθη στρουθάρια⁷³ διερρήγνυτο⁷⁴ ταῖς βοαῖς· καὶ τὰ ὑπερπετόμενα τοῖς ἰξοφόροις δόναξιν⁷⁵ ἐπεκάθισαν⁷⁶, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἑαλώκεσαν, τά δ' ὑπεξέφυγον· ὁ γὰρ ἰξὸς νοτισθεὶς⁷⁷ οὺκ ἔσῳζε τὸ ἐχέκολλον. Καὶ ὁ σταδιάρχης γέρων ἐκεῖνος τοῖς μειρακίσκοις⁷⁸ ἐνεβριμᾶτο⁷⁹ καὶ ἄγριον ἔβλεπε, καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας ἐμέμφετο, συχνὰς⁸⁰ τὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μηρῶν κατῆγε⁸¹ πληγὰς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας πυκνὰ περιέτριβε καὶ ὥσπέρ τι παθὼν βαρυσύμφορον ἀπωδύρετο⁸² καὶ κατηύχετο τῶν παιδίσκων καὶ

λειμωνίους βοτάνας: Psellus, Orationes funebres, 3.16.55-56 Βοτάνη τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῆ λειμωνία πολλή καὶ δροσερά; Manasses, Oratio ad Manuelem, 141 τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰς λειμωνίους βοτάνας; τριγέρων: Suda, tau 969 τριγέρων: τρεῖς γενεὰς βιούς· τουτέστι ἐνενηκοντούτης. Νέστωρ ἐν Πύλω ἠγαθέη τύμβον ἔχει τριγέρων; Prodromus, Carmina historica, 18.44 καὶ πέμπελοι τριγέροντες όδεύουσι καὶ βρέφη; Manasses, Historia, 988 τὰ μετά τοῦτο τίνα δέ; θνήσκει μεν ὁ τριγέρων et 1635, 2229, 3279; Manasses, Monodia in Nicephorum, 333 τριγέροντες ἄνδρες τὸ βεβηκὸς ἠγάσαντο τοῦ φρονήματος; διερρήγνυτο ταῖς βοαῖς: Psellus, Epistulae, 141.105 βοῶν μέγα καὶ διαρρηγνύμενος; Choniates, Historia, 306 καὶ ταῖς ἀσήμοις βοαῖς διαρρηγνύμενοι; **ιξοφόροις δόναξιν**: Oppianus, Halieutica 1.32 τούς δὲ δόναξιν ὑπέσπασαν ἰξοφόροισιν; Eustathius, Comm. In Hom. Iliad., 4.264-265 Όππιανὸς δὲ ἰξοφόρους εἰπὼν δόνακας ἔοικε λεπτοὺς λύγους οὕτω καλεῖν; ἐχέκολλον: Plutarchus, Quaestiones conviviales, 735 E 10 οὐ γὰρ παραμένει τὸ ἐχέκολλον καὶ συνεκτικόν, ἢ πυκνουμένης ψυχρότητι τῆς ἰκμάδος ἢ ξηραινομένης; ἀπωδύρετο: Manasses, Historia, 5716 καὶ πάντες ἀπωδύροντο τὸ τῆς ἐνδείας βέλος; Manasses, Monodia in Theodoram, 105 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί σου πρότερον ἀποδύροιτο; Manasses, Consolatio ad Joannem, 107 οἶδεν ἡ φύσις τὸ πάθος καὶ ἀποδύρεται πᾶς τὸ γινόμενον; ὑπῆγεν ἀραῖς: Photius, Epistulae, 162.88 ἀραῖς τετολμηκὼς ὑπάγειν et 162.77.

 $^{^{70}}$ ἐναερίους μύας U S 71 τρι- supra lin. U γέρων S 72 ἐχαλέπαινε U S 73 στρουθία U S 74 διερρήγνυντο U S 75 δόναξιν post corr. U δονάκεσιν ? ante corr. U 76 ἐπεκάθησαν U 77 νοτησθεὶς U 78 τοῖς μειρακίσκοις om. U S 79 ἐνεβρυμᾶτο U 80 συγχνὰς U 81 κατεπῆγε U H S 82 ἐπωδύρετο U H S

numerous than the herbs of the meadow. A noise filled the entire space and the boys applauded what was happening; the very old man¹³ got angry with them and almost started beating those wretches. The tame birds burst into loud singing; those that came flying sat down on the gluey sticks and some of them were captured, others fled because the glue lost its stickiness due to the humidity. And that old man, the master of the stadium, was irritated with the boys, threw at them fierce looks, blamed their negligence, kept hitting his thighs and wringing his hands, lamented as if he had suffered a severe injury, cursed the boys and threw the worst curses at them, calling as witnesses the earth and the sun, and

¹³ τριγέρων: according to the Suda (tau 969 τριγέρων: τρεῖς γενεὰς βιούς· τουτέστι ἐνενηκοντούτης. Νέστωρ ἐν Πύλῳ ἠγαθέη τύμβον ἔχει τριγέρων), this adjective signifies a man aged ninety and most often characterizes Nestor, the Homeric king of Pylos; see also Anagnostakis 2004, 80, n. 20.

παλαμναιοτάταις ύπῆγεν 83 ἀραῖς καὶ γῆν καὶ ἥλιον ἐμαρτύρετο 84 καὶ τὰς τῆς ἄγρας ἐφόρους δυνάμεις ἐπεβοᾶτο.

6. Τὰ τοίνυν ἑαλωκότα συλλέξαντες ἐφυλλοκρίνουν⁸⁵ τὸ θήραμα. Καὶ τὸ μὲν θῆλυ πᾶν τῷ φόνῳ ὑπήγετο⁸⁶ καὶ κατὰ βόθρου τινὸς ἠκοντίζετο· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ τάφρον τοῖς⁸⁷ ταλαιπώροις ὑπονομεύσαντες⁸⁸, Ἅιδην (ἂν εἶπέ τις) ἢ τάφον⁸⁹ πολυχανδῆ. Τὰ δὲ ἄρρενα διελόντες⁹⁰, τὰ μὲν ἐζώγρουν καὶ φυλακῆ παρεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀπέδυον τὰ πτερὰ καὶ ἄπτων πυρὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς⁹¹ ὀστέοις κατέπινον· ἔτυχον γὰρ καὶ πῦρ αὐτοῦ που προαποθησαυρίσαντες⁹².

Ο δὲ καθηγητὴς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ ταξιάρχης, παρακληθῆναι οὐκ ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ⁹³ ἐδυσφόρει καὶ ἤλυε καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας ἐστέναζεν· οὐχ οὕτως

ἥλιον ἐμαρτύρετο: Manasses, *Aristandro*, fr.9.2 καὶ μὴ μάρτυρα τὸν ἥλιον αἰσχύνης; cf. Eur. Herc. 858 Ἡλιον μαρτυρόμεσθα; τῆς ἄγρας ἐφόρους: *Scholia in Oppianum Halieutica* 3.27.5 καί σε σὺν τοῖς τῆς ἀλιευτικῆς ἀγρευτικῆς ἄγρας ἐφόροις θεοῖς βοήσας et 2.27.2.

6. κατὰ βόθρου ἡκοντίζετο: Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 54 κατὰ βόθρου ἀκοντίζόμενα; ὑπονομεύσαντες: Manasses, De Aristandro, fr. 32 Οὕτως ὁ βόθρον τοῖς ἐγγὺς ὑπονομεύων φόνου et fr. 63 ὁ δὲ θανάτου βάραθρον ἄλλοις ὑπονομεύων; Manasses, Oratio ad Michaelem, 111 τί δεῖ καὶ ὑποσκάπτειν τὴν ρίζαν καὶ μέχρι πυθμένων ὑπονομεύειν et 396; τάφον πολυχανδῆ: Manasses, Historia, 3957-58 καὶ γέγονε πολυχανδὴς Ἄδου γαστὴρ πανδόχου καὶ τάφος μυριόνεκρος καὶ τοῦ θανάτου πύλη; ὀστέοις κατέπινον: Dionysius, Ixeuticon paraphrasis, 1.4.13-14 τοῖς τῶν πάλαι τεθνηκότων θηρίων ὀστέοις, εἰ μὲν καταπιεῖν δύναιντο; Daphnopates, Epistulae, 25.4 ὑπό τινος Χαρύβδεως σὺν αὐτοῖς ὀστ[έ]οις καταποθέντες; πῦρ προαποθησαυρίσαντες: cf. Psellus, Theologica, 76.153 τὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀποτεθησαύρισται πῦρ; παρακληθῆναι οὐκ ἤθελεν: ΝΤ, Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, 2.18 Ῥαχὴλ κλαίουσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν παρακληθῆναι; ἐδυσφόρει καὶ ἤλυε: Anonymus Professor, Epistulae, 100.5 ἀλύειν εἰς ἄπαντά σε καὶ δυσφορεῖν καὶ ζῆν οὐκ ἐθέλειν; Choniates, Historia, 548 ἥλυέ τε καὶ ἐδυσφόρει καὶ ἤχθετο.

 $^{^{83}}$ ἐπῆγεν U S 84 ἐμαρτύριστο U S 85 ἐφιλοκρίνουν U S 86 ἡπείγετο U S 87 τοῖς E U H: ταῖς S 88 ἐπινομεύσαντες U S 89 τάφρον U 90 ἄρενα διελθόντες U 91 αὐτοῖς E H: τοῖς U S 92 καὶ πῦρ αὐτοῦ που E H: αὐτοῦ που καὶ πῦρ U S προαποθησαυρίσαντες E H: ἀποθησαυρίζοντες U S 93 ἀλλ' U S

invoking the powers that watch over the hunt.14

6. After collecting the captured birds, they sorted out the game. All female birds were killed and thrown into a pit; they had even prepared for these poor creatures a trench that one could call Hades or capacious tomb. ¹⁵ As for the male birds, they divided them and made some prisoners, plucked the others, roasted them and devoured them whole without sparing even the bones, because they had also prepared a fire for them in advance. ¹⁶

That teacher of theirs, however, the master of ceremony, did not want to be comforted, but grew impatient, was beside himself and kept

¹⁴ That is the gods in charged of the successful hunt (Artemis and Apollo?).

To our knowledge, this treatment of male and female birds is not attested in any other text, but Manasses does not seem to make it up because this practice is common in modern bird hunting.

¹⁶ Cf. the similar attitude of Arab bird hunters, who "quand ils s'en vont assez loin pour chasser à la glu, emportent tout le nécessaire au repas, y compris la marmite, mais ne se chargent d'aucune viande. Pour tout volatile que leur ou leurs compagnons désirent goûter, ils leur disent simplement: 'Préparez la marmite!' et ils les régalent de tout ce qu'ils ont pu souhaiter." (All ibn Hasan al-Asadi, author of the 13th century, cited and translated in Viré 1973, 8).

Ιωνᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ μαρασμῷ⁹⁴ τῆς κολοκύντης ἐβαρυθύμησε. Καὶ πάλιν ἰξῷ τοὺς λύγους⁹⁵ ὑπήλειφε⁹⁶ καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν στρουθίων ἤρτυε⁹⁷ δόλον. Καὶ ἀγέλη πολυπληθὴς διαπτᾶσά ποθεν τὴν κατήφειαν ἔλυσεν⁹⁸ ἄπασα γὰρ ἄρδην ἑάλω καὶ πέπτωκεν, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον τῆς ἀπωλείας⁹⁹ ὑπολειφθῆναι¹⁰⁰. Τότε πρῶτον καὶ τὸν παλαίτατον ἐκεῖνον χοράρχην τὸ νέφος τοῦ προσώπου λύσαντα ἔβλεψα, καὶ ἱλαρὸν ὑπομειδιάσαντα. Ἀλλὰ τῆς ὀφρύος! ¹⁰¹ ἐβρενθύετο γὰρ¹⁰² καὶ ἐμεγαλαύχει καὶ περιεφρόνει τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρων ἔβαινε τῶν δακτύλων καὶ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τοῦ θηράματος ἐμακάριζε. Καὶ οὐκέτι φορητὸς ἦν κομπάζων καὶ μεγαλοφρονῶν· οὐχ οὕτως ἐπ' Αἰγύπτῳ¹⁰³ Καμβύσης, οὐχ οὕτως¹⁰⁴ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνι Μεγάβυζος.

Ίωνᾶς ἐπὶτῷ μαρασμῷ τῆς κολοκύντης: AT, Jon 4.6-9; ἤρτυε δόλον: Homerus, Odys., 11.439 σοὶ δὲ Κλυταιμνήστρη δόλον ἤρτυε τηλόθ' ἐόντι; Manasses, Historia, 1003 καὶ δυσμεναίνων κατ' αὐτῶν ἤρτυε τούτοις δόλους et 1298; Manasses, Oratio ad Manuelem, 63-64 ἐτέκταινε μηγανάς, ἤρτυε δόλους ὁ άλάστωρ ὁ δύστροπος; τὴν κατήφειαν ἔλυσεν: Basilius Caesar., Epistulae, 90.1.10 ηὔφρανεν ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτον ὥστε λῦσαι ἡμῶν τὴν κατήφειαν; ἄγγελον **τῆς ἀπωλείας ὑπολειφθῆναι**: De legationibus, 518.24 κτεῖνον ἄπαντας ὁμαλῶς μηδ' ἄγγελον ὑπολιπών; Flavius Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae, 2.344.5-6 άγγελον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς ὑπολελειμμένοις ὑποστρέψαι; ἐβρενθύετο: De legationibus, 467.19 καὶ τοίνυν αὖθις ὁ βάρβαρος θρασύς τε καὶ ὑψαύχην ἦν, καὶ μεν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυνενεχθεῖσιν ἐβρενθύετο μέγα ἠπείλησέ; Zonaras, Epitome historiarum (lib. 13-18), 407.1 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὡς μέγα τι κατορθῶν έβρενθύετο; περιεφρόνει τὸν ἥλιον: Aristophanes, Nubes, 225 ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον et 1503; ἐπ' ἄκρων ἔβαινε τῶν δακτύλων: cf. Soph. Ajax, 1230 ὑψήλ' ἐφρόνεις κἀπ' ἄκρων ὡδοιπόρεις; Psellus, *Epistulae*, 174.7-8 καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρων δακτύλων τὰ κατὰ πάντων λαβών νικητήρια et 189.46-47, 190.30; Suda, ypsilon 747 τουτέστιν ἐπ' ἄκρων δακτύλων ἔβαινες γαυριῶν; **Αἰγύπτω Καμβύσης**: Herodotus, *Historia*, 2.181.20-21 ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου; Ctesias, Fragmenta, 13a.2 ή ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ Καμβύσου στρατεία; **Βαβυλώνι Μεγάβυζος**: Ctesias, *Fragmenta*, 13.115 οὕτω μὲν ἥλω διὰ Μεγαβύζου Βαβυλών.

 $^{^{94}}$ μαρασμῷ E post corr. U H S: βρασμῷ E ante corr. 95 ἰξῷ τοὺς E U H: ἰξωτὰς S λυγοὺς U 96 ὑπήλειφον U S 97 ἤρτυον U S 98 ἔλυεν U S 99 ἀγγελίας U S 100 ἀπολειφθῆναι U S 101 ἀλλὰ τῆς ὀφρύος· ἐβρενθύετο E H: ἀλλ' ἦν τὰς ὀφρύας ἀνεσπακὼς U S 102 γὰρ om. U S 103 Αἰγύπτου U 104 οὕτω E

groaning with all his heart; not even Jonah was this sad for the withering of his pumpkin plant.¹⁷ Once more he coated the sticks with glue and arranged a trap against the birds. A large flock of birds flying in from somewhere dissolved his dejection, for this flock was caught in its entirety and all succumbed, so that not even a messenger of the disaster survived. Then for the first time I saw also that very old conductor chase the cloud from his face and joyfully smile. But with what arrogance! For he was proud, he boasted, he belittled the sun, he was tiptoeing around and declared himself happy with the outcome of the hunt. And he was truly unbearable because of his boasting and pride, exceeding that of Cambyses for the capture of Egypt and that of Megabyzes for the capture of Babylon.¹⁸

¹⁷ Reference to the biblical Jonah (Jon 4.6-9): "And the Lord God prepared a gourd, and made it to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head, to deliver him from his grief. So Jonah was exceeding glad of the gourd. But God prepared a worm when the morning rose the next day, and it smote the gourd that it withered. And it came to pass, when the sun did arise, that God prepared a vehement east wind; and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah, that he fainted, and wished in himself to die, and said, It is better for me to die than to live."

¹⁸ These two historical figures are known from the accounts of Herodotus and Ctesias. Cambyses II was king of Persians 529-522 BCE and conqueror of Egypt, for the Greeks a prototype of a mad, crual and tyrranical king; on his madness, see Vignolo Munson 1991 and Sauzeau 2007. Megabyzes, married to the mad daughter of Xerxes and thus his son-in-law, is a more obscure historical figure, but his connection to the devious capture of Babylon, usually attributed to his father Zopyros, makes us suspect that Manasses knew the version proposed by Ctesias (*Fragmenta* 13.113-115: α δὲ περὶ Ζωπύρου ἐκεῖνος [ὁ Ἡρόδοτος] ... Μεγάβυζον οὖτος λέγει διαπράζασθαι ... οὕτω μὲν ἥλω διὰ Μεγαβύζου Βαβυλών); Auberger 1995, 69-71. Manasses continues to use historical and mythological exempla in a subversive manner in order to portray the old man in an ironic manner.

- 7. Συμπεφόρητο τοίνυν τὰ ἠγρευμένα καὶ ἦν ἀστεῖον τὸ θέαμα. Τὸ μὲν ἐβέβλητο κατὰ κεφαλῆς, τοῦ δὲ κατίξωντο¹⁰⁵ τὰ πτερύγια, ἑτέρφ¹⁰⁶ γαστὴρ καὶ πόδες ἐσπίλωντο, τὰ δὲ στήθη τούτων ἐσφάδαζε¹⁰⁷ καὶ τὰ ῥάμφη ἠνοίγετο καὶ ἤσθμαινον ἔσχατα καὶ ἔπνεον λοίσθια. Ἐσεμνηγόρει τοίνυν ὁ γέρων καὶ πολλὴν εὐθηρίαν προεμαντεύετο· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς λύγους¹⁰⁸ τοὺς¹⁰⁹ κατίξους τῶν στρουθαρίων¹¹⁰ ἀπέσπα καὶ χείλεσι καὶ δακτύλοις ἀπεκάθαιρε τῶν πτερῶν· καὶ ὁ ἰξὸς προσέφυ τῷ πώγωνι, καὶ εἴχετο ἀπρὶξ τῶν τριχῶν. Ὁ δ' οὐ¹¹¹ προσεποιεῖτο οὐδ' ἐπεστρέφετο, ἀλλ' ἐμαίνετο ἔσχατα¹¹² καὶ ἐλύσσα ἀκάθεκτα.
- 8. Ήν ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔτερόν τι συνέπεσε χαριέστερον¹¹³. Τανυσίπτερος ἵρηξ¹¹⁴ ἀκανθίδα ἐδίωκε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐφέρετο μετὰ ῥοίζου, ἡ δ' ὑπεξέφυγεν¹¹⁵· ὁ μὲν¹¹⁶ ἐδίψα καταλαβεῖν, ἡ δ' ἐμηχανᾶτο διαφυγεῖν καὶ πολλοῖς ἐκέχρητο ἑλιγμοῖς, καὶ τὴν πόαν ἐπήρχετο, καὶ παντοδαπή¹¹⁷ τις

^{7.} ἐβέβλητο κατὰ κεφαλῆς: Homerus, II. 5.72 βεβλήκει κεφαλῆς κατὰ ἰνίον ὀξέϊ δουρί; ἤσθμαινον ἔσχατα: Psellus, Chronographia, 4.54.8 ἀσθμαίνων ἤδη καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας ἀναπέμπων ἀναπνοάς; ἔπνεον λοίσθια: Manasses, Historia, 3417 ἔτι καὶ ζῶν καὶ περιὼν καὶ μὴ τὰ λοῖσθα πνέων et 5215; εἴχετο ἀπρίξ: Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 224 ἀπρίξ τε εἴχετο τοῦ γεράνου; ἐμαίνετο ἔσχατα: Chrysostomus, In Matthaeum, PG 57, 246.51 καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην μαινομένων μανίαν; ἐλύσσα ἀκάθεκτα: Philo, De Josepho, 40.4 καὶ ἀκαθέκτως περὶ τὸ πάθος λυττῶσα; Manasses, Aristandro, fr. 96.10 καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ λυττήσας ἀκαθέκτως.

^{8.} τανυσίπτερος ἴρηξ: Homerus, *Odyss.*, 5.65-66 ἔνθα δέ τ' ὄρνιθες τανυσίπτεροι εὐνάζοντο, σκῶπές τ' ἴρηκές τε τανύγλωσσοί τε κορῶναι; Hesiodus, *Opera et dies*, 212 ὡς ἔφατ' ὡκυπέτης ἴρηξ, τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις; Manasses, *Historia*, 2757 ὄρνιν δὲ τανυσίπτερον, ὀρνεοκράτην ὄρνιν; ἐκέχρητο ἐλιγμοῖς: Dionysius, *Ixeuticon paraphrasis*, 1.31.41 τὸν ὄρνιν ἡπείγετο, μάτην πλείστοις χρώμενος ἑλιγμοῖς; Mannases, *Historia*, 398 μυρίους ἔνδον ἑλιγμοὺς λαβυρινθώδεις φέρον.

 $^{^{105}}$ κατίξωνται U 106 έτέρου U S 107 τούτων E H: πᾶσι U S ἐσφάδαζε om. U S 108 εὐθηρίαν προεμαντεύετο E H: εὐθηνίαν κατεμαντεύετο U S τοὺς λύγους E H: τὰς λύγας U τὰς λύγους S 109 τὰς U S 110 στρουθίων U S 111 ὅ δ' οὐ E U H: Ὁ δ' οὔτι S 112 ἄσχετα U H 113 χαριέστατον U S 114 τανυσίπτερος ἵρηξ Ε: τανισίπτερος ὄρνις U S ἵρηξ τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις H 115 ὑπεξέφευγεν U S H 116 μὲν E H: δὲ U S 117 παντοδαπός S

- 7. The captured birds were then collected and the spectacle was amusing. Some had their head hit [by glue] from below, some had glue all over their wings, others had their stomach and legs stained [by the glue], their breasts were shivering, their beaks were opening, they were breathing heavily one last time and died. Now the old man spoke solemnly and predicted a good and abundant hunt. And he tore off the gluey sticks from the birds and cleaned their wings with his lips and fingers; the glue clung to his beard and stuck firmly to his body hair. He did not seem to notice, nor did he pay attention he just acted like a madman and was carried away beyond any control.
- **8**. This was the situation and then something even more graceful happened: a swift-winged falcon was chasing a chaffinch. ¹⁹ The falcon attacked with a whizzing sound while the chaffinch fled; the one was thirsting for the catch, the other contrived to escape and resorted to

¹⁹ On this kind of glue-hunting with the presence of a falcon, see Messis and Nilsson 2021, 87-88 with n. 23, noting that Manasses/the narrator of this ekphrasis does not seem to understand the use of the falcon, which is not to catch the birds but to paralyze them with fear and thus making them easier to catch. It is worth noting the gendered aspect of the following scene: he (the falcon) against her (the chaffinch), which does not quite come out in the translation but is a notable feature in hunting scenes; see Goldwyn 2018, 39-84, and (on Manasses) Nilsson 2021, 37 with n. 37.

ἐγίνετο, οἵα τρέχουσα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς¹¹⁸. Ὠς δὲ <ἐκεῖνος> ἀπειροκάλως ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πετασμὸν καὶ ἐνικᾶτο θυμῷ (ἡ γὰρ βελτίστη γαστὴρ ἤπειγε), λανθάνει τοῖς λύγοις τοῖς¹¹⁹ κατίξοις περιπαρεὶς καὶ παθὼν μᾶλλον ἢ δράσας καὶ τῆς ἄγρας ἀποτυχὼν καὶ ἀγρεύσιμος γεγονώς· καὶ ὁ μικροῦ ὑπερνέφελος, παιδαρίσκων¹²⁰ ἐψηλαφᾶτο χερσί.

Τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τίς ἄν γραφῆ παραστήσειεν; Ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο, καὶ βοὴ καὶ θροῦς τὸν ἀέρα ἐγέμισεν¹²¹· εἶπεν ἄν τις, ὡς κατείληπται φρούριον ἢ πύργων στεφάναι¹²² πεπτώκεσαν¹²³· τοσοῦτος βόμβος ἐγίνετο, τοσοῦτος γέλως ἀνέβαινε· καὶ ἦν δρόμος οὐκ ἀγεννὴς καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον προφθάνειν ἠπείγετο. Τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ γέρων ἐκεῖνος¹²⁴, ὁ τῆς τελετῆς ταύτης πρωτόαρχος, τοῖς μειρακίσκοις ἀντηγωνίζετο, καὶ συνέτρεχε καὶ

τρέχουσα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς: Aristophanes, Vespae, 376 καὶ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς δρόμον δραμεῖν; Manasses Historia, 2924 περὶ ψυχῆς γὰρ ἔτρεχεν; Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 53 τρέχοντα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς; ἡ γὰρ **βελτίστη γαστήρ ἤπειγε**: Tatius, Leucippe, 2.23.1 ὡς δὲ ἡ βελτίστη γαστήρ κατηνάγκασε, πείθεται; cf. Psellus, Epistulae 104,20-21 ελξει γάρ με, εδ οἶδα, ή βελτίστη πρὸς τὸ βρῶμα γαστήρ; Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, 158-9 ή μεν γαστήρ ήπειγε πρός τροφήν; **περιπαρείς**: Aesopus Fabulae, 19.5-6 καὶ περιπαρεὶς τοῖς ἐρίοις τοὺς ὄνυγας ἑάλω μᾶλλον ἢ θηρᾶσαι δεδύνηται; Eutecnius, Paraphrasis, p. 9.15 ἄθλιος τῷ γαλκῷ περιπαρεὶς ἁλωτὸς ἐκ τῆς γένυος ελκεται et 22.12; παθών μαλλον ή δράσας: Plato, Leges, 834a1 παθών ἢ δράσας; μικροῦ ὑπερνέφελος: Pollux, Onomasticon, 9.20.7 μικροῦ ύπερνέφελον; έψηλαφᾶτο γερσί: NT Epistula Joannis 1.1.2 Έθεασάμεθα καὶ αἱ γεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν; γραφῆ παραστήσειεν: Philostratus Major, Imagines, 1.28.2 γραφή γὰρ παρεστήκαμεν; Sophronius, Miracula Cyri et Joannis, no 44.47 ας οὐκ ἄν τις γραφῆ παραστήσειεν; ἀλαλαγμὸς καὶ βοὴ καὶ θροῦς: Herodotus, *Historia*, 8.37.16-17 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο; Anna Comnena, Alexias, 1.5.4 τοὐμοῦ πατρὸς Άλεξίου μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ ἐμπηδῆσαν τὸ περὶ τὴν ἔνεδραν στράτευμα et passim; Cinnamus, Historia, 244.15-16 καὶ βοὴ καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἦν, καὶ θροῦς ἠγείρετο ἄσημος; πύργων στεφάναι: Euripides, Troades, 784 πύργων έπ' ἄκρας στεφάνας et Hecuba, 910.

 $^{^{118}}$ οἴα τρέχουσα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς E H: σπεύδουσα καταλαβεῖν τὸν στρουθόν U σπεύδων καταλαβεῖν τὸν στρουθόν S^{-119} ταῖς λύγαις ταῖς U ταῖς λύγοις ταῖς S^{-120} παιδαρίων U S^{-121} ἐγέμιζεν H^{-122} στέφανα, U, S^{-123} πεπτώκασι U S H^{-124} ἐκεῖνος om. U S

numerous serpentine movements, flying over the grass and doing whatever she could, as she was running for her life.²⁰ As the falcon was rashly flying to and fro, conquered by his urges (that excellent belly of his was spurring him on), he was accidentally caught by the gluey twigs; becoming an object rather than a subject, he failed in the hunt and was himself now the prey – he who not long ago had risen above the clouds was now being touched by the hands of little boys.²¹

Who could describe in words what happened next? Battle cries erupted, and the air was filled with shouting and confused noises; one would say that a fortress was being captured or fortifying towers were being knocked down – so great was the intensity of the din, so great was the rise of the laughter, and there were serious running, each one rushing to come first. And at this point, that very old man, the leader of this ritual,

²⁰ The text has a problem here since the two manuscripts offer different readings: E has the text that we propose (καὶ τὴν πόαν ἐπήρχετο καὶ παντοδαπή τις ἐγίνετο οἵα τρέχουσα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς), while U has καὶ τὴν πόαν ἐπήρχετο καὶ παντοδαπή τις ἐγίνετο σπεύδουσα καταλαβεῖν τὸν στρουθόν, which means that the copyist understands the sentence as referring to ὄρνις, considered as feminine. Sternbach corrects παντοδαπὴ and σπεύδουσα into παντοδαπός and σπεύδων and the sense of the phrase becomes "[the falcon] approached the grass and did everything it could…" Below, in the sentence that opens ὡς δὲ ἀπειροκάλως, E lacks the subject that we understand as different from the subject of the preceeding sentence, that is, no longer the chaffinch but the falcon.

There is a similar image in Manasses, Description of a crane hunt 13 (Messis and Nilsson): ὁ δὲ τάλας ἐκεῖνος ὁ γέρανος εἰς ἄθυρμα πᾶσι καὶ χλεύην προέκειτο καθάπερ τις στρατιώτης τὰς χεῖρας περιαγκωνισθεὶς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποδυθεὶς καὶ βρεφυλλίοις προβεβλημένος εἰς παίγνιον.

ἀντέτρεχε, τὴν πολιὰν θέμενος παρ' οὐδέν, κἀνταῦθα μόνον ἀγνοήσας αὑτόν¹²⁵· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐξεφέρετο¹²⁶, καὶ ἐνεθουσία καὶ οὐχ οἶος τε ἦν κατέχειν αὑτόν¹²⁷, ἀλλ' ἐξήνιος ἐγίνετο¹²⁸ καὶ ἀχάλινος.

Άλλ' οὐκ ἦν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν γινομένων οὐδὲν ἀνεκδίκητον ἐνεμέσησεν ἡ Δίκη τῷ γέροντι, καὶ ἀπεριμερίμνως ¹²⁹ φερόμενος ἀρρίχῳ προσκόπτει καὶ καταπίπτει ἄθλιος ἐπὶ στόμα. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπίκρανον ὡς ἐκ μηχανῆς ἀπεδισκεύθη πορρώτερον ¹³⁰, καὶ ὑγροπήλῳ τέλματι ¹³¹ ἐπεκάθισεν (ἦν γάρ τι τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης μέρος ὑπόπηλον), αἱ δὲ παλάμαι ἐδρύφθησαν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ¹³² στόμα κόνεως ὁμοῦ καὶ χόρτου πεπλήρωτο, καὶ τῷ φορυτῷ ἐπιβέβυστο. Άλλ' οὐκ ἔμελε ¹³³ τούτου ¹³⁴ τῷ γέροντι ἀλλ' ὀρθιάσας αὐτὸν πάλιν δρομικωτέρως ἐφέρετο. Τότε πρώτως ἔγνων ὡς προθυμία καὶ γῆρας νικῷ καὶ πόθος ὑπερθερμαίνει ¹³⁵ τῆς ἡλικίας

τὴν πολιὰν θέμενος παρ' οὐδέν: Eustathius Thess., Comm. In Hom. Il., II, 767.18 τοῦτον ὁ μαθητής Άγιλλεὺς ἐν τοιαύτη πολιᾶ παρ' οὐδὲν θήσει; ἐξήνιος καὶ ἀγάλινος: Manasses, Monodia in Theodoram, 148 ὅσαι περικροταλίζουσι τὰς παλάμας ὡς ἀχάλινοι καὶ ἐξήνιοι; Manasses, Oratio ad Michaelem, 186 οὐδ' ἐξήνιον οὐδὲ ὑπέρφρον οὐδὲ ἀχάλινον; ἐνεμέσησεν ἡ Δίκη: Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 321 καί, τῆς ἀγραίας Δίκης νεμεσησάσης; καταπίπτει ... ἐπὶ στόμα: Lucianus, Adversus indoctum, 7.16 ἐπὶ στόμα καταπίπτων ύπὸ τοῦ βάρους; Manasses, Historia, 5214 καὶ κινδυνεύουσαν πεσεῖν ἀθλίως ἐπὶ στόμα et 5269, 6552; ἐπίκρανον: Manasses, De Aristandro, fr. 177.5 οὐ χρῶνται πίλοις, οὔ τισιν ἐτέροις ἐπικράνοις; Manasses, Ecphrasis hominis parvi, 27 περιέκειτο μὲν ἐπίκρανον ἱκανῶς ἔχον μεγέθους et 29; ἀπεδισκεύθη: Manasses, Historia, 6463 ύψόθεν ἀποδισκευθείς, ἀπορραγείς έκ νέφους: Manasses Oratio ad Manuelem, 73 κατά τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς ἀποδισκευόμενον; Manasses, Monodia in Theodoram, 67-68 ὑπὸ πρηστῆρος ἄνωθεν ἀποδισκευθέντος μεμελάνωται; ὑπόπηλον: Manasses, Monodia in passerem suum, p. 4. 16 την ίλυν ἀποσμήχοντι και το ὑπόπηλον ἐκκαθαίροντι; τῷ φορυτῷ ἐπιβέβυστο: Aristophanes, Plutus, 379 τὸ στόμ' ἐπιβύσας κέρμασιν τῶν ἡητόρων; προθυμία καὶ γῆρας: Gregorius Naz., Oratio funebris in Basilium, 37.4.3 προθυμία νεκρούς ἀνίστησι, καὶ πηδῷ γῆρας.

 $^{^{125}}$ αὐτόν $E~U~H^{-126}$ κατεφέρετο $U~S^{127}$ έαυτὸν κατέχειν U~S: κατέχειν αὐτὸν E κατέχειν αύτόν H^{-128} ἐγένετο $U~S^{-129}$ ἀμερίμνως $U~S^{-130}$ πορρωτέρω $U~S^{-131}$ πέλματι $U~S^{-132}$ μὲν οπ. $U~S^{-133}$ ἔμελλε U^{-134} τοῦτο $U~S^{-135}$ ὑποθερμαίνει U~S

was competing against the young boys, he ran with them, he run against them, not caring about his white hair and in this situation alone he ignored himself. For he was carried away by pleasure, he was in ecstasy, and could not hold himself back, but was becoming uncontrolled and unbridled.

But nothing that happened went, as it seems, unavenged. Dike was annoyed with the old man and he, running without paying attention, bumped into a basket and fell, the wretch, face down on the ground. His hat flew off, as if *ex machina*, like a disc thrown, and settled on a muddy spot (some of that land was marshy), while his palms were scratched. His mouth was filled with dust as well as grass, and saturated with filth. But the old man did not care – he stood up and started running even faster. It was then that for the first time I realized that ardor conquers elderliness,

τὸ παρειμένον καὶ ἀκμαιότερον τίθησι. Καίτοι¹³⁶ δαίμονι τοιούτῷ παλαίσας καὶ κινδυνεύσας ἐκκρουσθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας, ὅμως ὑπερπεπήδηκε¹³⁷ καὶ¹³⁸ ὑπερέδραμε τὰ μειράκια, καὶ πρῶτος¹³⁹ ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρνιθοφόντην ἦλθεν ἱέρακα καὶ τῆς εὐαγρίας πρωτάγγελος γέγονε. Τοῦ δὲ¹⁴⁰ ἐπικράνου καὶ τῶν χειλέων καὶ τῆς τῶν παλαμῶν ὑποδρύψεως οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐμέμνητο.

Ἐγὼ δὲ γέλω¹⁴¹ ἐξέθανον, ὡς εἶδον ἀκαλυφὲς τὸ κρανίον καὶ ἀπολάμπον τῆ φαλακρώσει καὶ ἐϣκει¹⁴² μοι τοιοῦτος εἶναί τις ἄνθρωπος, οἶον τὸν μετὰ¹⁴³ τοῦ¹⁴⁴ Διονύσου γέροντα τὸν ναρθηκοφόρον Ἑλλήνων παῖδες ἱστόρησαν ἐψίλωτο¹⁴⁵ τὸ κρανίον τῷ γέροντι, κόμη τῆς κορυφῆς οὐδαμοῦ· αὶ ὀφρύες καθεῖντο¹⁴⁶ ἐπὶ τὰ βλέφαρα, λάσιαί τινες καὶ κατάλευκοι ἡ ῥὶς ἀδροτέρα πρὸς τῷ τέλει καὶ δίκην κορύνης ὀγκουμένη καὶ ἀποσφαιρουμένη δασὰ τὸ γένειον, κατάλευκον καὶ αὐτό. Τῶν δὲ ἱματίων τὸ κάτω τὸ¹⁴⁷ πρὸς τῆ γῆ¹⁴⁸ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω ἀνέζωστο ἐμβάδες εὑρεῖαι, πολυχανδεῖς αὶ ἐμβάδες¹⁴⁹· εἶπες ἄν¹⁵⁰, ὡς τραγικοί τινες κόθορνοι καὶ γίγαντος ἂν πόδας ἠδύναντο¹⁵¹ δέξασθαι. Καὶ τοιοῦτός τις ὢν τὴν μορφὴν ἐπανήρχετο καὶ ὑπόπηλος καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς γέλως ἐπῆει¹⁵²,

ἐκκρουσθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας: Manasses, Historia, 4845 καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐκκρουσθεὶς καὶ συνθλασθεὶς τὰς γνάθους; γέλφ ἔξέθανον: Homerus, Odyss., 18.100 χεῖρας ἀνασχόμενοι γέλφ ἔκθανον; φαλακρώσει: Manasses, De Aristandro, fr. 177.11 ἐκ φαλακρώσεώς τισι τὰς τρίχας ἐκρυείσας; Διονύσου γέροντα τὸν ναρθηκοφόρον: Philostratus Major, Imagines, 1.19.2 καὶ Σάτυροι [καὶ] αὐληταὶ καὶ ναρθηκοφόρος γέρων καὶ οἶνος Μαρώνειος; ὀφρύες καθεῖντο: Pollux, Onomasticon, 4.146.7 καθειμένος τὰς ὀφρύς, πεπαιδευμένφ ἢ φιλογυμναστῆ ἐοικώς; ῥὶς ἀδροτέρα: Pseudo-Polemon, Physiognomonica, 29.3-5 ῥινὸς τὸ ἄκρον ἀδρὸν καὶ ἀμβλὸ καὶ στρογγύλον καὶ καρτερὸν ἀνδρείου καὶ μεγαλοψύχου ἀνδρὸς τὸ σημεῖον; γέλως ἐπήει: Heliodorus, Aethiopica, 9.2.1.4 καὶ γέλως ἐπήει τῷ Θεαγένει; Stobeaus, Anthologium, 3.20.53 Τοῖς δὲ σοφοῖς ἀντὶ ὀργῆς Ἡρακλείτφ μὲν δάκρυα, Δημοκρίτφ δὲ γέλως ἐπήει.

 $^{^{136}}$ post καίτοι add. γὰρ U H S 137 ὑπερπεπήδηκεν U S 138 καὶ om. U S 139 πρώτως U in mar. πρῶτος U 140 δ' U S 141 γέλφ H: γελῶν E γέλωτι U S 142 ἐδόκει U ante corr. 143 κατὰ S 144 τοῦ om. U S 145 ἐψίλωτο τὸ E H: ἐψίλω τὸ U ἐψίλωτο S om. τὸ S 146 καθῆντο U S 147 τὸ om. U S 148 τὴν γῆν U S 149 ἐμβάδες εὑρεῖαι, πολυχανδεῖς αἰ ἐμβάδες E H: αἱ ἐμβάδες εὑρεῖαι πολυχανδεῖς U S 150 εἶπεν ἂν U εἶπεν ἄν τις S 151 ἠδύνατο U 152 γέλωτα ἐποίει S

that desire heats up the numbness of old age and transforms it into vigor. Indeed, despite struggling against such a demon²² and almost having lost his teeth from the jolt, he outleaped and outran the young boys, and was the first to reach the bird-killing falcon and the first to announce the good hunt. As for his hat, his lips, and his scratched palms, he did not think of them, not even in his dreams.

Me, I was dying of laughter, seeing his skull exposed and shiny from the baldness; he seemed to me like the old man carrying a wand, the one that the Greeks portrayed in the company of Dionysos.²³ The old man's skull was bald and there was no hair whatsoever at the top; the eyebrows, bushy and all white, sat well above the eyelashes; the nose was larger at the tip, bulky and rounded like a club; the beard was dense and that too was all white. The lower part of his garments, the one covering the body toward the ground, was attached at the top by his belt; his shoes were flat, very wide were his shoes — one would say like the costume boots of tragedy which could accommodate the feet of a giant.²⁴ And while he

²² That is, the mishaps caused by Dike.

²³ This is Silenos, carrying the thyrsus; for a similar image, see Philostratus, Images I.19.2. Silenos is the teacher of Dionysos and the personification of drunkenness. On representations in ancient art, see e.g. Hedreen 1992 and Tison 2018.

²⁴ Ancient and Byzantine lexicographers understood the term ἐμβάδες as a "shoe in comedy" in contrast to ἐμβάται, a "shoe in tragedy" (see e.g. Ptolemaeus 392.1 [Heylbut]: ἔμβαδες μὲν κωμικὰ ὑποδήματα· ἐμβάται δὲ τραγικά), but Manasses uses it in a general meaning as a "male shoe" (see also Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon* 1582.11 (Tittman): ἐμβάδες δέ εἰσιν ἀνδρῷα ὑποδήματα), or of a shoe of little value (Eustathius, *Commentary in Dionysius Periegetes*, 1959.20-21 [Müller]: ὅπουγε καὶ αἱ παρονομαζόμεναι αὐτοῖς Περσικαὶ ἐμβάδες, ὅς τινές φασιν, ὑπόδημα εὐτελὲς ἦν).

έδεδίεσαν δὲ ὡς φόβητρον τὸ γερόντιον, καὶ ὑπ' ὀδόντα ἐγέλων.

Καὶ πάλιν ψεκὰς ἁδροτέρα καὶ τὰ στρουθία συμφύλων στρουθίων ἐφόδους¹⁵³ ἐμήνυον. Καὶ ἐκαρτέρει ὁ γέρων ἀκαλυφὴς καὶ ἐσκιαμάχει τῆδε κἀκεῖσε στρεφόμενος· καὶ παιδίσκος ὑπεψιθύρησεν ἀπαλός, καὶ δριμεία χολὴ ἐπὶ τὰς ῥίνας ἦλθε τῷ γέροντι καὶ ῥάβδου βαρείας λαβόμενος ἐξήλαυνε τοῦ χώρου τὸν δύστηνον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἦ τάχους εἶχεν ἐξέφυγεν, ὁ δ' ἀνακράτος¹⁵⁴ ἐδίωκε. Καὶ πάλιν ὅμμα Δίκης τῶν γινομένων ἐπίσκοπον· καὶ ἐπὶ στόμα πάλιν ὁ τάλας¹⁵⁵ καὶ ἐξεκρούσθη (οἶμαι) τῶν ὀδόντων συχνούς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ βραχύ τι προσεποιήσατο. Τί γὰρ¹⁵⁶ πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Λάκων ἐκεῖνος ὁ¹⁵ð σκύμνον ἀλώπεκος ὑφελόμενος¹⁵ð καὶ φέρων ἐπικολπίδιον καὶ ἀμυσσόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ φερεπόνως¹⁵ð τοὺς σπαραγμοὺς καρτερῶν; Τί πρὸς ταῦτα Εὐρυδάμας ἐκεῖνος ὁ πυγμάχος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ὸς ὑπό τινος ἀντιπάλου τοὺς ὀδόντας κατασεισθεὶς¹⁶θ παρέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς¹⁶¹ τῆ γαστρί;

φόβητρον: M

φόβητρον: Manasses, Historia, 1123 φοβήτροις ἐκτεθρόητο νυκτέρων ονειράτων et 5041; Manasses, Hodoeporicon, 1.211 τρικυμίας φόβητρα, ναυτίας ζάλας et 4.73; Manasses, Oratio ad Manuelem, 82 ολλοῖς πρότερον μετριωτέροις φοβήτροις τὸν Φαραὼ σωφρονίσας; δριμεία χολή: Theocritus, Idyllia, 1.18 καί οἱ ἀεὶ δριμεῖα χολὰ ποτὶ ῥινὶ κάθηται; **ὅμμα Δίκης**: Orphica, no 62.1 Όμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος, άγλαομόρφου; Gregorius Naz., De vita sua, 828 ἄκουε, Χριστέ, καὶ Δίκης ὄμμ' ἀπλανές; Manasses, De Aristandro, fr. 37.4 όμμα δὲ Δίκης πανδερκὲς κυνηγετοῦν ἰχνεύει et fr. 179.1; σκύμνον άλώπεκος ὑφελόμενος: Plutarchus, Lycurgus, 18.1 ὄστε λέγεταί τις ἤδη σκύμνον άλώπεκος κεκλοφώς καὶ τῷ τριβωνίω περιστέλλων, σπαρασσόμενος ύπὸ τοῦ θηρίου τὴν γαστέρα τοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν έγκαρτερῶν ἀποθανεῖ; **ἐπικολπίδιον**: Manasses, *Historia*, 1973 φέρων ἐπικολπίδιον et 2006; ἀμυσσόμενος: Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 160-161 καὶ βουβαλίδων ἐπιδερμίδας ἀμύσσειν καὶ διαπερονᾶν et τοῖς ὄνυξιν ήμυσσε; Εὐρυδάμας ὁ Κυρηναῖος: Aelianus, Varia historia, 10.19 Εὐρυδάμας ό Κυρηναῖος πυγμήν ἐνίκησεν, ἐκκρουσθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ τοὺς όδόντας, καταπιών δὲ αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ αἴσθηται ὁ ἀντίπαλος.

 $^{^{153}}$ ἐφόδους στρουθίων U S 154 ἀνὰ κράτος S 155 γέρων U S 156 γὰρ om. U S 157 ὃς U S 158 ὑφελάμενος U 159 φερεπόνους U S 160 τί $^{-}$ κατασεισθεὶς om. U S 161 αὐτὸν U S

was like this in appearance, he was also covered in mud. This provoked laughter from most of those present, but they feared the old man like a scarecrow and were laughing in secret.²⁵

Again, a more abundant drizzle and the small birds announced the invasion of birds of the same species. The old man was waiting without his hat, fighting the shadows by turning this way and that. A little boy whispered sofly and a dark anger rose up the nose of the old man who, taking a heavy wand, chased the poor boy away from there. The latter escaped at full speed, while the old man chased him with all his ardour. Again, Dike's eye saw what was happening: once more the wretch fell on his face and knocked out, I believe, several teeth, but he did not care even a bit. For what was this compared to the Lacedaemonian who patiently endured the scratches of a young fox he had stolen, hiding it in his garments and being torn to pieces by it?²⁶ What was this compared to that Eurydamas, the boxer of Cyrene who, losing his teeth after a blow from his adversary, simply swallowed them?²⁷

 $^{^{25}}$ ὑπ' ὀδόντα ἐγέλων: an expression that indicates discrete laughter.

²⁶ An episode indicating the endurance of young Spartans in Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 18.1.

²⁷ This story is narrated in e.g. Aelian, *Varia Historia* 10.19. The exempla continues to contribute to the comical characterization of the old man.

9. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ σπίνοι ὑπερπετόμενοι 162 ἄφθησαν, καὶ εἶδον ἄγρας τρόπον καινότερον ἔτερον. Μήρινθος ἦν τετανὴ καὶ λεπτή ταύτης τὸ ἄκρον τῆ τῶν καταδάφνων ἐκείνων ῥάβδων 163 φυτεία προσδέδετο. Ἐξήρτητο τῆς μηρίνθου καὶ ζῶσα σπίνος καὶ ἦν ἡ σπίνος παλεύτρια 164 τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ἄκρον τὸ 165 τῆς μηρίνθου παιδαρίσκος πεπίστευτο. Ἅμα τὲ οὖν κατὰ πολλοὺς οἱ σπίνοι προσήεσαν, στρατὸς (ὰν εἴποι 166 τις) μυριοπληθής, καὶ ὁ παιδαρίσκος ἠρέμα τὴν μήρινθον ἀνεσόβει καὶ τὴν ταλαίπωρον σπίνον ὑπανεμίμνησκε 167 πετασμοῦ. Ἡ δὲ οὺχ ἑκοῦσα μέν, ἐπτερύγιζε δ' οὖν 168 καὶ ἐπεχείρει πετάζεσθαι καὶ ἐπάλευε τὸ ὁμόφυλον. Τότε ἄφθονος ἄγρα ἐγίνετο 169, καὶ ὅ τε βόθρος πεπλήρωτο καὶ τὰ πλεκτὰ ἐστενοχώρητο φρούρια, πρὸς ἃ παρέπεμπον 170 τὰ ζωγρούμενα.

^{9.} ὑπερπετόμενοι: Manasses, Consolatio ad Joannem, 188-189 διέδρα τὰς πάγας τοῦ πονηροῦ ἰξευτοῦ, ὑπερεπετάσθη πάσης μηχανῆς παλευτοῦ; Manasses Oratio ad Michaelem, 273 ὁ δὲ πτερύσσεται μὲν ὡς ὑπερπετασθησόμενος, ἠγρεύθη δὲ καὶ αὐτός; παλεύτρια: Phrynichus, Preparatio sophistica, 102 παλεύτρια (Eubul. fr. 84): ἡ ἐξαπατῶσα. τίθεται ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τῶν ἐξαπατώντων τὰ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν περιστερῶν; Photius, Lexicon, pi 371.26-27 καὶ τὰς περιστερὰς τὰς θηρευούσας, παλευτρίας καλοῦσιν et pi 372.3-4; Hesychius, Lexicon, pi 161, 3-4; Suda, pi 75; στρατός ... μυριοπληθής: Heliodorus, Aethiopica, 9.3.2 ἐπὶ μυριοπληθῆ στρατὸν οὐ θαρσῶν.

 $^{^{162}}$ ύπερπετώμενοι U S 163 ραύδων U ράβδων post ἐκείνων transp. U S 164 καὶ ην ή σπίνος om. U S παλεύτρια Ε H: παλαιτέρα U S 165 ἄκρον τὸ om. U S 166 εἴπη U S 167 οὐκ ἀνεμίμνησκε U ante corr sed ὑπ supra οὐκ 168 δὲ U S οὖν om. U S 169 ἄγρα Ε H: αἴθη U ἄνθη S ἐγίνετο Ε H: ἐγένετο U S 170 παρέπεμπεν S

9. Not long after, siskins were seen flying above, and I saw another, stranger kind of hunt. There was a fine and light string; the end of this had been tied to the arrangement of those twigs of sweet bay. Attached to the string was also a live siskin and the siskin was a decoy;²⁸ the other end of the string had been entrusted to a youngster. As then the siskins approached in large numbers – a countless army, one could say – so the young man gently moved the string and thus reminded the poor siskin of flying. While it did not wish to do so, it still fluttered its wings and tried to fly and lured its kin. That is when the hunt became abundant: the trench was filled and the woven cages where the captive birds were put were full.

²⁸ The term παλευτής is a technical term that indicates a bird used as a decoy; see Hesychius, *Lexicon* pi 161: λέγονται γὰρ παλεύτριαι αὖται αἱ ἐξαπατῶσαι καὶ ὑπάγουσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὰ ἤγουν ἐνεδρεύουσαι (Hansen).

10. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ ξεναγὸς¹¹¹ δεῖπνον ἠτοίμαζε καὶ αὐτοσχέδιον παρέφερε τράπεζαν. Καὶοἰμὲν ἄλλοικαὶ τροφῆς ἐνεπίμπλαντο καὶ τὰς ὄψεις εἰστίων συχνὰ γὰρ κατέπιπτε τὰ στρουθία¹¹²². Ὁ δὲ γέρων ἄσιτος ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἄποτος καὶ μόνη τῆ θέα τῶν ἰξευομένων ἐβόσκετο. Εἰ δὲ μῦθος τὸ κατὰ τὸν¹¹³ ζωγράφον Νικίαν, ὡς ἄρα τῆ γραφικῆ¹¹⁴ προσταλαιπωρούμενος ἐλανθάνετό ποτε¹¹⁵ καὶ τροφῆς, ἀλλ' ἐγὰ τέως¹¹⁶ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔβλεψα τὴν ἀτροφίαν καὶ ἐς βουλυτὸν παρατείνοντα¹¹², δροσοφάγον (ὰν εἴποι τις) ἢ ἀερότροφον¹¹³ τέττιγα. Ἡδη δὲ καὶ τοῖς παιδαρίοις πῦρ ὑπανεκάετο¹¹² ζήλου καὶ τὰ θεραπόντια ἔπλυνον ὕβρεσι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐλοιδοροῦντο ἔτερος¹δο ἑτέρῳ προσῆγεν αἰτίαν (ὰν γὰρ χωλῷ, φησί, παροικήσης, ὑποσκάζειν μαθήση) καὶ ἕκαστος ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τὸν ἕτερον ὑπερβάλλειν. Οὕτως ἦν ὁ ζῆλος δαιμόνιος, οὕτως ὁ ἔρως ἐλάνθανεν¹δ¹, εἰς μανίαν περιτρεπόμενος.

10. αὐτοσχέδιον παρέφερε τράπεζαν: Cf. Barlaam et Ioasaph 18,82-83 αὐτοσγέδιος τράπεζα cum Bas. Caes. Homilia in feriam v et in proditionem Judae 6 (1049,54-55) τὰς αὐτοσχεδίους ἐν ἐρήμω τραπέζας; τροφῆς **ἐνεπίμπλαντο**: Acta Apostolorum, 14.17 ἐμπιπλῶν τροφῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν; Aelianus, Varia historia, 12.1.57 ἐμπλησθῆναι τροφῆς οί Πέρσαι; ὄψεις είστίων: Aelianus, De natura animalium, 17.23.12 καὶ οἱ ὁρῶντες έστιᾶν τὴν ὄψιν δύνωνται; Georgius Monachus, Chronicon, 361.5-6 ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν ἀκολάστως ἐστιῶντα τὰς ὄψεις μοιχὸν ἔκρινεν; ζωγράφον Νικίαν: Aelianus, Varia historia, 3.31 Νικίας ὁ ζωγράφος τοσαύτην περὶ τὸ γράφειν σπουδὴν εἶχεν, ὡς ἐπιλαθέσθαι πολλάκις αὐτὸν τροφὴν προσενέγκασθαι προστετηκότα τῆ τέχνη; **βουλυτὸν**: Homerus, *II.*, 16.779 ἦμος δ' Ἡέλιος μετενίσετο βουλυτὸν δέ; δροσοφάγον τέττιγα: Manasses, Hodoeporicon, 2.219 δ τέττιγες πάσχουσιν οί δροσοφάγοι; **πῦρ ὑπανεκάετο ζήλου**: Psalmi, 7.5.2 ἐκκαυθήσεται ὡς πῦρ ό ζῆλός σου; Manasses, De Aristandro, fr. 11.8 ἄλλην δὲ πάλιν κάμινον καὶ πῦρ ὑπανακαίει; ἀν γὰρ χωλῷ ... μαθήση: Plutarchus, De liberis educandis, 4A.6 αν χωλώ παροικήσης, ύποσκάζειν μαθήση; Aesopus, Proverbia, 2.1 Χωλῷ παροικήσας ὑποσκάζειν μάθοις; ζῆλος δαιμόνιος: Eustathius Thess., Orationes, 2.36.13-14 δαιμονίου ζήλου ἐρεθίζοντος καὶ ὑποκινοῦντος; ὁ ἔρως ἐλάνθανεν εἰς μανίαν περιτρεπόμενος: Heliodorus, Aethiopica, 7.9.4 ἀπλῶς είς μανίαν λοιπὸν έλάνθανεν ὁ ἔρως ὑποφερόμενος.

 $^{^{171}}$ ξεναγωγός U S 172 στρουθάρια U S H 173 τὸν om. U S 174 γραφη U S 175 ποτε om. U S 176 τέως om. U S 176 ροst βουλυτὸν spatio vacuo U S τείνοντα U S 178 δωροφάγον U εἴπη U S ἀερότροφον E H S: άδροτρόφον U 179 ύπανεκαίετο U S 180 post ἐλοιδοροῦντο add. καὶ U S 181 ἐμάνθανεν U

10. Meanwhile, my host was preparing dinner and he offered us an improvised table. The others were gorging on food and feasting their eyes (for the birds were falling in large numbers), but the old man waited without eating or drinking anything and fed²⁹ merely at the sight of the birds being captured by the glue. Perhaps it is a myth that the painter Nikias, devoting himself to painting until he suffered from it, forgot to eat,³⁰ but I saw this man staying without food until late, until the end of the day when the oxen are unhitched; one could say he was like a cikada feeding on dew and air. The fire of zeal also burned the young boys who were insulting the servants and insulting each other; one accused the other (they say that if you live with a lame person, you will learn to limp a little³¹) and they all were trying to overtake one another. So demonic was the zeal, so did desire turn into madness!³²

²⁹ The author uses the verb ἐβόσκετο which indicates grazing (of cattle), instisting on the comical representation of the old man as the main character of the hunt.

³⁰ The story of Nikias, an Athenian painter of the 4th century who forgot to eat because of his devotion to painting, is narrated by Aelian, *Historia Varia* 3.31: Νικίας ό ζωγράφος τοσαύτην περὶ τὸ γράφειν σπουδὴν εἶχεν, ὡς ἐπιλαθέσθαι πολλάκις αὐτὸν τροφὴν προσενέγκασθαι προστετηκότα τῆ τέχνη.

³¹ Very common proverb in Antiquity and Byzantium; see e.g. Plutarch, *The Education of Children* 4A.6: ἀν χωλῷ παροικήσης, ὑποσκάζειν μαθήση.

³² On the image of desire that turns into madness, common in erotic literature, see Messis & Nilsson 2018.

Καὶ πάλιν ἀγέλαι συχναὶ τὸν ἀέρα περιεσύριζον, καὶ τὰ στρουθάρια¹⁸² προφθάνειν ἄλληλα πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἔσπευδον¹⁸³. Καὶ ἄμα εν ἐξηπάτητο καὶ τῷ κατίξῳ λύγῳ προσίζανε, καὶ τὸ νέφος ἄπαν ἐφείπετο¹⁸⁴ καὶ ταῖς χειροκμήτοις¹⁸⁵ δενδράσιν ἐπέρριπτον¹⁸⁶ ἑαυτά· καὶ ἐπληροῦτο τὸ δάπεδον, καὶ οἱ μειρακίσκοι πάντες ἐν ἔργοις καὶ οὐδεὶς ἦν ἀεργός. Οἱ μὲν τὰ ἑαλωκότα συνέλεγον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς λύγους ἐκάθαιρον, ἄλλοι νέον ἰζὸν περιέχριον, ἔτεροι στρουθοφόνται ἐγίνοντο¹⁸⁷. Τοῖς μὲν χεῖρες ἦσαν λυθροσταγεῖς, τῶν δὲ κατάπτεροι δάκτυλοι, τῶν δὲ¹⁸⁸ παλάμαι κατίξωντο¹⁸⁹· τῷ¹⁹⁰ μὲν ἀνέζωστο¹⁹¹ τὸ χιτώνιον, τῷ¹⁹² δὲ ἀνεδέδετο βόστρυχος·νὸ μὲν ἔτρεχεν, ὁ δ' ἔμελλεν¹⁹³, ὁ δ' ἀνθυπέστρεφε. Καὶ ἦν ἡ ἄγρα ἐπιτυχής· εἰ δέ που τι καὶ ἐξέφυγεν, ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐποιεῖτο ὑπαίτιον καὶ ἐπαθαίνετο ἕκαστος καὶ ἕτερος ἔτερον πλημμελείας ἐγράφετο.

11. Εἶδον ἐγὼ τότε στρουθίον ἐν χερσὶν ἰξευτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῆς φύσεως φιλοτιμίαν ἐθαύμασα, καὶ ὅσον αὐτῷ 194 πλοῦτον κάλλους ἐδαψιλεύσατο. Τὸ ῥάμφος ὀξὺ καὶ λεπτόν μέλαινα κεφαλή τὸ ἐπινώτιον ἄπαν ὑπόκιρρον.

χεῖρες ἦσαν λυθροσταγεῖς: Manasses, *Historia*, 1447 αἰ χεῖρες λυθροστάλακτοι, φονόβαπτα τὰ ξίφη.-

11. φύσεως φιλοτιμίαν: Gregorius Naz., Oratio funebris in laudem Basilii, 60.2.8 Ό δὲ οὕτω διὰ πάντων ἀφίκετο, ὡς εἶναι φιλοτιμία τις φύσεως; Psellus, Orationes funebres, 2.6.6-7 αἰδοῖ νενικηκὼς τῆς φύσεως τὴν φιλοτιμίαν; Manasses, Monodia in Theodoram, 111 ὧ λύχνε τοῦ θήλεος, φιλοτιμία τῆς φύσεως; ῥάμφος ὀξύ: Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 298-299 ὀξὺ τὸ ῥάμφος, ὅτι καὶ σπερμοφάγον ἀλλ' οὐ σαρκοβόρον τὸ ζῷον et καὶ τὰ ῥάμφη ὀξύτερα ἦσαν καὶ ἔπακμα; ὑπόκιρρον: Manasses, Historia, 74 κυαναυγής, πορφύρεος, ὑπόκιρρος ἐτέρα; Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 144 ὁ περὶ τὰς βλεφαρίδας κύκλος ὑπόκιρρος et ἐκάτερον σκέλος ὑπόκιρρον; Manasses, Monodia in passerem suum, 7.25 τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ μὲν ὑπόκιρρον ἦν καὶ τὸ κιρρὸν ὑπεχρύσιζε et 8.7; Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, 130 τὸ λέπος ὑπόκιρροι.

 $^{^{182}}$ στρουθία U S 183 ἔσπευδε U S 184 καὶ τῷ κατίξῳ λύγῳ προσίζανε, καὶ τὸ νέφος ἄπαν ἐφείπετο om. S 185 χειροτμήτοις U S 186 ἀπέριπτον U S 187 ἐγίγνοντο U 188 ante παλάμαι add. τότε S 189 κατίζοντο U S 190 τῷ E H: τῶν U S 191 ἀνέζωτο U S 192 τῷ E H: τῶν U S 193 ὁ μὲν ἔτρεχεν, ὅ δ' ἔμελλεν Ε H: ὁ μὲν ἔμελεν, ὅ δ' ἔτρεχεν U S 194 αὐτῷ post κάλλους transp. U S

Again, several flocks of birds were whizzing through the air all around and the birds were outrunning each other to reach their doom. And if one of them made a mistake and sat on the gluey twig, the entire cloud followed and threw itself on the fabricated trees. The ground was full of them and the youngsters were all busy and no one was idle. Some picked up the captured birds, others cleaned the twigs, others covered them again with glue, others yet became bird killers. The hands of some were covered in blood, the fingers of others were filled with feathers, the palms of others yet were covered with glue; one had girded up his tunic, another had tied up his hair; one was running, another was about to, yet another was returning. And the hunt was a success! If a bird managed to escape somewhere, one considered the other responsible and each got excited and accused one another for negligence.

11. I then saw a bird in the hands of a glue-hunter and I admired the bounty of nature and the richness of beauty with which it had abundantly provided the bird. Its beak was sharp and thin, the head black, the back was all yellowish, the lower parts were the colour of saffron and looked

μελάμπτερον¹⁹⁵ τὸ πτερύγιον¹⁹⁶ ὑπέλαμπε δὲ¹⁹⁷ κάτωθεν¹⁹⁸ κρόκεον βάμμα καὶ ἐϣκει τοιοῦτον, ὡς εἴ τις βύσσω συνανυφαίνει χρυσόν· καὶ ἦν τῷ πτερώματι κόσμος ἀνεπιτήδευτος· δειρὴ καὶ στῆθος ὑπόχρυσα· ὅσον ὑποπύγιον, κεχιόνωτο· εἶχε μὲν ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ στίγματα¹⁹⁹ μελανώματος· γοργὸν ἦν, εὐκίνητον²⁰⁰ ἦν· εἶπες²⁰¹ ἄν, ὡς πυρρίχην²⁰² ὀρχεῖται· μέλος δὲ ἀπὸ στήθους ἀνέπεμπε γλύκιον. Οὕτως ἦν χάριεν ἰδέσθαι, οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι καλόν.

μελάμπτερον: Manasses, *Historia*, 258 οἱ ψᾶρες οἱ μελάμπτεροι τὸ πτίλον ἐπεσόβουν; Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 49 ἔτερψέ με ποτὲ καὶ μελάμπτερος ψάρ; Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, 188-189 ην δε το μεν πλέον μελάμπτερος; **βύσσω συνανυφαίνει χρυσόν**: Philo, De vita Mosis, 2.11.3 καὶ πορφύρα καὶ βύσσω καὶ κοκκίνω, συγκαταπλεκομένου χρυσοῦ; Manasses, Monodia in passerem suum, 7.33-34 εἶπεν ἄν τις βύσσον ὁρᾶν συνυφασμένην χρυσῶ; δειρή: Manasses, Historia, 1166 δειρή μακρά, κατάλευκος, ὅθεν έμυθουργήθη; Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 266 ἐπικλινῆ τὴν τετανήν ἐποίει δειρήν; Manasses, Monodia in passerem suum, 4.19-20 αὶ τῆς δειρῆς κατορχούμενος τῆς καλλιμελοῦς et 6.8 et 7.28; κεχιόνωτο: Manasses, Ecphrasis venationis gruum, 139 Ὁ ἱέραξ οὕτε παντελῶς κεχιόνωτο οὕτε ἀκριβῶς μεμελάνωτο; Manasses, Monodia in passerem suum, 7.24 Κεχιόνωτό οί τὸ ῥάμφος et 8.9; γοργόν: Manasses, Historia, 1521 ὡς μὴ τοῦ δρόμου τῶ γοργῷ θορυβηθὲν τὸ ζῷον; Hodoeporicon, 3.86 ὁ ποὺς δ' ὁ γοργός, ἡ ταχυπέτης πτέρυξ; Manasses Oratio ad Michaelem, 29-30 ο βλέμμα γοργόν, άρρενωπον καὶ αὐτό; Manasses, Ecphrasis terrae, 173-174 καὶ κίνησις γοργοτέρα καὶ έναγώνιος: πυρρίγην ὀργεῖται: Xenophon, Anabasis 6.1.12 ή δὲ ἀργήσατο πυρρίγην έλαφρῶς: Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae, 14.28.23-24 ή πυρρίγη· ἔνοπλοι γὰρ αὐτὴν παίδες ὀρχοῦνται; Manasses, Monodia in passerem suum, 8.20 καὶ ἄντικρυς πυρρίχην ώρχεῖτο.

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 $^{^{195}}$ μελανόπτερον U S 196 τὸ πτερύγιον om. U S 197 post δὲ add. καὶ U S H 198 πρότερον ante κάτωθεν del.U 199 στίμματα U 200 ἀεικίνητον U S 201 εἴπης U S 202 πυρρίχιον U S

as if someone had woven gold on very thin linen; all of its plumage was of a natural beauty, the neck and chest were gilded, the rear parts were white as snow with black spots in a few places. The bird was impetuous, it was agile; you would say that he was dancing a warlike dance.³³ From his chest rose a soft song. It was so graceful to see, so pleasant to hear.

 $^{^{\}rm 33}$ πυρρίχην: on this military dance, attested since antiquity, see Poursat 1968.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀσπαστὸν ἐδόκει τὸ χρῆμα ταύτης τῆς ἄγρας²03 καὶ²04 ἐπιτερπὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔγκοπον, καὶ πυκνὰ τοῦτο²05 τῷ ξεναγῷ ἐπεσήμαινον²06. Καὶ ὅς 'Τοιάνδε σοι' ἔφη 'προπίνω φιλοτησίαν, οὕτως ἐπέραστον, οὕτως²07 τερψίθυμον! Άλλ' εἰ βουληθείης, ἀντιφιλοτιμήση καὶ σὺ καὶ ἀντεπιδείξη καὶ ἀντιξεναγήσεις ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ ὁραθέντα παραδώσεις γραφῆ καὶ ἐσεῖται ἡμῖν ἀεὶ²08 τὰ τῆς ἄγρας ταύτης ἐπόψια'. 'Έσται ταῦτα' ἔφην 'καὶ ἀντιπίωμαί²09 σοι γραφῆς φιλοτησίαν²10 ἐγὼ²11 καὶ ὑποτυπώσομαί σοι τήνδε τὴν καλὴν τελετήν, ἐπειδὰν καιροῦ εὐθέτου λάβωμαι'. Καὶ τοίνυν ἐμαυτὸν τῷ πράγματι δέδωκα, καὶ τῷ ξεναγῷ χαριζόμενος, καὶ ἐμαυτῷ περισῷζων τὴν τῶν θεαμάτων ἀνάμνησιν.

προπίνω φιλοτησίαν: Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 3.95.22 προπίνω σοι, ἔφη, φιλοτησίαν et passim; Lucianus, *Gallus*, 12.19-20 ἐν τούτῳ ὄντα με καὶ φιλοτησίας προπίνοντα et *Pseudologista*, 36.6 καὶ φιλοτησίας προπίνειν καὶ ὄψων τῶν αὐτῶν ἄπτεσθαι; Gregorius Naz. *Epistulae*, 32.11.7 ἀλλὰ φιλοτησίας προπινόμενος.

 $^{^{203}}$ ἄγρας post ταύτης transp. U S 204 καὶ om. U S 205 τούτου U S 206 ύπεσήμανον U S 207 οὕτω U S H 208 σὰ καὶ ἀντεπιδείξη καὶ – ἔσεται ἡμῖν E H : σὰ καὶ τὰ ὁραθέντα παραδώσεις γραφῆ· οὕτω γὰρ ἀντιξεναγήσεις ἡμᾶς (ἡμῶν S) καὶ αὐτὸς και ἐσεῖται ἡμῖν U S 209 ἀντιπίωμαί E: ἀντιπίομαι U S H 210 φιλοτισίαν U 211 ἐγὰ ante ἔφην in ras. U

To me this hunt seemed entertaining and at the same time pleasant and without fatigue, and I often pointed this out to my host. And he said: "Such a pleasant, such an amiable cup of friendship I raise to your health! But if you want to, you can reciprocate and compete in performance and host us in return and render what you have witnessed in writing – in this way, the sight of this hunt will remain with us forever." "Will do!", I replied, "And I too shall raise, in return, to your health a cup with my writing and I will sketch for your friendship this beautiful ritual when I find a suitable occasion." And so, I devoted myself to this task, as a favour offered to my host, and for myself as a way of preserving the memory of the spectacle.

³⁴ Beck associates the word ἐπόψια with ὄψος and he translates it as dessert (*Nachtisch*). We have found no occurance of such a meaning and have translated as sight (what has been seen) Perhaps the word should be corrected into ὑπόψια, indicating a direct reference to Oppian, *Halieutica* I.30 (ὑπόψιος ἄγρη), but ἐπόψια is employed by Manasses elsewhere in the ekphrasis (e.g. Ch. 2: τῆς τηλικαύτης σπουδῆς ἐποψόμενος).

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