

a mi abuelo Elso y a mi abuela Lea

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Poëzie gebruiken om het verleden te lezen: onuitgegeven Byzantijnse scholia in vers in de marge van middeleeuwse manuscripten

Cover image: Vat. Pal. gr. 93, f.169v

# Using Poetry to Read the Past

Unedited Byzantine Verse Scholia on Historians in  
the Margins of Medieval Manuscripts

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# List of Abbreviations

AFLPer	<i>Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Perugia</i>
BEiÜ	<i>Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung.</i> 1 = Rhoby, A. <i>Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken.</i> Vienna, 2009. 2 = Rhoby, A. <i>Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst. Nebst Addenda zu Band 1.</i> Vienna, 2010. 3 = Rhoby, A. <i>Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein. Nebst Addenda zu den Bänden 1 und 2.</i> Vienna, 2015. 4 = Rhoby, A. <i>Ausgewählte byzantinische Epigramme in illuminierten Handschriften: Verse und ihre "inschriftliche" Verwendung in Codices des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts. Nach Vorarbeiten von Rudolf Stefec.</i> Vienna, 2018.
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BollClass	<i>Bollettino dei Classici</i>
BollGrott	<i>Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata</i>
BPEC	<i>Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'edizione nazionale dei classici greci e latini</i>
BSGRT	<i>Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CCSG	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca</i>
C&M	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CPG	Von Leutsch, E. L. and Schneidewin, F. G. <i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> , 1-2. Göttingen, 1839-1851.
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
DBBE	<i>Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams</i> ( <a href="https://dbbe.ugent.be">https://dbbe.ugent.be</a> )
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Hdt.	<i>Herodotus' Histories</i> , ed. Rosén (1987-1997).

JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
Lampe	Lampe, G. W. H. <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Oxford, 1961.
LBG	Trapp, E. et al. <i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts</i> . Vienna, 1994-2017.
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., Scott R. et al., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon with a Revised Supplement</i> . Oxford, 1996.
MEG	<i>Medioevo greco</i>
NE	<i>Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων</i>
NC	Niketas Choniates' <i>History</i> , ed. van Dieten (1975).
ODB	Kazhdan, A. P. et al., <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . New York and Oxford, 1991.
PG	Migne, J.-P. <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca</i> . Paris, 1857-1866.
PLP	Trapp, E. et al. <i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> . Vienna, 1976-1996.
RGK	E. Gamillscheg et al., <i>Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600</i> , 1-3. Vienna, 1981, 1989, 1997.
RSBN	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i>
TIB	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> ( <a href="http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu">http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu</a> )
WBS	<i>Wiener Byzantinistische Studien</i>
WSt	<i>Wiener Studien</i>



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# Introduction

This dissertation is about book epigrams, even if the title conceals it. Book epigrams are defined as poems in and on books, because the book constitutes both the subject of the epigram and the material support where it is “inscribed”. This explanation would not have been necessary for a Byzantine audience, since “an ἐπίγραμμα in the Byzantine sense of the word” is either “a verse inscription or a book epigram”.<sup>1</sup> However, the label of “book epigram” helps us to distinguish between poems devoted to the books where they are found, and those epigrams inscribed elsewhere or gathered in collections out of their original or intended context. In one word, book epigrams are different from metrical inscriptions on other objects and from literary epigrams *lato sensu*, irrespective of whether these literary epigrams refer to books or not. But what does it mean that book epigrams are devoted to books or refer to them? The typical subjects of book epigrams include the processes of production and circulation of the manuscripts that contain them. They allude, for example, to the roles of the scribe, the commissioner, the owner or the donator. In addition, they may refer to the content of the book, as they praise the author or the oeuvre, or simply announce the matter of the text. And how exactly are book epigrams “inscribed” in the manuscripts? They often play the roles of paratexts, as they may occupy the place of titles and colophons, which open, divide, close, organize a text.<sup>2</sup> In practice, the standard location of book epigrams is either at the beginning or the end of books, oeuvres, chapters. Moreover, many book epigrams are displayed with distinctive layouts and scripts. Besides, these instrumental texts can be easily reused from

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<sup>1</sup> Lauxtermann (2003: 132). On book epigrams, see primarily Lauxtermann (2003: 26-34, 197-212), Bernard and Demoen (2019) and *DBBE*.

<sup>2</sup> The concept of paratext, coined by Genette (1987), was explicitly meant to serve the analysis of printed books, but it has proven to be applicable to medieval texts, see e.g. Bianconi (2009), Demoen (2013; 2019), Lauxtermann (2018), Bernard and Demoen (2019). For a thorough and thought-provoking investigation of Genette’s categories when applied to manuscripts, and in particular to Greek New Testament manuscripts, see now Andrist (2018), with further bibliography.

manuscript to manuscript and adapted to new contexts. Paratexts seldom function as mere additional textual marks, since they may as well exert control over the main text and prescribe the way in which it should be read.

Against this background, it will be evident that this dissertation approaches a sub-type of Byzantine book epigrams. Verse scholia are, indeed, book epigrams commenting on specific passages of the main text. Accordingly, they appear next to the sections of text to which they react.<sup>3</sup> These are, in fact, the two main characteristics of verse scholia. First, contrary to most book epigrams, their regular position is in the external margins of the folios. Second, unlike other book epigrams, which normally consider the production and circulation, the content, author or readership of the related text as a whole, verse scholia refer only to particular passages of texts and are attached alongside them in the manuscripts.

Naturally, verse scholia are also a special case of scholia, since they are written in verse. But why are these scholia written in verse? A first answer to this question brings us back to the Byzantine conception of epigrams. In Byzantine culture, verses are inscribed everywhere from monuments to minute seals. This proliferation of verse has been called “epigrammatic habit”.<sup>4</sup> In Byzantium, poetry is used with different purposes and in manifold ways and contexts that may challenge modern sensibility. Historiography in verse is a good case in point.<sup>5</sup> Poetry was part of the intellectual training and thus associated with education and status, but the same can be said about other disciplines involving rhetoric in Byzantium. What ultimately defines Byzantine poetry is verse, that is, the more or less rigorous observance of a certain metre and the repetition of a rhythm, often visually expressed (e.g. by means of punctuation, accentuation and line breaks), which also entails a modulation in syntax and vocabulary.<sup>6</sup>

These characteristics of verse enhance expressivity and evidence the literariness of a given text. This is especially important for our verse scholia. Scholia as well as other kinds of marginalia in Greek medieval manuscripts have long been edited and read as subsidiary instruments to interpret the main text in question. Marginal notes were also perused as

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<sup>3</sup> I use verse scholium, epigram and poem as synonyms throughout the dissertation. The denomination of verse scholia is taken from Kaldellis (2015: 65). I follow the conventional practice of calling scholia the commentaries found in the margins of the manuscripts next to the passages concerned, see e.g. *ODB* s. v. Scholia and Dyck (2008). However, the reduction of scholia to only these cases is a modern conception: see Lundon (1997), Dickey (2007: 11 n. 25), Montana (2011: 105-110).

<sup>4</sup> Magdalino (2012: 32). The same phenomenon had been labelled similarly (“attitudine epigrammatica”) by Mazzucchi (1995: 202). For an overview of the variety of objects with metrical inscriptions, see e.g. *BEiÜ*, Wassiliou-Seibt (2011-2016), Drpić (2016).

<sup>5</sup> On the verse chronicle of Ephraim of Ainos, see below Part 2.

<sup>6</sup> For what verse means in Byzantine literature, see e.g. Jeffreys (2009), Lauxtermann (2009), Magdalino (2012: 30-33), Bernard (2014: 31-57), Drpić (2016: 21-25), Bernard and Demoen (forthcoming).

repositories of ancient textual variants and lost commentaries. This practice corresponded to the perception of Byzantium as responsible for an uneventful, if not pernicious, preservation and transmission of the classics through the Middle Ages. This vision was opposed to a certain extent by scholars interested in Byzantine scholarship on classical Greek literature.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, scholars investigating Byzantine book culture have found in scholia and other marginalia a fertile ground for research on the practices of reading in Byzantium as performed in the manuscripts by writing down notes and commentaries in their margins.<sup>8</sup> These notes reproduce the contexts of copying, circulation and use of manuscripts. The reader, pen in hand, combined intense reading with utilitarian and creative writing. The annotations of the manuscripts were generally provoked by the act of reading the main text, but governed by specific purposes and ideological agendas. In this respect, the verse form in our verse scholia indicates that something more is at stake in these texts than subordinate exegesis or superfluous scribbling. Scholia that adopt the linguistic register, rhythmical structure and rhetorical devices of Byzantine poetry deserve to be studied as literature in their own right.

The corpus of this dissertation is mainly constituted by Byzantine verse scholia on historians. This corpus, in turn, structures the dissertation. Part 1 is devoted to verse scholia on Herodotus and other ancient historians. Part 2 focuses on the scholia in verse to a Byzantine historian, Niketas Choniates. Along with verse scholia, I also consider book epigrams and other types of unmetrical marginalia at large. The relevance of this corpus can be seen through different lenses. First, I intend to investigate the attitude of the poems towards the classical tradition, which contributes to define the Byzantine identity through the centuries.<sup>9</sup> Byzantine verse scholia on ancient historians frequently embody and perform the Byzantine appropriation of the Hellenic past. Moreover, the Byzantines' interests in ancient historians qua source materials and stylistic templates shaped the corpus of ancient historiography as we know it.<sup>10</sup> Second, the choice of verse scholia should be understood within the renewed interest in the marginalia of the manuscripts of Byzantine historians, because marginalia often reveal the compositional methods of

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<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Smith (1996).

<sup>8</sup> See especially Cavallo (2006: 67-82, 133-137). Some valuable endeavours have been made to understand how specific sets of Byzantine marginalia function in their own socio-historical context with due attention to the material reality of the manuscripts: e.g. Webb (1997), Budelmann (2002), Mazzucchi (1999; 2003; 2004), Zorzi (2004) and Mondrain (2005). See also the seminal work by Odorico (1985).

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Kaldellis (2007), Rapp (2008). A more recent publication by Kaldellis (2015) collects and translates several scholia; its introduction includes a strong programmatic plea for the study of the Byzantine reception of ancient historians.

<sup>10</sup> Kaldellis (2012).

these historians.<sup>11</sup> The margins of manuscripts are exceptional witnesses of the material conditions of the intellectual work of Byzantine authors.<sup>12</sup> Third, the present reassessment of marginalia on historians also corresponds to a new theoretical approach to Byzantine historiography, less concerned with the accuracy and objectivity of the historical facts and more aware of their literary representation.<sup>13</sup> This shift follows a general trend in the study of historiography, which is now more widely considered as a social construct irremediably mediated by language and cast into narrative. Scholia, as well as paraphrases of historical works and chronicles themselves, have been once disparaged as imitative, repetitive and derivative. A new approach to Byzantine scholia on historians can bring to the fore the compositional processes through which the readers selected, supplemented and manipulated the inherited historical material in accordance with the political and ideological necessities of their own time. Once again, the verse form of verse scholia underscores the artificial if not artistic nature of these processes.

One last, more practical factor explains my choice to investigate verse scholia on historians: the existence of a significant number of unedited verse scholia on Herodotus and Niketas Choniates. The main contribution of my dissertation is to make these epigrams available for the first time in modern critical editions. The presentation of these texts further structures the dissertation. The two main cycles of epigrams occupy a central position in each part. They are preceded by the description of the manuscripts that transmit the epigrams, in which I pay attention to material aspects and other textual elements, especially marginalia. In doing so, I draw from the methodology of new trends in medieval philology that propose to understand manuscripts as textual and material units, instable and dynamic, historically situated multifarious objects. After establishing the relationships of the manuscripts with one another from the shared readings of the epigrams and other information, I display these connections in a stemma. However, the reconstruction of a stemma does not imply the rejection of the copies of a model as irrelevant. While seeking to understand the precise circumstances in which the poems were written down in the manuscripts, this dissertation is equally interested in the later

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<sup>11</sup> See, for example, the recent editions of George Kedrenos (Tartaglia 2016) and Theodore Skoutariotes (Tocci 2015). Some manuscripts of Kedrenos' chronicle are furnished with additions copied in the margins, which in later manuscripts find their way into the main text. The fluid boundaries between reading and writing serve the process of permanent re-elaboration of chronicles (Tartaglia 2016: 58-61). Similarly, the *codex unicus* of Skoutariotes' chronicle has been identified as the autograph *Arbeitsexemplar* that eventually developed into a larger chronicle by Skoutariotes (the so-called *Synopsis Sathas*, see below Part 2). The editor convincingly reconstructs this process from the marginalia of the *codex unicus* (Tocci 2015: 54\*-63\*, 102\*-111\*). See also Odorico (2012).

<sup>12</sup> Pérez Martín (2017: 42-44).

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. the collective volumes edited by Odorico, Agapitos and Hinterberger (2006) and Macrides (2016). See also Nilsson (2006b).

transmission of the texts. Accordingly, I record as many variants as possible in the critical apparatus and the preliminary sections. In the case of Herodotus, this methodological principle allows me, for example, to shed light on the manuscript tradition of some *recentiores*, as well as on the journey of Laur. Plut. 70.6 from Thessalonike to Italy. In the case of Niketas Choniates, the conclusions that I reach concerning the epigrams correspond to what we already knew about the transmission of the main text. In fact, our findings also confirm that the proposed author of the epigrams, Ephraim of Ainos, worked with a manuscript that he was already thought to have consulted for his chronicle.

At the same time, I remain conservative regarding the text of the poems that I print. This means that I choose the most authoritative readings trying to interfere as little as possible. This also applies to textual features such as punctuation, accentuation and orthography, which are often related to metrical issues and have traditionally been normalized or disregarded as deviations from the conventional classical Greek norms to the detriment of the medieval use. This methodological principle poses some problems, which are fully discussed in the section preceding the edition of the cycle in Part 2 (Chapter 3.3). As regards punctuation, for example, the main challenge is to render the reality of the manuscripts without hampering the understanding of the text by a non-specialist. It is easier to decide which punctuation to follow when there is only one authoritative manuscript, as in the cycle of Part 1. However, when there are two main manuscripts, as in Part 2, and they sometimes differ, some criteria must be chosen. The solution I find for Part 2 is to reproduce some general tendencies that emerge from the use of the punctuation signs in the two main manuscripts in a more homogenous, reasonable and simple way, whenever my intervention is required. So much for the editorial remarks. Or perhaps I should add here that the spelling of Byzantine names follows in general *ODB*, whereas the classical Greek names follow the established convention in English (hence “Herodotus” but “Ephraim of Ainos”), and that all translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

This dissertation is thus composed of two separate parts sporadically connected through cross-references. In each part, the emphasis is put on the critical editions of new material. However, our observations and commentaries to both cycles of epigrams consistently reveal that the margins of manuscripts can set the stage for the emergence of pieces of literature dependent on a given text to which they react, but motivated by specific purposes and embedded in the material context of the manuscript and in the socio-historical context in which they were produced. In the following, I will investigate instances of how the Byzantines dealt with their classical heritage and how they reinterpreted a more recent past through the socio-cultural prisms of their time.





Part 1

Herodotus

The reception of Herodotus in the Greek Middle Ages remains understudied. This is not the occasion to attempt such endeavour, but I will briefly survey the scholarship on the subject to better contextualize the epigrams that constitute the core of this section. First and foremost, the research on the textual transmission of the *Histories* has given us some hints of the uses and many insights into the circulation of this work in Byzantium.<sup>1</sup> The complex and multifarious tradition of Herodotus has schematically been divided in two main families. The Florentine family includes the main manuscripts Laur. Plut. 70.3 (A), Angel. gr. 83 (B) and Laur. Conv. Soppr. 207 (C). The Roman family encompasses the oldest Vat. gr. 2369 (D) and many *recentiores*, among which Vat. Pal. gr. 215 (E), Vat. gr. 123 (R), Vat. gr. 122 (X), Vat. Pal. gr. 176 (Y), etc. However, the scholarship focusing on the history of the text of Herodotus' *Histories* does not always delve into the particular contexts and ways in which it was read.

When it comes to the role of Herodotus in Byzantine education and as a model of style and the Ionic dialect, no comprehensive overview has been written yet.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that there is not a single chapter on Byzantium in a recent volume on the subject of the afterlife of Herodotus.<sup>3</sup> The general accounts of the readership of Herodotus in the Middle Ages rather cursorily pass through the Byzantine period to bridge the gap between Antiquity and the Renaissance.<sup>4</sup> To my knowledge, the few pages by Claudia Rapp in her exposition of the impact of the classical past on the Byzantine identity are the best summary to understand how Byzantines read Herodotus with specific purposes in mind.<sup>5</sup> For example, the intellectual trajectory of Herodotus' *Histories* in the Greek Middle Ages is connected with major enterprises of the so-called Macedonian renaissance (9th-10th centuries), such as Photios' *Bibliotheca* (cod. 60), the *Souda* lexicon (η 536), the *Anthologia Palatina* (14.69, 76, 78-99, 112) and the excerpts of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos.<sup>6</sup>

The Byzantine reception of ancient historians at large has received more attention, as regards the copying and reading of works of this genre, as well as the creative imitation

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<sup>1</sup> In this respect, the works of Aristide Colonna, Giovan Battista Alberti, Bertrand Hemmerdinger and, more recently, Rafaella Cantore have made great progress, which I cite passim throughout this section, to which should be added editions such as the ones by Stein (1869-1871) and Rosén (1987-1997). Other editions, for example the ones by Legrand and Hude, or the more recent study by Wilson (2015), which is complementary to his own edition appeared in the same year, reveal themselves less useful for our purposes as they do not pay much attention to *recentiores*. See also Pasquali (1962: 306-318).

<sup>2</sup> As noted by Jeffreys (2019).

<sup>3</sup> Priestley and Zali (2016).

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Bichler and Rollinger (2000: 120-121), Wilson (2015: xxii-xxiii).

<sup>5</sup> Rapp (2008: 129-132).

<sup>6</sup> See Németh (2018). Note that the entries of the *Souda* explaining Herodotus are recorded in Rosén's apparatus (see below). On ancient scholarship on Herodotus, see also Dickey (2007: 54).

(*mimesis*) of the classics in Byzantine historical writing.<sup>7</sup> In particular, the fate of Thucydides in Byzantium has been the subject of recent investigations, chiefly focusing on his role as a model for rhetoric and the Attic dialect.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, the scholia on Thucydides have been largely edited, as we will see, including the edition and study of the verse scholia of Tzetzes in manuscript E (Heidelberg, Pal. gr. 252).<sup>9</sup> More recently, the *scholia vetustiora* on Thucydides were published, whereas the *scholia recentiora*, i.e. the properly Byzantine scholia, which were envisaged in a second volume, still await publication.<sup>10</sup>

As for the scholia on Herodotus, they have been edited only partially. Heinrich Stein published some of them in an appendix at the end of the second volume of his edition, after the *Histories* and before the Herodotean vocabulary.<sup>11</sup> Haiim Rosén fitted the scholia in a special section of the apparatus instead.<sup>12</sup> More recently, Cantore masterfully edited a vast number of marginalia and interlinear glosses, especially from manuscripts A, B and β (the common model of most *recentiores* from the Roman family), in an effort to understand the genetic relationship of the manuscripts and their subsequent instances of contamination.<sup>13</sup> More limited sets of scholia have been examined separately, as for example in a seminal work by Maria Jagoda Luzzatto, who unearthed traces of John Tzetzes' scholarship in Laur. Plut. 70.3 (see Chapter 1 below).<sup>14</sup> Giuseppe De Gregorio has worked with a manuscript that contains some of our epigrams and was later annotated by Palla Strozzi (Vat. Urb. gr. 88; see Chapter 2 below).<sup>15</sup> The always-insightful Carlo Maria Mazzucchi published a set of "conversations with dead people", as he characterized the scholia according to the Byzantine perception, from the margins of Vat. gr. 123 (a manuscript from the Roman family with further traces of Tzetzian influence; see Chapter 1 below).<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Jeffreys (1979), Scott (1981), Maltese (1995), Pérez Martín (2002: 133-147) and Kaldellis (2012; 2015).

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Reinsch (2006), Kennedy (2018).

<sup>9</sup> See Hude (1927), Luzzatto (1999). Among the not obviously Tzetzian scholia, there are some other verses edited by Hude. See e.g. the two dodecasyllables on Thucydides' *Histories* 7.28.1 in Monac. gr. 430 (f. 214v): κἀγὼ σε θρηνῶ καὶ κατοικτείρω, πόλις/ καὶ γὰρ πατρις πέφυκας τῆς ἐμῆς φύτλης (Hude 1927: 382.28-29). See also the eight verses at the end of the second last book of Thucydides' *Histories* (Hude 1927: 406.22-30; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/4649>).

<sup>10</sup> Kleinlogel (2019).

<sup>11</sup> Stein (1871: 429-440). See also below poem 5.16 in Appendix 2.

<sup>12</sup> Rosén (1987-1997). Two additional apparatus gather the *testimonia* of the so-called indirect tradition, which offer some further clues to trace down the medieval interests in Herodotus. See also the index in Rosén (1997: 456-467).

<sup>13</sup> Cantore (2012; 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Luzzatto (2000).

<sup>15</sup> De Gregorio (2002).

<sup>16</sup> Mazzucchi (2002).

Some of the marginalia brought to light by these scholars are written in verse, as for example the lines first singled out by Colonna in the lower margin of f. 39r in Vat. gr. 2369 (10th century), which Vassis in turn identified as two dodecasyllabic verses.<sup>17</sup> Cantore has approached the poem once more in her attempt to extricate the two scripts from the 10th century that respectively copied (D) and corrected (D<sup>2</sup>) the manuscript.<sup>18</sup> The beginning of the poem is preceded by a reference mark (·/) repeated in the text at Hdt. 2.44.2, but there is no clear error in this passage that would have motivated the verse scholium. I print the epigram again here:<sup>19</sup>

Τῆς διαλέκτου μὴ μαθῶν πείραν τάχα  
πέσης τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ λάβης λύπην γράφων.

*If perchance you have not learned any experience of the dialect  
you will stumble and you will get hurt in copying the verb.*

My interpretation of these verses is slightly different, but it fits well in the argument convincingly outlined by Cantore as regards the cooperation in two stages of D and D<sup>2</sup>. The epigram could easily be the reaction of the correcting hand to the work of the main scribe. According to my translation, however, the address is more than a recommendation. Cantore forces a bit the syntax and takes the μὴ as modifying the subjunctive verbs in the second verse. Admittedly, the syntax of the epigram is not so straightforward, but independent subjunctives not rarely function as futures in Byzantine Greek.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, in a more polemical tone, the epigram would rebuke the scribe. This is one example of the emergence of verse in the marginalia of Herodotus.

This part of the dissertation is devoted to the first critical edition of a new cycle of Byzantine verse scholia displayed in the margins of a group of manuscripts of Herodotus' *Histories*. In Chapter 1, I deal with the verse scholia of a well-known author, John Tzetzes, to whom our cycle has once been erroneously attributed. In passing, I present a new verse scholium in Laur. Plut. 70.3. In Chapter 2, I introduce the new epigrams, which have never been studied or edited, I give a brief account of their content and I formulate a hypothesis about the context of their composition. Finally, I offer the critical edition of the poems.

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<sup>17</sup> Colonna (1953: 16 n. 1), Vassis (2005: 740). The epigram is in fact written in two lines.

<sup>18</sup> Cantore (2013: 136-138).

<sup>19</sup> I regularize accents (missing in λάβης and λύπην; πείραν in the manuscript), breathings (missing in ῥῆμα) and the iota *subscriptum* (absent in the manuscript). I also write the initial in upper case. I consulted the manuscript in the Vatican Library.

<sup>20</sup> See e.g. poem 34.5 on Niketas Choniates in Part 2.

# Chapter 1

## Tzetzes' verse scholia

John Tzetzes must probably be one of the best known Byzantine authors for non-Byzantinists. Thanks to his numerous commentaries on and allusions to ancient authors, he is a recurrent reference for classicists. Similarly, his boastful erudition and aggressive sense of competition frequently crystallize into a strong authorial figure that may appeal to the modern reader. However, the vastness of his work and his context and motivations for writing remain still a fruitful field of research for Byzantinists. This chapter will address one particular aspect of Tzetzes' literary and didactic endeavours, namely verse scholia. In doing so, it will also try to shed light on the general stances Tzetzes adopts towards the Hellenic cultural heritage, especially on the interplay between the texts commented upon and Tzetzes' persona and milieu.<sup>1</sup> The ultimate goal of this chapter is to set the parameters within which we should understand the verse scholia of Tzetzes and establish their authorship.

A major part of Tzetzes' literary output, indeed, consists of commentaries or texts somehow subordinated to others. Consider, for example, the wide corpus of scholia devoted to Aristophanes, Hesiod and Lycophron or the traces of larger commentaries on Pindar, Oppian and the tragedians.<sup>2</sup> There are also the *Exegesis* of the (first book of the) *Iliad*, the *Allegories* both of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and works strongly dependent on the

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<sup>1</sup> The best comprehensive modern monograph on this author is Wendel (1948: 1959-2011), although many valuable contributions have been published since then. For Tzetzes' works on the classics, see Kazhdan and Epstein (1985: 133-138), Budelmann (2002), Kaldellis (2007: 301-307; 2009), Pontani (2015: 378-385).

<sup>2</sup> On Aristophanes, see Massa Positano (1960), Holwerda (1960), Koster (1962). On Hesiod, Gaisford (1823: 1-459). On Lycophron, Scheer (1908). On Pindar, Drachmann (1927: 205), Luzzatto (1998: 84-86). On Oppian, Bussemaker (1849: 260-375). On the tragedians, Allegrini (1971-1972), Bevilacqua (1973-1974), Mastronarde (2017: 77-89).

classical tradition, such as the *Carmina Iliaca* or the *Theogonia*.<sup>3</sup> Tzetzes comments not only on ancient authors, but also on himself. We have Tzetzian annotations that clarify his *Carmina Iliaca*, his *Theogonia*, his *Exegesis of the Iliad*, his *Allegories of the Iliad and of the Odyssey*, his *Letters* and his *Histories*.<sup>4</sup> And what else is the *Histories*, the most representative of his works, if not an extensive versified commentary on the *Letters*?<sup>5</sup>

Tzetzes himself is the author of typical book epigrams, such as the ones on the tragedians, preceding his *Exegesis of the Iliad*, surrounding his scholia to Aristophanes' *Wealth* in different manuscripts, or attached to his scholia on Lycophron, Oppian and Hesiod's *Works and Days*.<sup>6</sup> He is also a main exponent of verse scholia and surely one of the few, if not the only one, among the writers of verse scholia whose authorship can be easily detected. Verse scholia are, as a rule, anonymous.<sup>7</sup> However, the literary production of Tzetzes is characterized by acerbic gestures of self-assertion and promotion and a spirit ready for polemics that, together with formal and stylistic elements, help us to recognize the works of his hand. This degree of self-awareness as an author and Tzetzes' construction of himself as an authority go together with his didactic intention, which reflects the teacher-student relation but also the competition among teachers.<sup>8</sup> In general, verse scholia react in a more spontaneous and emotional way to the main text, adopting attitudes of awe, disbelief or reprobation at the author or the text, or setting comparisons with current affairs. Within this scenario, the display of erudition and the didactic purposes are typical Tzetzian hallmarks.

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<sup>3</sup> *Exegesis*: Papathomopoulos (2007); *Allegories of the Iliad*: Boissonade (1851), Goldwyn and Kokkini (2015); *Allegories of the Odyssey*: Hunger (1955; 1956), Goldwyn and Kokkini (2019); *Carmina Iliaca*: Leone (1995; 2015); *Theogonia*: Leone (2019).

<sup>4</sup> *Carmina Iliaca*: Leone (1995: 102-243); *Theogonia*: Leone (2019: 65-70); *Exegesis*: Papathomopoulos (2007: 417-460); *Allegories*: Cramer (1836: 376-384) and Matranga (1850: 599-618); *Letters and Histories*: Leone (1972: 158-174; 2007: 529-569). Even the poems that follow the *Histories* are furnished with scholia, see Leone (1969-1970: 147-151).

<sup>5</sup> See Pizzone (2017).

<sup>6</sup> For Tzetzian book epigrams on the tragedians, see Tomadaki and van Opstall (2019); on the *Exegesis*: Papathomopoulos (2007: 3), Budelmann (2002: 151); scholia on Aristophanes: Massa Positano (1960: LXXXIV, XCII, 233.18-24), Pizzone (2020: 679); scholia on Lycophron: Scheer (1908: 1.3-6, 398.4-13), De Stefani and Magnelli (2009: 615-616), De Stefani (2014: 391-392); scholia on Oppian: Colonna (1963; 1964), De Stefani (2014: 392); scholia on Hesiod: Colonna (1953b: 27-39). For further inquiries, I refer to *DBBE* and the catalogues of Vassis (2005; 2011).

<sup>7</sup> See below Chapter 2 and 3.

<sup>8</sup> On Byzantine didactic poetry, see e.g. Lauxtermann (2009), Hörandner (2012; 2019). On Tzetzes, see now van den Berg (2020).

## 1.1 Tzetzes “accountant” of historians: some general trends from the verse scholia on Thucydides

Tzetzes wrote verse scholia on the two main classical historians, Thucydides and Herodotus.<sup>9</sup> At first sight, Tzetzes’ verse scholia on these authors show common trends as regards form and content. They address textual issues of the ancient manuscripts where they are found and comment upon the grammar, style and classical references of the main text. The larger and probably better known cycle of epigrams is devoted to Thucydides and found in the margins of Heidelberg, Pal. gr. 252 (10th century). Luzzatto identifies fifty verse scholia in the margins of this authoritative manuscript of Thucydides (E for the editors).<sup>10</sup> Luzzatto also claims that the epigrams are autograph, i.e. jotted down in this manuscript by Tzetzes himself. Significantly, the same hand is found again in the margins and interlinear spaces of a manuscript with Tzetzes’ commentary on Hermogenes and traces of his *Λογισμοί* (Voss. Gr. Q. 1).<sup>11</sup> Let us begin with the last line of f. 133v, where a symbol is placed over κλήσειν in Thucydides’ *Histories* 4.8.7 and repeated in the lower margin to open a verse scholium (number 25):

Κλήθρον, κατεκλήσθησαν Ἀττικῶ τρόπῳ  
Τζέτζου φρονῶν πᾶς τοῖς λόγοις πεπεισμένος  
δίφθογγον οὐ γράψειας, ἀλλ’ ἦτα μόνον.  
τοὺς βουβάλους δ’ ἔασον δυσμαθεστάτους  
ἀπανταχοῦ δίφθογγα ταυταῖ γράφειν,  
οἳ τὸ σκότος φῶς ὡς τὸ φῶς φασὶ σκότος,  
Κίρκης τραφέντες χοιρεῶσι τῆς νέας.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> For Tzetzes’ verse scholia on Thucydides, see Hude (1927), Scott (1981), Baldwin (1982), Maltese (1995: 370-371), Luzzatto (1999), Reinsch (2006: 757-758), Kaldellis (2015: 65-79), Pontani (2015: 384-385). For Tzetzes’ verse scholia on Herodotus, see Luzzatto (2000), Cantore (2012; 2013: 82-93).

<sup>10</sup> Luzzatto (1999). I follow her numeration of the epigrams and print her text with minor changes after inspection of the manuscript (available online at <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpgraec252/0001>). The interpretation of these epigrams follows closely Luzzatto (1999) and Kaldellis (2015).

<sup>11</sup> Aglae Pizzone first published about these findings at the blog of the Centre for Medieval Literature: *John Tzetzes in the margins of the Voss. Gr. Q1: discovering autograph notes of a Byzantine scholar* (<https://cml.sdu.dk/blog/cml-blog-john-tzetzes-in-the-margins-of-the-voss-gr-q1-discovering-autograph-notes-of-a-byzantine-scholar>). See now Pizzone (2020: 654-656). Note that the same hand also wrote verse scholia in Voss. Gr. Q. 1, similar to those of E; see e.g. Pizzone (2020: 680). On the *Λογισμοί*, see below.

<sup>12</sup> See Luzzatto (1999: 18-20). Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 73): “Κλήθρον, κατεκλήσθησαν in the Attic manner/ every one of you sensible men, persuaded by the words of Tzetzes,/ do not write with diphthong [ει], but only with eta,/ and leave the most ignorant buffalos/ to write these with diphthongs everywhere, [5]/ those who call the darkness light just as they call the light darkness,/ bred in the pigsties of the new Circe”.

This is one of the numerous verse scholia suggesting corrections or explaining orthography. But in this epigram we can also observe four characteristic dimensions of Tzetzes' dialogue with the ancient texts, their tradition and their reception. First, the author gives instructions to a student-reader-scribe (25.1-3), supported by a display of grammatical expertise and knowledge of ancient Greek dialects. Second, Tzetzes represents himself as a reliable source of authority, which is enhanced by the use of his own name in 25.2 as in the third person. Third, the attack to contemporary scholars, disparaged with offensive and witty names are hallmarks of Tzetzes' polemical discourse (25.4-7). For example, βούβαλος (25.4) or similar terms are repeatedly used by Tzetzes to demean his adversaries.<sup>13</sup> Fourth, an allusion to the obscurity of the main text in 25.6. The beginning of the poem (25.1-3) presents, therefore, a positive and constructive movement, while the final section (25.4-7), a rather negative and polemical one. The stances that Tzetzes adopts towards the main text and its author and towards the scribe, the reader and his competitors can be observed further throughout the cycle.

In the right and lower margin of f. 26r, for example, two verse scholia (numbers 3-4) comment on the orthography of two different words at Thucydides' *Histories* 1.63.2-3, ἱππῆς and τροπαῖον:<sup>14</sup>

Ἴππῆς τίς ἐξώρθωσε δίφθογγον γράφων;  
 ἦτα δὲ γράψον Ἀττικῶ τρόπῳ γράφων·  
 ὁ σκύλλος οὗτος Ἀττικώτατα γράφει.  
 τὰ πάντα ταῦτα τοιγαροῦν ἦτα γράφε,  
 ἱππῆς, ἀριστῆς, Φωκαῆς, πλήν κυρίων·

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<sup>13</sup> See Luzzatto (1999: 19 n. 20), Agapitos (2017: 11, 24-25, 33-34) and e.g. Tzetzes' *Histories* 5.828, 9.958, 9.960, 9.967, 10.178, 11.215, 11.221, 11.224; scholia on Tzetzes' *Histories* 1.396, 3.61, 3.617, 4.837 (Leone 2007: 533.5, 542.1, 544.7, 548.19); scholium on Tzetzes' *Letter* 1 (Leone 1972: 159.6); scholium on Aristophanes' *Wealth* 543 (Massa Positano 1960: 131.25) and *Clouds* 965a (Holwerda 1960: 596.14), which is the same as scholium on Oppian's *Haliutica* 1.266 (*recte* 1.200, Bussemaker 1849: 276.54). Circe, on the other hand, is mentioned in another polemical context in Tzetzes' *Histories* 10.64-76 (see Luzzatto 1999: 20; Agapitos 2017: 18-21). Now, one may wonder whether the "new Circe" (25.7) constitutes only an ornamental use of the myth (see e.g. poem 34.2 below), or a particular patroness and her circle are meant here too. Tzetzes himself worked for female commissioners, see e.g. Rhoby (2010). On Tzetzes' misogyny, see Agapitos (2017: 15-17), to which his hostility towards the mythographer Demo can be added: *Allegories of the Odyssey*, Proem 32-34; see Cesaretti (1991: 138-139) and Hunger (1954: 43-44). In fact, in Tzetzes' *Histories* 10.64-76 the ἀτεχνία of Circe and her filthy followers is contrasted with the τέχνη of a female writer, empress Eudokia. Now Pizzone (2020: 667-672) brings forward new evidence of the same elements in a similar polemical context from the rediscovered fragment of the *Λογισμοί*. Her explanation of these images through the socio-historical background of 12th-century Constantinople is very compelling and it is not at odds with a possible allusion to a patroness.

<sup>14</sup> The two words are marked in the main text with the same symbol that opens poem 3. There is no clear separation between poems 3 and 4 and thus they could be considered as one single poem. In 3.1 the accent in τίς in the manuscript indicates that it is a question.



τὰ κύρια μόνα δὲ δίφθογγα γράφε,  
 Δημοσθένεις λέγω τε καὶ τὰ τοιάδε.  
 καὶ τὸ τροπαῖον μὴ τρόπαιόν μοι γράφε·  
 ἄν Ἀττικῶς γράφῃς δε ταῦτα σοὶ λέγω.  
 ἄλλῃ δὲ γλωσσῶν εἰ γράφεις μοι τοὺς λόγους,  
 δίφθογγον ἱππεῖς καὶ τρόπαιόν μοι γράφε.<sup>15</sup> 10

The intervention seems to be motivated by corrections in the manuscript by a later hand of ἱππῆς into ἱππεῖς. Through insistent imperatives (γράψον v. 2; γράφε vv. 4, 6, 8, 11), Tzetzes teaches the reader how to write properly, again according to the Attic dialect (Ἀττικῶ τρόπῳ v. 2, Ἀττικώτατα v. 3, Ἀττικῶς v. 2). Tzetzes contrasts his learned opinions with the ones of his opponents (see τίς v. 1). The construction of himself as an authority converges with the impertinence towards the author of the main text, dubbed as cub or puppy (σκύλλος v. 3).

These strategies can adopt an even harsher and less tolerant way. In f. 185r, containing Thucydides' *Histories* 1.18.1-5, two verse scholia occur in the right margin (numbers 33-34). Tzetzes first criticizes a passage of the text (paraphrased in 33.1-2) for its confusing syntax, calling it a solecism. Elsewhere he justifies Thucydides' obscure style by invoking a feature of his dialect. For example, in verse scholium number 29 (f. 183v) he explains: γλώσσης νόησον Ἀττικῆς εἶναι τόδε,/ [...] μὴ δ' αὖ σόλοικον μηδαμῶς νόει τόδε ("Understand that this is characteristic of the Attic dialect,/ [...] so under no circumstances think this is a solecism").<sup>16</sup> This time, he does not follow the same logic (33.3-8):

Τζέτζης σολοικίζουσιν ἐντάττει λόγοις  
 οὐκ οἶδεν Ἀττίκισμα τουτοῖ λέγειν.  
 οὕτω γράφων δε σοῖς περιστρόφοις λόγοις, 5  
 πέφευγας ὃς κρίνειν σε τεχνικῶς θέλει.  
 πηλὸς λιθουργῶν συγκαλύπτει φαυλίαν,  
 γραφῆς σκότος δε τοὺς σολοίκους τῶν λόγων.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Luzzatto (1999: 61-63). Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 70): "Who corrected ἱππῆς by writing a diphthong?/ Write it with an eta if you write in the Attic manner./ This puppy writes in a most Attic way./ So write all the words of this kind with an eta:/ ἱππῆς, ἀριστῆς, Φωκαῆς, except proper nouns. [5]/ Proper nouns alone you should write with a diphthong,/ I mean Δημοσθένεις and the like./ And don't write τρόπαιον for τροπαῖον./ I tell you to do this if you want to write in Attic./ But if you want to write in some other dialect, [10]/ then write ἱππεῖς with a diphthong and τρόπαιον".

<sup>16</sup> See also the formulaic verse σολοικοειδές, οὐ σόλοικον τυγχάνει ("It has the aspect of a solecism, but it is no solecism") that occurs in poems 15 (f. 93v), 28 (f. 183v) and 47 (f. 290r).

<sup>17</sup> See Luzzatto (1999: 35-37). Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 75): "Tzetzes classifies this among the solecisms of speech,/ he just cannot call this an Atticism./ Writing this way in your convoluted clauses, [5]/ you have

The last four verses of this poem (33.5-8) address outspokenly the author in the second person and strike again against his abstruseness, as deceptive and contrary to the τέχνη. We can fully understand now the attack against Tzetzes' adversaries in poem 25.6: not only do the buffaloes ignore the τέχνη of the Attic dialect, but they also praise Thucydides' misleading σκότος (33.8). Moreover, in the beginning of the second verse scholium in f. 185r (34.1-2), Tzetzes compares the stylistic difficulties of the author, addressed again by Tzetzes in the second person, with those provoked by the scribe: τὸ σὸν σκοτεινὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ βιβλογράφου/ Χάρυβδιν οἶαν ἐξεγείρουσι λόγοις.<sup>18</sup> The labour of the scribe is a constant target of Tzetzes' complaints and satirical remarks, as the formulaic label κόπρος βιβλογράφου reveals (see poems 30-31, ff. 183v-184v).<sup>19</sup>

Tzetzes' criticisms, however, are not limited to grammatical, stylistic or textual remarks. He even calls into question the content of what Thucydides recounts. At the beginning of book 6, Thucydides refers to the etymology of Italy, allegedly derived from the name of a Sicilian king: καὶ ἡ χώρα ἀπὸ Ἰταλοῦ, βασιλέως τινὸς Σικελῶν, τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἔχοντος, οὕτως Ἰταλία ἐπωνομάσθη (Thucydides' *Histories* 6.2.4). In our manuscript the passage is marked with a cross that also introduces a verse scholium in the right margin of f. 214r (number 35), after the heading σημείωσαι ἱστορίαν. In this epigram, Thucydides is again addressed in an irreverent way and his etymology rejected: οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως οὐδαμῶς, Θουκυδίδη ("It is not like this, Thucydides, not at all", 35.1). An alternative aetiology is told, involving Heracles and the Latin word *vitulus* (35.2-9).<sup>20</sup> The poem is closed by a warning addressed to ancient historians with significant programmatic overtones (35.10-11): Τζέτζην παλαιὸς πᾶς πτοοῦ χρονογράφος/ λαθεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ δαίμων ἰσχύει.<sup>21</sup>

The mission to correct the style and grammar and control the truth and consistency of the classics is asserted openly, such as in the scholium to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1328:<sup>22</sup>

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eluded those who want to scrutinize you according to the τέχνη./ Just as mud disguises poor work by the mason,/obscurity of writing here masks solecism in speech".

<sup>18</sup> See Luzzatto (1999: 37-39). Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 76): "Your obscurity along with that of the copyist/ rouse up such a Charybdis in the narrative".

<sup>19</sup> See Luzzatto (1999: 26, 30).

<sup>20</sup> For the sources of Tzetzes and *loci similes* in his oeuvre, see Luzzatto (1999: 77-78). To these it could be added the scholium to Lycophron 1232 (Scheer 1908: 353.3-8).

<sup>21</sup> See Luzzatto (1999: 75-76). Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 76): "Every one of you ancient historians fear Tzetzes,/ not even a supernatural spirit can escape his notice!". However, note that the manuscript seems to read παλαιοῖς.

<sup>22</sup> Koster (1962: 1077.49-1079.89). After consultation of the manuscript Ambr. C 222 inf., f. 103r (now available at <http://213.21.172.25/0b02da8280051c1e>), I was able to make two minor improvements to Koster's edition (I keep his punctuation though). On this manuscript (last quarter of the 12th, copied by a scholar closely connected with Tzetzes), see Mazzucchi (2003; 2004).

ᾧν πασῶν [sc. Βίβλων] λογισμοὺς βίβλος μία ἔμοῦ περιέχει στίχοις ἰάμβοις τοῖς πλείοσιν, οὐκ ὀλίγοις δὲ καὶ μέτρων ἑτέρων· καὶ ἕτεραι δὲ βίβλοι σποράδην ἔμοῦς ἔχουσιν ἑτέρων σοφῶν λογισμούς, οὐ μάτην καὶ ἀναιτίως οὐδὲ κατ' ἔχθραν ἐπεμβαίνοντός μου τινων, ἀλλὰ τινὰς μὲν ἐλέγχοντος τοῦ περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἕνεκα πλημμελοῦς καὶ τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν πραγμάτων ἢ χρόνων, ἢ αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἑαυτοῖς ἐναντία [...] ταύτην ἔμοῦ τὴν βίβλον ἀναλεξάμενος, ὅστις ἂν γε [καὶ add. codex] βούλοιο, Αἰσχύλου τε εὖροι καὶ Εὐριπίδου καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν αἰτιάματα, πλημμελείᾳ τῇ περὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑποπεπτωκότας τοῖς λογισμοῖς, οὐ μέντοι διὰ ψευδοῦς [ψευδῶς ut vid. codex] γελοιάζουσαν κωμωδίαν οὐδὲ δυσμένειαν.

*Of all these books, one book of mine contains the accounts, most of them in iambic verses, but quite a few also in other metres. And other books have here and there my accounts of other wise men, not because I attack moved by enmity towards some, nor in vain or without reason, but rather censuring some for an error regarding the τέχνη or for missing the facts or the chronology, or because they say things contradicting themselves [...] After reading this book of mine, whoever would want to, would find the faults of Aeschylus, Euripides and many others, included in my accounts for their error regarding the τέχνη or the truth, yet not for the sake of jesting comedy or ill will with falsehood.*

The *Accounts* (Λογισμοί) here mentioned is the title of a work by Tzetzes, widely considered to be lost until in 2020 Aglae Pizzone brought to light a manuscript where it is partially preserved.<sup>23</sup> Tzetzes' description invites us to an identification of them with our verse scholia. First, these accounts are in verse, mainly comment upon ancient authors and can also be found occasionally (σποράδην) in other manuscripts. Second, the motivations in Tzetzes' enterprise of watching (ἐλέγχειν) the form (τέχνη) and content (ἱστορία) of the text commented upon match precisely those of his verse scholia.

The connection of the *Λογισμοί* with Tzetzes' verse scholia has been first proposed by Luzzatto, who also refers to Tzetzes' *Histories* 6.399-403, where Tzetzes specifies the objects of his critiques, among which historians and chroniclers (ἱστορικοὶ καὶ χρονικοὶ).<sup>24</sup> When consulting these books, which did not belong to him (ᾧν ἀβίβλης), he annotated the necessary accounts in their margins: ἐκείναις [sc. βίβλοισι] παρενέγραφε

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<sup>23</sup> On the *Λογισμοί*, see primarily Pizzone (2020), who corrected a long-lasting misunderstanding in Wendel (1948: 1990, 2004; see Luzzatto 1999: 74 n. 18), by which the *Accounts* were equated to Tzetzes' commentary on Hermogenes in political verse (Walz 1834: 670-686; Cramer 1837: 1-148). As she points out, the catalogue of the library already records some of the *Accounts'* verses in ff. 212v-239v; see De Meyier (1955: 93). Pizzone masterfully reconstructs the possible stages of composition of the oeuvre and the associations between imperial administration, authenticity and authorship that emanate already from its title. In this respect, see now Pizzone (2020b).

<sup>24</sup> Luzzatto (1998: 71-72; 1999: 156-161).

τοὺς λογιμοὺς οὐκ ἔδει. The same oeuvre is alluded to in Tzetzes' *Histories* 11.349-354, where Tzetzes repeats the goal of censuring the content and the form (ἄλλους ψευδῶς, ἀτέχνως δε, οὐκ ἤλεγξεν ὁ Τζέτζης) in his *Book of Accounts* (ὧν βίβλος ὅλη γέγραπται τῶν Λογισμῶν τῷ Τζέτζῃ). *Book of Accounts* is in fact the title proposed by Luzzatto, considering also the scholium to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 100a.<sup>25</sup> There, Tzetzes defends Euripides of unfair criticism, different from the real problems addressed in the *Accounts*, again for the sake of truth and without ill will: οὐχ ὡς ἡμεῖς τοῖς τῶν σοφῶν λογιμοῖς δικαίως ἐκεῖνον ἐλέγξαμεν, οἷσπερ ἐχρῆν [...] οὐ καθ' ὑμᾶς φθόνῳ φερόμενος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν.

In the long poem number 8 on Thucydides (Heidelberg, Pal. gr. 252, f. 45r), which together with number 50 (f. 326v) are probably the best known of the series, Tzetzes defines his role in a similar way. He claims that he is the only one entitled to judge according to the τέχνη the writings of this puppy (again the disrespectful nickname) and all ancient and new literature (8.7-9):

τὰς συγγραφὰς κρίνειν δε τεχνικῶ τρόπῳ  
σκύλλου τὲ τουδὶ καὶ παλαιῶν καὶ νέων  
Τζέτζου μόνου χάρισμα δυσμαθεστάτου.<sup>26</sup>

These lines recall the final verse of Tzetzes' *Iambi*, the series of poems following his *Histories*: Τζέτζης λογιστῆς τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ νέων.<sup>27</sup> The word λογιστῆς (“accountant”) in this *sphragis* connects again the verse scholia with the *Λογισμοί*.<sup>28</sup> Notably, the same formula is used as the title for the excerpts of the *Λογισμοί* in the Voss. Gr. Q. 1, f. 212v: Τζέτζου λογισμῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ νέων.<sup>29</sup> Another recurrent motif in this context is the apparently self-deprecatory use of *δυσμαθής*. Notice that the same epithet is given to the buffaloes in the aforementioned verse scholium 25.4.<sup>30</sup> The same goes for *ἀμαθής*, employed to refer both to his enemies and to himself.<sup>31</sup> These terms are frequently associated with a dispute with the prefect Andronikos Kamateros regarding court patronage and the teaching of rhetoric.<sup>32</sup> With this characterization, Tzetzes seems to

<sup>25</sup> Koster (1962: 732-733.6); see Luzzatto (1999: 160 n. 12).

<sup>26</sup> See Luzzatto (1999: 46-58). Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 72) and Pontani (2015: 384): “To judge according to the criteria of the τέχνη the works/ of this puppy and of the ancients and moderns/ is the gift of Tzetzes alone, the most ignorant one”.

<sup>27</sup> Leone (1969-1970: 146.360).

<sup>28</sup> See Pizzone (2017: 206; 2020: 672 n. 61, 682-685; 2020b: 51-53). Whether this ὑπογραφή (Leone 1969-1970: 146.359) corresponds to the *Iambi*, the *Histories* or another work by Tzetzes remains unclear (Leone 1969-1970: 130).

<sup>29</sup> Pizzone (2020: 656-657). See <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/19745>.

<sup>30</sup> See also the occurrences of *δυσμαθής* in the polemical *Iambi* (Leone 1969-1970: 141.216, 141.230, 143.260).

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Tzetzes' *Histories* 9.408, 9.656-659, 9.688-690, 9.702-707, 10.64-76, 10.240-242, 11.210-224, 11.286, 11.349-354, 12.85-91, 12.223-246. See also the title of the last of the *Iambi* (Leone 1969-1970: 145).

<sup>32</sup> For Andronikos Kamateros' episode, see e.g. Leone (1969-1970: 128-130), Agapitos (2017: 22-27), Pizzone (2017: 185-186; 2020: 669, 671 n. 56, 682 n. 91).

ironically impersonate his adversaries. Many of these elements in fact meet in Tzetzes' *Histories* 11.246-249:

ἀλλ' ἤδη σε συνέχεεν ὁ ἀμαθῆς ἐπάρχῳ,  
ὁ λογιστῆς τῶν παλαιῶν, οὗ δι' ἰάμβων βίβλος  
τῶν Λογισμῶν γραμματικῶν, ῥητόρων, φιλοσόφων,  
τῶν μετρικῶν, ἱστορικῶν, μηχανικῶν, τῶν ἄλλων.

*But the ignorant in the eyes of the prefect already confused you,  
the accountant of the ancients, the author of the iambic book  
of Accounts of the grammarians, rhetoricians, philosophers,  
the metricians, historians, mechanics, and others.*

A similarly explicit prescriptive instance occurs in the left and lower margin of Heidelberg, Pal. gr. 252, f. 184v (verse scholium number 32 on Thucydides' *Histories* 5.17.2). Tzetzes explains a syntactical and rhetorical figure that deepens the obscurity of Thucydides (32.1). After attacking again the rhetoricians who defend Thucydides' style (32.2-3), Tzetzes sets the guidelines for writing history properly (32.4-5): τὶς ἱστορούντων ἀκριβῆς κανὼν μάθε/ σαφῆς μετ' ὄγκου καὶ ταχύς, πειθοῦς γέμων.<sup>33</sup> In this regard, Herodotus (τὸν μελιχρὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, 32.8)<sup>34</sup> is to be preferred over Thucydides, Tzetzes implies at the end of this poem.

## 1.2 Tzetzes' verse scholia on Herodotus: fragments of a larger scholarly project

Of course, Tzetzes knew Herodotus well. His verse scholia on Herodotus are probably less known, but they echo in several ways the ones on Thucydides, at least those edited by Luzzatto.<sup>35</sup> Tzetzes' verse scholia on Herodotus are preserved only in Florence, Laur. Plut.

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<sup>33</sup> See Luzzatto (1999: 31-35). Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 75): "Learn which is the precise rule for historians:/ clear with grandeur and swift, full of persuasion". These guidelines are reconsidered and amplified in the final lines of the famous last poem of the cycle (f. 326v). Tzetzes closes his verse scholia on Thucydides explaining how historians should write according to the τέχνη (50.14-16; Luzzatto 1999: 132-138). Needless to say, these lines brim with rhetorical technical terms. See Tzetzes' commentary on Hermogenes (Cramer 1837: 125.7-9 = Walz 1834: 686.2-4).

<sup>34</sup> See the scholium on *Carmina Iliaca* 1.22c (Leone 1995: 111.10).

<sup>35</sup> Luzzatto (2000).

70.3 (10th century, A for the editors).<sup>36</sup> The date of the manuscript is in fact still a matter of debate, especially the issue of its stratigraphy. On palaeographic and codicological grounds, there is a consensus that the manuscript has two main parts (ff. 1-238 and ff. 239-376). Now, it remains an open question whether both parts are dated to the same period or the first is later and archaizing, and whether the first 26 folios represent yet a third stratum.<sup>37</sup>

Different later hands annotate the margins and interlinear spaces of this manuscript, in which some epigrams can be found. Marginalia from various origins meet in Laur. Plut. 70.3, such as the Planudean hand in the upper margin of f. 1r and the lower margin of f. 376v, Nikephoros Gregoras in the external margin of f. 218v, or the interlinear conjecture in f. 315r.<sup>38</sup> But even if the first section of this manuscript is throughout supplemented with accents and breathings by a later hand, only the first folios are more heavily loaded with marginal scholia and interlinear glosses. Luzzatto and Cantore maintain that one single hand from the Palaeologan period copied all these notes in the first 34 folios (or 26 according to Luzzatto), but in fact there seem to be many hands filling these margins.<sup>39</sup>

Six certainly Tzetzean poems copied by a Palaeologan hand were edited for the first time by Luzzatto. Some prose notes, possibly fragments of other epigrams, can be ascribed to Tzetzes too.<sup>40</sup> The first five verse scholia in f. 5v (Hdt. 1.23) and f. 10r (Hdt. 1.39-41) deal with orthographic and dialectal issues, most of them discussed in similar terms by Tzetzes elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> For example, the issue at stake in the poem in f. 5v can be found again in Tzetzes' scholium to his own *Histories* 1.396:<sup>42</sup>

Ἄριονα γίνωσκε μικρόν μοι γράφειν

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<sup>36</sup> Available online at <http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?id=AWOITLNNI1A4r7GxML8h&c=Herodotus>. On this manuscript, see e.g. Bandini (1768: 657-658), Stein (1869: V-VII), Colonna (1945: 43), Hemmerdinger (1981: 86-93), Rosén (1987: XXV-XXVI), Agati (1992: 153, 250, 289-290), Alberti (2002: 3), Pérez Martín (2002: 136), Wilson (2015: xiv-xv), Bianconi (2015: 247 n. 40; 2018: 73 n. 127).

<sup>37</sup> Luzzatto (2000) supports the latter, whereas Cantore (2012; 2013: 70, 82-93) proposes that the first half (ff. 1-238) has been annotated after a collation with a manuscript from the Roman family of Herodotus' textual tradition. See also e.g. Agati (2001: 53-56), De Gregorio (2002: 37-38 n. 19).

<sup>38</sup> See Hemmerdinger (1981: 88), Mazzucchi (1999: 385), Luzzatto (2000: 651-652, 654). Another hand commenting on Hdt. 1.161 in f. 41v (ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα Μαγνησία κατὰ δύσιν· ὡς ἔρεϊ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν) can be added to this list, among others (see e.g. the external margin of 69r, 86v, 101r, the effaced upper margin of 92v).

<sup>39</sup> Luzzatto (2000) and Cantore (2012; 2013: 70). See Agati (2001: 53).

<sup>40</sup> See Luzzatto (2000: 649-650), Cantore (2012: 20-22; 2013: 83-89). Traces of a larger scholarly project on Herodotus by Tzetzes can also be observed in a scholium to Hdt. 3.75 found in other manuscripts. See Cantore (2013: 79): τὸ τοῦ Τζέτζου σχόλιον· εἰ μὴ ἑαυτὸν (αὐτὸν Cantore) ἀνεῖλεν μυρίαὶς παντοδαπαῖς βασάνοις παρὰ τῶν μάγων ἂν ἀνηρέθη.

<sup>41</sup> See Luzzatto (1998: 74-76; 1999: 95-102; 2000: 642-645), Cantore (2002: 29-30; 2012: 12-14; 2013: 90-91), Agapitos (2017: 10-11).

<sup>42</sup> Leone (2007: 533.3-9).

Ἴωνικῶς τὲ καὶ κατ' Ἀτθίδος λόγους·  
ληρεῖν λόγους ἕα δε πρωξιμπολόκους.<sup>43</sup>

Moreover, the wording and subject of the first two verse scholia in f. 10r have parallels in Tzetzes' verse scholia to Aristophanes' *Wealth* 82, *Frogs* 1137 and his *Letter* 4:<sup>44</sup>

(a) Τὸ φῆς περισπῶν, προσγραφὴν τίθει κάτω·  
εἰ δ' αὖ βαρύνῃς, προσγραφὴν μὴ μοι γράφε.

(b) Φάναι φονεῦσαι καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν εἰ γράφεις,  
ᾄξυνε, τέκνον, μὴ περίσπα δυστέχνως·  
φᾶναι τίθει δὲ τὸν περισπῶντα τόνον,  
ὅτ' ἂν τὸ δηλοῦν φωσφορεῖν γράφῃς, νέε.

(c) Τοιοῦτον ὧν πᾶν ἀκριβῶς οὔν μοι νόει  
ψίλου τὲ τῆδε καὶ περίσπα μοι τόδε.

(d) Εἶπας ἔλεξας πᾶς περισπᾶν μοι θέλε,  
εἶπας ὁ εἰπὼν τεχνικῶς ᾄξυνέ μοι.<sup>45</sup>

The didactic imperatives directed to a young reader and accompanied by the first person pronoun in the dative case pervade these epigrams. The polemic against Tzetzes' adversaries and competitors is not absent either. The mentions of the τέχνη, on the other hand, do not surprise as the main concern of these verse scholia is grammar.

The other main Tzetzian target, regarding the truth and consistency of the text commented upon, is the protagonist of the last and longest poem edited by Luzzatto. In

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<sup>43</sup> I print the text of Luzzatto (2000: 643) with minor changes after inspection of the manuscript. Translation of Agapitos (2017: 10): “Know that Ἄριονα is to be written with an omicron,/ both in Ionic and according to Attic diction;/ but let the teacher-intertwined speeches tell fooleries”.

<sup>44</sup> Massa Positano (1960: 28.1-10), Koster (1962: 1033.15-20), Leone (1972: 161.1-12).

<sup>45</sup> I print the text of Luzzatto (2000: 644-645) with minor changes after inspection of the manuscript. Translation after Luzzatto: (a) “If you put the circumflex over φῆς, put the iota *subscriptum*./ However, if you put the grave accent, do not put the iota *subscriptum*”. (b) “If you write ‘to say’ in φάναι φονεῦσαι [φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν Hdt. 1.39.2: the correction of Luzzatto τὸ φῆσαι does not seem necessary; see e.g. similar paraphrases in Tzetzes' poems on Thucydides (Luzzatto 1999: 36 n. 35, 90 n. 10, 126 n. 78)],/ put the acute accent, my child, not the circumflex against the τέχνη;/ in φᾶναι put the circumflex accent/ when you write ‘to show, to bring to light’, young man”. (c) “Understand all such ὧν exactly as οὔν/ and write it like this with soft breathing and circumflex”. (d) “Every one of you, please put the circumflex over εἶπας ‘you said’ [but the manuscript reads ἔλεγξας: maybe ἐλέγξας, “after examining”? ἔλεγχος is a key Tzetzian concept],/ in εἶπας ‘the one who said’ write an acute according to the τέχνη”.

the lower margin of f. 26r, written in five columns along three lines, a verse scholium comments on Hdt. 1.94.2-3:<sup>46</sup>

Τζέτζης κρατεῖ σε· πρόσσχες οἷς τὰ νῦν γράφεις.  
ἔστιν ἀβίβλης στερ(...) δ' ἔχων βίβλον,  
μὴ καρτερῶν τὲ τὰς ἐλίκτρας τῶν βίβλων  
πάντας ἐλέγχει πανταχοῦ ψευδηγόρους  
χρήσεις ἐπεισφρῶν εὐθυωρία πόση. 5  
καὶ σοὶ παρεισφρεῖ τήνδε τὴν χρῆσιν λέγων·  
Ἵμηρος εἶπεν ἔκ γε Πατρόκλου τάδε·  
νήπιος οὐκ ἐθέλων ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθεῖς. (*Il.* 23.88)  
καὶ· σφαίρη ταί τ' ἄρ' ἔπαιζον ἀπὸ κρήδεμνα βαλοῦσαι. (*Od.* 6.100)  
καὶ· πεσοοῖσι προπάροιθε θυράων θυμὸν ἔτερπον. (*Od.* 1.107) 10  
πῶς ἄλλο πεσοοὺς σὺ δὲ καὶ κύβους λέγεις  
πρῶτοι δὲ πῶς ἐξεῦρον οἱ Λυδοὶ λέγε,  
ἃ φῆς ἐκείνους ἐκμαθεῖν ἄλλων γένους;  
ὃ νῦν ἐπεσκόπησα λοισθίως γράφω.<sup>47</sup>

Herodotus claims that the Lydians invented a series of games later adopted by the Greeks.<sup>48</sup> Tzetzes, who refers to himself in the accustomed third person in v. 1 and as

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<sup>46</sup> Luzzatto (1998: 70-72; 1999: 158-159; 2000: 646-648), Cantore (2002: 28-29; 2012:16-20). The passage commented on is actually in the previous folio (f. 25v).

<sup>47</sup> Translation after Luzzatto (2000: 647-648) and Cantore (2012: 20): “Tzetzes got you: pay attention to what you write now! He has no books, but having one (...) and not being able to resist the twisted expressions of the books [see *LBG*; but ἐλίσσω is a common verb to mean “to scroll” a book, so that maybe read: “not being able to resist leafing through the books”]/ he censures every liar everywhere/ introducing many quotations one after the other. [5]/ And he inserts for you this quotation saying:/ Homer said this in the book of Patroclus:/ ‘silly, unwillingly, angry about the dice’ and ‘after throwing off their veils, they played with the ball’/ and ‘they were enjoying themselves with a game of draughts in front of the doors’. [10]/ How do you say that πεσοοὶ and κύβοι are different,/ and, tell me, how did the Lydians first discovered/ what you say that they learned from other people?/ What I observed now is the last thing I write”. I print the text of Luzzatto (2000: 646-647) with minor changes after inspection of the manuscript. As in other verse scholia in this manuscript, Luzzatto normalizes and emends the text of this epigram. She proposes στέργεται in v. 2, where the text seems to read στερνικὴν at first sight (see Luzzatto 2000: 647 n. 49; Cantore 2012: 20 n. 17; see the same abbreviation for -νικ- in Ἰωνικῶς in v. 2 of the poem in f. 5v). I would be inclined to read a word related to στερέω, such as στερηθεῖς, i.e. “deprived” (sc. from books), or a derived adjective (στερητικὴν? Tzetzes not rarely writes iambic verses with more than 12 syllables) that would agree with βίβλον (and possibly plays with the “privative” alpha of the Tzetzian neologism ἀβίβλης). Luzzatto also corrects τὰς ἐλίκτρας in v. 3 into ταῖς ἐλίκτρας (see Tzetzes’ scholium to Aristophanes’ *Wealth* 137, Massa Positano 1960: 44.25) and τήνδε τὴν χρῆσιν in v. 6 in τάσδε τὰς χρήσεις, but these seem less necessary (see Cantore 2012: 19-20). In v. 14 Luzzatto edits ὃ νῦν ἐπισκοπήσας instead of ὃ νῦν ἐπεσκόπησα of the manuscript.

<sup>48</sup> Tzetzes refers to this passage in a scholium to his *Exegesis of the Iliad* 13.2 (Papathomopoulos 2007: 429.16-430.6).



ἀβίβλης in v. 2,<sup>49</sup> reacts against Herodotus' report with an epigram. He offers a handful of Homeric quotations to confute the Lydian origin of these games (vv. 5-10) and some objections to imprecisions and contradictions in the passage (vv. 11-13).<sup>50</sup> Therefore, the objective of this verse scholium is not the τέχνη, but the other elements summarized by Tzetzes in his scholium to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1328: veracity of facts and chronology and internal coherence.<sup>51</sup> Tzetzes states his mission once again in v. 4: πάντας ἐλέγχει πανταχοῦ ψευδηγόρους. Herodotus himself is called a liar in strikingly similar terms in Tzetzes' scholium to Hesiod's *Works and Days* 652 (*recte* 654): ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, ὁ ἐν πολλοῖς ἐμοὶ ἐλεγχθεὶς ὡς ψευδηγορῶν ("Herodotus, who was censured by me in many places as a liar").<sup>52</sup> In this particular scholium on Hesiod, Tzetzes seems to refute Hdt. 2.53.2, but he explicitly admits to have censured Herodotus on many other occasions. For example, Hdt. 5.58 could be at issue in Tzetzes' *Histories* 12.85-118, where many Tzetzian motifs occur, such as the self-demeaning irony and the ἔλεγχος of liars and their wrong chronology. But most remarkably, Tzetzes closes the discussion by admitting that these liars (among whom presumably Herodotus) misled him, ἄνπερ οὐκ ἐξητάκειν/ ἐν ἀλαθήτοις λογιμοῖς καὶ Τζεττικῶ τῶ τρόπῳ ("had I not examined them/ in inescapable accounts and in the Tzetzian way", *Histories* 12.117-118). These passages constitute thus yet further testimonies of an extensive Tzetzian commentary on Herodotus.

So far, the typology of Tzetzian verse scholia on Thucydides and Herodotus reveals itself consistent. The motives for Tzetzes' interventions are the ones of the *Accounts*, enumerated in the aforementioned scholium to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1328. They consider either the grammar and rhetorical devices of the main text at the level of the τέχνη, or its content at the level of the ἱστορία. In this last regard, they especially supervise the external agreement of what is told in the main text with what is told in other reliable sources and the internal agreement of what is told in the main text with what is told elsewhere by the same author. The scholiastic programme of Tzetzes involves a didactic, learned and self-assertive moment and a polemical one, which confronts equally his enemies, the author and the scribe. Both extremes, the generous lesson and the ruthless criticism, are complementary, since they imply a superior status of the speaker and the

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<sup>49</sup> See e.g. Tzetzes' *Histories* 6.401, 6.470, 8.173; Pizzone (2017: 190-192).

<sup>50</sup> Cantore (2012: 12-14, 16-20) argues that in these epigrams in Laur. Plut. 70.3 Tzetzes actually comments on a text closer to the Roman family of Herodotus' textual tradition. Particularly, this last verse scholium would react to a summary filling a lacuna. Accordingly, the second person would address the copyist of such text.

<sup>51</sup> See another example of Tzetzes' observation of consistency in his scholium to Lycophron 497 (Scheer 1908: 181.21-29).

<sup>52</sup> Gaisford (1823: 368.21-22).

ignorance of the addressee.<sup>53</sup> Both extremes also meet as they pursue public recognition in a struggle against competitors for court patronage.

### 1.3 A new verse scholium in political verse on Hdt. 1.32.1 in Laur. Plut. 70.3

There are other verse scholia in Laur. Plut. 70.3 not treated by Luzzatto that seem to escape this typology. First, an epigram published by Cantore can be read in the lower margin of f. 2v, written in one single line. The poem is preceded by a sign repeated in Hdt. 1.8.3 (ἄμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή), over the word κιθῶνι. Moreover, a monogram for ὠραῖον, a common way of calling attention to *notabilia*, is found in the left margin next to the words of Gyges. The same word reappears at the beginning of the poem:<sup>54</sup>

Ὠραῖον ὡς δὲ καὶ πανάληθες πέλει  
Γύγου τὸ ῥητὸν οἶδας ὡδὶ τὸν τρόπον.

*How beautiful and also entirely true  
the words of Gyges are, you know this way.*

Cantore suggests that Tzetzes may have composed these verses, although their tone is remarkably different from the ones edited by Luzzatto. Herodotus' version of the episode of Gyges is reproduced by Tzetzes elsewhere, but he makes no special mention of the proverb highlighted by the verse scholium.<sup>55</sup> The amazement and approval expressed in this verse scholium correspond better to the emotional reactions that usually underlie non-Tzetzian verse scholia. It does not seem to fall under Tzetzes' scholarly programme of controlling the accuracy of ancient texts, nor does it show any degree of provocation or self-promotion.

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<sup>53</sup> This superiority can also be read in moral terms. The verb ἐλέγχειν, recurrent in these contexts, synthesizes the commentator's control over grammar, facts and morals. In the longest verse scholium to Thucydides, Tzetzes even affirms (8.17; see Luzzatto 1999: 50): πηγαὶ γὰρ εἰσι τῷ βίῳ καλῶ τέχνηαι ("For the τέχνηαι are sources for a good life"; see Tzetzes' *Histories* 10.71). On moral undertones in Tzetzes' polemics and self-representation, see Agapitos (2017: 13-16), Pizzone (2017: 203-206), van den Berg (2020: 299-301). On the other hand, Tzetzes is well aware of the aggressiveness of his attitude, as he repeatedly denies arbitrariness or animosity in his critiques to ancient authors (see above his scholia to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 100a and 1328).

<sup>54</sup> Cantore (2012: 22; 2013: 84).

<sup>55</sup> See e.g. Tzetzes' *Histories* 1.148-156, 6.476-479, 7.191-198.

An inspection of the manuscript allowed me to find yet another verse scholium in Laur. Plut. 70.3 not edited by Luzzatto or Cantore, in the right margin of f. 8r (see Figure 1) on Hdt. 1.32.1. The hand that copied this epigram, even if contemporary, seems to be quite different from the one responsible for the other verse scholia. Two distinct types of scripts can be observed in this same f. 8r. Consider the marginal note ὄρα ὄλον ὠραῖον (also occurring next to the same passage in Angel. gr. 83, f. 6v) marking the continuation of Solon's response (Hdt. 1.32.2). The script of this note is similar to the one of the other Tzetzean verse scholia, whereas it differs at first sight from the one of the new verse scholium. In the interlinear glosses to σπερχθεις (Hdt. 1.32.1) the same phenomenon occurs. The first two synonyms above σπερχθεις (ρίφεις λυπηθεις) are written in a script closer to the one of the epigrams edited by Luzzatto, whereas the last two (ταραχθεις θυμωθεις) are in the thicker script of the new verse scholium in this same folio.<sup>56</sup> However, the distinctive traits of the hand writing the new verse scholium (e.g. straighter terminal strokes of letter ρ and ligature ει; the ligatures for ρο, αχ, ερ, σο; more compressed and less wavy abbreviation for και) could be ascribed to lack of space or simply to a darker ink.<sup>57</sup> Whether it is one hand that annotates on separate occasions or they are different hands from the same milieu and period, these notes come from various origins and are closely intertwined with the complex history of the text.<sup>58</sup>

The verse scholium comments on the beginning of the famous answer of Solon to Croesus (ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπῶν πρηγμάτων πέρι, Hdt. 1.32.1), and reuses some of its vocabulary:<sup>59</sup>

Συμμαρτυρεῖς, Ἡρόδοτε, τὸ θεῖον τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
καὶ ταραχῶδες, φθονερόν, ἀνάμεστον κακίας·  
εἶπας καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἔχουσι τὰ πράγματα πανσόφως.

*You testify, Herodotus, to the deity of the Greeks  
as troubling, envious and full of evil.  
In fact you also say wisely how things are.*

<sup>56</sup> See Cantore (2012: 6; 2013: 85). Similarly, in f. 8v some variants of the text are written in the interlinear space. Above the famous line οὕτω ὦν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπος συμφορῆ (Hdt. 1.32.4), the thinner script wrote ἦ ὦ over ὦν and the thicker one wrote ᾄς over πᾶν; see Rosén (1987: 21), Cantore (2012: 10; 2013: 85).

<sup>57</sup> See Cantore (2012: 5); another case in Mazzucchi (2003: 275).

<sup>58</sup> See above and Cantore (2012: 22).

<sup>59</sup> I added punctuation (only a colon at the end of the poem in the manuscript) and capitals.

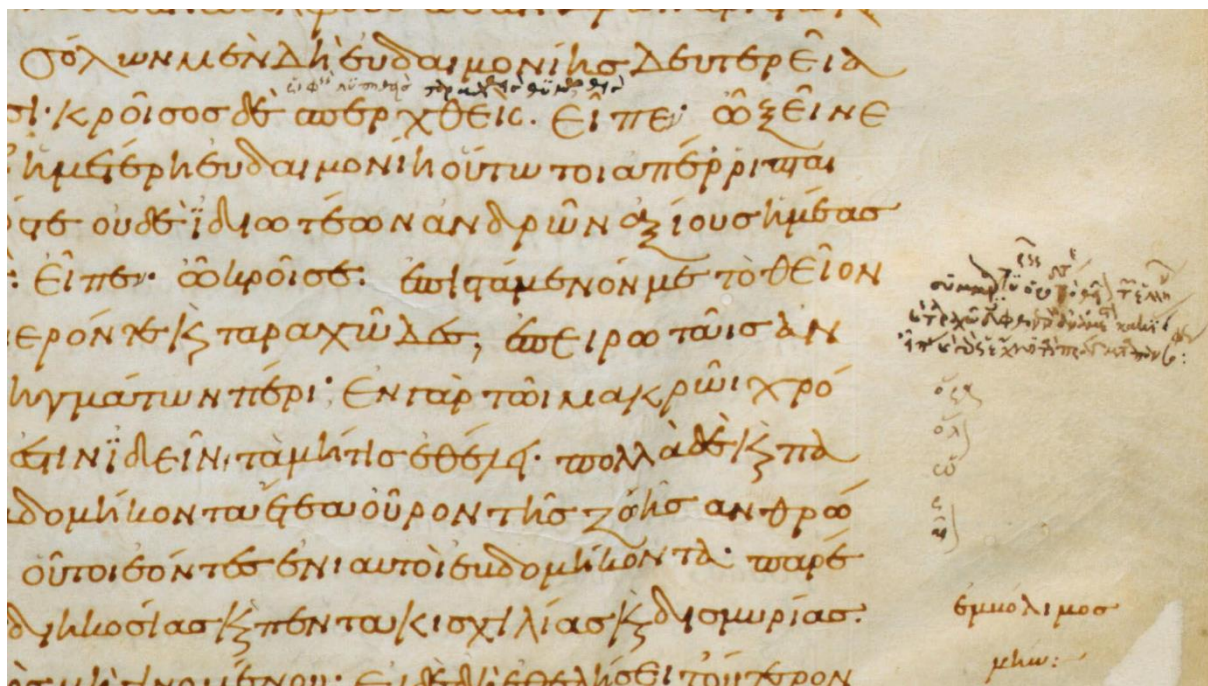


Figure 1 Laur. Plut. 70.3, f. 8r.

The question is whether this new verse scholium was composed by Tzetzes or not. Besides some partial formal parallels,<sup>60</sup> its subject matter does not correspond with his regular types of interventions. Tzetzes alludes to the meeting of Solon and Croesus in his *Histories*, but he never considers the well-known topos of the divine jealousy.<sup>61</sup> The archaic and classical concept of the divine φθόνος is treated by Tzetzes, for example, in his scholium to Aristophanes' *Wealth* 87, but differently from the new verse scholium. He does not criticize it, but he explains it through allegories:<sup>62</sup>

τὸ δὲ “ἀνθρώποις φθονῶν” ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ’ ἱστορίαν Διὸς ἔνεκα τοῦ γελοιασμοῦ τῆς κωμωδίας, ὅτι φθονερός ἐστὶν ὁ Ζεὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλληγορικῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τύχης, ὅτι φθονερά ἐστὶν ἡ τύχη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ οὐκ ἔῃ τοὺς ἀξίους πλουτεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐτύφλωσεν ὡσπερ τὸν Πλοῦτον· πλουτίζει γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον πονηροῦς, ἀλιτηρίου καὶ συκοφάντας, τοὺς ἀξίους δὲ πλουτισμοῦ παρατρέχει.

<sup>60</sup> For example, συμμαρτυρέω (v. 1) is used by Tzetzes elsewhere (e.g. *Histories* 6.860; scholium to Aristophanes' *Wealth* 612, Massa Positano 1960: 144.10), but always to introduce a quotation that supports Tzetzes' point (as here Herodotus agrees with Tzetzes by quoting Solon?). Another significant, yet not concluding, coincidence occurs in Tzetzes' scholium to Hesiod's *Works and Days* 174 (recte 176, Gaisford 1823: 144). He defines Hesiod's silver age as κακίας παντοίας ἀνάμεστον (see v. 2).

<sup>61</sup> See Tzetzes' *Histories* 1.22-54, 3.236-238, 4.572, 5.376-381, 8.184-189. Of course, this omission could be understood in itself as implied censorship. The criticism of this key element of Herodotean religion seems to be inaugurated in Plutarch's *On the Malice of Herodotus* 857f-858a. On the topos' reception, see e.g. A. Ellis (2015; 2017).

<sup>62</sup> Massa Positano (1960: 29.15-30.8).

*Whereas “envying mankind” is said for the sake of the humour of comedy with reference to the story of Zeus, because Zeus is jealous of mankind. But allegorically this is said with reference to the destiny and fortune, because fortune is jealous of mankind and does not let the worthy people become rich, but was blinded like Wealth. For fortune enriches especially the wicked ones, the sinners, the slanderers, and omits the worthy of enrichment.*

Normally, pagan gods and myths are allegorized by Tzetzes, that is, interpreted as rhetorically embellished ways of talking about cosmic or natural phenomena and elements, psychological processes, or, in a rather euhemeristic approach, historical facts and persons.<sup>63</sup> Allegory, indeed, constitutes the third column of Tzetzes’ didactic and scholarly agenda, as evidenced in his scholium to Hesiod’s *Works and Days* 382:<sup>64</sup>

ἢ ψευδῆ τινὰ ἱστορίαν ἐλέγχοιμεν ἢ διορθοίημεν, ἢ τι μυθῶδες ἀλληγοροίημεν, ἢ ἀτέχνως γεγραμμένον τεχνικῶς διαγράφοιμεν, οὐ μεταρσίους λόγων συνθήκαις, οὐ κόμπῳ ῥημάτων, ἀλλὰ σαφεῖ καὶ περιπεζῶ τῆ λέξει, ὡς ὁ διδασκαλικὸς τρόπος παρακελεύεται.

*Either I censure or correct a false story, or I allegorize some myth, or I cross out with τέχνη something written without τέχνη, not with a highbrow style, nor with boastful words, but with clear and accessible diction, as the didactic way of writing prescribes.*

Tzetzes’ commentaries orbit around this triad: τέχνη, ἱστορία and ἀλληγορία. The latter is chosen by Tzetzes to deal with the divine φθόνος in Aristophanes’ *Wealth* 87,<sup>65</sup> whereas in the new verse scholium to Hdt. 1.32.1 the allegorical interpretation is replaced by a plain repudiation of a pagan religious notion.

On the other hand, it is true that the typically Tzetzian polemical tone subsists in the new verse scholium, even if paganism is not a typical object of Tzetzes’ attacks. There is also the direct dialogue with the author, addressed in v. 1.<sup>66</sup> Another problem is how we should understand the πανσόφως in v. 3. As we have seen, certain negative terms as δυσμαθής or ἀμαθής can be used both literally and ironically by Tzetzes. The same seems to apply to positive adjectives used sarcastically as derogatory.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, it is

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<sup>63</sup> On Tzetzes’ allegorical method and practice, see e.g. Hunger (1954; 1955: 4-7), Cesaretti (1991: 125-204), Roilos (2005: 124-127), Goldwyn and Kokkini (2015: xii-xvi; 2019 xv-xviii), Leone (2015: IX), Goldwyn (2017: 141-171), Cardin (2018: 95-98).

<sup>64</sup> Gaisford (1823: 248.16-21); see van den Berg (2020: 292-293).

<sup>65</sup> In a very Tzetzian way, since Zeus is often interpreted as fate. See e.g. *Exegesis of the Iliad* 1.74 (Papathomopoulos 2007: 179): Ζεὺς γάρ, ὡς εἶπον, καὶ εἰμαρμένη καὶ τύχη καλεῖται.

<sup>66</sup> Herodotus is also addressed by Tzetzes in the vocative in another polemical context in *Histories* 2.736-743.

<sup>67</sup> See e.g. πάνσοφος in Tzetzes’ polemical *Iambi* (Leone 1969-1970: 134.12, 137.108, 146.347); in the scholia to Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 1160a (Koster 1962: 1039.2-3) and to his *Letter* 31 (Leone 1972: 166.10) against schedographers

ambiguous whether the last verse of the new verse scholium indeed recognizes the report of Solon's adage as a complaint by Herodotus against the nature of pagan deities, or whether it rather ironically rejects beliefs with which Herodotus probably agreed.

Tzetzes' verse scholia in general do not dwell on religious questions and, if they approach the issue of paganism in ancient Greek literature, they are not condemnatory. There is one book epigram, however, that shows striking similarities with the new verse scholium in Laur. Plut. 70.3. In a number of manuscripts at the end of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* a series of book epigrams can be found. One of them is ascribed to Tzetzes in some manuscripts:<sup>68</sup>

Ἄνθ' ὧν τὸ πῦρ δέδωκας ἀνθρώπων γένει  
 τρύχη βία φάραγγι προσπεπηγμένος·  
 τὸ πῦρ, Προμηθεῦ, ὃ βροτοῖς ἐχαρίσω  
 ὕλη πρὸς ἀκάματον εὐρέθη φλόγα,  
 ὀργῆς κατὰ σοῦ πρὸς θεῶν πυρσομένης. 5  
 Αἰσχύλε, τί φῆς; τοὺς θεοὺς σου προσφέρεις  
 πάσχοντας αἰσχυρῶς ἐκ θεῶν ὁμοτρόπων;  
 καὶ πῶς ἄρα λέληθας σαυτὸν εἰς τέλος  
 θεοὺς σεβάζων τοὺς παθητοὺς τὴν φύσιν,  
 καὶ μὴ δυνατοὺς ἐκφυγεῖν τιμωρίας; 10

*As a result of giving the fire to the human race,  
 you are consumed fixed by force to a ravine.  
 The fire, Prometheus, which you bestowed on mortals,  
 was the fuel for the untiring flame  
 of the wrath ignited by the gods against you. 5  
 Aeschylus, what do you say? Do you present your gods  
 as suffering shamefully from gods of a similar nature?  
 And how then do you not notice yourself finally  
 that you worship gods by nature capable of suffering,  
 and not capable of escaping punishments? 10*

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(see Agapitos 2017: 12-13); in *Histories* 4.847, 4.849, 11.355; in *Allegories of the Iliad* 4.48, polemicizing with Psellos; see also the σοφοὶ βούβαλοι in the scholium to Aristophanes' *Wealth* 543 (Massa Positano 1960: 131.25).

<sup>68</sup> I follow the edition by Herington (1972: 240-242). There are disagreements about the structure of this epigram. Some editors consider it as part of a longer poem (see Cougny 1927: 414, 4.83; Allegrini 1971-1972: 228), some as two separate poems (see Vassis 2005: 23, 58; Tomadaki and van Opstall 2019: 197-198; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3434> and <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3436>). Tzetzes' authorship tends to be supported by modern scholarship: see Herington (1972: 43-44), Allegrini (1971-1972: 227-230), Tomadaki and van Opstall (2019: 196-200).

The first half of this poem (vv. 1-5) refers to the punishment inflicted on Prometheus by other gods and seems to sympathize with him.<sup>69</sup> In the second half (vv. 6-10), the author of the play is addressed in the vocative exactly as in the new verse scholium in Laur. Plut. 70.3. Moreover, not only does this epigram attack ancient Greek religion as such, but it also rebukes Aeschylus for portraying and believing in gods subject to evil feelings. The criticism of the passions of pagan deities can be ascribed to someone who loves to rationalize them, like Tzetzes. However, this ascription remains uncertain, since Tzetzes normally chooses to explain allegorically instead of just mocking or reproaching.<sup>70</sup>

## 1.4 Tzetzean authorship and the question of the metre

To conclude, a final consideration on the authorship of these poems not edited by Luzzatto. Were these two verse scholia to Hdt. 1.8.3 and 1.32.1 also composed by Tzetzes? There is no self-promotion in them, or attacks against adversaries, or grammatical or stylistic concerns, or any erudition in terms of facts or chronology. The verse scholium in f. 2v of Laur. Plut. 70.3 seems to be a simple profession of approval and admiration, a standard verse scholium, improvised and emotional. Tzetzes' verse scholia can also be described as improvised and emotional, but they often offer a scholarly dimension and a didactic purpose, not to mention his self-referential remarks. And even if the truthfulness praised in v. 1 and the use of the second person in v. 2 can allude to a didactic setting, the verse scholium does not seem to be openly provoked by the usual reasons for Tzetzes to intervene in the text of a classical author. These, we have observed, are threefold: the correctness of the form (τέχνη), the accuracy of the content (ιστορία) and the explanation of a possible hidden message (ἀλληγορία). The latter could have been expected in the new verse scholium in f. 8r, but this epigram rather chooses to directly condemn the pagan element in Hdt. 1.32.1. On the other hand, the new verse scholium reproduces, together with some interesting Tzetzean parallels, the dynamics of the ἔλεγχος, i.e. the quality

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<sup>69</sup> A remarkable parallel of these verses can be found in the epigram closing Tzetzes' *Letter 9* (Leone 1972: 18.14-17), explained and allegorized in *Histories* 6.830-840 (see also e.g. Tzetzes' scholium to Hesiod's *Works and Days* 47-56, Gaisford 1823: 73.20-82.6).

<sup>70</sup> It is true that allegory seems to occur more frequently in prose scholia or in larger works by Tzetzes. Allegorical interpretation is seldom employed in his verse scholia. See, however, Tzetzes' verse scholium allegorizing the myth of Atlas that serves as scholium to Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* 428 (Herington 1972: 137, see 44 n. 1; Allegrini 1971-1972: 225-226) and as scholium to Oppian's *Haliutica* 1.619 (*recte* 1.622, Bussemaker 1849: 293.48-55; see Zumbo 1996).

control and censure of the text under consideration. This key concept of Tzetzes' method of commentary underlies the possibly caustic address to Herodotus in the new verse scholium.

Therefore, even if these two verse scholia fit less evidently within Tzetzes' methodological framework, Tzetzes' authorship cannot be rejected outright. This especially applies to the new verse scholium in f. 8r of Laur. Plut. 70.3. Yet another prominent feature makes Tzetzes a better candidate for the authorship of this epigram. The poem was composed in political verse, a metre frequently employed by Tzetzes elsewhere but unusual in other verse scholia, among which the dodecasyllable prevails.<sup>71</sup> However, the growing popularity of this accentual fifteen-syllable metre allowed it to feature more and more in many genres. Tzetzes' use of the political verse is above all linked with teaching and commissions by members of the court. This metre is associated with playfulness, and the accessibility of its rather prosaic rhythm renders it a perfect medium to convey (and possibly to memorize) a lesson. In this regard, the use of political verse in the new verse scholium to Hdt. 1.32.1 is exceptional but not entirely alien to the Tzetzian contexts of occurrence of this metre. It must be remembered that the accounts, the name of a Tzetzian oeuvre closely related to his verse scholia, are said to be composed "most of them in iambic verses, but not few in other metres".<sup>72</sup> In a marginal scholium to this passage, Tzetzes clarifies: "Note: I read 57 books and I wrote succinctly all the meaning in popular verses",<sup>73</sup> namely political verses. Two inferences can be made from this scenario. First, political verse can be regarded by Tzetzes as a metre.<sup>74</sup> Second, some of Tzetzes' accounts, whether they were collected in a book of *Accounts* from annotations

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<sup>71</sup> On the history, features and functions of political verse, see e.g. Jeffreys (1974), Hörandner (1995: 280-285), Lauxtermann (1999), Bernard (2014: 229-251).

<sup>72</sup> See above Tzetzes' scholium to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1328 (Koster 1962: 1077.52-53). However, in Tzetzes' *Histories* 11.247 only dodecasyllables are mentioned.

<sup>73</sup> Koster (1962: 1079.90-92): σημείωσαι ἀνέγνω δὲ νζ βίβλους καὶ τὸν νοῦν πάντα συνοπτικῶς ἔγραψον πανδήμοις στίχοις. On synopsis and poetry, see Bernard (2014: 238-240), van den Berg (2020: 291 n. 58). Koster states that this scholium corresponds approximately to line 50, but in fact in Ambr. C 222 inf., f. 103r, the marginal note seems to be divided and the first part is written next to line 44. A strong punctuation (:-) occurs after βίβλους (as for the particular abbreviation of βίβλους, see Koster's apparatus and Mazzucchi 2003: 273) and at the end after στίχοις (the manuscript actually reads ἔγραψ, maybe ἔγραψα?). In a footnote, however, Koster denies any connection of these political verses with the *Accounts*. He proposes to identify them with the *Histories*.

<sup>74</sup> This moderates the opinion of Jeffreys (1974: 156): "For Tzetzes, the political verse was not a meter". In the opening verses of his *Iambi* (Leone 1969-1970: 134.1-5), Tzetzes also refers to his *Histories* as μούσης μέτρα φέρουσα τῆς ἀγυρτίδος ("carrying the metres of the vulgar muse") and to some metrical violations regarding rhythm, feet and quantity. He also enumerates the πάνδημος Μούσα together with iambic (dodecasyllabic), hexametric and prose works in a catalogue of his oeuvre in his scholium to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 897a (Koster 1962: 954.16-955.4).



in the margins or copied from the *Accounts* in the manuscripts, were written in political verse.<sup>75</sup> At this point, it would not surprise us to find the new verse scholium in Laur. Plut. 70.3 among the lines of a postulated section of this work of Tzetzes, most likely as part of a longer commentary on Herodotus.

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<sup>75</sup> This is now confirmed by Pizzone (2020: 663-668), who even publishes the first verses of the passage in political verses from the *Accounts* in Voss. Gr. Q. 1, conveniently entitled: Στίχοι δημώδεις. Λογισμὸς, τῆς Ἑρμογένους τέχνης (f. 222v; see De Meyier 1955: 93). Pizzone (2020: 678-689) convincingly argues that the accounts could have been written in unbound writing material (σχέδη, σχέδια, σχεδάρια).

## Chapter 2

# A critical edition of the cycle of verse scholia in Laur. Plut. 70.6 and its apographa: text and context

In this chapter, I will present the first critical edition of 11 poems (49 dodecasyllables) inscribed in the margins of Herodotus' *Histories* 2.172-3.37. The earliest version of these epigrams is found in the manuscript Laur. Plut. 70.6 (manuscript T in Rosén's edition and most editors, N for Hemmerdinger, d for Stein).<sup>1</sup> The verse scholia are written by the same hand as the main text, the scribe Nicholas Triklines, who copied the manuscript in 1318.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript was probably copied in Thessalonike, since Nicholas' last name, common palaeographic features and many collaborations suggest kinship with Demetrios Triklinios and a connection with his milieu.<sup>3</sup>

Laur. Plut. 70.6 occupies a particular place in Herodotus' textual tradition, straddling its two main branches. Until Hdt. 2.123 it seems to belong to the Roman family and from that point onwards to the Florentine one.<sup>4</sup> The epigrams are not found in any other older manuscript. They do occur in some apographa of the Laurentianus. Among these manuscripts, the verse scholia –or part of them– were copied in Paris. gr. 1634, Ambr. L 115 sup., Vat. Urb. gr. 88, Neapol. III B 1, Marc. gr. 364, Paris. gr. 2933, Vat. gr. 1359, Bodl.

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<sup>1</sup> Rosén (1987: XXXIV-XXXV), Hemmerdinger (1981: 106-121), Stein (1869: XI-XII). See also Bandini (1768: 665), Colonna (1945: 47; 1953: 23-24), Alberti (1960: 342-345; 1999: 3-5; 2007), Turyn (1972: 132-133), Cantore (2013: 35), Wilson (2015: xx).

<sup>2</sup> A colophon placed in f. 340v gives the information; see the transcription below in the description of the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> See Vogel and Gardthausen (1909: 360), Turyn (1957: 229-233), *PLP* 29315, Smith (1993: 188-189), *RGK* 3.519, Pérez Martín (2000: 315-320; 2002: 144-145), Bianconi (2005: 122-141), Kaldellis (2014: 259).

<sup>4</sup> See Alberti (1960: 342-345; 1999: 3-5), Hemmerdinger (1981: 110), Cantore (2013: 6 n. 17) and the description of the manuscript below.

Baroccianus 114 and Neapol. III B 2.<sup>5</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the cycle of epigrams was never printed in its entirety from any of the manuscripts.

These verse scholia on Herodotus have received little attention until now. In the catalogue of the Laurenziana, Angelo Maria Bandini noted already the presence of marginalia in Laur. Plut. 70.6, but only Stein in his description of this manuscript specified the versified nature of some of them.<sup>6</sup> Stein even published our poem 2 in a footnote (the only poem ever printed from our cycle) and detailed the correspondences between a number of verses and passages of Herodotus. The next scholar who referred, albeit misleadingly, to the epigrams in Laur. Plut. 70.6 was Hemmerdinger. At the beginning of his valuable chapter 7 on this manuscript, he pointed to the presence of verses in some folios, such as f. 93v, but he understood them to be by Tzetzes and thus referred to chapter 4 of his book, where he dealt with Laur. Plut. 70.3.<sup>7</sup> While describing this ancient and authoritative manuscript of Herodotus' textual tradition, Hemmerdinger notes that 14 political verses (sic) by Tzetzes comment on Hdt. 1.94.<sup>8</sup> Note that Hemmerdinger makes the same mistake as Stein with regard to the metre of the poems: both Tzetzes' poem in f. 26r of Laur. Plut. 70.3 and the unedited poems in Laur. Plut. 70.6 are dodecasyllables.<sup>9</sup>

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the poem in Laur. Plut. 70.3 on Hdt. 1.94 is indeed by Tzetzes and forms part of a larger cycle present in this manuscript. However, despite the fact that both cycles are composed of verse scholia, they adopt different tones and viewpoints. After studying Tzetzes' verse scholia on Herodotus within the framework of his practices of intervention in other texts, it is evident that Hemmerdinger's statement regarding Laur. Plut. 70.6 is not correct. Hemmerdinger's error is justified, as there are many traces (and many of them in verse) of an intensive scholarly activity of John Tzetzes on Herodotus. However, the margins of the manuscripts of Herodotus are not the exclusive domain of Tzetzes and not every verse inscribed in the margins need to be attributed to him. Even if there are nuances and border cases, the annotations of Tzetzes and in particular his verse scholia correspond to a well-defined scholarly programme. However, the interests of Tzetzes are not reflected in the anonymous epigrams of Laur. Plut. 70.6 and its copies. No trace whatsoever is found of orthography, grammar, stylistic or textual concerns, nor even many hints of erudition in terms of facts, chronology or topography. And, above all, Tzetzes' pervasive self-representation is not in

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<sup>5</sup> See the description of these manuscripts and their relationships below. On the fate of Laur. Plut. 70.6 and on the manuscripts related to it, see Alberti (1959), Hemmerdinger (1981: 109-121), Rosén (1987: XXXV), De Gregorio (2002: 47-49 n. 49), Bianconi (2005: 138-141; 2015: 253-255; 2018: 125-128), Kaldellis (2014: 45-48, 259-262), Akışık (2019: 1-3, 23-24).

<sup>6</sup> Bandini (1768: 665), Stein (1869: XII).

<sup>7</sup> Hemmerdinger (1981: 106).

<sup>8</sup> Hemmerdinger (1981: 88). See above Chapter 1.

<sup>9</sup> The confusion may go back to the way of calling unprosodic dodecasyllables as "political" by Maas and others. See Rhoby (2011: 138-139 n. 123). On political verses proper, see above Chapter 1.

sight anywhere. Therefore, the cycle in Laur. Plut. 70.6 (and its apographa) and the poems in Laur. Plut. 70.3 should be clearly distinguished from each other and any identification of Tzetzes as the author of the former seems speculative at most, if not a plain mistake. In the following, I will briefly present the epigrams and argue for their date and circumstances of composition.

## 2.1 Summary of the poems

The first poem of the cycle comments on Herodotus' *History* 2.172.4-5, the end of the ingenious strategy designed by the Egyptian pharaoh Amasis to gain the favour of his subjects. The ancient ruler, addressed in the second person, is compared with what might be a specific case in the last verse. Right after this epigram, poem 2 reacts to the routine of Amasis described in Hdt. 2.173. The pharaoh spent only part of the day dealing with government affairs and the rest drinking and joking with friends. The poet compares this with the behaviour of more or less contemporary rulers.

These first two poems reuse some of Herodotus' lexical choices<sup>10</sup> and show quite a few interesting parallels to other Byzantine authors from the 12th and 13th centuries. The wording of poem 1, on the one hand, recalls the verses of Michael Choniates: φοβῶν, ἀπειλῶν, νουθετῶν, ἀγαθύνων,/ πλήττων, ἐλέγχων, μαστιγῶν, πράττων δίκας/ οὐ δεσποτικῶς, πατρικῶς δ' ἀγαθύνων.<sup>11</sup> The parallels of poem 2, on the other, are more evident and striking. Verse 2.4 is identical to verse 90 of the epitaph of empress Irene Komnene (daughter of Theodore I Laskaris and wife of John III Vatatzes) dated to 1239 and wrongly attributed to George Akropolites (πάννυχον ἄμα καὶ πανήμερον χρόνον).<sup>12</sup> Verse 2.5 is very similar to verse 8550 of Ephraim of Ainos' chronicle: (καὶ παιδιαῖς χαίροντος ἀεὶ καὶ μέθαις).<sup>13</sup> Verse 2.7 is almost identical to verse 889 of Constantine Stilbes' *Fire poem* (ῥυσσὸν τὸ κάλλος τῆς νέας Ῥωμαΐδος).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The verb νουθετέω (1.3) is used by Herodotus in Hdt. 2.173.2 and νέμω (2.1) is the last word of Amasis in 2.173.4.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Lampros (1880: 363.18-20).

<sup>12</sup> Ed. Heisenberg and Wirth (1978: 2.5.90). The poem was reedited by Hörandner (1972). Macrides (2007: 20, 78) rejects Akropolites' authorship. Note that vv. 18, 54 show further similarities with verses from our cycle (2.7, 5.5).

<sup>13</sup> Ed. Lampsidis (1990). On Ephraim, see below Part 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. Diethart and Hörandner (2005).

The situation portrayed in poem 2 corresponds to the account of the causes and consequences of the Fourth Crusade given by Niketas Choniates. The last four verses (2.7-10) strongly evoke passages of Niketas Choniates' oeuvre where the glorious past of Constantinople, queen of cities, is contrasted with the calamitous results of the invasion and compared with a wrinkled old lady (see e.g. Niketas Choniates' oration 14: ὦ πῶς ἔξουθενουμένη καὶ ἀπωσμένη ἡ πόλεων πασῶν ὑπερκειμένη καὶ βασιλεύουσα καὶ χαλαρῶν ῥυτίδων ἀνάπλεως ἡ στιλπνὴ πρὸ τρίτης τὰς ὄψεις, ἡ εὐῶπις, ἡ μιλοπάρηρος).<sup>15</sup> The city once home to every beautiful thing (καλοῦ παντὸς ἐνδιαίτημα) was turned into the residence of pirates (νυνὶ δὲ ληστῶν ἐνδιαίτημα).<sup>16</sup> In fact, the Fourth Crusade is characterized in the *History* as a pillaging excursion (ληστρικὸν ἔκπλου).<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the spirit of poem 2 also coincides with the well-known *Kaiserkritik* of Niketas Choniates, who partly ascribes the capture of Constantinople to the corruption of Byzantine emperors.<sup>18</sup> In particular, the behaviour described in 2.3-6 brings to mind the western perception of a weak Byzantium subject to drunkenness and earthly pleasures or the demeaning scene of emperor Alexios IV Angelos sharing games and drinks with the Latins.<sup>19</sup> In Niketas Choniates' *History*, however, the title of tyrant (2.3) is mainly reserved for usurpers of the imperial throne, especially Andronikos I Komnenos, and despots of limited realms, such as Cyprus or Sicily, former parts of the empire, but not applied to legitimate emperors.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ed. van Dieten (1972: 146.30-32). See orations 7, 9, 15 (ed. van Dieten 1972: 57.4-7, 85.22-24, 160.6-21) and NC 576.1-577.19 (see NC 591.21-592.49). The epithets of Constantinople in verses 2.7 and 2.9 of our poem are paralleled elsewhere in Niketas Choniates (e.g. NC 569.7-8, 609.86, 617.90, 627.87-89, 629.59-60), although they are not exclusive to him (see Demoen 2001: 119). Neither is the comparison of the city with a woman exclusive, frequently young in relation to the old Rome: see e.g. Constantine Manasses' verse chronicle vv. 4419-4452 (ed. Lampsidis 1996) and Theodore Prodromos' historical poem 18.97-108 (ed. Hörandner 1974). Verse 2.8 of our poem sounds like a tragic and ironic echo of Manasses' chronicle v. 2321 (see also Theodore Prodromos' historical poem 4.41-50). Notably, the image of the old wrinkle in our poem 2 goes back to *Anthologia Palatina* 5.129.6 and 6.18.2. See also Macrides and Magdalino (1992: 124).

<sup>16</sup> NC 576.3 (see oration 15, ed. van Dieten 1972: 160.8-9) and letter 4 (ed. van Dieten 1972: 204.22-26).

<sup>17</sup> NC 539.5-15, 585.58-586.69; see also 618.9-13, 621.95-2.

<sup>18</sup> See Tinnefeld (1971: 158-179), Magdalino (1983), Harris (2000; 2001) and below Part 2. For *Kaiserkritik* in historiography after 1204, see Angelov (2007: 253-285).

<sup>19</sup> NC 541.54-56, 557.13-21, see 549.9-13.

<sup>20</sup> For Andronikos, see e.g. NC 50.58, 101.68, 141.10, 147.68, 225.59-60, 227.5-6, 228.41, 245.74-79, 247.45, 259.37-38, 262.19-263.20, 270.31-34, 279.88, 279.5, 281.62-63, 292.64, 314.43, 321.18, 467.83, 639.70-71; see also Michael Choniates' *Monody* (ed. Lampros 1879: 349.17-350.9). For Isaac Komnenos, tyrant of Cyprus, see 291.39, 340.39, 369.74, 418.76, 464.13. For the kings of Sicily, 296.75, 296.87, 370.93-94, 481.93. On the figure of the tyrant in historiography from the 10th-12th centuries, see Cresci (1990), Cheynet (1990: 177-184). On Andronikos, see below Part 2 and Simpson (2013: 164-170). Note, however, that some manuscripts of the version *brevior* of Niketas Choniates' *History*, notably Vindob. Hist. gr. 53 (see below Part 2), systematically add βασιλεὺς before the name of Andronikos (van Dieten 1962: 233-234). On Theodore II Laskaris' conception of tyranny, see Angelov (2007: 245-250).

Yet the description of “those tyrants from the Romans” (οἱ ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τύραννοι), who ruled the western regions of the empire after the fall of Constantinople “like enslaved men, corrupted with luxurious pleasures and other indecencies” (ἀνδραποδώδεις ἄνθρωποι, τρυφῇ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπονοίαις διεφθαρμένοι), is not far from the portrait of the tyrants “among us” in poem 2.3-6.<sup>21</sup>

The context of composition in this verse scholium is therefore less ambiguous than in any other of the epigrams of the cycle. The picture seems to match the fall of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath. However, it remains uncertain how contemporary these events are. The poet seems not to be describing things going on simultaneously outside the reading room, but seems rather to refer to a recent past.

The next three poems (3-5) comment on the same passage (Hdt. 3.14). After the conquest of Egypt, Herodotus tells how the Persian king Cambyses seeks to humiliate his defeated Egyptian peer Psammenitus by mistreating his daughter and threatening to kill his son. These two scenes are set in a theatrical way in front of Psammenitus’ eyes. However, his reaction is anything but dramatic: he remains imperturbable, looking down. At this point (3.14.3) the first verse scholium on this section is found (poem 3). Then, by chance, Psammenitus encounters an old companion, now a beggar. Only then does he show the signs of sorrow he did not reveal to his family. Here (3.14.7) a monostich is inscribed (poem 4). Shortly afterwards, Cambyses is informed about Psammenitus’ behaviour and in turn asks Psammenitus the reason for it. At Psammenitus’ response (3.14.10) another epigram is found (poem 5).

Poems 3 to 5 focus on the positive moral content of the anecdotes told by Herodotus, playing with the complementary actions of silence and speech. In poem 3 Psammenitus’ fortitude is praised as honourable. The surprise expressed in poem 4 is echoed in poem 5, where the poet stresses the obscurity of Psammenitus’ behaviour and the respect provoked by his explanation of it. Another feature of these epigrams is the strong use of the first and second person. Poem 3 addresses the author, while poem 4 the protagonist. In poem 5 the poet’s figure occupies a prominent position instead. By these means, some of the characteristic functions of verse scholia are revealed: they often constitute the setting of dialogues with the oeuvre or its author, as well as of self-assertion and personal reflections.

Poems 6 and 7 also comment on the events following the Persian conquest (Hdt. 3.16). Poem 6 reacts to the desecration of the mummy of Amasis, the former pharaoh of Egypt (Hdt. 3.16.1). Through a rhetorical question, the Persian king is characterized as crazy, an element that will come up again in the last poem of the series: see μεμηνῶς 6.1 and μέμηνεν 11.1 (the verb μαστιγοῦν 6.2 has also been used before in 1.3 μαστιγῶν, in an

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<sup>21</sup> See NC 637.34-40, 638.52-55. The rulers in the East are also accused of tyranny (639.77-83).

epigram that actually praises Amasis). The subject of poem 7 will also reappear in the last two poems of the cycle (10-11). Cambyses instructed that the body of Amasis should be cremated (Hdt. 3.16.2-4) and Herodotus tells that this was against the Egyptian custom and, most important, against the Persian religion. Fire was considered a god by the Persians and thus they said it was not right to give to god the corpse of a man (θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου Hdt. 3.16.3). Poem 7 reacts once again with a rhetorical question to the scene. The verse scholium addresses the Persian with a traditional epithet coined by George of Pisidia and later reused to refer to the Turks.<sup>22</sup> The infidel is scorned adding blame to his error, as he behaves impiously with respect to his already impious beliefs.

Poem 8 is the single, significantly failed, attempt to display some sort of erudition in the cycle. The epigram comments on Hdt. 3.23.2-3. Herodotus narrates at this point the longevity of the Ethiopians, allegedly derived from their diet and their familiarity with a spring of extraordinary light water that rendered them sleek. Unlike Tzetzes, the author of this verse scholium does not succeed in giving any explicit learned reference, nor does he argue with Herodotus. He shows curiosity and essays a rational explanation for the ointment effect of the water, but the whole commentary is an exhibition of conjectures, halfway between a sense of bewilderment and mere incredulity. He also establishes a dialogue with the author by means of the second person, but he does not confute Herodotus' report. It is true that verses 8.3-4 suggest some questioning of Herodotus' authority and the last verse also employs some terms that appear to be technical.<sup>23</sup> However, the epigram does not give any answers or insights into the subject.

Poem 9 elaborates on the following episode of the Ethiopian digression in book 3 of the *Histories*. The Ethiopians, Herodotus recounts, used gold to chain up their prisoners, since it was less scarce than other metals in that region. The legend, which had some success in later literature,<sup>24</sup> paves the way for a moralizing condemnation of greed in the longest verse scholium of the cycle. The line of thought of the epigram is easy to follow, yet somewhat witty and ingenious. The φιλόχρυσοι, hateful as they are, should be presented with these shackles made of gold, as they would accept willingly and full of joy to be subjected and kept in prison fastened with them. One may think whether the same

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<sup>22</sup> See George of Pisidia's *Heraclias* 1.14, 181 (ed. Pertusi 1959), *LBG* and e.g. Constantine Stilbes' *Fire poem* v. 902 and Theodore II Laskaris' panegyric on John III Vatatzes (ed. Tartaglia 2000: 29.115). See also the commentary on 29.1, 3 in Part 2. Note the use of the nominative (with article) in place of the vocative: see the commentary on 24.1, 25.1-2 in Part 2.

<sup>23</sup> A quick search in *TLG* shows the co-occurrence of χαῦνον and κοῦφον (8.4) in scientific literature, such as Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Galen, Oribasios and pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias. See also τὴν τεραστίαν φύσιν in Nikephoros Choumnos' poem 3.14 (ed. Martini 1900).

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* 9.1.5-2.1.

characters of poem 2 are targeted here, either the decadent tyrants (2.3-6) or the plunderers (2.11). This is, in fact, how Niketas Choniates' *History* depicts the emperors Angeloi (φιλοχρηματίαν νοσοῦντες) and, above all, the Latin invaders (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔθνος ἐρασιχρηματώτερον τοῦδε τοῦ γένους).<sup>25</sup> However, the greed for gold was part of a fruitful literary motif attested elsewhere.<sup>26</sup>

The epigram is structured very neatly, with repetitions and variations of words and ideas (see e.g. δεσμὸς 9.1, δεσμίους 9.5, δέσιν 9.7; πόδας [...] ποδῶν 9.2, πόδας 9.9; φιλοχρῦσους 9.1, χρυσοῦς 9.3, χρυσὸν 9.6, χρυσίνας 9.11; πέδας 9.4, πέδην 9.8, πέδαις 9.11), including a rhetorical question full of pathos (9.4-6) and a climax (9.7-11) with an overall humorous effect. Unfortunately, there is a lacuna in the textual transmission of 9.6.<sup>27</sup> The syntax of the line could as well need a genitive to complete the meaning of πλέον.<sup>28</sup> The comparison with other passages where analogous turns of phrases take place seems to support the supplementation of ἀέρος.<sup>29</sup> This conjecture also conforms to the metre in completing the dodecasyllable. Finally, note that verses 9.9-10 use *iuncturae* (χεῖρας/τράχηλον/πόδας; σωματικὴν/διαρτίαν) of some success in Byzantine literature (see *TLG*).

The edifying efforts of these verse scholia may also address religious elements, as we have observed in poem 7. In the last two poems of the cycle, the consideration of ancient customs and deeds reveals the Christian scruples of the poet. Poem 10 reacts to Herodotus' *Histories* 3.29.1, which describes how the Persian Cambyses wounded a calf worshiped by the Egyptians as the deity Apis. From then on, Herodotus tells of how Cambyses gradually sank into madness, committing several murders and sacrileges. Towards the end of this narration, he describes how Cambyses mocked and profaned Egyptian gods. Poem 11 is found next to Hdt. 3.37.3-38.1, at the conclusion of the section, where Herodotus asserts once again the king's madness, right before the famous relativistic excursus on the equal power of custom in different societies (Hdt. 3.38).

The poet of our epigrams appears less liberal than Herodotus. The same idea pervades both poems 10 and 11: Cambyses is praised for despising pagan cults, despite being pagan himself. Remarkably, the ancient rulers are often well treated in our verse scholia (see poems 1-5). The craziness of Cambyses, anticipated in poem 6, is ironically turned into wisdom (10.1). The king's controversial figure is overlooked (11.1) and his profanities are

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<sup>25</sup> NC 537.49-58, 551.61-63; see also 539.11-15, 559.77-80, 576.80-81, 602.4-7, 647.19-21, 652.83-87.

<sup>26</sup> See e.g. Rhoby (2019b: 9-10). The motif is found, notably, in the epigram by Francesco Arcudi (17th century) in f. 16r of Vat. Barb. gr. 132, edited by van Dielen (1975: LIV).

<sup>27</sup> See Figure 2. On the implications of this lacuna in the issue of the authorship and in the relationships of the manuscripts, see below.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. 5.2 (τῆς σιγῆς τιμῶ πλέον) and 6.1 (τούτου πλέον). However, πλέον can function on its own as in 9.3.

<sup>29</sup> See Michael Italikos' letter 1 to Theodore Prodromos (Ὁ γοῦν παρῶν οὐτοσὶ παπᾶς Μιχαὴλ πλέον ἀέρος ἀναπνεῖ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς σοῦς, ed. Gautier 1972: 64.1-2) and George Tornikios' letter 10 to John Kamateros (ὄν σεβάσμιος τῶ ὄντι πατήρ σου πλέον ἢ τὸν ἀέρα προσέπνεε, ed. Darrouzès 1970: 128.10).



deemed almost as an intuition of truth from a Christian perspective. At the same time, Herodotus, addressed in the second person (11.2), is questioned and receives criticism for disapproving Cambyses' behaviour. The defiance of the authority of the main text, only hinted at in poem 8, explicitly unfolds in this epigram. It is not the historical or grammatical accuracy that triggers the annoyance of the author of this cycle of verse scholia, as in the case of Tzetzes, but the pagan stories of Herodotus.

## 2.2 The verse scholia on Diodorus Siculus attributed to Niketas Choniates

The verse scholia found in the margins of another manuscript show more similarities with our cycle of epigrams in Laur. Plut. 70.6 and apographa in comparison to the verse scholia by Tzetzes. Not only do they comment on another ancient historian, but they also seem to refer to the Fourth Crusade and show acquaintance with Niketas Choniates' account. Vat. gr. 130 contains the first five books of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke* and was copied in the second half of the tenth century.<sup>30</sup> Mazzucchi has identified eleven different later hands that annotated and corrected the manuscript, some of which wrote epigrams.<sup>31</sup> According to him, hands 2, 2<sup>a</sup> and 3 are dated to the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth.<sup>32</sup> Hands 4<sup>a-c</sup> are from the thirteenth century, whereas hand 5 intervened towards the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth centuries.<sup>33</sup> Nikephoros Gregoras has been identified by Mazzucchi as the important historical figure responsible for hand 6.<sup>34</sup> Hands 7-9 are from the fifteenth century.<sup>35</sup> The most prominent scholiast is by far hand 3, who wrote down 17 epigrams. Mazzucchi also

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<sup>30</sup> See Mazzucchi (1994: 165-176). The manuscript is available online at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.130](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.130).

<sup>31</sup> Mazzucchi (1994; 1995).

<sup>32</sup> Hand 2 wrote two verse scholia: a monostich of moralistic content in f. 97r commenting on *Bibliothēke* 2.23.2-3 and a rebuke against the author in five verses in f. 143v regarding 3.28.1-2. See Mazzucchi (1994: 181), Kaldellis (2015: 83). On hand 3, see below.

<sup>33</sup> Hand 5 wrote a scholium in eight verses in f. 89r commenting on *Bibliothēke* 2.13.4. See Mazzucchi (1994: 202), Kaldellis (2015: 95).

<sup>34</sup> Mazzucchi (1994: 202-211).

<sup>35</sup> Hand 9 copied one last epigram of eight verses in f. 147v commenting on *Bibliothēke* 3.33.6. See Mazzucchi (1994: 218).

proposes Niketas Choniates as the author who composed these verse scholia on the eve of the sack of Constantinople in 1204.<sup>36</sup>

The reasons Mazzucchi adduced to argue that Niketas Choniates wrote these verse scholia regard the style and content of the notes.<sup>37</sup> As for the content, apart from some vague allusions to biographical details,<sup>38</sup> several contemporary issues take place in these epigrams, authentic instances of “poetic journalism”.<sup>39</sup> In this regard, especially significant is the profusion of expressions in the poems that connect the main text with the present from which the poet is writing.<sup>40</sup> Besides some enigmatic references to a situation of war,<sup>41</sup> Italian invaders are explicitly named in these verse scholia, as for example in the right margin of f. 298r (poem XVI):

καὶ θεσμοθέτας | εἶπερ ἠτύχει πόλις:  
πόλις κράτους πρὶν | νῦν δε μεστή δακρύων:  
πάρεργον οὐκ ἂν | Ἴταλῶν ἦν ἀσπίδος:  
οἱ θεσμοφυλακεῖν γὰρ | ἐξευρημένοι:  
δίχα παρασπίζοντος, | ἠσθενημένοι:<sup>42</sup>

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This epigram reacts to *Bibliotheke* 5.67.4, where Diodorus talks about the mythical figure of Themis (διὸ καὶ θεσμοφύλακας καὶ θεσμοθέτας ὀνομάζεσθαι τοὺς τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους διαφυλάττοντας). Some terms of the main text are elaborated in the verse scholium with reflections on the decadent present in contrast to the past.<sup>43</sup>

A practical lesson is drawn from history, which is conceived as ἀρχετυπία.<sup>44</sup> The same principle runs through other poems. In the right margin of *Bibliotheke* 5.40.4-5 (f. 281r),

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<sup>36</sup> Edition, translation and analysis in Mazzucchi (1995). See Kaldellis (2015: 80-97). I follow Mazzucchi’s text (diplomatic transcription) and numeration of the epigrams and I print Kaldellis’ translations with a few minor changes. A quick search in *DBBE* shows that at least poems I and V were later copied in Neapol. III B 16 (end of 13<sup>th</sup> century); see Formentin (2015: 60).

<sup>37</sup> The reasons are insinuated in Mazzucchi (1994: 188-197), thoroughly developed throughout Mazzucchi (1995) and summarized in Mazzucchi (1995: 254-256).

<sup>38</sup> Poems II and XII, for example, describe the author as an old man, and other components allow us to imagine his familiar (see poem XIII) or professional profile (see poem I).

<sup>39</sup> Magdalino (2012); see Lauxtermann (2019b: 33).

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. νῦν II.1, III.2, VII.1, IX.1, X.1, XVI.2; τῆς παρουσίας ἡμέρας I.1; καθ’ ἡμᾶς V.1, XII.2 (compare παρ’ ἡμῖν in our poem 2.3). See Mazzucchi (1995: 235 n. 152).

<sup>41</sup> See poems X, XIII, XVII.

<sup>42</sup> Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 94): “If the city was fortunate enough to have legislators,/ a city formerly of strength, but now full of tears,/ it would not be subjected by Italian arms./ For those who are supposed to guard the law/ become weak without someone to defend them” [5]. See Mazzucchi (1995: 213). The Italians are also mentioned in III.4 (see below) and XVII.8.

<sup>43</sup> This is a productive rhetorical device in descriptions of declines of cities; see Demoen (2001).

<sup>44</sup> See poem I.3.

which recounts the luxurious customs of the Tyrrhenians, our commentator adds four verses (poem XV):

τοιαῦτα τὰ σπέρματα | τῶν μακρῶν πότων:  
τὸ πατρόθεν σβέννυσιν | ἢ τρυφή κλέος:  
ῥαθυμίαν ἄνανδρον | ὀπλίτα φύγε:  
εὐκλειαν οἶδε | καὶ παλαιὰν ὀλλύειν:<sup>45</sup>

The epigram, which largely reuses the words of Diodorus,<sup>46</sup> picks up again the motif of the spoiled ancient glory. The author advises a reader-soldier to avoid the errors of previous peoples, here in particular the abuse of alcohol.<sup>47</sup>

These poems in Vat. gr. 130 have several points in common with the cycle of verse scholia in Laur. Plut. 70.6 and its copies, such as the allusion to current affairs and the censure of drunkenness. We have seen in poem 2 of our cycle the reference to drinking and other dissolute behaviour (2.5-6), the topic of the degradation of Constantinople (2.7-8) and the reference to invaders (2.9-10). Moreover, poems XI and XIV from Vat. gr. 130 agree with our poem 9 on the condemnation of greed. However, the religious elements are absent from the cycle on Diodorus Siculus by hand 3. These poems were produced in a secular context by a person evidently belonging to the imperial administration, Mazzucchi believes, and they are not afraid of touching on erotic subjects.<sup>48</sup> Accordingly, hand 3 of Vat. gr. 130 does not react polemically to pagan elements in the main text.

The only time that hand 3 contests the information given by Diodorus Siculus is at *Bibliothèque* 2.5.6, which refers to the amount of warships at only one harbour of Syracuse in times of tyrant Dionysius. The left margin of f. 82v of Vat. gr. 130, corresponding to this passage, was annotated first by hand 2: σημείωσαι τί φησὶν ὁ παρῶν ἱστορικὸς περὶ τῶν μακρῶν νηῶν τῶν ἐξελθουσῶν ἀπὸ λιμένος ἐνὸς τῆς Σικελίας· ὅπερ τέως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ

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<sup>45</sup> Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 93): “Such is the fruit of heavy drinking:/ luxurious easy living extinguishes ancestral glory./ Soldier, avoid this unmanly indolence,/ which knows how to destroy even an ancient glory”. See Mazzucchi (1995: 213).

<sup>46</sup> See Mazzucchi (1995: 244 n. 218).

<sup>47</sup> Drunkenness is also condemned in poem VIII, where the myth is taken as a model. The state of the army is criticized in poem VII (see also above XVI.5). Our poet is keen on complaining about the contemporary parallels of subjects discussed by Diodorus. See e.g. poem V against astrologers and poem IX against doctors. Even the motif of rural bliss in poem VI can be taken as a complaint about life at the court.

<sup>48</sup> See Mazzucchi (1995: 254). Poem IV comments on *Bibliothèque* 2.13.4, which recounts that queen Semiramis slept with different men and killed them afterwards because she was afraid that marriage could affect her power (before, hand 2 excerpted the passage in the margin and the only verse scholium by hand 5 later reacted similarly to this very passage, see above). Poems XI-XII comment on 5.18.1 and joke about the rather promiscuous wedding customs of the Gymnesian people.

ἄπιστον.<sup>49</sup> Under this note, hand 3 wrote down a verse scholium to endorse the incredulity expressed by hand 2 (poem III):

καλῶς ἀπιστεῖς μᾶλλον | εἰς νοῦν εἰ λάβης,  
Βυζαντίων ναύσταθμον | ὥς νῦν εὐρέθη.  
πρὸς δυσάριθμα· | καὶ δυσέμβολα σκάφη,  
τὰ τῶν Ἰταλῶν, | μὴ δὲ δις δέκα φέρων:<sup>50</sup>

The poet addresses the previous commentator in the second person and refers to what is happening simultaneously in the outer world. From the scene described in this poem, Mazzucchi infers that the author was in Constantinople in May 1203. The coincidence of the number of ships (twenty) with Niketas Choniates' report in NC 541.47-50 is one of the strongest arguments of Mazzucchi to attribute the epigrams to Niketas Choniates.<sup>51</sup> Other parallels include the use of the word Τυνδαρίς in poem XII.7 and in Niketas Choniates' *De signis* (NC 652.75). Poem XVI quoted above would be self-referential and apologetic too, according to Mazzucchi, an attempt to free the author from any responsibility in the fall of Constantinople. All in all, the references match what we know about Niketas Choniates. However, we must be cautious, since Niketas is also our most important Greek source for the period in which hand 3 certainly wrote the poems in Vat. gr. 130. The identification of the author as Niketas Choniates runs the risk of being a circular argument. The study of Mazzucchi is a monumental philological work, well grounded in palaeographical and codicological analysis, which brings in references from an impressive variety of sources other than Niketas Choniates. Nothing invites the rejection of the postulated authorship of Niketas Choniates, but there is not enough evidence either to accept it without prudent hesitation.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> See Mazzucchi (1994: 180; 1995: 208). Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 88): “Note what this historian says about the longships that came out of a single harbor of Sicily: it does indeed seem unbelievable to me”. What has not been noticed by Mazzucchi or Kaldellis is that the text of Diodorus in Vat. gr. 130 reads ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς ἕξ ἐνὸς λιμένος ἰβ' μυριάδας (120000) and not τετρακοσίας (400), as the modern editions. This makes it sound even less believable.

<sup>50</sup> Translation after Kaldellis (2015: 88). “You are right to disbelieve this, especially if you consider/ how is the current state of the harbour of Byzantium/ that against the innumerable and invulnerable ships/ of the Italians it can barely muster twenty ships”. See Mazzucchi (1995: 208).

<sup>51</sup> See Mazzucchi (1995: 224-227).

<sup>52</sup> In a recent article, Kuttner-Homs (2020) addresses the literary aspects of the cycle and its internal consistency. He accepts Mazzucchi's attribution to Niketas Choniates without adding any new piece of evidence. In fact, his analysis of the poet's “masks” rather undermines the arguments offered by Mazzucchi.

## 2.3 The context of composition of the new cycle of verse scholia

Our presentation of the cycle of epigrams in Laur. Plut. 70.6 and its apographa has pinpointed instances of dialogue of the verse scholia with the main text and its author as well as with the reader and contemporary issues. The comparison with other cycles of epigrams on ancient historians has also shown that our cycle shares some interests with the one attributed to Niketas Choniates, but no connection at all with the erudite ostentations and the didactic purposes of Tzetzes. Our poems seem to react in a rather spontaneous and emotional way to Herodotus' text instead. However, spontaneous does not mean extemporaneous. These more or less refined *divertissements* betray, in fact, an obvious educated background, as the political and theological overtones reveal.

Once we have dispelled the confusion of the author of the cycle in Laur. Plut. 70.6 with Tzetzes, it may be possible to better delimit the circumstances of production of these verse scholia. The time of composition follows the capture of Constantinople in 1204, if we take into account the nature of the events depicted in poem 2. We have also observed that the historical facts are referred to as if they belong to a recent past. Linguistic and stylistic features, such as the aforementioned *loci similes et paralleli*, point to the same period (see e.g. the epitaph by Ps. George Akropolites quoted above).<sup>53</sup> Niketas Choniates offers the most interesting similarities in the treatment of the corruption that motivated the Fourth Crusade and the decay of Constantinople thereafter (see poems 2 and 9). However, some of these parallels (e.g. the comparison of the city with a wrinkled old woman and the contempt for greedy people) are standardized motifs that do not belong to a given author, but rather to the subject to which they refer.

The *terminus ante quem* of our poems is 1318, that is, the date of Laur. Plut. 70.6, the earliest manuscript that contains them. As stated before, the poems are written by the same hand responsible for the main text, the scribe Nicholas Triklines. In the following section, we will establish that every other manuscript that transmits our epigrams is ultimately a copy of Laur. Plut. 70.6. The question is, thus, whether the epigrams are autograph and were composed by Nicholas Triklines as he was copying the *Histories*, or if they belong to an earlier author and were just copied together with Herodotus' text. Autography represents an important issue both for the Tzetzean verse scholia and for the ones attributed to Niketas Choniates. Both Luzzatto and Mazzucchi comment on the textual marks that betray the process of composition of these verse scholia. Erasures,

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<sup>53</sup> Ed. Heisenberg and Wirth (1978) and Hörandner (1972). This poem also expresses a yearning for Constantinople in vv. 65-75 redolent of our poem 2.

corrections, rewritings and empty spaces would reveal that the epigrams were jotted down while the poet was reading the main text.<sup>54</sup> These kinds of traces can be useful to determine whether or not the poems in Laur. Plut. 70.6 are autograph.

Now, there is no palaeographic evidence indicating that the reading of Herodotus inspired Nicholas Triklines to compose the verse scholia while he was copying Laur. Plut. 70.6. At first sight, the fact that the same hand copied also Herodotus' text and other marginalia already conspires against this idea. Note that the other cycles of verse scholia discussed in this paper were all added in an ancient manuscript by a *manus posterior*. But, even if no erasure or correction is to be found in the epigrams, a major question is posed by the already mentioned lacuna in poem 9. Triklines' awareness of the versified nature of these scholia is expressed visually, as every verse is written in two lines when the poems occur in the external margin.<sup>55</sup> In the sixth verse of poem 9 a space is left blank at the beginning of the second hemistich, where three more syllables are needed to complete the dodecasyllable (see Figure 2). The phenomenon can be simply understood as a case of the scribe not being able to read the passage in the manuscript from which he copied the poem. However, if we want to regard the scribe as the author of these epigrams, the particular layout of this verse may also be explained as follows: Triklines left an empty space until he could find a proper set of words that fit metre and meaning. In the meantime, he had already decided the ending of the verse, recurrent in our cycle.<sup>56</sup>

In general, the signals point to a date of composition earlier than 1318, but it should be remembered that Nicholas Triklines' milieu may have also been favourable to the production of such verse scholia. To my knowledge, no scholium is ascribed to Nicholas himself. His labour, however, was more than that of a mere copyist, insofar as it shows philological training and practice. In addition, his reputed brother Demetrios Triklinios

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<sup>54</sup> See e.g. Luzzatto (1999: 51 n. 26), Mazzucchi (1995: 236, 244, 255 n. 296) and the critical apparatus of poems III, VIII, X, XIII, XIV and XV. Besides, both Luzzatto and Mazzucchi adduce the meticulous use of punctuation, accentuation and, in the case of Tzetzes, the indications of the length of the *dichrona* over the line to support the authography (see below Part 2). Luzzatto's identification of the hand that annotates the Thucydides of Heidelberg (Pal. gr. 252) with Tzetzes seems now to be confirmed by Pizzone (2020). Note that Tzetzes' poems in Laur. Plut. 70.3, on the other hand, are copied by a later hand.

<sup>55</sup> Similarly, a space is left blank between verses when they are written in the lower margin (poems 5 and 10). Note that the partition of the verses in two lines does not necessarily coincide with the caesura. In Laur. Plut. 70.6 all the epigrams are preceded by a lemma, the abbreviation for  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi(\sigma\iota)/(-\sigma\acute{\iota})$ , except for poem 8. One may wonder whether this omission corresponds to the author, or rather to an error of the copyist.

<sup>56</sup> See 5.2, 6.1, 9.3, 9.6. Of course, this could have already happened in the model of Laur. 70.6: the author left the empty space and Triklines copied the verse as he found it (see a similar case in Pizzone 2020: 679 n. 87). Note that some apographa (e.g. Ambr. L 115 sup., Marc. gr. 364) leave the blank space too, whereas other show various solutions to emend the lacuna (see below).

is known to have undertaken a huge editorial enterprise and produced a varied corpus of scholia that mainly deals with poetry.<sup>57</sup>

Without ruling out the possibility of Triklines' authorship, I am inclined to think that the poems were copied in the manuscript that served as model for Laur. Plut. 70.6 at some point between the years 1204-1318. In Laur. Plut. 70.6, Triklines copied Herodotus' *Histories* and all the marginalia with the same script and colour, thus erasing the visibly different layers of marginal interventions in the model. Even if some epigrams show meaningful concepts and wording in common with Niketas Choniates, there are not enough elements to claim that Niketas is the author of these verse scholia. The author seems to be at least familiar with Niketas Choniates' account of the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and its aftermath, which is not unlikely considering the wide readership of Niketas in Byzantium.<sup>58</sup> The author, however, does not seem to have experienced the tragedy of the Latin occupation only through books. The incident seems to be fresh in the author's memory, if not still part of his reality. I am alluding here to the possibility that our verse scholia were written before 1261, when Michael VIII Palaiologos recaptured Constantinople. It sounds indeed more reasonable to admit that the reader of Herodotus would refer to the disaster of the Fourth Crusade when the wound was still open. Be that as it may, the span of a bit more of a hundred years (1204-1318) seems safe enough to date the composition of the cycle.

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<sup>57</sup> Bianconi (2005: 130-136) gives an outline of the philological activity of Nicholas Triklines. He seems to have copied more prose (including some folios of Herodotus in his restoration of Angel. gr. 83), whereas he collaborated with Demetrios Triklinios for poetry. See Smith (1993: 188-189), Pérez Martín (2000: 317-318), Bianconi (2005: 128), Pontani (2015: 427) and, especially, Turyn (1957: 232-233) on Nicholas' metrical training. For the figure of Demetrios Triklinios, see e.g. Mergiali (1996: 54-57), Fryde (2000: 268-294), Bianconi (2005: 91-118) and Pontani (2015: 424-428).

<sup>58</sup> See below Part 2.

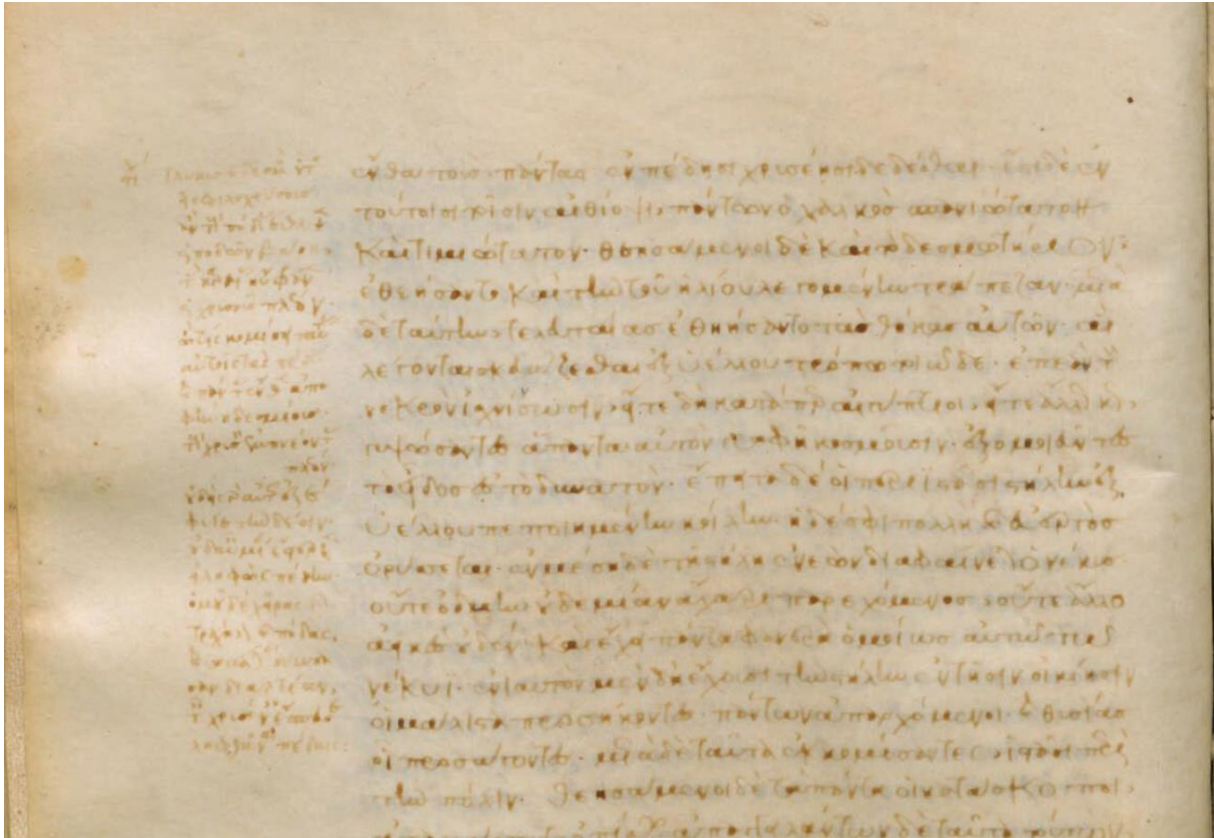


Figure 2 Laur. Plut. 70.6, f. 96v

## 2.4 Description of the manuscripts

### 2.4.1 T

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 70.6, a. 1318. Parchment, mm. 272 x 195,<sup>59</sup> ff. IV + 341 + III,<sup>60</sup> ll. 30.

Content: Herodotus' *Histories* (1r-340v).

<sup>59</sup> According to Turyn (1972: 132). Before, Turyn (1957: 229) gave mm. 185 x 270. Cantore (2013: 35), probably following the website where the digital copy of the manuscript can be found (<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOItWMiI1A4r7GxMMDB&c>), gives mm. 180 x 270.

<sup>60</sup> Bandini (1768: 665), Stein (1869: XI), Colonna (1945: 47), Turyn (1957: 229), Hemmerdinger (1981: 106), Rosén (1987: XXXIV): ff. 340; Cantore (2013: 35): II + 340 + I. F. 341 (numerated in the recto in red) seems to be a parchment addition. In the recto, it contains the calculation of the manuscript's date from the date given in the subscription in the usual Greek way (year since the creation of the world): 6826 – 5508 = 1318; in the verso, the seal of the library.



Epigrams: poems 1, 2 = f. 87v; 3, 4, 5 = f. 93v; 6 = f. 94r; 7 = f. 94v; 8 = f. 96r; 9 = f. 96v; 10 = f. 97v; 11 = 100v.

In most editions and studies of the textual transmission of Herodotus' *Histories*, this manuscript is called T.<sup>61</sup> Manuscript T has been placed in an intermediate position in the textual tradition of Herodotus' *Histories*, traditionally divided in two main families.<sup>62</sup> The subscription in f. 340v of T gives the scribe who copied the main text and most of the marginalia, Nicholas Triklines, and the date in which he completed the copy, March 1318.<sup>63</sup> A later hand, which Bianconi identified with George Gemistos Plethon (14th-15th centuries, *PLP* 3630), copied ff. 164-165 (Hdt. 4.155.2-163.2: ἐν δελφοῖσιν αὐτῶ – ἡ δὲ πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε), the two central folios of a quire that fell.<sup>64</sup> Other later hands corrected this manuscript.<sup>65</sup> Sometimes a text is written anew with a distinctive script in a darker ink over an erased or damaged text, sometimes the darker ink rewrites over a faded text in a more or less mimetic way.<sup>66</sup> There seem to be many different hands: compare e.g. ff. 8r (Hdt. 1.32.1: ἀνθρώπινον πᾶν οὐδαμᾶ ἐν τωτῶ μένον [...] τῶν σεωυτοῦ), 16r (Hdt. 1.65.3: ἐ καὶ ἄνδρα) and 46r (Hdt. 2.14.2: τὸ σπέρμα, τὸν ἄμητον τοαπὸ τοῦδε μένει· ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῆσιν ὑσί).<sup>67</sup> The same hands are responsible for some additions in the margins of

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<sup>61</sup> Colonna (1945: 47; 1953: 23-24), Alberti (1959; 1960: 342-345; 1999: 3-5; 2007), Rosén (1987: XXXIV-XXXV), Cantore (2013: 35), Wilson (2015: xx). Besides, the manuscript is called d by Stein (1869: XI-XII, see also Hude 1908) and N by Hemmerdinger (1981: 106-121). The manuscript is not considered by Legrand (1932: 181-183) or Hude (1927b: ix), who counts it among the *deteriores*.

<sup>62</sup> According to Hemmerdinger (1981: 109-110) and Alberti (1999: 3-5), until Hdt. 2.123 the text is closer to the Roman family and from then on it turns to the Florentine family. According to Stein (1869: XXIV, XXXIV, XXXVI), Colonna (1953: 23), Alberti (1959: 317) and Rosén (1987: XXXIV), the text of the Roman family reaches Hdt. 2.133. See also Alberti (1960: 342-345), Bianconi (2005: 135 n. 54; 2015: 254; 2018: 126) and Cantore (2002: 20; 2012: 5-6; 2013: 6 n. 17, 35, 62).

<sup>63</sup> + ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ | νικολάου τοῦ τρικλίνη· μηνὶ μαρτίῳ· ἴν ᾰ<sup>(nc)</sup>. ἔτους ᾠϞϞζ<sup>ou</sup>+. See Bandini (1768: 665), Stein (1869: XII), Colonna (1945: 47), Turyn (1957: 229 n. 212; 1972: 132-133), Hemmerdinger (1981: 106).

<sup>64</sup> 25 lines per page. Bianconi (2005: 138-141; 2005b: 403-405; 2015: 255; 2018: 127). Hemmerdinger (1981: 108) had wrongly attributed these pages to Laonikos Chalkokondyles, who would have copied it from Marc. gr. 365 in 1447. On Plethon and his disciples, including Kabakes, Chalkokondyles and Bessarion, associated with the city of Mistra in the Peloponnese, see e.g. Masai (1956), Woodhouse (1986), Mergiali (1996: 211-220), Pontani (2015: 447-448).

<sup>65</sup> Hemmerdinger (1981: 108) distinguishes at least two more. Alberti (1960: 342 n. 26) notes that a hand from the 15th century corrected the manuscript, as for example in f. 8v ἄπηρος in Hdt. 1.32.6.

<sup>66</sup> See e.g. ff. 1v, 2rv, 4v, 6v, 7rv, 8rv, 9rv, 11v, 12v, 13v, 14rv, 16r, 17r, 18rv, 19rv, 20v, 21rv, 23rv, 24v, 26v, 27v, 30r, 31r, 33r, 42v, 43v, 44r, 46rv, 47v, 48rv, 49r, 63v, 72r, 78v, 95v., 94v, 96v, 102v, 103r, 106r, 107v, 137r, 147r, 166v, 168v, 169r, 170v, 181v, 185v, 186r, 189r, 190v, 198v, 201r, 202v, 207r, 211v, 212r, 216r, 219v, 225r, 239v, 277v, 278rv, 280v, 281r, 287r, 295rv, 302r, 317v, 322r, 331v, 339r. Sometimes repetitions in the main text are crossed out: see e.g. ff. 230r, 333v.

<sup>67</sup> The origin of these interventions also vary. The addition in Hdt. 2.14.2 supplements a lacuna (*saut du même au même*) in T, in Hdt. 1.65.3 the text of T is corrected, whereas the erasure in Hdt. 1.32.1 (ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν

missing text or proposed readings.<sup>68</sup> Relatively large passages omitted in T are supplemented by what seems to be the hand of a member of Plethon's circle from Mistra, Demetrios Raoul Kabakes (15th century, *PLP* 10016), who eventually copied manuscript v, an apographon of T (see below).<sup>69</sup> The passages added, mostly omitted in T as a result of a *saut du même au même*, are closer to the text given by manuscripts of the Roman family.<sup>70</sup> In general, the additions are kept in the margins in manuscript v (see below), but Kabakes adopted some corrections and suggestions in his own copy too.<sup>71</sup> The margins of T are also furnished here and there with the abbreviation for σημείωσαι and with the moon and sun symbols.<sup>72</sup>

A later hand also recopied the beginning of the colophon of Triklines in f. 340v.<sup>73</sup> Below, another member of the circle of Plethon, Laonikos Chalkokondyles (15th century, *PLP* 30512), wrote down a note, which reflects on the Hellenic history as transmitted in Herodotus' *Histories*.<sup>74</sup> Before reaching the Peloponnese, manuscript T most likely originated from Thessalonike, since Nicholas Triklines is a well-known member of the circle of Demetrios Triklinios (see above). Nicholas Triklines himself also copied much of the marginalia of the manuscript, including our epigrams. The marginalia (*summaria*) of

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με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπιῶν πρηγμάτων πέρι, see the new verse scholium in Laur. Plut. 70.3) seems to be motivated by religious scruples. The person who obliterated this passage is most likely responsible for the erasure in Hdt. 1.131.2 (τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες) in f. 33r of T. The latter erasure has been attributed to Plethon himself, according to a similar practice of censorship attested in other manuscripts of Plato (Pagani 2009: 201).

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. ff. 45r, 81r, 91r, 94v, 96v, 128v, 163v, 168r, 189v, 191r, 202r, 214r, 303v, 315v, 316r.

<sup>69</sup> See e.g. ff. 122v (Hdt. 3.124.2: ἡ δὲ – παρθενεύεσθαι), 125r (Hdt. 3.134.4-5: καὶ ταῦτα – στρατεύεσθαι), 138r (Hdt. 4.33.2-3: τοὺς κομίζαντας – εἶναι), 138v (Hdt. 4.34.1-2: αἱ μὲν – ἐλαίη), 148v (Hdt. 4.81.5-6: τῶν Σκυθέων – πλήθεως τῶν), 228v-229r (Hdt. 6.122: καλλίεω – ἀνδρῖ). These interventions could dispel the suspicions of De Gregorio (2002: 48 n. 49), who wonders why Kabakes did not leave any trace or note in manuscript T. The additions were before attributed by Fryde (1983: 91) to Lorenzo Valla, who would have used T for his translation of Herodotus into Latin (see below). The attribution can be refuted after comparison of the script of these notes with the ones offered by Alberti (1960b).

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. ἰόντι 4.34.2; τῶν, αὐτῶν and τῶν in 4.81.5-6 and the whole section 6.122.

<sup>71</sup> See e.g. ff. 130v (τοὺς δισχιλίουσιν Hdt. 3.157.3, where the main text of T reads στρατιωτῶν τοὺς χιλίους) and 329r (Hdt. 9.71.1, where all the manuscripts read Ἑλλήνων δὲ, but Kabakes in the margin of T and in v copied Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ).

<sup>72</sup> For an ideological interpretation of the symbols for sun and moon in this manuscript, in the light of the Hellenism of the circle of Plethon, Laonikos Chalkokondyles (see below) and Kabakes, see Akişık (2013: 58-75).

<sup>73</sup> + ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ νικ(ολάου) τοῦ τρι(κλίνη).

<sup>74</sup> λαονίκου τοῦ ἀθηναίου | δοκοῦσι δὲ ἔμοιγε οἱ ἔλληνες χρῆσάμ(εν)οι ἀρετῇ μεῖζονι ἢ κατὰ ἄν(θρωπ)ον ἀποδείξασθαι μ(έν) ἔργα | οἷα ἡμᾶς πυνθανομένους ἐκπλήττεσθαι. τυχεῖν δὲ κήρυκος οὐ πολλῶ τι τῶν ἔργων | αὐτῶν ἀποδέοντος· ἠροδότου ἀλικαρνασέως, τούτων ἢ ἕκαστα ἐγένετο θεία πομπὴ ἐπεξιόντος:-. See Turyn (1957: 230-231 n. 212; 1972: 132), Kaldellis (2014: 45-48), Akişık (2019: 1-3). Bandini (1768: 665), Colonna (1945: 47), Rosén (1987: XXXIV) do not identify Chalkokondyles. On Chalkokondyles, see also Akişık (2013) and Kaldellis (2014, 2014b).

T have often been compared with those of manuscript Laur. Plut. 70.3 (A for the editors, see above), even if they do not always coincide.<sup>75</sup> To begin with, the epigrams are not present in A.

In manuscript T, almost all the epigrams, except for poem 8, are preceded by the abbreviation for στίχ(οι). No apparent corresponding reference marks occur in the main body of the text, but the epigrams are conveniently displayed in the margins along the passages concerned. The script and colour of the epigrams are the same as the main text and the other marginalia copied by Triklines. As for the layout, each verse of every poem is consistently divided in two lines, except for poem 5.4-5 and 10.2-3 that are separated by a blank space as they appear in the lower margin. In poem 9.6 a lacuna is to be found in the second half of the verse (see Figure 2). Triklines simply leaves a gap and completes the verse. This lacuna is a *locus desperatus* in the rest of our manuscripts, which deal with it diversely. This lacuna is also the most compelling proof that the other manuscripts that transmit our poems derive from T (see below).

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams online at: <http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOItWMi1A4r7GxMMDB&c>.

## 2.4.2 p

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Grec 1634, a. 1372. Paper, ff. 481, ll. 26.

Content: Herodotus' *Histories* (ff. 2r-481v).

Epigrams: poems 1 = f. 130r; 2 = f. 130v; 3 = f. 138v; 4, 5 = f. 139r; 6 = f. 139v; 7 = f. 140r; 8, 9 = f. 142v; 10 = f. 144v; 11 = f. 148r.

As we learn from the colophon in f. 481v, the manuscript was copied in Astros in the Peloponnese by Constantine of Pissa (also in the Peloponnese), priest and chartophylax of the imperial clergy, in June 1372.<sup>76</sup> Manuscript p is generally considered to be a direct copy from T.<sup>77</sup> Accordingly, the marginalia, including our epigrams, are at large the same as in T, except for the supplementations by the hand of Kabakes, who evidently came in contact with the manuscript much later. Similarly, the moon and sun symbols are not copied in the margins. The passages later erased in T (e.g. Hdt. 1.32.1, 1.131.2; see above) are to be found in p in their original form (before erasure), and not because Constantine

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<sup>75</sup> See e.g. Bandini (1768: 665), Stein (1869: XII) and Rosén (1987: XXXIV), Colonna (1945: 47).

<sup>76</sup> + ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος ἐγράφη ἐν τῷ ἄστρω διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ εὐτελοῦς, κωνσταντίνου ἱερέως καὶ χαρτοφύλακος πίσης· ὑπηρετούντος ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ κλήρῳ κατὰ μῆνα ἰούνιον· τῆς δεκάτ(ης) ἰνδικτιῶνος· τοῦ ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ ὀκτακοσιοστοῦ ὀγδοηκοστοῦ ἔτ(ους)+. See Stein (1869: XVII), Omont (1888: II.114), Colonna (1945: 49), Hemmerdinger (1981: 39), Prato (1991: 12, 14), De Gregorio (1994: 278), Pérez Martín (2002: 144). On the scribe Constantine (PLP 14128), see Vogel and Gardthausen (1909: 250-251), RGK 2.321.

<sup>77</sup> Hemmerdinger (1981: 109-109, 116-117), Kaldellis (2014: 260), see De Gregorio (2002: 47-49 n. 49), Bianconi (2005: 139-141; 2015: 255; 2018: 127).

the copyist had another manuscript, as suggested by Hemmerdinger. On the other hand, p already copied the text with the corrections in Hdt. 1.65.3 (ἐ καὶ ἄνδρα) and Hdt. 2.14.2 (τὸ σπέρμα, τὸν ἄμητον τοαπὸ τούδε μένει· ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῆσιν ὑσὶ). This proves that these corrections were made before 1372. As for the folios that Plethon supplemented in T (Hdt. 4.155.2-163.2; see above), they were of course ignored by Constantine. As it seems, he kept copying in f. 235v what he found in T: τοῦ γενομένου (4.155.2) ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας (4.163.2), etc. This proves that the two folios of T had fallen already by 1372. Later, ff. 236-237, copied by another hand, were added in manuscript p. These folios seem to be taken from another manuscript and not written ad hoc for the restoration. Folio 236r starts in 4.155.3 (χρεωμένη ᾧ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες [...]) and f. 237v finishes in 4.163.3 ([...] μὴ ἐσέλθης ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπο). The same copyist of ff. 236-237, probably in charge of the restoration, as it seems, copied and pasted in the bottom end of f. 235v the passage of 4.155.2-3 (ἐν δελφοῖσιν αὐτῶ - εἰ εἴποι ἑλλάδι γλώσση), thus covering what Constantine had copied from T (ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας - μὴ ἐσέλθης, Hdt. 4.163.2-3).<sup>78</sup> He also most likely crossed off the end of f. 237v (ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπο) to make everything fit. Folio 238r is copied again by Constantine and starts in Hdt. 4.163.3 (ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον).

Other marginalia that are not found in T include additions by the main scribe to passages that he failed to copy (mainly due to *saut du même au même*).<sup>79</sup> Besides, what seems to be the same main hand at least once added text omitted in T in f. 86v (διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν· ἐδόκεον δὲ σφιν ὁμοίως ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι· Hdt. 2.57.1) and at least once annotated a correction to the text in f. 144v (ἀετὸν p *in margine*] αἰνετὸν Tρ Hdt. 3.29.1). The hand responsible for the restoration in ff. 235v-237v also intervened in the margins of f. 346r to copy another passage missed by the main scribe (προητοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα ἐς τὸν ἄθων Hdt. 7.22.1, *saut du même au même*). The numbers of the modern sections of each book of Herodotus were later copied in the margins.

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams online at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107233831>.

<sup>78</sup> At first sight, this seems a third hand. But, in fact, once the script of this fragment in f. 235v is compared with the one of ff. 236-237, the hands reveal one and the same: see e.g. the abbreviation for καὶ, the compressed λ, the ligatures for χρα, στ, αν. The style of f. 235v changes as the scribe crams the words needed in the end of the folio.

<sup>79</sup> See e.g. ff. 3v (ὁ δασκύλου· ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα τούτω τῶ γύγη Hdt. 1.8.1), 70r (ὀρθῶς εἴρηται· φέρε νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖσιν αἰγυπτίοισιν), 180r (πέδας τε ἔλκοντα καὶ ῥάκεσι ἐσθημένον· σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον, Hdt. 3.129.3-3.130.1), 49v, 70v, 79v, 86r, 87rv, 96r, 97r, 107r.

### 2.4.3 a

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 115 sup., s. XIV.<sup>80</sup> Paper, mm. 292 x 220, ff. I (parchment) + 312 + I (parchment).

Content: Herodotus' *Histories* (ff. 1-312, des. mut.: τετίμηται αὐτός τε Hdt. 9.79.2).

Epigrams: poems 1, 2 = f. 85v; 3 = f. 91r; 4, 5 = f. 91v; 6, 7 = f. 92r; 8, 9 = f. 94r; 10 = f. 95v; 11 = f. 98r.

On the basis of common readings, it is widely accepted that manuscript a derives from T before T was supplemented and annotated by Plethon, Kabakes and Chalkokondyles.<sup>81</sup> Accordingly, manuscript a has almost the same marginalia as T, except e.g. the sun and moon symbols, the abbreviations for σημείωσαι, the additions by Kabakes, etc. At least one new marginal annotation can be read in f. 37v, in a darker ink: νόμ(...) βαβυλ(...) ση(μείωσαι) Hdt. 1.197.<sup>82</sup> The epigrams are by the same hand as the main text.

The manuscript is throughout damaged by humidity and has been restored. Inspection of the microfilm of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Vatican Library.

### 2.4.4 u

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. gr. 88, s. XV ineunte. Parchment, mm. 331 x 237, ff. III + 203 + II, ll. 34.<sup>83</sup>

Content: Herodotus' *Histories* (ff. 1r-202v).

Epigrams: poems 1 = f. 52r; 2 = omitted; 3 = f. 55v; 4 = omitted; 5, 6, 7 = f. 56r; 8, 9, 10, 11 = omitted.

This manuscript has been the subject of a thorough analysis by Giuseppe De Gregorio, who described the script of the main hand as sharing traits with the style of George Chrysokokkes (15th century, *PLP* 31141) and therefore dated the manuscript to the third decade of the 15th century.<sup>84</sup> It has also been established that in u the text of the *Histories*

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<sup>80</sup> Manuscript 501 of the catalogue of Martini and Bassi (1906). According to Hemmerdinger (1981: 36, 116), the watermarks are dated to 1335-1365; see Rosén (1987: XXXV). Before, the manuscript had been dated to the 15th century; see e.g. Stein (1869: XV), Martini and Bassi (1906: 603), Colonna (1945: 55).

<sup>81</sup> Hemmerdinger (1981: 116), Rosén (1987: XXXV).

<sup>82</sup> Martini and Bassi (1906: 603) and Colonna (1945: 55-56) record the presence of a second hand in the margins of a.

<sup>83</sup> See Stein (1869: XIII), Stornajolo (1895: 133), Colonna (1945: 50), Hemmerdinger (1981: 34, 146-147), De Gregorio (2002), Cantore (2013: 34). Manuscript U for Colonna and Hemmerdinger.

<sup>84</sup> Before, Hemmerdinger (1981: 34, 146) had identified the scribe with Chrysokokkes himself (which has been rejected by De Gregorio) and dated the manuscript to 1415-1436 (Stein 1869: XIII dated wrongly the manuscript to the 14th century). I refer to De Gregorio (2002) for any further enquires. See now also Speranzi (2011).

derives from T up until Hdt. 3.26 and, from that point onwards, from a text of the Roman family of Herodotus' textual tradition.<sup>85</sup> The shift of exemplars coincides with a shift in the marginalia (*summaria* and epigrams) of the manuscript. The marginalia, titles and initials are copied in red by the same hand that copied the main text in grey. Until f. 56v, the marginalia stem from T.<sup>86</sup> After that, the marginalia coincide with those in manuscripts from the Roman family. The next *summarium* occurs in f. 58r of u and corresponds to the *summarium* in 131v of, for example, Vat. gr. 123 (from the Roman family).<sup>87</sup> Note that this marginal note is copied in place of our poem 10 in u. Thus, the change in the text of Herodotus affects our epigrams: the last 4 poems of the cycle are omitted because the model did not have them among its marginalia anymore.

However, even when copying the same marginalia as in T, the copyist missed some epigrams (poems 2 and 4). On the other hand, in f. 23r of u the same note is found as in manuscript a (f. 37v) to Hdt. 1.197: ση(μείωσαι) | νόμος βαβυλώνιος;, which is not found in T (ff. 38v-39r). This, together with other textual variants of the epigrams, points at a as the model for u (see below). De Gregorio (2002: 65-122) also attributed the later marginalia appearing in manuscript u to the hand of the Florentine Palla Strozzi (14th-15th centuries, *PLP* 26963), who would have copied them in the fifth decade of the 15th century.

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Vatican Library. Manuscript available at: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Urb.gr.88](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.gr.88).

## 2.4.5 n

Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, III B 1, a. 1440. Paper, mm. 285 x 200, ff. I + 334 + I, ll. 27.

Content: Herodotus' *Histories* (ff. 1r-332v).

Epigrams: poems 1, 2 = f. 87r; 3 = f. 93r; 5, 4 = f. 93v; 6, 7 = f. 94r; 8, 9, = f. 96r; 10 = f. 97v; 11 = f. 100v.

The manuscript was copied in 1440 by one John Chandakenos, a church officer appointed in the Peloponnese, as we learn from the subscription in the upper part of f. 333r.<sup>88</sup> This folio also includes in the same pale red as our epigrams a transcription of a

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<sup>85</sup> See Colonna (1953: 23-25), Alberti (1960: 334-340), Cantore (2013: 34).

<sup>86</sup> See the *summarium* to Hdt. 3.18: πε(ρὶ) τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένης τραπέζης and the ση(μείωσαι) abbreviation below, found in f. 95r of T.

<sup>87</sup> ὄρα τὴν ἐπὶ κακῶ τοῦ ἄπιος ἐπιφάν(ειαν), ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο (Hdt. 3.28).

<sup>88</sup> + ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρ(ὸν) βιβλίον μηνὶ αὐγούστ(ω) ἰν(δικτιῶνος) γ' ἔτ(...) (...) ἄμην διαχειρὸς ἐμοῦ ἰω(άν)νου διακόνου καὶ δευτερ(...) τῆς ἀγιωτ(ά)τ(ης) μ(η)τροπόλ(εως) λακεδαιμον(ίας) τοῦ χανδακηνοῦ:- See Stein (1869: XVI), Colonna (1945: 51), Hemmerdinger (1981: 37), Formentin (2015: 45). The colophon is copied in black in the upper part of the folio, which is damaged by humidity (an easy conjecture completes the date: 6958 = 1440 CE).

prophecy allegedly inscribed on the Hexamilion walls, which agrees with the Peloponnesian origin of the manuscript. The inscription is written in an archaizing language (unmetrical), but it is probably not ancient.<sup>89</sup> As for the rest of the manuscript, it has generally the same marginalia as in T, except for the sun and moon symbols and the additions of Kabakes. The marginalia, including our epigrams, are in a pale red (sometimes rewritten in black; e.g. f. 26r) and stop appearing from f. 215r until the end. However, some marginalia from T are missing and n also has some marginalia of its own.<sup>90</sup> This may imply that the scribe of n had access to another manuscript. It is widely accepted that n is related to T. Now, Hemmerdinger proposed that n is a copy from p apparently only relying on the geographical origin of the manuscript.<sup>91</sup> However, the variants and additions in n are not coming from p as far as the marginalia are concerned.<sup>92</sup> As for the poems, there are no clear conjunctive errors between p and n (see below). Some poems in n are preceded by a cross (1, 2, 3, 8) and poems 5 and 4 are inverted in order.

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples.

#### 2.4.6 m<sup>93</sup>

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 364 (coll. 718), a. 1469. Parchment, mm. 330 x 232, ff. II + 381 (+198bis), ll. 44.

Content: Herodotus' *Histories* (ff. 1r-173v, f. 174 is empty); Thucydides' *Histories* (ff. 175r-319v); Xenophon's *Hellenica* (ff. 320r-381v).

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For the copyist, see Lampros (1907: 185), Vogel and Gardthausen (1909: 202). This John is not to be confused with Symeonakis or Syrigos (Vogel and Gardthausen 1909: 200, Colonna 1945: 50-54, Hemmerdinger 1981: 37-38, De Gregorio 1994: 279 n. 98).

<sup>89</sup> Edited by Lampros (1905: 472-477). See Bodnar (1960). At the bottom of f. 333r a series of two encrypted alphabets and five short words (μὲν, δὲ, τὲ, καὶ, ἀλλὰ) were copied in black.

<sup>90</sup> See, for example, the *summaria* and *notabilia* in f. 8r (ὅτι ὁ θάνατος ἄριστον, ὅρα ὄλον ὠραῖον; not in T). The main title in f. 1r is already different from T: + ἡροδότος ἱστορικὸς: ἡ ἱστορία αὐτοῦ διὰ | μουσῶν· ὁ ἀ'ος κλειῶ: β'ος εὐτέρπη, etc. In f. 28r, there is a *notabilium* not found in T, ση(μείωσαι) θαυμαστὸν, and a reference mark connecting περιημέκτεε (Hdt. 1.114.4) with a marginal gloss: ἐδυσχέραιεν· οἰκτιζόμενος· ταρασσόμενος· χαλεπῶς φέρων:. In T (f. 28r) we can read only the gloss ἐδυσχέραιεν, whereas in other manuscripts of Herodotus the same gloss as in n can be found (see Cantore 2013: 74; e.g. f. 26r of Angel. gr. 83, f. 30v of Laur. Plut. 70.3).

<sup>91</sup> Hemmerdinger (1981: 117-118). See De Gregorio (2002: 47-49 n. 49).

<sup>92</sup> See for example the *summaria* in f. 204r of n (beginning of book 6), which do not occur in f. 203r of T nor in f. 293r of p. The influence of another manuscript can be observed in the text of Herodotus. For example, in the same f. 204r, n reads Ἄρταφρένης for 6.1.1-6.2.1, where T and p read Ἄρταφέρνης.

<sup>93</sup> Manuscript H for Colonna (1945: 52).

Epigrams: poems 1, 2 = f. 44r; 3, 4, 5 = f. 47r; 6, 7 = f. 47v; 8 = f. 48r; 9 = f. 48v; 10 = f. 49r; 11 = 50v.

As we learn from the subscription in f. 381v, manuscript m was commissioned by Bessarion and copied by John Plousiadenos (15th century, *PLP* 23385) in 1469.<sup>94</sup> Although it is commonly accepted that manuscript m was copied from Marc. gr. 365, this could not be the case as far as our epigrams are concerned. In fact, the cycle of poems does not occur in Marc. gr. 365, which was copied from T by Bessarion himself in Mistra in 1436.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, manuscript m was copied directly from T (see below).<sup>96</sup> The marginalia are the same as in T, but copied in red (the ink of the main text is black).<sup>97</sup> The epigrams are also copied in red.

Inspection of the manuscript, together with Marc. gr. 365 and Marc. gr. 366 (also without our epigrams), and collation of the epigrams in the Biblioteca Marciana.

### 2.4.7 r

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Grec 2933, a. 1474. Paper, mm. 290 x 200, ff. I + 225, ll. 39-42.

Content: Isocrates' *To Demonicus* (ff. 1r-3v); George Gemistos Plethon's *On the virtues* (ff. 3v-6r); Herodotus' *Histories* (ff. 7r-205v); lexicon on Herodotus' *Histories* (f. 206rv); Plutarch's *The education of children* (ff. 207r-213r), *Letter of condolence to Apollonius* (ff. 213r-222r); miscellanea (ff. 222rv); excerpts of the first book of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* (ff. 223r-225v).

Epigrams: poems 1, 2 = f. 60r; 3 = f. 63v; 4, 5, 6, 7 = f. 64r; 8, 9 = f. 65v; 10 = omitted; 11 = f. 67v.

The marginalia (*summaria* and epigrams) are the same as in T and are written by the same hand as the main text in a light brown, reddish colour, which contrasts with the black of the main text.<sup>98</sup> However, some corrections to the main text (not in T) are copied

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<sup>94</sup> Stein (1869: XII-XIII), Hemmerdinger (1981: 37), Mioni (1985: 125); see Mioni (1968: 76-77). On the scribe, see Vogel and Gardthausen (1909: 185-186), *RGK* 1.176, 2.234, 3.294.

<sup>95</sup> See Hemmerdinger (1981: 118-119, 137), Matijašić (2018: 193-194). As reported by Mioni (1985: 125), Xenophon would be copied from Marc. gr. 365. On Marc. gr. 365, see Hemmerdinger (1981: 37), Mioni (1985: 125-126), De Gregorio (2002: 47-49 n. 49), Bianconi (2005: 139-141), Kaldellis (2014: 46, 260).

<sup>96</sup> See Akışık (2019: 23-24).

<sup>97</sup> However, some of the marginalia copied in black in T, such as the moon and sun symbols, are also copied in black in m. In this respect, note that for example the later supplementation (*post rasuram*) in Hdt. 1.32.1 is also found in manuscript m and Marc. gr. 365 (Hemmerdinger 1981: 119).

<sup>98</sup> The moon and sun symbols and the addition by Kabakes' hand in T are not copied in r. As for the abovementioned erasure in Hdt. 1.32.1, see Hemmerdinger (1981: 119) on the peculiar treatment in the margin of f. 11v of manuscript r.



in the margins in black by the same scribe. For example, in f. 60r the main hand copied in the margin in black: σιούφ] σίγφ Tr (Hdt. 2.172.1); ἄτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος] om. Tr (Hdt. 2.172.2); πεπρηγένας] γεγονέναι r (Hdt. 2.172.5); ἐπ' ἐὰν δὲ χρήσωνται ἐκλύουσι] om. ABCTrPM (Hdt. 2.173.3). This last note reveals that the copyist of r had access to a manuscript with readings from the Roman family of Herodotus' textual tradition.

In f. 206v, after the Herodotean lexicon and before a short index of the *Histories*, the date (1474) is given in a short colophon (ⲁⲛⲟⲃ ⲙⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲛ [in red] τὸ τέλος [in black]).<sup>99</sup>

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. Manuscript available at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107223236>.

## 2.4.8 v<sup>100</sup>

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1359, a. 1480, 1487. Paper,<sup>101</sup> mm. 235 x 170, ff. 491 (ff. 1-230 = vol. 1; ff. 231-491 = vol. 2), ll. 30.

Content: Lucian's *Herodotus or Aetion* (ff. 1r-3r); Herodotus' *Histories* (ff. 4r-486v, with index f. 3v); letter of Kabakes to his son Manilios (ff. 487r-489r).<sup>102</sup>

Epigrams: poems 1 = f. 115r; 2 = f. 115v; 3, 4 = f. 123v; 5 = f. 124r; 6, 7 = f. 124v; 8, 9 = f. 127v; 10 = f. 129v; 11 = 133r.

The subscription in f. 486v informs us that manuscript v was copied by Demetrios Raoul Kabakes (see above) in Rome the year that the Turks seized Otranto (1480).<sup>103</sup> Another date is found in the second colophon in f. 491v, after the letter of Kabakes and a *nota*

<sup>99</sup> Omont (1888: III.62-63), Colonna (1945: 54), Hemmerdinger (1981: 40). Before, Stein (1869: XVII) had misdated it to the 16th century.

<sup>100</sup> This manuscript is called g by Colonna (1945: 54).

<sup>101</sup> On the watermarks, see Hemmerdinger (1981: 32).

<sup>102</sup> On this letter, see Bacchelli (2016: 169 n. 14, 189 n. 45). Tit.: δημητρίου πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν μανίλιον ραοῦλ τὸν καβάκη. Inc.: ἐπειδὴ ὧ υἱέ μου, πολλακίης με ἠξίωσες περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν [...]. Des.: [...] ἐνταῦτα δὲ ἔνε καὶ τόπος ἀρκετὸς καὶ ἀρμόδιος.

<sup>103</sup> Δημητρίου ραοῦλ καβάκη· σπαρτιάτου κ(αὶ) | βυζαντίου: | ἐγράφη ἐν ῥώμῃ· ἐν ὧ χρόνῳ [ἔτει suprascr.], ὄτροντω | τούρκοι κατέλαβον; see Stein (1869: XVII), Colonna (1945: 54), Hemmerdinger (1981: 31). The subscription actually continues: ὁ τοῦ διὸς παῖς καλλίνηκος ἡρακλῆς | μούκιος εἶναι βιάζεται: | ἐγράφη ἐν ῥώμῃ· ἐν ὧ ἔτει ὄτροντω τούρκοι κατέλαβον: | δημητρίου εὐχῆ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας: | : χάρις τῷ θεῷ τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ φωτὸς: κ(αὶ) ἀπλῶς [post corr.] πάντων | τ(ῶν) ἀγαθ(ῶν). οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπεὶ τῆς γῆς κ(αὶ) ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις στοιχείοις [κ(αὶ) ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις στοιχείοις· rursus scripsit in marg.]: | ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν [αὐτὸ in marg.] τῷ οὐ(ρα)νῷ ἡγεμ(ῶν) κ(αὶ) ἄναξ, κ(αὶ) οἰκονόμος | τῶν ἄλλων φώτων· νοῦς τοῦ κόσμου κ(αὶ) εὐκρασία | αἰδῖος: [rursus scripsit χάρις... αἰδῖος]. See Lampros (1907: 332).

*possessoris* by Fulvio Orsini (f. 491r).<sup>104</sup> In f. 491v, Kabakes refers to the third year of the papacy of Innocent VIII (1487) and he says that he was in Rome for 21 years then.<sup>105</sup>

The marginalia are largely the same as in T. As mentioned above, Kabakes also copied in the margins many of his supplementations with a text from the Roman family.<sup>106</sup> However, there are quite a few new notes not copied from T, which are seemingly by Kabakes himself.<sup>107</sup> The whole manuscript is written by Kabakes with his characteristic script and irregular orthography (especially when he does not copy, but writes *motu proprio*).<sup>108</sup> This includes our poems, found next to the passages in question written in black. Note that Kabakes adds the lemma στίχ(οι) to poem 8 and leaves a large gap after 9.6, instead of in the middle of the verse. Remarkably, another unedited cycle of book epigrams by Theodore Gazes (15th century, *PLP* 3450) occur in this manuscript, now made available through *DBBE* (see Appendix 1).<sup>109</sup> There are 9 elegiac distichs, each on one Muse, after whom the books of Herodotus' *Histories* are named. In fact, the poems are copied in red at the beginning of every book in the lower margin of the folio, whereas the names of

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<sup>104</sup> τὸ παρ(ὸν) βιβλίον κτημά ἐστι, φουλβίου οὐρσίνου ῥωμαίου. Orsini (16th c.) appears first in f. 3v, below the index (+ βίβλος φουλβίου οὐρσίνου ῥωμαίου ἦν, εὗ τε τάδ' ἐγράφετο. :-). See Colonna (1945: 54), Hemmerdinger (1981: 32).

<sup>105</sup> πληρουμένου τοῦ τρίτου ἔτους τοῦ πάπα ἡντζενσίου, ἔχωμ(εν) ἐν τῇ ῥώμῃ χρόνους, κᾶ. || : θαυμάζω μὲν τι τοὺς π(ατέ)ρας, οὐδὲν μὲν τι ἦττον τῶ υἱῶ | κ(αί) συγγραφή: πρὸς τὰ τὸ μαρδονίω, κ(αί) τοῖς ἀγγέλοις | ἀποκρινάμενοι. Lampros (1907: 332-333) maintains that this date corresponds to the finishing of the letter only. The same dates are offered in the colophon of Kabakes to his copy of Strabo in Vat. gr. 173, f. 346. See Lampros (1907: 333), Vogel and Gardthausen (1909: 102 n. 5), Mercati and De' Cavalieri (1923: 198).

<sup>106</sup> See e.g. ff. 163r (Hdt. 3.124.2: ἡ δὲ – παρθενεύεσθαι), 166v (Hdt. 3.134.4-5: καὶ ταῦτα – στρατεύεσθαι), 184v (Hdt. 4.33.2-3: τοὺς κομίζαντας – εἶναι), 185r (Hdt. 4.34.1-2: αἱ μὲν – ἐλαίη), 199v (Hdt. 4.81.5-6: τῶν Σκυθῶν – πλήθους τῶν), 313v (Hdt. 6.122: καλλίεω – ἀνδρῖ).

<sup>107</sup> See e.g. f. 267v (Hdt. 5.93): οὐ μόνον κορίνθιοι ται καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ προστίθημι τὴν γνώμην ταύτην· ὅς ἀρίστην καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ δικαιοσάτην; f. 329r (Hdt. 7.18, see epigram 2 in Appendix 2): ὄρα τὸ τῆς κολακίης κακὸν. φόβου μὲν αἴτιον γενὰ ταύτην. ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ λαύσεως. τιραννικῆς; f. 333v (Hdt. 7.35): οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει· σὶ δὲ ἀμφιβάλεις τὰ ἀναθημέ(?) πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, εἶναι πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν; f. 340r: ἡ εὐχὴ αὕτη πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα. καὶ πόθεν ἀμφιβάλεις τοῦτο(?) καὶ λέγω φανερόν ἐνεισχεδόν, ὡσπερ καὶ αὐτὸν, τὸν ἥλιον; f. 373v (Hdt. 7.171): τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ πρῶικᾶ· ἐν τοῖσιν οὐ φλαυρτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας τιμοροὺς μενέλεω; f. 468v (Hdt. 9.71): ἄς ἔχω συγγνώμην ὧ λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπαρέσχόμενος τὴν κρίσιν ταύτην· καὶ ὅς μισάνθρωπον καὶ ἄπρακτον. τί γὰρ πηῖσε τίς, παρὰ τὸν ἔνδοξον ἄνδρα τοῦτον συγγνώμης τιχὴν πρὸς ἀμάρτιμαν, ἀλλ' ὄμος οὐκ ἔτιχεν.

<sup>108</sup> Vogel and Gardthausen (1909: 102), Canart (1963: 62, 77), Harlfinger (1974: 33), *RGK* 1.95, 3.162. Kabakes also copied two series of excerpts of Herodotus in manuscripts Vat. gr. 1949 and Vat. gr. 2238.

<sup>109</sup> <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/27063>, <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/27066>,  
<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/27067>, <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/27068>,  
<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/27070>, <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/27072>,  
<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/27074>, <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/27076>,  
<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/27077>.

the Muses appear in the upper margin, also in red, at the beginning of each book.<sup>110</sup> However, there is nothing indicating that the poems were composed with Herodotus' *Histories* in mind. The attribution of the poems to Theodore Gazes is recorded in the external margin on the side of the first poem: θεοδώρου τοῦ γάζεω (f. 4r). At the end of the *Histories*, in f. 486v another kind of book epigram occurs. The formulaic monostich ἰδὼν τὸ τέρμα τὴν χάριν θεῶ διίδου is found in many other manuscripts.<sup>111</sup>

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Vatican Library. Manuscript available at: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1359.pt.1](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1359.pt.1) and [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1359.pt.2](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1359.pt.2).

## 2.4.9 o

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 114, s. XV. Paper, ff. III + 183, ll. 40-50.<sup>112</sup>

Content: Herodotus' *Histories* book 1 (ff. 1r-15v); Plutarch's *Life of Sertorius* (ff. 16r-19v), *Life of Eumenes* (ff. 19v-21r, des. mut.: ὥστε τοῖς μὲν ὀπισθίοις σκέλεσιν 11.7); Herodotus' *Histories* book 3 (ff. 22r-33r), book 4 (ff. 33r-45r), book 2 (ff. 45r-59r), book 7 (ff. 59r-74r), book 8 (ff. 74r-83v), book 9 (ff. 83v-92r), book 6 (ff. 93r-102), book 5 (ff. 102r-111v); excerpts of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke* (ff. 112r-117r); various brief works, mainly by Plethon (ff. 117v-181r).<sup>113</sup>

Epigrams: poems 1, 2 = f. 58r; 3, 4 = f. 22v; 5, 6, 7 = f. 23r; 8, 9 = f. 23v; 10 = omitted; 11 = f. 24v.

The books of the *Histories* are mixed up in a wrong succession. This is not due to material accidents, since many of them are written continuously. The order of the books in manuscript o is the following: 1, 3, 4, 2, 7, 8, 9, 6, 5. A note at the end of book 5 in f. 111v by a later hand warns the reader.<sup>114</sup> Most titles and marginalia of the manuscript are written in red. The marginalia, including *summāria* and epigrams, correspond at large with T. Notably, some are written in the internal margins of the folio, as for example the second half of poem 9, mistaken as a separate poem (see below). The text of our epigrams

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<sup>110</sup> See ff. 4r (Κλειώ), 56v (Εὐτέρπη), 118v (Θάλεια), 175r (Μελπομένη), 235r (Τερψιχόρη), 276v (Ἐρατώ), 320r (Πολύμνια), 395r (Οὐρανία), 441v (Καλλιόπη).

<sup>111</sup> See Vassis (2005: 358) and <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/2244>. Kabakes uses the same monostich in Vat. gr. 2237 and Vat. gr. 2238.

<sup>112</sup> The number of lines is very irregular throughout the manuscript.

<sup>113</sup> For a detailed list of these works, see Coxe (1969: 186-189), Tambrun-Krasker (1987: LX).

<sup>114</sup> ἕως ᾧδε τελειοῦνται αἱ τοῦ ἠδωδότου ἑνέα μούσαι· καὶ στοχάσου νὰ βάλης κατὰ μέτρον καὶ εὐθίαν τὰς μούσας· δι' ὅτι ἀλλαπαλλήλως τέθηται. On the side, the same hand annotated: ἔχει φύλλα εκατὸν δέκα.

presents many variants in common with manuscript r (see below).<sup>115</sup> However, from f. 59r onwards there are barely marginalia. Among the few exceptions, three poems occur in ff. 59v-60r (poems 2-3 of Appendix 2) and f. 100v (poem 1) of manuscript o. These verses are part of a cycle of four epigrams that is written in the margins of two other manuscripts unrelated to T and its copies, Ambr. C 82 sup. and Paris. gr. 1635 (see Appendix 2). This shows that the copyist of o consulted another manuscript for the second part of the *Histories*. In fact, in Hdt. 9.8.2 manuscript o (f. 84r) reads οὐκ ἀπετετείχιστο, where T has οὐκ ἔχω εἶπεῖν εἰ ἐπετεείχιστο.<sup>116</sup> Another poem without any apparent relationship with the main text is copied in the blank space at the bottom of f. 15v, where book 1 of the *Histories* ends:<sup>117</sup>

στίχοι νικολ(άου) πρὸς τὸν μεγαλομάρτυρα δημήτρ(ιον):-  
 + πληγὴν μὲν οὐκ αὐχῶν ἐγὼ δείκνυμί σοι  
 οὐ δ' ὥς [post corr.] παθόντι σῶτερ ὑπὲρ σοῦ μέγα·  
 ἀλλ' ὥς μικρ(ὸν) μίμημα σῆς πλευρᾶς πάθους,  
 ὃ δὴ με κατέστησεν χαίρων(?) δεικνύω:-

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams online at: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/84c05e77-78a8-4190-bfd9-fe35270aa8f6/>.

## 2.4.10 b

Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, III B 2, s. XV exeunte - s. XVI ineunte. Paper, mm. 285 x 195, ff. VII + 336 + III, ll. 30.

Content: Herodotus' *Histories* (ff. 1r-332r).

Epigrams: poems 1 = f. 83r; 2 = f. 83rv; 3, 4, 5 = f. 89r; 6 = f. 89v; 7 = f. 90r; 8, 9 = f. 91v; 10 = f. 93r; 11 = omitted.

Even if there is no subscription, the copyist of this manuscript has been identified with Demetrios Damilas (15th-16th centuries, *PLP* 5084).<sup>118</sup> Manuscript b reproduce the textual variants of T, including the interpolations after erasures, such as φοίνικες in Hdt. 1.2.1 (f.

<sup>115</sup> Manuscript o (f. 4r) also shares with r the treatment of Hdt. 1.32.1, see above and Hemmerdinger (1981: 119). Note that, as in r, in o there are works by Plethon (called in the titles σοφωτάτου f. 117v, τοῦ σοφωτάτου διδασκάλου f. 128r, ἀνδρὸς θείου f. 173v), a scholar linked with the transmission of the *Histories*.

<sup>116</sup> Remarkably, the first hand of r (f. 191r) also copied οὐκ ἀπετετείχιστο. This may indicate that both manuscripts derive from a contaminated copy.

<sup>117</sup> Coxe (1969: 186), Vassis (2005: 623). Ševčenko (1997: 66) edited the epigram from another manuscript with some variants and attributed it with some reservations to Maksim Grek.

<sup>118</sup> Canart (1977-1979: 322, 333). See Colonna (1945: 56-57), Hemmerdinger (1981: 38, 117-118), Formentin (2015: 45-46).

1v), where p and other manuscripts (e.g. n and r *in margine*) read Ἕλληνες (T *ante correctionem*).<sup>119</sup> The marginalia (*summaria* and epigrams) of the manuscript are in fact the same as in T, copied in light red as well as the titles (the main body is in black ink; note the lavishly decorated initial eta in f. 1r). As for the characteristics of our epigrams in b, poem 11 is missing since the copyist does not transcribe other marginalia from T in ff. 95-96. The report of Formentin regarding the use of the iota *subscriptum* by the copyist applies also to a certain extent to our epigrams (see below and 2.2 τῆ σπουδῆ).<sup>120</sup>

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples.

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<sup>119</sup> See above and Alberti (1959: 315), Hemmerdinger (1981: 108, 119).

<sup>120</sup> Formentin (2015: 46).

Table 1 Synopsis of the chronology of the manuscripts and their contexts of circulation (Part 1)

	Manuscript	Date	Origin
1300			
	T	1318	Thessalonike? (Triklinios' circle)
	p	1372	Astros (Peloponnese)
	a	s. XIV (1335-1365?)	Constantinople?
1400			
	u	s. XV in. (1420-1430?)	Constantinople? (Chrysokokkes' circle)
	n	1440	Peloponnese
Interventions by Plethon's circle in T			
T used by Valla and Strozzi?			
	m	1469	Venice? (Bessarion's circle)
	r	1470	Both derive from the same model
	o	s. XV	
	v	1480	Rome (Kabakes)
1500	b	s. XV ex. – s. XVI in.	Italy (Damilas)

## 2.5 Relationship of the manuscripts

Manuscript T is the archetype from where all the surviving manuscripts that contain our poems ultimately derive. Unless the poems are by the scribe of T himself, which seems rather unlikely, Triklines copied the epigrams from the manuscript in which the poet wrote down *manu sua* the verse scholia to passages around the end of the second book and the beginning of the third book of Herodotus' *Histories*. Seemingly, Triklines could not read well the autograph in 9.6 and therefore left a blank space at the beginning of the second hemistich (see Figure 2). The copies make all sorts of attempts to fix the lacuna. Some copies (n, m, r, o, v) also regularize the lack of title of poem 8 in T by adding the otherwise consistent lemma στίχοι.

As we anticipated in the description of the manuscripts, p is a direct copy of T before it was corrected by Plethon and his circle. In the text of the epigrams p does not share any significant readings with any other manuscript: see e.g. the common errors with o (2.4 πάνυχον p o; 11.1 μέμεινεν p o) and b (6.tit. and 10.tit. om. p b). The distinctive variants or p (such as 9.3 ἡῤφανεν; 9.10 σωματικὶν; 10.3 σαρκικῶν; 11.3 γελώντα p<sup>a.c.</sup>, γελώντων p<sup>p.c.</sup>) are not reproduced in any other manuscript either. Therefore p is not the model of any of our remaining manuscripts.

As for manuscript a, which could have been copied even before p according to the watermarks, it shares readings with other manuscripts: see e.g. 1.2 σὸν a u; 5.4 ὁ a u r o; 9.2 βάρος a v. Now, some distinctive errors of a are not reproduced in later manuscripts: see 2.3 ἔκτοπος; 2.4 πανύμερον; 9.11 λυθῆναι; 10.3 αῦ. However, precisely poems 2, 9 and 10 are omitted in manuscript u, so that the common variants of 1.2 (σὸν) and 5.4 (ὁ) of manuscripts a and u, together with the coincidence of the note to Hdt. 1.197 (see above), could indicate that u was copied from a. This would solve the difficulties in chronology brought forward by De Gregorio and discussed by Daniele Bianconi on the Peloponnesian branch of the apographa of T.<sup>229</sup> The Constantinopolitan branch of the tradition of the epigrams descend from T via manuscript a into u. Therefore, there is no need to propose that Bessarion brought T down to Mistra in 1431-1436 (De Gregorio), or Plethon (Bianconi), because manuscript p was copied in the Peloponnese from T already in 1372. There is no need to suppose a hurried contact of the copyist of u with T either. The change of model in u from Hdt. 3.26 until the end of the *Histories* could be explained by the bad shape of a, which in fact has a truncated end. The scribe of manuscript a could have found

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<sup>229</sup> De Gregorio (2002: 47-49 n. 49), Bianconi (2005: 139-141).

later a better copy to continue from Hdt. 3.26 onwards. Was this copy the model of Vat. gr. 122? Was manuscript a also used by Chrysokokkes to correct Vat. gr. 122? These and similar questions need a close examination of Herodotus' text in manuscripts a and u. As far as our cycle of poems is concerned, it is safe to assume that a is the model for u. Manuscript u has its own distinctive variants, namely the omission of poems 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, so that no manuscript was copied from u.

Copied in 1440, manuscript n continues with the Peloponnesian branch of the tradition of our epigrams, but it does not depend on p (see above). Manuscript n has many distinctive variants. It is probably the manuscript with the largest number of idiosyncratic readings: see e.g. 1.2 πρέπων; 3.1 ἦγες; 3.2 ἐμπλοκὴν, ὄντως; 3.3 τί, δυογενές; 3.4 τροσαμενον; 5.4 ἐκκαθύπτει; 6.1 μέμηνος, πλέων; 7.2 σώματι, ἐκμιάνων, σέυας; 8.4 καὶ omitted; 9.2 καὶ; 9.10 σὺν πᾶσαν, διαρτία; 10.2 βόϊον. Besides, n omits verses 3-10 of the long poem 2 and inverts the order of poems 4-5. However, the most significant variant is that of 9.6. It is the only manuscript that tries to fill the lacuna in T by writing τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν πνέοντας ἀγάπην πλέον. The few agreements with other manuscripts (e.g. 3.3 μὴ δαμῶς n r o, 8.3 μετᾶλλων n m) are mere coincidences. Manuscript n cannot be the model of any other manuscript since its unique variants are not attested elsewhere.

After reaching Mistra in the Peloponnese, where Plethon and Laonikos left their traces in T and Bessarion copied Marc. gr. 365 in 1436, manuscript T passed to Italy where it was presumably used around the year 1450 by Lorenzo Valla for his translation of Herodotus into Latin and by Palla Strozzi for his supplementations in u.<sup>230</sup> The manuscript was certainly not taken to Italy by Kabakes, as proposed by Hemmerdinger and contested by De Gregorio, but either by Plethon, as Bianconi wants, or most likely through the intercession of Bessarion, to use De Gregorio's words.<sup>231</sup> In any case, manuscript m was copied by commission of Bessarion in 1469, most likely in Italy. As we have mentioned above, m is a copy of T, because Marc. gr. 365 does not contain our epigrams (nor does Marc. gr. 366). The readings of our epigrams in m show agreement with many other manuscripts, without any clear filiation. These can be independent errors: see e.g. 4.1 συγῶν m r; 7.2 σώμασιν m v; 9.8 εἰληφῶς m b. On the other hand, the characteristic variants of m are not reproduced in any other manuscript, which shows that m is not the model of any other manuscript: see e.g. 2.3 τυραννοῦνες; 5.3 ἔχει; 9.10 ἄπασαν.

The Italian branch of the tradition of our epigrams includes manuscripts v and b. Kabakes copied v from T in 1480 in Rome and supplemented the margins of T most likely at the same time. Manuscript v has many distinctive variants, such as 3.3 δισγενές; 6.2 ἐπιτρέπι v; 8.4 χαῖον, ἔσκεν; 9.3 εὐφρανεν, χρυσοῦ; 9.4 ἄν; 9.11 λαφθῆναι; 10.1 ἔδιξε; 10.2 ξείφει. The agreements with other manuscripts are not significant (see e.g. 9.8 εἰληφῶς

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<sup>230</sup> See Alberti (1959), De Gregorio (2002: 65-108).

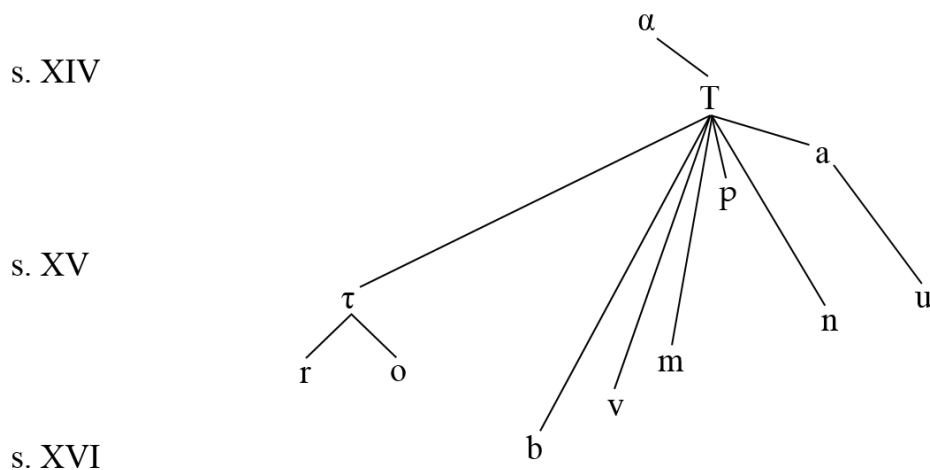
<sup>231</sup> Hemmerdinger (1981: 31-32), De Gregorio (2002: 47-49 n. 49), Bianconi (2005: 139-141).



m b, εἰληφῶς v; and the abovementioned 7.2 σώμασιν m v, 9.2 βάρος a v). In 9.6, Kabakes copied the verse all together, without any gap, and started 9.7 after a blank space of about six lines. Manuscript b was also copied in Italy by the elusive yet prolific copyist Damilas at the turn of the sixteenth century. The distinctive variants of b are few: 2.4 παννήμερον; 3.3 καί. The reading 9.8 εἰληφῶς also appears in m (εἰληφῶς v), but these are independent errors. At first sight, the agreement of b with manuscript p in omitting the title (στίχοι) in poems 6 and 10 (and in poem 8, with T and a) seems to be more compelling. However, no further evidence supports a filiation of p and b (see above and what it is said about the correction to Hdt. 1.2.1 in the description of b). Finally, note that b does not have the last poem of our cycle (nor does manuscript u, but u omits the last four poems altogether).

Manuscripts r and o, two contaminated manuscripts (see the descriptions of their marginalia) from the late fifteenth century, constitute the last branch of the manuscript tradition of our epigrams. This branch is less easy to situate, but it is certain that both manuscripts descend from a common intermediate model, which we can call τ. Many conjunctive errors attest to this filiation: see e.g. 1.2 τὸν r, τῶν o; 5.5 καμοῦσαν r o; 6.1 εὐρεθεῖ r o; 6.2 ἐπιτρέπον r o; 8.1 στεραστίης r o. Manuscript r and o also omit the title (στίχοι) of poem 7 and in 9.6 they both react in the same way to the lacuna in T: they write πλέονι and add a new title (στίχοι) before 9.7-11, as if it was another poem. They coincide again in the omission of poem 10 (together with manuscript u, but u omits poems 8-11). Now, r is not the model of o, because the numerous distinctive errors of r are not in o: see e.g. 1.2 νέμον and the omission of 1.3; 2.5 τὰς; 3.4 στεναγμάτων; 5.5 σιγὴν τε; 6.1 τῆς; 7.2 στόμασι; 8.2 πειγῆς; 9.2 εὐθλιψεν; 9.3 ἠϋφρανεν; 9.10 σωματικὸν; 9.11 τὴν χρυσίνην. The same occurs regarding the numerous distinctive errors of o, which are not found in r: see e.g. 2.2 μικρὸν τὲ τί μόριον [...] χρόνον o; 2.3 omission of παρ' and τυρανουντες ἐκ πότου; 2.5 προσῆχον; 2.9 ἦ and ὑπὲρ ταύτη; 2.10 λοιστῶν; 3.2 ἀνδρισάμενος τύχεις; poem 4 copied before poem 3 and θαυμαστῶς οἴσθα; 6.1 μεμεινῶς; 7.2 σῶμα; 8.4 κούφον; 11.2 τοῦ. Even in the second half of poem 9, copied in the internal margin and therefore difficult to read, two distinctive variants emerge: 9.8 ε(...)<sup>φ</sup>ὸς and 9.11 (...)<sup>δ</sup>ες. Therefore, a common model for both manuscripts needs to be postulated (τ). The readings of τ rarely agree with other manuscripts (see e.g. 3.3 μὴ δαμῶς n r o), and so do the readings of r and o separately (e.g. 4 συγῶν m r, 9.3 χρυσοῦς p n o, 11.1 μέμεινεν p o), but these have no stemmatic relevance. However, some of these coincidences may support the proposed position of T as the archetype of the reconstructed tradition of our epigrams. See e.g. the coincidence of the reading ὀ (poem 5.4) in manuscripts τ, a and u (see above). In T, the correct reading (ῆ) is written so small that it can be easily misread as an omicron. Similarly, in poem 6.2 Triklines copied the final diphthong -ει in ἐπιτρέπει in a ligature so tight that Kabakes took it for an iota (ἐπιτρέπι v) and τ read it as an abbreviation for -ον (ἐπιτρέπον r o). The palaeographical traits of our poems in T have consequences in manuscripts from different branches of the tradition.

The relationship of the manuscripts can be synopsized in the following stemma, where α represents the manuscript in which the author of the epigrams would have first written down the verse scholia to Herodotus, if the poems are not by Nicholas Triklines himself.<sup>232</sup>



## 2.6 This edition

I numerate the poems from 1 to 11 following the order in which they appear in T. Each poem is preceded by the passage of Herodotus that is commented upon with a brief description of the context. The critical apparatus is negative and it is preceded by an apparatus with some relevant *loci paralleli*. I have restricted these to a minimum and the reader should be aware of a certain over-representation of references to Niketas Choniates' *History* (see above). In the critical apparatus I have not always included minor errors regarding accents and breathings, but see e.g. 3.3 μή δαμῶς n r o, τί n; 6.1 μεμηνῶς v, μεμηνῶς b; 8.4 κούφον o; 9.3 ἠϋφρανεν r, χρυσοῦς p n o; 9.4 ταῦτας r; 9.8 εἰληφῶς m b, εἰληφῶς v; 11.3 τιθεῖς n. I have not recorded either passages of poem 9 difficult to read because of material conditions in manuscripts a and o, as far as no variants come to light (but see 9.8 ε(... )φὸς o; 9.11 (... )δες o). Another phenomenon absent from the apparatus is the habit of manuscripts a, n and b to leave words unfinished, such as 2.2 τριτημορι a; 2.8 γηραλ a; 2.10 δυσμεν a; 5.2 σιγ b; 5.3 τέλ b; 6.2 ἐπιτρέπ n; 7.1 αἰσχύν n; 8.2 πηγ b; 8.3 φέρ n; 9.5 ἀποφήν n; 10.1 καμβύσ n.

<sup>232</sup> This manuscript could coincide with manuscript α<sup>3</sup> postulated by Alberti (1999: 3-5). Compare the stemma in Hemmerdinger (1981: 8).

I generally followed the accentuation and punctuation of T.<sup>233</sup> There are two uses of the enclitics that are worth a comment. See, on the one hand, the enclitic accent of the elided δέ in 5.4 (ἤ δ') and, on the other, the lack of a graphic sign marking the enclisis in 11.2 (ένταῦθα γε), where a second accent is expected in ένταῦθα according to the modern use (ένταῦθά γε). The orthotonesis of 2.3 γάρ in manuscript b seems not to be indicative of anything (many accents in b are reversed). Accentuation plays a role in the rhythm of Byzantine dodecasyllables (acoustic metrics), but there are no irregularities to be mentioned in this respect in our epigrams. Another issue to take into consideration as regards the iambic prosody of the dodecasyllable (visual metrics) is the (de)gemination of consonants. In 8.3, I adopt the reading of T together with most manuscripts (p a m<sup>p.c.</sup> r o v b) μετάλων against the more correct μετάλλων (n m<sup>a.c.</sup>), which would as well make the length of the alpha more evident.<sup>234</sup>

As for the punctuation, I have written a middle dot at the end of verse wherever T has a raised dot, even if sometimes it resembles either a high dot (ἄνω/τελεία στιγμή) or a low dot (ὑποστιγμή). I have left the commas where T displays commas (at least once raised over the line in 11.1) and a blank in the few verses where T bears no punctuation sign at the end of the verse. The basic principle of this system of punctuation is that commas mark a dearth of completion, whereas a more self-contained syntactic unit of meaning is indicated with the middle dot. Besides, there is no internal punctuation in the verses, but I have added a comma in 7.1 to mark the use of the nominative (with article) in place of the vocative. Finally, at the end of the poems I have written a full stop, except for poems 6, 7 and 8 in which I wrote the Greek question mark (see also 9.6). In manuscript T, most of the times the poems finish with a colon (:), as in poems 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, once followed by a dash (-:), in poem 2. In poem 6 it is unclear whether it reads a colon, a middle dot or a semicolon, whereas poem 7 remarkably ends with a semicolon followed by a colon (:;), as it may signify a question mark. As for 9.6, a middle dot (·) marks the end of the verse.

In the text of the epigrams I have systematically added the iota *subscriptum* at the endings, which is only present in the manuscripts in 2.2 τῆ σπουδῆ b and 7.1 αἰσχύνῃ T. However, I have not added the iota *subscriptum* in the middle of the word in 3.5 χρήζουσι.

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<sup>233</sup> For a more complete discussion on the methodological principles behind this decision, see below the edition of the epigrams of Ephraim on Niketas Choniates (Part 2).

<sup>234</sup> Similar cases of correptions before a double consonant occur in 2.3 τυραννοῦντες and 3.1 Ψαμμήνιτον, where the alphas are required to be short (note however that these sorts of licences are more common in proper names). See also that in 5.3 and 7.2 τὸ is measured long, and so is 11.2 γε, even if they are not followed by a cluster. Besides, the metric of the epigrams is rather correct. Out of 49 verses, 28 have the caesura after the 5th syllable and 20 after the 7th, whereas 9.1 can be scanned either way. In the verses with the caesura after the 5th syllable, the stress falls 16 times in the 5th syllable, 11 times in the 4th and 1 time in the 3rd. In the verses with the caesura after the 7th, the stress falls 15 times in the 5th syllable and 5 times in the 6th. Note that the stress in the 7th syllable is avoided and that the stress in the 11th syllable is regular. See also the *Appendix metrica* in Part 2 below.

I wrote in capitals the first letter of every poem and title, and the initials of names of people and nations. I have decided to leave the lemma of the poems in the manuscripts (στίχοι) as a title, even in poem 8, where T notably omits it.

## 2.7 Poems

### Sigla

T	Laur. Plut. 70.6 (a. 1318)
p	Paris. gr. 1634 (a. 1372)
a	Ambr. L 115 sup. (s. XIV)
u	Vat. Urb. gr. 88 (s. XV ineunte)
n	Neapol. III B 1 (a. 1440)
m	Marc. gr. 364 (coll. 718) (a. 1469)
r	Paris. gr. 2933 (a. 1474)
v	Vat. gr. 1359 (a. 1480)
o	Bodl. Baroccianus 114 (s. XV)
b	Neapol. III B 2 (s. XV exeunte - s. XVI ineunte)
Hdt.	Herodotus' <i>Histories</i> , ed. Rosén (1987-1997)

### Abbreviations

a.c.	ante correctionem
add.	addidit
cf.	confer
cod.	codex, codices
om.	omisit, omiserunt
p.c.	post correctionem
tit.	titulus

u.v. ut videtur

(...) lacuna

## Poem 1

Pharaoh Amasis won over his subjects by forging an idol from the metal of a foot pan (Hdt. 2.172.4-5)

Στίχοι

Ὡς πατρικῶς σὺ νουθετεῖς Αἰγυπτίους·

τὸ σοὶ πρέπον πρόσχημα τῆς τιμῆς νέμειν·

ἄλλος δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς μαστιγῶν ἐνουθέτει.

1.1-3 cf. M. Choniatae versus schedographici 2.363.18-20 || 1.3 ἐνουθέτεον Hdt. 2.173.2

1.2 τὸ] τὸν r, τῶν o | σοὶ] σὸν a u | πρέπον] πρέπων n | νέμειν] νέμον r || 1.3 om. r

Verses

*How paternally you admonish the Egyptians*

*to pay the token of honour suitable for you!*

*Another ruler would admonish them by whipping.*

## Poem 2

Pharaoh Amasis devoted only part of the day to the government and the rest of the day to parties (Hdt. 2.173)

Στίχοι

Ἄνεκτὸς ἦν Ἄμασις τῇ σπουδῇ νέμων

μικροῦ τριτημόριον ἡμέρας χρόνου·

οἱ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν τυραννοῦντες ἐκτόπως,

πάννουχον ἅμα καὶ πανήμερον χρόνον

ταῖς παιδιαῖς προσεῖχον ἢ καὶ ταῖς μέθαις·

5

ἀνδραπόδων βιοῦντες ἐμπαθῆ βίον·  
ἐξ ὧν τὸ κάλλος τῆς νέας Ῥωμαίδος  
γηραλέα συνέσχε ῥυτίς ἀθρόον·  
ἡ βασιλὶς δὲ καὶ πασῶν ὑπερτάτη,  
ληστῶν ὑπῆρξε δυσμενῶν κατοικία.

10

2.1 νέμω Hdt. 2.173.4. || 2.3-6 cf. N. Choniatae historiam 541.54-56, 549.9-13, 557.13-21 || 2.3 παρ' ἡμῖν τυραννοῦντες] cf. ibidem 637.34-40, 638.52-55, 639.77-83 || 2.4 πάννουχον ἄμα καὶ πανήμερον χρόνον Ps. G. Acropolitae carmen sepulcrale in I. Comnenam 90 || 2.5 cf. καὶ παιδιαῖς χαίροντος ἀεὶ καὶ μέθαις Ephraemi chronicum 8550 || 2.7-10 cf. N. Choniatae orationes 7 (57.4-7), 9 (85.22-24), 14 (146.30-32), 15 (160.6-21), epistulam 4 (204.22-26) et historiam 576.1-577.19, 591.21-592.49, C. Manassis breviarium chronicum 4419-4452, T. Prodromi carmina historica 4.41-50, 18.97-108 || 2.7 cf. ῥυσσὸν τὸ κάλλος τῆς νέας Ῥωμαίδος C. Stilbis carmen de incendio 889 || 2.8 γηραλέα... ῥυτίς] Anthologiae Palatinae epigrammata 5.129.6, 6.18.2, cf. C. Manassis breviarium chronicum 2321 || 2.9 cf. N. Choniatae historiam 569.7-8, 609.86, 617.90, 627.87-9, 629.59-60 || 2.10 cf. ibidem 539.5-15, 585.58-586.69, 618.9-13, 621.95-2.

2 om. u || 2.2 μικροῦ] μικρόν ο | τριτημόριον] τὲ τί μόριον ο | χρόνου] χρόνον ο || 2.3-10 om. n || 2.3 γάρ b | παρ'] om. ο | τυραννοῦντες] τυραννοῦνες m, τυρανουντες ο | ἐκτόπως] ἐκτοπος a<sup>u.v.</sup>, ἐκ πότου ο || 2.4 πάννουχον] πάννουχον p ο | πανήμερον] πανύμερον a, παννήμερον b || 2.5 προσεῖχον] προσῆχον ο | ταῖς<sup>2</sup>] τὰς r || 2.9 καὶ] ἡ ο | ὑπερτάτη] ὑπὲρ ταύτη ο || 2.10 ληστῶν] λοιστῶν ο

#### Verses

*Amasis was bearable, as he devoted to serious issues  
one third of the short time of the day,  
since those who ruled excessively as tyrants among us  
devoted themselves all night and all day long  
to amusements or to drunkenness,  
living a life enslaved to passion.  
Because of them, the beauty of the new Rome  
was suddenly affected by a wrinkle of old age  
and the capital superior to all*

5

became the abode of hostile robbers.

10

### Poem 3

Pharaoh Psammenitus did not react to the spectacle of public shaming of his daughter and assassination of his son (Hdt. 3.14.3)

Στίχοι

Ἦς ἀνδρικὸν σὺ τὸν Ψαμμῆνιτον λέγεις·  
πρὸς λυπρὰς οὕτως ἀνδρισάμενον τύχας·  
ὡς μηδαμῶς παθεῖν τι δυσγενὲς πάθος·  
φεισάμενον δὲ καὶ ψιλῶν στεναγμάτων·  
ἐν πάθεσι χρήζουσι πολλῶν δακρύων.

5

3 post carmen 4 o || 3.1 λέγεις] ἦγες n || 3.2 λυπρὰς] ἐμπλοκὴν n<sup>p.c.</sup> | οὕτως] ὄντως n  
| ἀνδρισάμενον] ἀνδρισάμενος o | τύχας] τύχεις o<sup>p.c.</sup> (τύχης o<sup>a.c.</sup>) || 3.3 ὡς] καὶ b |  
μηδαμῶς] μὴ δαμῶς n r o | τι] τί n | δυσγενὲς] δυογενὲς n, διογενὲς v || 3.4  
φεισάμενον] τροσαμενον n | στεναγμάτων] στεναγμάτων r || 3.5 πάθεσι] πάθω o

Verses

*How brave you say Psammenitus was,  
acting so bravely towards painful misfortunes  
that he suffered no disgraceful suffering at all,  
as he refrained even from mere sighs  
in sufferings that demanded many tears.*

5

### Poem 4

Psammenitus lamented the fate of an old friend (Hdt. 3.14.7)

Στίχος

Θαυμαστὸς ἦσθα καὶ σιγῶν σὺ καὶ λέγων.

4 om. u, post carmen 5 n || 4.tit. Στίχος] om. p || 4.1 θαυμαστὸς] θαυμαστῶς o | ἦσθα]  
οἶσθα o | σιγῶν] συγῶν m r



Verse

*You were admirable not only when you kept silence but also when you spoke.*

## Poem 5

Psammenitus explained his reactions to the Persian king Cambyses (Hdt. 3.14.10)

Στίχοι

Καὶ τὴν σιγὴν τέθηπα τὴν Ψαμμηνίτου·

καὶ τὴν λαλιὰν τῆς σιγῆς τιμῶ πλέον·

ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀτέκμαρτον ἴσχει τὸ τέλος·

ἢ δ' ἐκκαλύπτει καὶ σοφῆς φρενὸς χάριν·

κοσμοῦσαν ἄμφω καὶ σιγὴν καὶ τὸν λόγον.

5

5.3 ἴσχει] ἔσχει n<sup>a,c</sup>, ἔχει m || 5.4 ἢ] ὁ a u r o, ἢ m | ἐκκαλύπτει] ἐκκαθύπτει n || 5.5  
κοσμοῦσαν] καμοῦσαν r o | σιγὴν] τε add. r

Verses

*I am not only amazed at Psammenitus' silence*

*but I also esteem more his speech than his silence,*

*for the latter has an unfathomable purpose,*

*while the former also reveals the grace of his wise mind*

*that embellishes both his silence and his words.*

5

## Poem 6

Cambyses defiled the mummy of Amasis (Hdt. 3.16.1)

Στίχοι

Καὶ τίς μεμηνῶς εὐρεθῆι τούτου πλέον,

ὃς σῶμα νεκρὸν μαστιγοῦν ἐπιτρέπει;

6.tit. Στίχοι] om. p b || 6.1 τίς] τῆς r | μεμηνῶς] μέμνηνος n, μεμηνῶς v, μεμεινῶς o, μεμηνῶς b | εὐρεθῆ] εὐρεθεῖ r o | πλέων] πλέων n<sup>p.c.</sup> || 6.2 ἐπιτρέπει] ἐπιτρέπι v, ἐπιτρέπον r o

*Verses*

*And who could be found crazier than he  
who commands to whip a dead body?*

## Poem 7

Cambyses consigned the corpse of Amasis to the flames against the Persian religion (Hdt. 3.16.2-3)

Στίχοι

Ὁ πυρσολάτρης, ἀνομῶν οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ  
σώμασι νεκρῶν ἐκμιαίνων τὸ σέβας;

7.1 πυρσολάτρης G. Pisidae Heraclias 1.14, 181 et alibi (e.g. C. Stilbis carmen de incendio 902, Theodori Lascaris encomium in patrem Ioannem III 29.115)

7.tit. Στίχοι] om. r o || 7.1 Ὁ] ὦ v<sup>a.c.</sup> || 7.2 σώμασι] σώματι n, σώμασιν m v, στόμασι r | ἐκμιαίνων] ἐκμιάων n | σέβας] σέυας n, σῶμα o

*Verses*

*Fire-worshipper, are you not ashamed of being impious,  
as you pollute the object of your devotion with dead bodies?*

## Poem 8

An extraordinary spring of oily yet light water made the Ethiopians live longer (Hdt. 3.23.2-3)

Στίχοι

Τεραστίαν ὕδατος ἐξηγῆ φύσιν·  
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ῥέουσιν ἢ πηγῆς τίνος·  
τὸ γοῦν λιπαρὸν ἐκ μετάλων ἄν φέρῃ·

τὸ χαῦνον ἢ καὶ κοῦφον ἔσχεν ἐκ τίνος;

8.1 Τεραστίαν... φύσιν] cf. τὴν τεραστίαν φύσιν N. Chumni carmen 3.14 || 8.3 λιπαρώτεροι Hdt. 3.23.2 || 8.4 τὸ χαῦνον ἢ καὶ κοῦφον] cf. Discoridis de materia medica 5.124.1 et alibi

8 om. u | 8.tit. Στίχοι] om. T p a b || 8.1 Τεραστίαν] στεραστίης r o || 8.2 πηγῆς] πειγῆς r || 8.3 μετάλων] μετάλλων n m<sup>a.c.</sup> || 8.4 χαῦνον] χαῦον v | καὶ] om. n | κοῦφον] κούφον o | ἔσχεν] ἔσκεν v

*You report the prodigious nature of the water*

*that flows I do not know from where or from which source.*

*In any case, if it carries the unctuousity from metals,*

*from what cause would it have the porousness or even the lightness?*

## Poem 9

The Ethiopians used gold to fasten their prisoners as it is more common than bronze among them (Hdt. 3.23.4)

Στίχοι

Γλυκὺς ὁ δεσμὸς οὗτος εἰς φιλοχρύσους·

ἂν τοὺς πόδας ἔθλιψεν ὡς ποδῶν βάρη,

τὰς καρδίας ἠΰφραθεν ὡς χρυσοῦς πλέον·

ὦ τίς κομίσει ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς πέδας·

καὶ πάντας ἔνθεν ἀποφήνη δεσμίου;

5

τοὺς χρυσὸν ἐμπνέοντας (...) πλέον;

οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐξέφυγε τὴν δέσιν·

οὐδ' αὖ μίαν ἔστερξεν εἰληφῶς πέδη·

ὁμοῦ δὲ χεῖρας καὶ τράχηλον καὶ πόδας,

καὶ σωματικὴν σύμπασαν διαρτίαν,

10

ταῖς χρυσίαις ἔσπευσε ληφθῆναι πέδαις.

9.1 φιλοχρύσους] cf. N. Choniatae historiam 537.49-58, 539.11-15, 551.61-63, 559.77-80, 576.80-81, 602.4-7, 647.19-21, 652.83-87 || 9.6 syllabae tres desiderantur: fortasse ἄερος legendum? cf. Ὁ γοῦν παρῶν οὐτοσὶ παπαῶς Μιχαήλ πλέον ἄερος ἀναπνεῖ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς σοῦς Μ. Italici epistulam ad T. Prodromum 64.1-2, ὄν ὁ σεβάσμιος τῶ ὄντι πατήρ σου πλέον ἢ τὸν ἀέρα προσέπνεε G. Tornicae epistulam ad I. Camaterum 128.10 || 9.9 χεῖρας καὶ τράχηλον καὶ πόδας] cf. Dionis Chrysostomi orationem 80.10 et alibi || 9.10 σωματικὴν... διαρτίαν] cf. N. Choniatae historiam 122.46 et alibi

9 om. u || 9.2 ἔθλιψεν] εὔθλιψεν r | ὡς] καὶ n | βάρη] βάρος a v || 9.3 ηὔφρανε] ηὔφρανε p, ηὔφρανε r, εὔφρανε v | χρυσοῦς] χρυσοῦς p n o, χρυσοῦ v || 9.4 ὦ] ἄν v | ταῦτας] ταῦτας r || 9.6 τοῦς] τὸν add. n | ἐμπνέοντας] πνέοντας ἀγάπην n, post hoc verbum spatium vacuum unius verbi capax T a m | πλέον] πλέονι r o, post hoc verbum spatium vacuum unius lineae capax et στίχοι add. r, στίχοι add. in margine interiori et 9.7-11 ibi scripsit o, spatium vacuum sex linearum capax v, in margine inferiori 9.7-11 scripsit b || 9.8 εἰληφῶς] εἰληφῶν r<sup>a.c.</sup>, ε(...)<sup>a.c.</sup>φὸς o, εἰληφῶς m b, εἰληφῶς v || 9.10 σωματικὴν] σωματικὴν p, σωματικὸν r | σύμπασαν] σὺν πᾶσαν n, ἅπασαν m | διαρτίαν] διαρτία n || 9.11 ταῖς] τὴν r | χρυσίνας] χρυσίνην r, χρυσίνας v<sup>a.c.</sup> | ληφθῆναι] λυθῆναι a, λαφθῆναι v | πέδαις] n<sup>p.c.</sup>, πέδας r<sup>a.c.</sup> v, (...)δες o

## Verses

*Sweet is this bond for the gold-lovers:*

*if it had oppressed their feet as a burden for the feet,*

*it would have gladdened even more their hearts as it is made of gold.*

*Oh, who will bring these fetters for them*

*and thus render all of them prisoners,*

5

*those who breathe in gold more <than air?>*

*For none of them would escape the binding,*

*nor would be content with receiving one single fetter,*

*but he would be anxious that together hands and neck and feet*

*and every part of his body*

10

*were tied up with golden fetters.*

## Poem 10

Cambyzes injured a bull regarded as the god Apis by the Egyptians (Hdt. 3.29.1)

Στίχοι

Ἦδε φρενῶν ἔδειξε Καμβύσης γέμειν·

θεὸν βόειον δεξιούμενος ξίφει·

ὡς πάχος αὐτοῦ σαρκικὸν ἀποξέση.

10.3 πάχος... σαρκικὸν] cf. M. Pselli carmen 9.232 et alibi (e.g. C. Stilbis carmen de incendio 497, 554)

10 om. u r o || 10.tit. Στίχοι] om. p b || 10.1 ἔδειξε] ἔδιξε v || γέμειν] n<sup>p.c.</sup> || 10.2 βόειον] βόϊον n | ξίφει] ξείφει v || 10.3 αὐτοῦ] add. nigriore atramento v, αὐ<sup>u.v.</sup> | σαρκικὸν] σαρκικῶν p

Verses

*In this way Cambyses showed himself to be full of intelligence*

*as he welcomed the ox-like god with a sword*

*to scrape off its fleshly matter.*

## Poem 11

Herodotus condemns Cambyses for having profaned and derided Egyptian cults (Hdt. 3.37.3-38.1)

Στίχοι

Κἂν εἰς ἄλλα μέμηνεν ἔργα Καμβύσης,

ἐνταῦθα γε σοῦ σωφρονέστερος φθάνει·

γέλωτα τιθεῖς τοὺς γελώτων ἀξίους.

11.3 γελώτων ἀξίους] cf. Euripidis Alc. 804, Her. 507 et alibi

11 om. u b || 11.1 μέμηνεν] μέμεινεν p o || 11.2 σοῦ] τοῦ o || 11.3 τιθεῖς] τιθεῖς n | γελώτων] γελώντα p<sup>a.c.</sup> (γελώντων p<sup>p.c. u.v.</sup>)

Verses

*Even if Cambyses has been mad regarding other actions,*

*here at least he proved to be wiser than you*

*as he laughed at those that deserved laughter.*

## Appendix 1

Poems on the Muses by Theodore Gazes in manuscript v (see above).

Κλειώ

Οὔνομά μοι Κλειώ κλέος ἀνδρῶν οὔνεκ' αἰίδω,  
χρύσειον εἶμα φέρω, χρύσειον ἦτορ ἔχω.

*Clio*

*My name is Clio because I sing the glory of men,  
I wear a golden garment, I have a golden heart.*

Εὐτέρπη

Ἔρπομ' αἰεὶ φρὲν' ἐγὼ τέρπω τ' ἄλλους Εὐτέρπη,  
κόσμιος εὐφυίαν, κόσμιος εὐστομίαν.

*Euterpe*

*I, Euterpe, always move in my mind and I delight others,  
decorous is my shape, decorous is my mouth.*

Θάλεια

Θρεῖ μου δέμας ἀνθηρᾶς ὅ τέθηλε Θαλείας  
ἄνθεά τε ψυχῆς, νῦν βλέφαρ' εἶπερ ἔχης.

*Thalia*

*My body that flowered, the body of the flowering Thalia,  
puts forth flowers of the soul, if only you have eyes to see.*

Μελπομένη

Μελπομένη ξέν' ἐγὼ κούρη Διὸς αἰὲν ἐόντος,  
(...)μασι θέλξα βροτοῦς, ὄμμασιν ἀθανάτους.  
1 (...)πομένη cod.

*Melpomene*

*Stranger, I am Melpomene, daughter of everlasting Zeus,  
I enchanted the mortals with my (...), the immortals with my eyes.*

Τερψιχόρη

Τερψιχόρην με πατὴρ αἰδοίη τ' εἶπε γε μήτηρ,  
βήμασιν εὐρύθμοις τερψαμένη καρδίην.

*Terpsichore*

*My father called me Terpsichore and my venerable mother,  
delighted in her heart by my rhythmical steps.*

Ἐρατώ

Εἴμ' Ἐρατώ, μουσᾶων ἱρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη·  
ἀθάνατος δὲ νέων, ὅστις ἐμοῦ γ' ἐράοι.

*Erato*

*I am Erato, the best in figure among the holy Muses.  
Immortal among the youngsters, whoever loves me.*



Πολύμνια

Εἶναι Πολύμνια μὲν θυγάτηρ Διὸς, εὐχομαι εἶναι·

στέμματα δ' ἰδρῶσι χρύσεια βάψα τάδε.

*Polyhymnia*

*I am Polyhymnia, I declare, I am the daughter of Zeus.*

*I dyed these golden garlands with sweat.*

Οὐρανία

Οὐρανία με καλοῦσι θνητοί τ' ἀθάνατοι τε·

οὔτις ἀδελφῶν γνῶσιν ἔμοι γ' ἐρίσει.

1 ἀθάτοι cod.

*Urania*

*Mortals and immortals call me Urania.*

*None of my sisters will contend with me in knowledge.*

Καλλιόπη

Καλλιόπη πέλομαι Διὸς εὐειδέστατον ἔρνος·

φθέγμα δέ μου στόματος καὶ μέλιτος γλύκιον.

*Calliope*

*I am Calliope, the most beautiful scion of Zeus.*

*The voice of my mouth is even sweeter than honey.*

## Appendix 2

In the margins of manuscript o there are traces of another cycle of verse scholia, visibly not by the same author as the epigrams in T and its copies. The cycle occurs at its largest (4 epigrams, 14 verses) in another two manuscripts of Herodotus, Ambr. C 82 sup. (a. 1426) and Paris. gr. 1635 (a. 1447).<sup>1</sup> Both manuscripts descend from Paris. gr. 1633, which has a contaminated text, at times closer to the Roman family of Herodotus' textual tradition, at times closer to the Florentine family.<sup>2</sup> The epigrams comment on passages around the end of book 6 and beginning of book 7 of the *Histories*. The Ambrosianus and the Parisinus virtually read the same text with the same punctuation. They even share some remarkable features in the layout of the epigrams in the page, namely that some poems (e.g. poem 1) are written in the margin along the passage of the main text not horizontally as the main text, but perpendicular to it (poem 4 in the Parisinus is also written this way and many prose marginalia in the Ambrosianus too). Many of the verses of these epigrams are also opened and closed by a colon (:), in both manuscripts. The variants in o are clearly errors, but unfortunately they do not show from which manuscript o copied the epigrams, since the Ambrosianus and the Parisinus share the same readings. Also because of this, it seems necessary to postulate an intermediate manuscript between Paris. gr. 1633 (without the epigrams) and Ambr. C 82 sup. and Paris. gr. 1635.

The model of Ambr. C 82 sup. and Paris. gr. 1635 most likely also had another poem (absent in Paris. gr. 1633 and in o) that I print here as poem 5, even if it is not technically part of the cycle. The poem, now available in *DBBE*,<sup>3</sup> is a 22-verses book epigram in hexameters full of Homeric references (but also familiar with Herodotus and the lexicon)<sup>4</sup> attached to the end of the *Histories*, in which the scribe addresses a patron of high rank who commissioned the book. The poem occurs also in a third manuscript of Herodotus, Neapol. III B 4 (s. XV ex., without the verse scholia 1-4).<sup>5</sup> Although it is not part of the

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<sup>1</sup> I refer to Colonna (1945: 49, 51) and Hemmerdinger (1981: 35-36, 39-40) for a description of the manuscripts and further bibliography. I collated the Ambrosianus at the Vatican Library (microfilm) and the Parisinus at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (manuscript available at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721864v>). Nina Sietis first informed me about these epigrams in the manuscript in Milan. We plan to write an article on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> See Hemmerdinger (1981: 148-153), Rosén (1987: XXVII-XXIX).

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/6177>.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Stein (1871: 429-440).

<sup>5</sup> I collated the manuscript at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples. I refer to Colonna (1945: 52-53), Hemmerdinger (1981: 38), Formentin (2015: 47-48) for further precisions.

cycle, the book epigram (poem 5) can help to understand the context of composition of the verse scholia (poems 1-4). In fact, the dedicatory verses full of praise to a powerful patron and ruler in the book epigram (poem 5) point at a circulation in court of these manuscripts (or at least the intermediate model between Paris. gr. 1633 and these manuscripts). The general impression of the verse scholia (poems 1-4) agrees with such a context of circulation and reading. There is a paraenetic, mirror-of-princes tone in these epigrams that emerges in their neat structure and in their interest in kings and court dynamics.<sup>6</sup> As for the structure, note for example that the last two verses of poems 1-3 are introduced by a γάρ, as if there were lessons or morals to be drawn from the different scenarios presented in the first two verses. The direct laudatory address to the king (εἶ σοι βασιλεῦ 1.1) and the direct advice to the reader (οὓς γε φευκτέον 2.4) further support the assumption of the milieu of circulation. It seems also plausible to assume that the book epigram (poem 5) precedes in time the addition of the verse scholia (poems 1-4) in the manuscript in question.<sup>7</sup>

## Poem 1

Croesus gave Alcmeon as much gold as he could carry at once on himself (Hdt. 6.125)

Εἶ σοι, βασιλεῦ, ὡς ἔχεις πρὸς τοὺς φίλους·  
λαμπρὰς ἀμοιβὰς συντιθεῖς παρ' ἐλπίδα·  
κρίνεις γὰρ εὐδόκιμον ἀνθρώπους ἔχειν,  
ἢ γῆν ἀτερπῆ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ φορτίον.

1.4 τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ φορτίον] cf. Hdt. 4.196.1

1 f. 152v Ambr. C 82 sup., f. 163v Paris. gr. 1635, f. 100v o || 1.1 σοῖ Paris. gr. 1635 || 1.2  
παρελπίδα ο || 1.4 ἢ] ἢ ο | γῆν] γῆν Paris. gr. 1635, γὰρ ο | τοῦ χρυσοῦ] τοῖς χρυσὸν ο

*Good for you, king, how you behave towards your friends,*

*putting together splendid rewards unexpectedly!*

*For you consider honourable to have men*

<sup>6</sup> On the modalities of *Fürstenspiegel* in Byzantium, see now Agapitos (2020: 42-47), with further bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> There is more left to be analyzed in these epigrams, which I hope to do in the near future. In the present edition I sought to follow the orthography and punctuation of the manuscripts, which is quite consistent, even if I have made some silent modifications. I regularized iota *subscriptum* and capitals. I give also a succinct apparatus of parallels and sources that precedes the critical apparatus of textual variants.

*rather than a joyless land, the burden of gold.*

## Poem 2

Mardonius supported the plan of Xerxes to invade Greece (Hdt. 7.9)

Κόλακες ὡς ἕοικε δεινὰ θηρία,  
φθείροντα κἄν θέλγωσιν ἡδονῆ λόγων·  
ὀρῶσι γὰρ οὖν πρὸς τι κέρδος αὐτίκα·  
τὰ δ' αὖ σαφῆ κρύπτουσιν, οὓς γε φευκτέον.

2 f. 156v Ambr. C 82 sup., f. 168r Paris. gr. 1635, f. 59v o || 2.2 φθείροντι ο || 2.3 κέρδον ο || 2.4 τὰ] τὸ ο

*The flatterers, as it appears, are terrible beasts,  
who are harmful even if they enchant with the pleasure of words.  
For they immediately look for some profit,  
whereas they conceal what is clear. These need to be avoided.*

## Poem 3

Artabanus spoke against Xerxes' plan (Hdt. 7.10)

Ὅντως λόγοι θράττουσιν ὀρθοὶ καρδίαν,  
ἢν τις κόλαξ εἴλκυσεν ἐντέχνῳ ψεύδει·  
δάκνει γὰρ Ἀρτάβανος ἤδη τὴν Ξέρξου·  
τὸ μέλλον ἐκφεύξεσθαι μὴ σθένοντός που.

3. f. 157r Ambr. C 82 sup., f. 168v Paris. gr. 1635, ff. 59v-60r unum cum carmine 2 ο || 3.2 ἤλκυσεν ο | ψεύδη ο || 3.3 δάκνα ο<sup>u.v.</sup> || 3.4 μέλον ο

*The correct words truly disturb the heart  
that a flatterer dragged with artful falsehood.  
For Aratabanus already bites the heart of Xerxes,  
who will not be able to escape the future anyway.*

## Poem 4

Xerxes rewarded the Lydian Pythius for his generous hospitality (Hdt. 7.29)

Κρατεῖ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ σοφῶν ἰσχὺς λόγων  
φρενῶν ἀπηνῶν, ὡς φρονῆσαι τὸ πρέπον.

4 f. 160v Ambr. C 82 sup., f. 172r Paris. gr. 1635, om. o

*The force of wise words often conquers even  
the cruel minds so as to think what is appropriate.*

## Poem 5

Dedicatory verses at the end of Herodotus' *Histories*

Σῆσιν ἐφετμῆσιν θεοεἰκέλε δέσποτα εἶξας,  
ὃς σοφίην παντοίην πάνυ τοι ἀμφαγαπάζων  
ἱστορίην δὲ μάλιστα καὶ βελτιόνων ἀπόδεξιν  
εἰρήνης τ' ἔργων καὶ ἀδαμήτου πολέμοιο,  
πᾶσι τὲ ἀμφιπόλοισι περικλυτὰ ἔργα κελεύων 5  
κάμοί γ' ἐπιστρεφέως τελέειν τεῦχος τόδ' ἄνωγας·  
ἐξ ἐμέθεν γὰρ κέρδιον εἶναι δοάσσατο χειρῶν  
Ἡροδότου τήνδ' ἱστορίην θείου ἀποδέχθαι,  
αὐτὸς ἐγὼν ἤδη τόδ' ἔοργα· καὶ ἐς τέλος ἵκται  
χείρεσιν ἡμετέρησι, θεοῦ τελέοντος ἐπαρὰς· 10  
ἔλπομαι δ' οὖν σ' ἐν τοῖσδε διαμπερὲς ἀγλαίεισθαι,  
ὅσσα λόγων τε δαΐφρονας ἔργα τὲ μέρμερα φαίνει  
ἱστορίη σοφίην τε πολύζηλον μερόπεσι·  
θνητοὶ δέ γ' ἡμῖν πάντες ἅμα θεὸν ἰλάσκονται,  
ὥς κεν ἀπίρονας ἡλίου ἐς κύκλους ἰκάνης· 15

ἀμβολάδην τ' ἐπίλαμπτ' ἐννώσας ἔργα καὶ ῥέξας,

ἀνθρώποισι πέληαι ἀοίδιμος ἔσσομένοισι·

ἦτοι ἐγὼν ἐπίηρα τέλεσσά τοι τήνδε πρόφρων,

δέσποτα παμφανόνων τε καὶ ἡμετέρων μελεδωνέ·

ἦ ἔπεα προσθῆ κατά δ' ἔμμεν ἐμεῖο μνηῖμα·

20

αὐτὸς δ' αὖτις μου περικήδοιο, εὔνοα δοῦλον

εὐμενέως διέπων καὶ ἀγάλλων δωτίνησι.

5.1 θεοεἰκελε δέσποτα] cf. M. Italici orationem 123.24-25, I. Tzetzae epistulam 46.9 et alibi || 5.5 cf. Homeri Il. 6.324 || 5.7 κέρδιον εἶναι δοάσσατο] cf. Homeri Il. 13.458 et alibi || 5.10 θεοῦ τελέοντος ἐπαράς] cf. Homeri Il. 9.456 || 5.11 διαμπερὲς ἀγλαίεισθαι] Homeri Il. 10.331 || 5.12 ἔργα τὲ μέρμερα] cf. Homeri Il. 8.453 et alibi || 5.14 θεὸν ἰλάσκονται] Homeri Il. 6.380, 385 || 5.15 ὥς κεν] cf. Homeri Il. 6.96 et alibi || 5.16 ἀμβολάδην] cf. Hdt. 4.181.3 cum lexico 457.14 (= 463.25) Ἀμβολάδην. καθ' ὑπερβολήν | ἐπίλαμπτ'] cf. Hdt. 3.69.4 cum lexico 456.8 (= 464.7) Ἐπίλαμπτος. Καταφανής | ἐννώσας] cf. Hdt. 1.68.3 cum lexico 450.24 (=465.12) Ἐννώσας. Διανοηθεῖς || 5.17 cf. Homeri Il. 6.358 et alibi || 5.18 ἦτοι ἐγὼν] Homeri Il. 3.305, 15.190

5 f. 221v Ambr. C 82 sup., f. 238r Paris. gr. 1635, f. 433r Neapol. III B 4 | 5.tit. στίχοι ἠρωικοί add. Ambr. C 82 sup. || 5.5 τέ Neapol. III B 4 | περὶ κλυτὰ Ambr. C 82 sup., Paris. gr. 1635 || 5.6 κάμοι Neapol. III B 4 || 5.7 ἐξεμέθεν Neapol. III B 4 | δοάσσατο] δοάσσαρ cod. || 5.8 θείαν Neapol. III B 4 || 5.9 ἦδη Ambr. C 82 sup. || 5.10 ἐπ' ἀράς cod. || 5.13 μερόπεσι Paris. gr. 1635, Neapol. III B 4 || 5.14 δὲ Neapol. III B 4 || 5.16 ἐπίλαμπτ'] ἐπίμπλαν τ' Neapol. III B 4 || 5.17 ἀνθρώπησι Neapol. III B 4 || 5.18 ἦτοι Neapol. III B 4 || 5.21 περικήδοιο Neapol. III B 4 || δωτίνησι Neapol. III B 4

*Giving way to your commands, godlike lord,*

*you who loving every kind of wisdom,*

*and above all history and the display of the best*

*works of peace and of relentless war,*

*and ordering renowned works to all the servants*

5

*you earnestly command me to accomplish this volume.*

*For it seemed to be best to accept from my hands*

*this history by the divine Herodotus,*

*I myself have now done this and it reached the end  
through my hands, as God fulfilled the prayers.* 10

*I do hope that you will continually rejoice in these things,  
prudent people in words and destructive deeds  
and much admired wisdom that history shows to the mortals.*

*All mortals together we seek to propitiate God,  
so that you arrive at the infinite circles of the sun* 15  
*and after having understood and done plenty of brilliant deeds  
you will be the subject of songs for the future generations.*

*So did I earnestly finish this book as a service to you,  
radiant lord and our guardian.*

*You indeed could add these words to be on my tomb.* 20

*Please once again take care of me ruling kindly  
and adorning with presents a loyal subject.*

**Part 2**

**Niketas Choniates**



Niketas Choniates' *History* was masterfully edited by Jan-Louis van Dieten, with a monumental introduction that describes the manuscripts with due attention to the marginalia and tracks down the textual transmission of the work. We know quite precisely the stages of composition of the *History*, which is preserved in at least three versions.<sup>1</sup> In the manuscript tradition, Vaticanus graecus 163 (13th-14th centuries, manuscript V of van Dieten) contains the last and longest, revised yet unfinished (because of the death of Niketas), version of the *History*, called *a(uctior)*.<sup>2</sup> In fact, manuscript Vat. gr. 163 has been proposed to be the most faithful exponent of the *a* version of the *History*, which is less homogeneous than the *b(revior)* version, and thus to represent a more definitive version of the oeuvre, so much so that van Dieten largely based his edition on this manuscript. Version *a*, especially Vat. gr. 163, is a corrected revision of the version *b*. It adopts a more critical stance and a more personal style, in contrast to the more restrained version *b*. The corrections in Vat. gr. 163 are by Niketas himself, but also by the first readers of the oeuvre from the close circle of Niketas' friends, among whom a draft was in circulation, although it is not easy to distinguish exactly who did what. Furthermore, Vat. gr. 163 is a primary manuscript for a number of other Byzantine historiographical works. Folios 1r-61r transmit the so-called version B of the chronicle of the Logothete, ff. 62r-102v the (political) verse chronicle of Constantine Manasses, ff. 104r-220v contains Niketas Choniates' *History*, ff. 221r-268v is the main witness of John Kinnamos' *Epitome* and ff. 269r-302r the oldest witness of the *History* of George Akropolites.<sup>3</sup>

The whole manuscript was copied by at least three main scribes (ff. 1-220, 221-268, 269-301), supplemented in the 15th-17th centuries (ff. 1, 2, 112, 302, 303) and owned and annotated by a renowned Byzantine scholar, John Chortasmenos (14th-15th centuries). Van Dieten thought that two later hands added annotations to the manuscript, but in fact there are two main different scripts from the same scribe, Chortasmenos, famous for a variation in his writing style.<sup>4</sup> As it seems, two of the three main scripts of Chortasmenos coexist in the margins of Vat. gr. 163: the "classic" (*a*) and the "round" (*b*) style. This fluctuation may represent to a certain extent a diachronic change. The possession note in red in f. 301v (round = *b* style, although extremely exaggerated) is dated to December

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<sup>1</sup> On the textual transmission of Niketas Choniates' *History*, see first and foremost the introduction of van Dieten (1975: VII-CXV), with its preparatory works, later revisions and the update in a posthumous preface: van Dieten (1956; 1962; 1964; 1983; 1994; 1998; 2017). See also Maisano (1994; 1994b) and Simpson (2006; 2013: 68-127).

<sup>2</sup> See van Dieten (1975: VII n. 2, XXIII-XXV, LXXIII-LXXXIV; 2017: LXXXIX-XCI), Maisano (1994), Simpson (2013: 77-103). Other main manuscripts of the *a* version are Vaticanus graecus 1623 (= A) and Parisinus graecus 1778 (= P).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Mercati and De' Cavalieri (1923: 185-187), Wahlgren (2006: 44\*-45\*; 2019: 323-334), Lampsidis (1996: CII-CIV), Tocci (2011: 121-130), Heisenberg and Wirth (1978: 1.IV-VI).

<sup>4</sup> See Hunger (1969: 14, 16, 20, 52), Canart and Prato (1981: 161-162, 168), RGK 1.191, 2.252, 3.315.

1391, whereas the poignant note in the lower margin of f. 233r (rather classic = a style), commenting on Kinnamos' *Epitome*,<sup>5</sup> refers to the Ottoman siege of Constantinople by Bayezid I in 1394-1402:<sup>6</sup>

περὶ τοῦ κάστρου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως οἷον ἦν τότε· καὶ οἷον ἐστὶ νῦν. ὦ τῆς ἀνεκδιηγῆτου· καὶ ἀνευνοήτου καὶ ἀφράστου συμφορᾶς· ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐλεεινὰ ταῦτα ῥήματα ἔγραφον, Τοῦρκοι τὴν Κωσταντίνου πολιορκοῦσι· καὶ τὰς ἐλεπόλεις, οὕτως ἐγγὺς ἤγαγον αὐτῆς, ὡς ἀπέχειν τῆς τάφρου, μόλις δέκα πόδας· καὶ τύπτουσι τὸ τεῖχος ἀδιαλείπτως, διὰ τῶν καλουμένων σκευῶν· πέτραι δέ εἰσιν ἀμαξοπληθεῖς καὶ κλίμακας καὶ πύργους παρεσκευάσαντο· καὶ προσδόκιμοι εἰσὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν ἐλεῖν αὐτήν· οἴμοι φιλτάτη πατρίς, τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ τῆς περιφρονήσεως, ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν κατεφρονήθης· ἀλλὰ φεῖσαι κύριε. ἄνες κύριε· σπλαχνίσθητι μόνη φιλάνθρωπε. ἔξελοῦ ἡμᾶς τῶν προσδοκωμένων κακῶν. ὅτι ἐπὶ σὲ μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν +

The palaeographic issue of the hands in the margins of Vat. gr. 163 deserves to be developed and further clarified elsewhere. For now, let us suggest that the notes, except those by the main hand, are by Chortasmenos, who read intensively Niketas Choniates' *History* and the other historiographical works in the manuscript. Besides the notes printed by Mercati and De' Cavalieri, van Dieten (see also the critical apparatus to NC 1.1-3) and Hunger, there are many other marginalia. Take for example the note in the external margin of f. 126r, written in Chortasmenos' classic (= a) style and commenting on NC 121.7-22, when emperor Manuel I Komnenos showers his peer sultan Kilic Arslan II with gifts:

σημείωσαι σχόλιον·  
φεῦ τῆς τοσαύτης τοῦ βασιλέως τυφλώσεως. οἷον ἔργον ἔρεξε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ πάντων χριστιανῶν· τίς ἢ τοσαύτη σκότωση τοῦ λογισμοῦ· τίς ἢ ἀπώλεια· τίς ἢ μανιώδης αὕτη φιλοδοξία· καλὰ γε τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοδωρίας ἀπώνατο:<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ed. Meineke (1836: 75.4).

<sup>6</sup> And not to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, as van Dieten (1975: XXV) thinks. Van Dieten most likely follows the opinion of Lampros (1908: 260-261), who first edited the note. Mazzucchi (1995: 256), on the other hand, maintains that the siege in question is that of 1422 by Murad II, which is narrated by John Kananos; ed. Cuomo (2006: 8.55 ss.). A translation of the note can be found in Hunger (1969: 16). I reprint the note above with some minor corrections with respect to Lampros after consultation of the manuscript in the Vatican Library. The manuscript is available online at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.163](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.163). In this and the following transcriptions, I preserve the orthography and punctuation of the manuscript.

<sup>7</sup> "Note, commentary [the marginal explanation by Chortasmenos to 349.11-12 is opened with σχόλιον too; see the critical apparatus of van Dieten (1975) and Hunger (1969: 20 n. 5)]: Oh, such blindness of the emperor! Such a deed he did against himself and all Christians! What is this darkening of the reason, what is this perdition? What is this crazy munificence? Very fine indeed, what he gained from his generosity".

Right before, in the margin of f. 125v, the hand of Chortasmenos next to NC 116.79 ss. rubricated the following: + σχετλιασμός τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐν εὐχῆς μέρει πρὸς τὸν θεόν.<sup>8</sup> Other notes reveal the intellectual and historical background of the annotator. In this respect, see the notes against the figure of Kalojan of Bulgaria, studied by Ivan Dujčev (see f. 201r on NC 532.21 ss.; f. 215r on NC 618.93 ss.; f. 219v on NC 642.64 ss.).<sup>9</sup> See also the quotations of a political verse from a catanyctic poem by patriarch Germanos II (f. 206v on NC 569.7 ss.: ῥεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοὶ, κρουνοὺς ἡματωμένους; f. 218v on NC 637.8 ss. ῥεῖτε δακρύων ὀφθαλμοὶ, πηγὰς ἡματωμένας),<sup>10</sup> or of a passage of Synesios' epistle 41<sup>11</sup> in f. 208v on NC 581.15 ss.:

σημείωσαι Συνεσίου τοῦ σοφωτάτου  
αἱ κακοποιοὶ δυνάμεις ἐν κόσμῳ, συντελοῦσι μὲν τῇ χρεΐα τῆς προνοίας· κολάζουσι  
γὰρ, τοὺς ἀξίους κολάζεσθαι· εἰσὶ δὲ ὅμως θεομισεῖς τε καὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι. ἐγερῶ γὰρ  
φησὶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ἔθνος, ἀφ' οὗ, πείσεσθε τόσα καὶ τόσα· καὶ τελευτῶν, αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις  
οἷς ἐπιστρατεύει φησὶν ἐπεξελεύσεσθαι· ὅτι παραλαβόντες ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἠλέησαν· οὐδὲ  
ἀνθρωπίνως ἐχρήσαντο.

Apart from the quotation of two isolated verses (ῥεῖτε δακρύων [...]), there are no verse scholia by the hand of Chortasmenos. However, there is an epigram written in three columns in f. 168v copied in red by the same hand that copied the main text of Niketas Choniates' *History*. Right after the end of the second (and last) book of Andronikos' reign, following NC 354.47, the following verses are attached:<sup>12</sup>

Καὶ δίκας ἀνάρσιον ὑπέσχεσ κάρα·  
ἀνθ' ὧν ἄωρον ἐξέτιλας τὸν στάχυν·  
τὸν Ἀλέξιον τὸν γλυκὺν μειρακίσκον·  
Ἄνδρόνικε φεῦ· τὸν βασιλείον τόκον·  
ὄν λαγόνες γῆς τῆς βασιλίδος Ξένης·  
ὑπανέδωκαν ὡς ἄριστα γηπόνῳ·  
τῷ βασιλεῖ Μανουήλ καὶ φυτοσπόρῳ·  
ὅστις ἔλαχεν ἐν βασιλεῦσι κλέος.

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tantum in codice V (Vat. gr. 163, f. 168v) || 6 ἀρίστῳ van Dieten in apparatu

<sup>8</sup> "Complaint of the author in the form of a prayer to God". See a similar rubric in the external margin of f. 195r to NC 498.29ss: σχετλιασμός τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων.

<sup>9</sup> Dujčev (1965: 213-217); see van Dieten (1971: 132), Macrides (2007: 144 n. 20).

<sup>10</sup> See Migliorini and Tessari (2012: 159).

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Garzya (2000: 40.1-7); see there the translation of Denis Roques.

<sup>12</sup> The epigram is printed in the critical apparatus of van Dieten (1975: 354.47). The main variant with respect to van Dieten's transcription is ἄριστα in v. 6. Besides, I leave the punctuation as in the manuscript. The verses are translated by Riccardo Maisano in Pontani (1999: 690 n. 173). See also Karlin-Hayter (1987: 113), Simpson (2013: 169 n. 130).

*Implacable man, you suffered the penalty  
for having plucked the unripe corn,  
the sweet child Alexios,  
-alas, Andronikos!- the royal offspring,  
whom the womb of queen Xene  
offered like the best fruits to the husbandman  
and sower, to king Manuel,  
who received glory among kings.*

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The layout of the poem in Vat. gr. 163 continues the disposition in three columns of two poems that surround our epigram as part of the text of Niketas Choniates' *History*. In the beginning of the following book, 8 verses of a poem from the oracles of Leo the Wise (NC 355.9-15 = PG 107.1133B) are used to praise Isaac II Angelos:<sup>13</sup>

τὸ σχῆμα φαίνει τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν τρόπον,  
ὄθεν μολήσας, οἶος ὄφθεις μοι φίλος·  
πρώτας γὰρ ἔχεις ἀρετὰς ἄλλων πλέον  
καὶ σωφρονίζεις σωφρονῶν τοὺς φιλτάτους·  
ὄθεν τέτευχας χρηστοτάτου τοῦ τέλους  
μόνος ἀναχθεὶς ἐξ ἀνακτόρων κλέος  
καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ, κράτιστε, λιπὼν τὸ κράτος·  
ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ γὰρ εὐτυχῆσεις τὸ κράτος.

The poem of Vat. gr. 163 is also preceded by another series of 8 verses (353.37-354.44) that share the prophetic tone of the poems attributed to Leo the Wise, but are actually not included in the collections that survived to us, although they are introduced as a fragment of ἕτεροι τὸ μέλλον αὐτῷ προφοιβάζοντες ἱαμβεῖοι στίχοι βίβλοις ("other iambic verses in books that predict his [Andronikos'] future", NC 353.34-35). These 8 verses (NC 353.37-354.44) would allude oracularly to the rise and fall of Andronikos:<sup>14</sup>

αἴφνης δ' ἀναστὰς ἐκ τόπου πλήρους πότου  
ἀνὴρ πελιδνός, ἀγέρωχος τὸν τρόπον,  
στικτός, πολιός, ποικίλος χαμαιλέων,  
ἐπεισπεσεῖται καὶ θερίσει καλάμην.  
πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὐτὸς συνθερισθεὶς τῷ χρόνῳ  
ἐσύτερον τίσειεν ἀθλίως δίκας  
ῶν περ κακῶς ἔπραξεν ἐν βίῳ τάλας·  
ὁ γὰρ φέρων μάχαιραν οὐ φύγη ξίφος.

<sup>13</sup> On the presence of the oracles in Niketas Choniates' *History*, see below (Chapter 4) the commentary on poem 40 of the cycle of Ephraim.

<sup>14</sup> On these verses, see e.g. Mango (1960: 63-64), Simpson (2013: 169).

A short prose explanation of the first verse follows the oracle and closes the chapter (354.45-47): αἴφνης δ' ἀναστὰς ἐκ τόπου πλήρους πότου (“Suddenly rising from a place full of drinking”, NC 353.37) would refer to the city from where Andronikos came to Constantinople (see NC 225.56, 229.59), Oinaion (modern Ünye), which resembles the Greek word for wine (οἶνος). In Vat. gr. 163, the 8 verses printed above (inc. Καὶ δίκας [...]) follow this explanation.

The epigram in Vat. gr. 163 needs to be understood in this precise context. From the very beginning the poem sets a dialogue with the previous oracle in verse. Notably, the epigram starts with a καὶ and the word δίκας (v. 1) recalls the same word with the same meaning in NC 354.42 (ἐσύστερον τίσειεν ἀθλίως δίκας, “in the end he will pay the penalty wretchedly”). Unlike the prophecies in verse, the epigram in Vat. gr. 163 addresses directly the emperor Andronikos. From v. 2 onwards, the exact cause of the penalty (δίκας) is explained. Therefore, the epigram does not pretend to be a verse oracle, another fragment from the book that circulated, according to Niketas. Conversely, the epigram is an exegetical elaboration, a variation on the topic at issue in verse form.

Needless to say, the outrageous penalty (δίκας) in question was narrated in extenso and quite explicitly in NC 349.93-351.55. On the other hand, the series of evil deeds performed by Andronikos started with the murder of Alexios II Komnenos, the son of Manuel I and Maria of Antioch, Xene (NC 273.92-274.29).<sup>15</sup> The epigram in Vat. gr. 163 also focuses on this event, as if the whole poem was an explanation of the prophecy in NC 354.43 (ὧν περ κακῶς ἔπραξεν ἐν βίῳ τάλας, “for the evil deeds the wretched committed in his life”). To explain this line, the composer of this epigram employs imagery that appears in the oracle that precedes our epigram (NC 353.40-354.41, 44): ἐπεισπεσεῖται καὶ θερίσει καλάμην./ πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὐτὸς συνθερισθεὶς τῷ χρόνῳ/ [...] ὁ γὰρ φέρων μάχαιραν οὐ φύγη ξίφος (“he will irrupt and reap the stalk, but himself reaped in due time [...] for he who bears a dagger will not escape the sword”). In fact, the metaphor of the reaper appears again and again in Niketas Choniates' *History* with respect to Andronikos.<sup>16</sup> See for example another quotation of the iambic oracles of Leo the Wise in Niketas' assessment of Andronikos (351.71-72): τὸ παλαίφατον [...] τοῦτο χρησμῶδημα „δρεπανηφόρε, τετράμηνόν σε μένει“ (“this old oracle [...]: ‘sickle-bearer, you are due in four months’”; see PG 107.1132B). The association of Andronikos with the oracles concerning a reaper brings to mind the self-representation of the emperor in his foreseen mausoleum at the restored church of the Forty Martyrs (NC 332.12-333.60).<sup>17</sup> Outside a

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<sup>15</sup> See below the commentary to poem 43 of Ephraim of Ainos (Chapter 4).

<sup>16</sup> Poem 37 of the cycle of epigrams by Ephraim of Ainos (see below) also alludes to the personification of death as a reaper with a sickle through the expression ἕδου θερίστρα (37.5).

<sup>17</sup> See below the verse scholium on Skoutariotes' chronicle and the commentary of the book epigram in F (poem 45) in Chapter 4.

door of the restored church, Andronikos had a portrait of himself done in which he was wearing peasant's clothes and holding a sickle in his hand (δρέπανον περικαμπές κατέχοντα τῇ χειρὶ, βριθὸν καὶ μέγα καὶ στιβαρόν NC 332.28).<sup>18</sup> Hanging from the sickle, a young beautiful boy was represented. Notably, the word μαιρακίσκον (NC 332.30) is used, exactly as in our epigram (v. 3). Niketas Choniates interprets that Andronikos purposefully wanted to communicate his unlawful deeds, namely that he had killed the heir and usurped the throne (NC 332.30-34). The epigram in Vat. gr. 163 follows the same interpretation and elaborates on the motif of the untimely harvest (v. 2; see the similar metaphor of the imperial garden cut down in NC 269.94-95).<sup>19</sup> The elaboration includes the comparison of Alexios II with the uprooted ear of corn (vv. 2-4), of his mother with the sown field (vv. 5-6) and of the father, emperor Manuel I Komnenos, with the sower and farmer (vv. 6-8).

The epigram of Vat. gr. 163, therefore, is an exegetical variation on motifs present in immediate and less immediate contexts in the *History* of Niketas Choniates. As said before, these corollary verses at the end of the reign of Andronikos are copied only in Vat. gr. 163 (manuscript V of Niketas Choniates' *History*) by the same hand that copied the main text.<sup>20</sup> The epigram is strictly not even part of the marginalia of Vat. gr. 163 and it has the same layout as the other verse oracles surrounding it. Chortasmenos, who commented elsewhere in the manuscript, must thus be excluded as the possible author of the poem, nor should we think about a versifier/paraphraser such as Ephraim of Ainos (see below).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> On the wording of this passage, see below the commentary to poem 24 (Chapter 4).

<sup>19</sup> For a similar reading of the portrait at the church, including the allusions to the prophecies of Leo and the representation of death as the Grim Reaper, see Karlin-Hayter (1987). See also Eastmond (1994), Stichel (2000).

<sup>20</sup> Another set of 8 verses occurs at the same place in Skoutariotes' chronicle (ed. Sathas 1894: 363 n. 1), on which see below Chapter 4. The poem is copied by another hand in the lower margin of f. 92v of Marc. gr. 407, as reported by Sathas. The verses occur at the end of Andronikos' reign, where Skoutariotes adds a letter attested elsewhere (Sathas 1894: 362.29-363.6; see Simpson 2013: 122) and an anecdote about another prediction of Andronikos' death, featuring the mausoleum at the church of the Forty Martyrs (Sathas 1894: 363.7-13). The poet picks up on the forty martyrs and on the mention of an icon of Christ who spoke to emperor Maurice (NC 332.16-17 = Sathas 1894: 352.3-5). The verse scholium in Marc. gr. 407 is far more lenient than the poem in Vat. gr. 163 (and poems 43-44 of Ephraim, see below), as revealed by the title: "To Christ our saviour, that of Maurice, by one on behalf of Andronikos". The poem, indeed, is an entreaty to God: "You promised [see Genesis 18.16-19.29, Ezekiel 14.12-23] on account of only three to have mercy and save the whole city, thus on account of forty loyal fellow soldiers and martyrs, will you not save one person, especially your lord Andronikos? Yes, you will do it for us and more so for him, who firmly suffered for you, good among the martyrs (...)". The verse scholium needs to be studied more in depth, together with the rest of the marginalia of Marc. gr. 407 (other epigrams are recorded in Sathas 1894: 381 n. 1, 487 n. 1).

<sup>21</sup> As for the metre of the poem in Vat. gr. 163, six verses have the caesura after the 5th syllable, of which vv. 4 and 5 have the stress on the 5th syllable and vv. 2, 3, 6 and 8 on the 3rd syllable. The other two verses have the caesura after the 7th syllable, of which v. 1 has the stress on the 5th and v. 7 has it on the 7th syllable. The latter phenomenon is not recorded in the epigrams of Ephraim (see the *Appendix metrica* in Chapter 3 below). In v. 7,

However, the poem in Vat. gr. 163 shares with Ephraim's poems 43-44 the harshly critical stance towards Andronikos (*Kaiserkritik*). Notably, the version *a* of the text of the *History* (a group of manuscripts among which Vat. gr. 163 is the most representative exemplar) is more generous than the *b* version in critical passages regarding Andronikos.<sup>22</sup> These demeaning variations and additions in the text of *a*, among which our epigram in Vat. gr. 163 should be counted, certainly derive from Niketas' revision of his own work, but we have seen that they also stem from the pens of acquaintances, the first readers and collaborators of the last version of Niketas Choniates' *History*. It is natural to attribute the poem in Vat. gr. 163 after NC 354.47 to one of the members of Niketas' circle, rather than to Niketas himself, since there is no apparent reason why Niketas would add a verse appendix to the final chapter on Andronikos. The poem was most likely copied by a second hand on the circulating copy of the *a* version, probably in the margins of this manuscript, and was later integrated by the copyist of V into the body of the main text, even if in a distinct colour, together with other additions.

The examples from Vat. gr. 163 exhibit the heterogeneous nature and the multiple layers of marginalia that result from the active use of this manuscript. In particular, the epigram at the end of the reign of Andronikos I Komnenos attests to the presence of verse among the interventions of the readers of Niketas Choniates' *History*. The epigram also illustrates the process through which marginal annotations may find their way into the main text.

This part of the dissertation aims at offering the first critical edition of a cycle of epigrams in the margins of a group of manuscripts from the *b* version of the *History* of Niketas Choniates. As I will demonstrate, the epigrams were written by an otherwise known author, Ephraim of Ainos. Besides paying attention to how the poems interact with the main text, I will investigate the compositional techniques revealed in these epigrams, which were not incorporated into the main text but evolved from the margins into a derivative yet autonomous work, Ephraim's verse chronicle. In Chapter 3, I present the cycle of epigrams and I argue for Ephraim's authorship. The edition of the poems is preceded by the description of the manuscripts and their relationships and followed by an appendix about the metre of the poems and two indices. Chapter 4 contains a detailed commentary of the epigrams.

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this transgression of the accentual "rules" of the dodecasyllable notably coincides with a proper name (Μανουήλ). Other proper names entail some minor prosodic licences (see v. 3 Ἀλέξιοι, where the epsilon remains short, and v. 4 Ἀνδρόνικε, where omicron and epsilon need to be long). Finally, there is no enjambement in these 8 verses, which is expressed in the strong punctuation after the end of each line (see below).

<sup>22</sup> See Simpson (2013: 165-170). On the other hand, in some manuscripts of the *b* version, such as in F and its apographa (see below), Andronikos is consistently addressed with the title of βασιλεὺς, as noted by van Dielen (1962: 233-234).

## Chapter 3

# A cycle of epigrams in the margins of Niketas Choniates by Ephraim of Ainos

A series of twelve-syllable verse scholia can be found in the margins of some manuscripts belonging to the version *b(revior)* of Niketas Choniates' *History*.<sup>1</sup> The occurrence of the poems is recorded in van Dieten's introduction to his edition of the *History*. While describing manuscript D, he presents the cycle of poems and mentions that they were edited by Hieronymus Wolf. Subsequently, he notes the presence of the epigrams in the description of the manuscripts that contain them.<sup>2</sup> Van Dieten's description is overall precise and careful and this section owes much to his meticulous and exhaustive work. However, his considerations regarding the epigrams are only preliminary. This section offers a first critical edition of the poems and some suggestions about their context of production and authorship.

The number of epigrams listed by van Dieten is slightly inaccurate. At its largest, the cycle of epigrams comprises 44 poems (200 verses): poem 1 comments on the proem, poems 2-40 comment on the reign of John II Komnenos, poems 41-42 comment on the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (6th book of Manuel) and poems 43-44 comment on the reign of Andronikos I Komnenos (2nd book of Andronikos). Van Dieten counts 42 poems on

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<sup>1</sup> Vaticanus graecus 168 (D), Vindobonensis Historicus graecus 53 (F), Parisinus Coislinianus 137 (C), Vindobonensis Historicus graecus 105 (W), Parisinus graecus 1722 (Σ), Fuggeranus 159a (Φ). The poems were excerpted from Σ in Parisinus Supplementum graecum 249 (s). Except for s, all sigla are adopted from van Dieten (1975). All quotations of Niketas Choniates' *History* refer to this edition too. See below for a description of the manuscripts and their relationships. In the abundant and multi-layered textual tradition of the *History*, the group of manuscripts representing the version *b* preserves some consistency, in contrast to the unfinished revision of the text named *a(uctior)*. C and W however do not show purely *b* texts: C follows *b* only until 614.7 (from there onwards an *a* text was copied), whereas W mixes layers from different versions (as van Dieten already notes, W copies the epigrams from D).

<sup>2</sup> Van Dieten (1975: XXX, XXXII, XLIII-XLIV, LI-LII).



John's reign instead of 39 and takes the two poems on Andronikos as one. He also considers poem 1 as separate from the cycle, on which see below.

The epigrams were indeed first published in the *editio princeps* of Niketas Choniates by Wolf in 1557, but only with  $\Phi$  as a model.<sup>3</sup> Emmanuel Miller later edited 8 poems from the cycle, with a translation into Latin and a commentary, but only from later manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> These 8 poems from Miller were included in the catalogue of Ioannis Vassis and some of their words collected in *LBG*.<sup>5</sup> Besides, the *poeta scholiastes* (as called by Miller) has not received much attention.<sup>6</sup>

However, when reading the verses, the identity behind the mask of anonymity becomes clear. Many verses of these epigrams find striking parallels in the oeuvre of Ephraim of Ainos, a world chronicle and a catalogue of the bishops of Constantinople in dodecasyllables.<sup>7</sup> Full verses or parts of verses of these epigrams are found again in Ephraim's oeuvre and entire passages reflect the general impression or the exact wording of Ephraim, besides drawing concepts and imagery from the narration of Niketas

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<sup>3</sup> Wolf (1557). The epigrams are printed in the margin next to the Greek text: poem 1 = p. 1; 2 = p. 2; 3 = p. 3; 4, 5 = p. 4; 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 = p. 6; 11, 12 = p. 7; 13, 14, 15 = p. 8; 16, 17, 18, 19 = p. 9; 20, 21 = p. 10; 22, 23 = p. 11; 24 = p. 12; 25, 26 = p. 13; 27, 28 = p. 14; 29 = pp. 15-16; 30 = p. 16; 31, 32 = p. 17; 33, 34 = p. 18; 35, 36 = p. 19; 37 = p. 20; 38, 39 = p. 21; 40 = p. 22; 41, 42 = p. 91; 43, 44 = p. 161. The epigrams exhibit many conjunctive errors with  $\Phi$  (notably the banalizations in 8.1, 35.4, 38.5 and the word order in 21.2; see below). In fact, all marginalia are the same as in  $\Phi$ ; see van Dieten (1975: XXXII). Wolf also used two other manuscripts for the text of Niketas Choniates, as he states in the appendix to his edition ("Variae lectiones et annotationes in Nicetae Choniatae historiam", reproduced in Bekker 1835: 871-892 = PG 139.310-1038). Van Dieten identifies these manuscripts as  $\Xi$  (Monacensis graecus 93) and B (Monacensis graecus 450); see van Dieten (1975: XXXIV, L, CV; 1979: 37), Reinsch (2016: 48-49).

<sup>4</sup> Miller (1881): poem 23 = p. 165; 27 = p. 166; 28 = p. 169 (see p. 172); 29 = pp. 175-176; 30 = pp. 178-179; 37 = p. 186; 38 + 39 (edited as one poem) = p. 191. In the introductory words to poem 23, Miller declares that he knows the epigrams from  $\Phi$ ,  $\Sigma$  and Wolf (1557), but in fact his text often agrees with  $\Sigma$  (see e.g. 27.4; 37.6, 9; 38.4). For the manuscripts, see also Miller (1875: 211 n. 1; 1881: 131-132) and van Dieten (1975: CVIII).

<sup>5</sup> Vassis (2005): poem 23 = p. 366; 27 = p. 278; 28 = p. 170; 29 = p. 614; 30 = p. 149; 37 = p. 76; 38 + 39 = p. 318. Poem 1 is also included in p. 569, but from other sources (see below). As for *LBG*, see e.g. 27.3 ἀνακώχευσις; 27.4 ἀναπνώω (*lege* ἀναπνύω); 28.2 χρυσοπλουτοβρύτης; 29.1 βροτουργάτης (*lege* βροτεργάτης); 30.4 μυριοστεφηφόρος; 37.4 πρωτογεννής, πορφυρανθής; 37.5 θερίστρα; 37.8 ἐντρόχιον, τροχηλάτευμα (*lege* τροχίλευμα); 37.10 ἰόχριστος; 38.6 οὐρεσίτροφος (see also the *Indices nominum* and *verborum notabiliorum* below).

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. the brief mentions in Romano (1980: 165-166), Mazzucchi (1995: 202), Zorzi (2001: 72, 75 n. 49; 2012: XVII-XVIII).

<sup>7</sup> The chronicle was edited by Lampsidis (1990); previously with translation and comments in Lampsidis (1984-1985). The catalogue can be found in Bekker (1840: 383-417). They can be deemed as two parts of a single enterprise, especially when we consider that the catalogue of the patriarchs begins with a καὶ; see Lampsidis (1971: 29 n. 3; 1990: XVI-XVII). If we count these together with the two verses that function as title for the catalogue (Lampsidis 1971: 23, 106), we reach the number of 10418 dodecasyllables. It must be kept in mind that the beginning of the chronicle is not preserved: two folios are missing from Vaticanus graecus 1003, which must have contained 70 to 90 verses; see Lampsidis (1971: 31; 1990: XI-XII). On Ephraim (*PLP* 6408; *ODB* s. v. Ephraim), see primarily Lampsidis (1971) and, more recently, Karpozilos (2015: 445-460) and Nilsson (2019).

Choniates.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the date of the earliest manuscripts carrying the epigrams (see below) coincides with the postulated date of Ephraim, i.e. between the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th.<sup>9</sup>

Another relevant piece of information from a manuscript significantly matches one of the few things we know about Ephraim. A book epigram at the end of manuscript F refers to Ainos, a city in Thrace (now Enez) notably associated with Ephraim.<sup>10</sup> The poem describes the restoration and rebinding of the manuscript by (on behalf of) the bishop of this city (45.6).<sup>11</sup> The poem itself shares some common traits with other book epigrams, but it also reproduces some elements from Ephraim's style.<sup>12</sup> The sponsorship for the

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<sup>8</sup> The following verses are found (almost) identical in Ephraim: 15.2; 18; 19.3; 28.5; 40.12. The same words in the same metrical position can be read in verses 10.2; 13.3; 14.2; 17.3; 19.1; 24.2; 29.4; 30.5; 31.6; 33.2; 35.1; 35.5; 35.6; 37.14; 37.16. And the general appearance of the following poems reminds of Ephraim: 8.3; 13.2; 20.4-11; 21.2; 22; 23.2; 26.3; 29.4-6; 31.4-6; 32; 35.3; 37.9-11; 40.7; 41.4-5; 43. Interesting use of Niketas Choniates' text can be found in verses 1.2; 7.2; 7.4; 20.3-11; 22; 24.1-4; 25.1; 25.3; 27.4; 29.5; 29.8; 31.4-9; 32.2; 34.3; 35.4; 36.2; 36.4; 36.10; 37.9-11; 38.8; 39; 40.3; 40.5. All these examples are recorded in the apparatus of the epigrams and see also below the commentary in Chapter 4. See the *Appendix metrica* below and Hilberg (1888) and Lampsidis (1971: 75-105; 1971-1972: 292-305; 1990: LIII-LV) for a comparison with Ephraim's dodecasyllables.

<sup>9</sup> The chronicle ends with the entrance of Michael VIII Palaiologos in Constantinople in 1261. The catalogue finishes with the patriarchate of Isaiah, which started in 1323 and lasted until 1332. However, the death of the patriarch is not mentioned. This is taken as a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the work and as a reference for Ephraim's date. See Lampsidis (1971: 27-30; 1990: X, XVII).

<sup>10</sup> The epigram was edited by van Dieten (1962: 224); see below and poem 45. As a matter of fact, the connection of Ephraim with Ainos was masterfully reconstructed by Lampsidis from the catalogues of the Vatican Library written before Vat. gr. 1003 (the main manuscript of Ephraim's chronicle and catalogue) lost its first folios. See Lampsidis (1971: 16-24; 1973; 1990: X). Not only did the name of the author and his geographical origin disappear with the first folios, but also any further reference to the context of Ephraim, namely a possible commission of the oeuvre by a patron. See below and Lampsidis (1971: 38-40; 1990: XVI), Nilsson (2019: 527-528). The mention of Ainos in the book epigram in F further confirms Lampsidis' reconstruction.

<sup>11</sup> Ainos was an important fortified and port city in Thrace, a bishopric from the first centuries of Christianity and a Metropolitan see from the 11th century (see Soustal 1991: 170-173 and *ODB* s. v. Ainos). Unfortunately, the little we know about the bishops at the time of Ephraim is insufficient to pinpoint better a possible patron. One bishop Michael (*PLP* 19061) was expelled by patriarch Gregory II around the years 1285-1289 and an anonymous successor was also deposed by patriarch Niphon by 1310-1314 (see Laurent 1971: n. 1496, Darrouzès 1977: n. 2006). Other metropolitans were appointed as *proedros* of Ainos, i.e. as administrators of the see while still being metropolitans elsewhere: Sabas of Antioch in Pisidia around 1298 (*PLP* 24627; see Laurent 1971: n. 1704, Darrouzès 1977: n. 2016), Arsenios of Pergamon (*PLP* 1405; see Darrouzès 1977: n. 2032) around 1315, Theodosios of Melitene (*PLP* 7161; Darrouzès 1977: n. 2149) around 1329. These seem somewhat weaker candidates, as they would have been less involved in the cultural life of Ainos. Other bishops of Ainos after the patriarchate of Isaiah (1323-1332), under which Ephraim wrote his catalogue of patriarchs, include Daniel (*PLP* 5129), Jacob of Makre (*PLP* 7901), Eusebios (*PLP* 6329) and Dionysios (*PLP* 5480).

<sup>12</sup> Notably, the way of calling the bishop of Ainos ὁ ποιμέναρχης Αἰνιτῶν: ποιμέναρχης occurs 48 times in Ephraim (ποιμεναρχία 4 times), more than in any other Byzantine author (see *TLG*). Moreover, the poem evokes the restoration of the church of the Forty Martyrs by Andronikos in Ephraim's chronicle 5338-5347. The formula

conservation of this manuscript by the bishop shows at least that F was in Ainos at a certain point. As we will see, however, the epigrams were copied in F from the common exemplar of D and F, called η by van Dieten.<sup>13</sup> The particular material support and format of the book epigram raise another set of questions. It is written by a hand different from any other in F on a parchment strip added at the end of a paper manuscript (see Figure 3). This unusual feature could be explained as follows. The piece of parchment is actually a fragment from the exemplar η. The poem, therefore, would refer to the repair of η, where the cycle of epigrams was first written down by its author and from where the poems were later copied in F and D separately. After the copying of F (probably in Ainos), the section of the folio with the book epigram was cut out from (probably the end of) η and attached in F instead of being copied in it.<sup>14</sup> This is a strange procedure indeed, but not stranger than writing down an epigram in a piece of parchment when there was space in the blank paper flyleaf of F (f. 323). In fact, a series of notes were later copied in f. 323 (see below), where the parchment strip also used to be pasted according to van Dieten.<sup>15</sup>

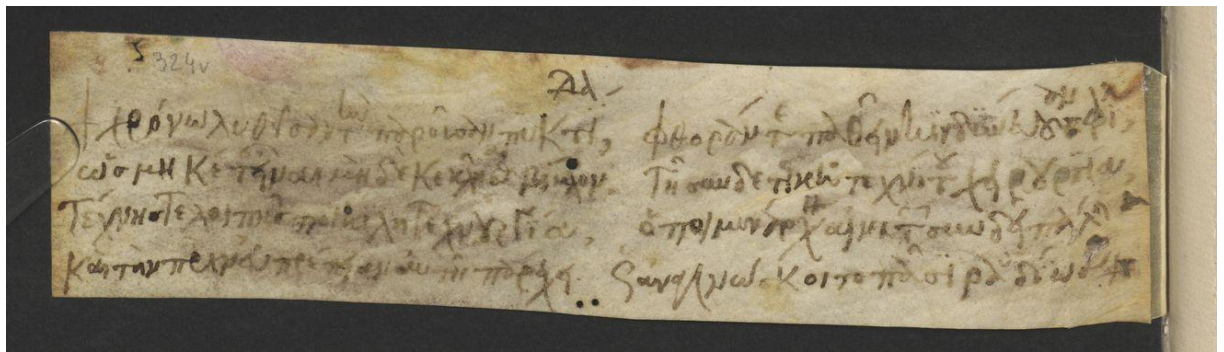


Figure 3 Vindob. Hist. gr. 53, f. 324v

This hypothesis fits in a scenario in which Ephraim jotted down the poems in the margins of the postulated manuscript η while preparing his chronicle in Ainos. However, there is no need to locate the composition of the poems in Ainos: Ephraim is believed to have spent some time in Constantinople.<sup>16</sup> The origin of the parchment strip in F, on the other

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τὴν παροῦσαν πυκτίδα recurs in book epigrams (8 occurrences in *DBBE*). See below the commentary in Chapter 4.

<sup>13</sup> Van Dieten (1975: LXVI); see below.

<sup>14</sup> This could have been done in my opinion because η was too damaged (45.1-3), even after the restoration (45.4-8), but the copyist of F wanted to keep the memory of the bishop of Ainos alive.

<sup>15</sup> Van Dieten (1975: XXXII). An alternative explanation is that the epigram was copied either in what served as a parchment guard leaf for a paper manuscript (F), which was rendered useless after the restoration of the manuscript, or else in a remnant of parchment used to rebind the volume.

<sup>16</sup> Lampsidis (1971: 24-25; 1990: X).

hand, is not essential either for the argument of the authorship of the cycle of poems.<sup>17</sup> The formal parallels in the poems with the oeuvre of Ephraim and the connection of an authoritative manuscript with Ainos still constitute solid evidence. In any case, the cycle of epigrams attests to the creative process of the chronicle of Ephraim. For the epigrams, he is working directly with the text of Niketas Choniates, as confirmed by the many passages commented on in the epigrams but absent in the chronicle.<sup>18</sup> This means that the verses were not extracted from the chronicle into the margins of η, but rather composed ad hoc by Ephraim as the germ of or preparatory material for what would be his chronicle.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, we already knew that Ephraim worked with a text from the *b* version as the main source for his chronicle. Manuscript η is the best candidate for being this text, especially since a passage included in Ephraim is omitted in R (Vaticanus graecus 169) and M (Marcianus graecus 403, coll. 857), the other two main manuscripts of *b*, whose agreement reveals the manuscript ρ proposed by van Dieten.<sup>20</sup>

A question arises as to why the epigrams are distributed in this particular way, concentrated in the margins of the book of John II Komnenos. Either the distribution was a deliberate decision of the author or the cycle as we know it now is in a fragmentary state. The size of the epigrams can be an indication of the former. The number of lines and the complexity of the poems increase from poem 20 onwards, peaking in poem 37,

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<sup>17</sup> If the book epigram belongs solely to F, this would only be at odds with considering Ephraim as the author of the book epigram too. If the parchment strip comes from η, it is tempting to even see the epigram as an autograph by Ephraim. Otherwise, the presence of a book epigram by Ephraim on a copy of the cycle of epigrams would be untenable, unless Ephraim was later in contact also with F or unless the book epigram was also copied from η (but by a different hand in a separate parchment piece?). Yet another issue remains unaddressed here, namely the relationship between the bishop and Ephraim and whether this played any role in Ephraim's circle. Here may lie a clue to find the commissioner of Ephraim's oeuvre (see below the Conclusions). Note that Ephraim was not a bishop himself, but most likely a monk. See Lampsidis (1971: 23 n. 4, 25–26; 1973: 510; 1990: X). Patronage could be connected with the presence of images in F and its relatively rich ornamentation (see the description of F below).

<sup>18</sup> Poems 3, 4, 6, 17, 24, 25, 30, 34, 37, 40 comment on passages not included in Ephraim's chronicle. See also the allusions to the last speech of John (not in Ephraim) in poems 34, 36, 38 and the possible references to other passages of Niketas Choniates in 24.3–4, 25.1, 35.4.

<sup>19</sup> The sole challenging case is 19.3: the poem reads Χράσμων as in Ephraim, instead of Χράμος of Niketas Choniates (see Kinnamos, ed. Meineke 1836: 11.11, 20; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas 1894: 194.25). As it seems, Ephraim consistently wrote it with a sigma (maybe out of metrical scruples) and the reading Χράμων of D must be a correction inspired by the main text. See another possible interplay between the epigrams and the chronicle in 35.8 (διεζύγη/συνεζύγη). See below the commentaries in Chapter 4.

<sup>20</sup> See van Dieten (1975: LXXXIX–XCI; 1990: XLVI). Simpson (2013: 117–119). The reasons adduced by van Dieten to exclude F are insufficient. The word ὀλόσφυρος is missing in Niketas Choniates' *History* 214.68 and 215.88 in F, but it appears elsewhere, notably in 216.28 (f. 116r), from where verse 4822 of Ephraim's chronicle derives. However, our poems read Ἱερακοκορυφίτης (12.3) and Νίστριον (28.5), with D, where F has Ἱερακοκορυφίτης (13.36–37) and Ἰστριον (29.49).

the longest of the cycle, and concluding with poem 40, the last on John's reign. The last four epigrams are relatively brief and limited to two passages. Ephraim could have started annotating snippets as aide-mémoires and gradually given free rein to his inspiration. At the end of book I, the author realized that the notes had gone too far in elaboration. The apparent initial function of the epigrams as material for a larger verse paraphrase was subverted by a certain opacity, a poetical surplus, that progressively rendered the poems into more autonomous pieces.<sup>21</sup> The poet only reappears in two critical episodes: the defeat of Manuel in Myriokephalon (poems 41-42) and the report of Andronikos' cruelty (poems 43-44).<sup>22</sup>

However, an alternative explanation could be given for the uneven distribution of the poems. As we shall see, poems 1, 43 and 44 are present only in part of the manuscript tradition. Notably, D omits them and they are copied in a different script and colour in F (see Figures 4-6). On stylistic grounds, all three poems do belong to our cycle of epigrams.<sup>23</sup> One may wonder, therefore, whether poems 1, 43 and 44 were already copied in η in a different colour or layout so that they were not copied in D and copied in F only

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<sup>21</sup> However, the coexistence of a somehow dignified, rhetorically arranged tone and a plain, factual style is characteristic of Ephraim. See Lampsidis (1971: 64-75; 1977: 115-121; 1990: XLIX-LII), Nilsson (2019: 527-530). For example, some figures of speech in the epigrams, such as the wordplay on Σωζόπολις (11.1) and Ἴερακοκορυφίτης (12), find counterparts in the chronicle, as well as the resort to proverbial expressions (34.1-7). In any case, the epigrams do not merely perform a versification of the passage in question. Higher literary ambitions are quite evident, as for example in the many passages reminiscent of encomiastic literature and court poetry from the Komnenian, Nicaean and Palaiologan periods. See below Chapter 4.

<sup>22</sup> Note that the epigrams follow the general tendency of Niketas Choniates' *Kaiserkritik*: they are utterly positive about John, ambiguous on Manuel and severe with Andronikos. On Niketas Choniates' *Kaiserkritik*, see e.g. Tinnefeld (1971: 158-179), Magdalino (1983; 1993: 1-26), Harris (2000; 2001), Simpson and Efthymiadis (2011: 13-58), Karpozilos (2009: 729-770), Simpson (2013: 144-197) and above Part 1.

<sup>23</sup> Poem 1 (preserved only in manuscripts F and Φ) is deemed alien to the cycle and published in van Dieten (1975: XXXII). He could have been more or less influenced by Wolf (1557), who in the beginning of his "Variae lectiones et annotationes in Nicetae Choniatae historiam" after the edition of Niketas Choniates considers the poem as maybe written by the copyist of Φ (see below). This confusion enjoyed some success and it is reproduced by scholars from Leo Allatius in his opusculum "De Nicetarum scriptis" (Mai 1853: 33 = PG 139.297-298; see PG 140.304) to modern ones such as Grigoriadis (1998: 339) and Urbainczyk (2018: 12). Poem 1 is the celebrity of our cycle, but it is only quoted separately. See e.g. Krumbacher (1897: 284), Sathas (1894: σλγ'), Maisano (1994: 78 n. 12), Davis (1996: 142; 2016: 57), Karpozilos (2009: 711), Kaldellis (2011: 76), Zorzi (2012: XVI-XVII), Simpson (2013: 124). The epigram also owes its popularity to the irreverent way with which it addresses the author of the main text on a subject that arouses empathy in the modern readers of Niketas Choniates. The apparent exceptionality of poem 1 within the cycle can be better understood if we take into account the programmatic and self-reflective section to which it reacts, namely the prologue. A playful allusion to the grandeur of Niketas Choniates' style in contrast to the humbler Ephraim can be read in verses 3733-3736 of the chronicle. On the other hand, poems 43 and 44 (copied in C too) should be read within the aggressive criticism against Andronikos. The authorship of Ephraim seems guaranteed by the echoes of poem 43 in verses 5348-5371 of the chronicle, while the rare βροτουργός (43.3) recalls the hapax βροτεργάτης (29.1). See the commentaries below in Chapter 4.

in a second stage. A further hypothesis in this train of thought is that there were other epigrams in η that escaped notice and were eventually not copied in D or in F. This could imply that Ephraim originally wrote a larger cycle of epigrams in η, which is only partially preserved.<sup>24</sup> Either way, our epigrams can be read as variations on the same theme treated by Ephraim in his chronicle, a practice not unknown to Palaiologan poets on commission.<sup>25</sup> The epigrams reveal themselves more spontaneous and hence less careful than the austere execution of the chronicle. Improvised on the spur of the moment, at times digressive or exuberant, the epigrams seem to have undergone strict revision when incorporated into the well-structured plan of the chronicle. As a result, some epigrams were later discarded for the chronicle, such as the vignettes of the Armenian Constantine (poems 24, 25), the deeds and fate of John's offspring (17, 34, 37) or the biblical interpretation of a prophecy (40).<sup>26</sup>

In what follows, I offer a description of the manuscripts transmitting the epigrams and their relationships as regards the poems. While owing much to van Dieten's *Einleitung* and being subsidiary to it, the description pays special attention to marginalia and other aspects of the manuscripts relevant for the epigrams. In addition, some rectifications are made and some overlooked elements are brought forward, such as the new witness of the *Metaphrasis* in the margins of W.

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<sup>24</sup> In this scenario, it remains to be explained why the isolated poems 41 and 42 on Manuel were copied without any problem by D and F, and how D could ignore the long poem 37. On the other hand, it is still a possibility that poems 1, 43 and 44 were written directly in F. In this case, Ephraim must have worked first on η and later on F (see the book epigram in F).

<sup>25</sup> Rhoby (2019). See also Drpić (2016: 37-39), Kubina (2020: 230, 251, 263-271).

<sup>26</sup> Other improvements and regularizations are visible in the chronicle, as for example the substitution of θεομήτορος (20.7) and σκήπτρον ἔχων (20.10) with the metrically more suitable μητράνδρου παρθένου (v. 3898) and σκήπτρον φέρων (v. 3903), the avoidance of unaugmented (21.2 κτεῖνεν, 38.4 πάθεσ) or uncontracted forms (36.4 αἰετὸς, 37.1 φασφόρε, 38.7 ἀέθλους), the correction of the hypermetric 12.3 and the deletion of the strange πίσσυρος (20.5); see below Chapter 4 and *Appendix metrica*. Another distinctive stylistic feature of our epigrams is not found again in Ephraim's oeuvre, namely the use of the second person to address the characters in the work of Niketas Choniates or the author himself. On the other hand, in the epigrams there is no trace of the conventional reader addressed in the second person in Ephraim's chronicle and catalogue. See Lampsidis (1971: 40; 1990: XVI), Nilsson (2019: 529). See the commentaries in Chapter 4 and the Conclusions below.

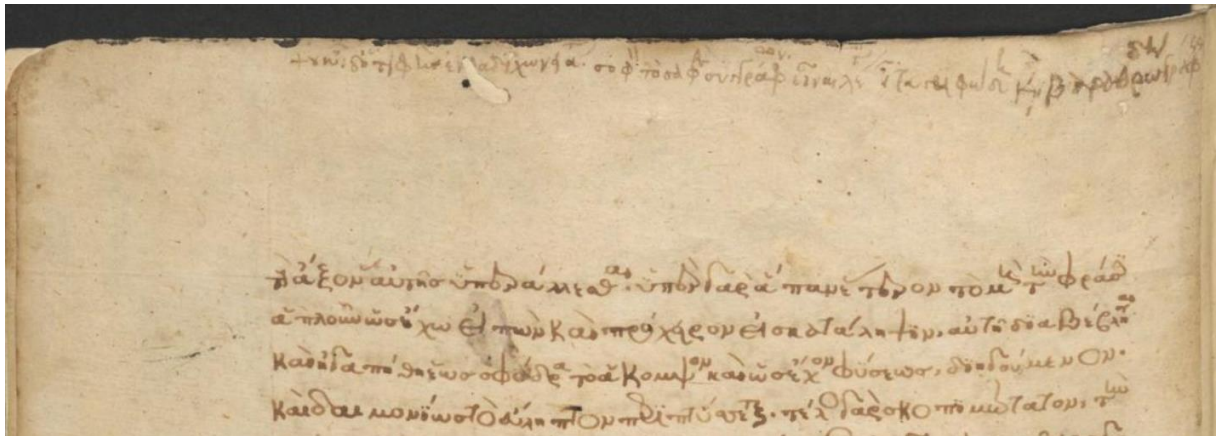


Figure 4 Vindob. Hist. gr. 53, f. 2v

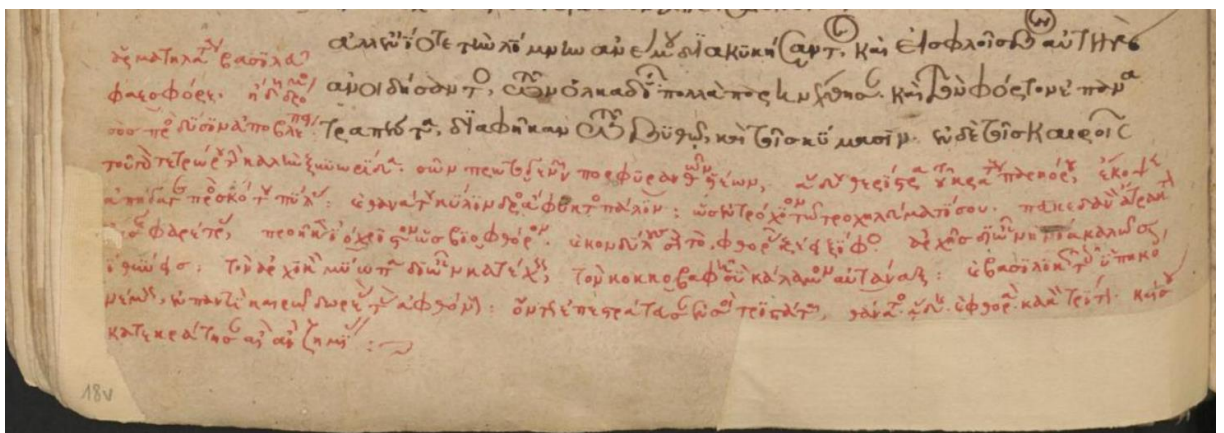


Figure 5 Vindob. Hist. gr. 53, f. 18v

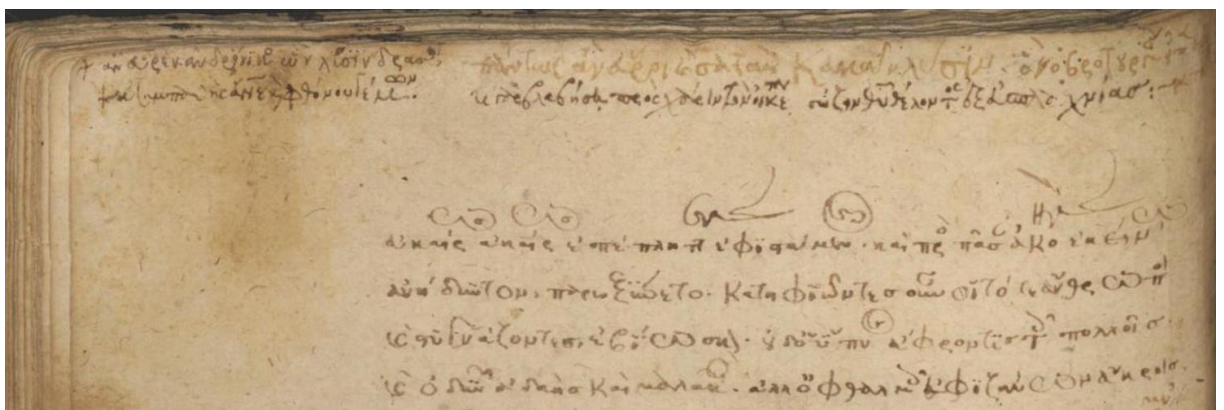


Figure 6 Vindob. Hist. gr. 53, f. 176v

## 3.1 Description of the manuscripts

### 3.1.1 D

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 168, s. XIII-XIV. Paper (without watermarks), mm. 260 x 191, ff. II + 289, ll. 22-27.<sup>27</sup>

Content: Niketas Choniates' *History* 1-614.10 (ff. 1r-340v).

Epigrams: poem 1 = omitted; 2, 3 = f. 3r; 4 = f. 4r; 5 = f. 5r; 6, 7 = f. 6r; 8, 9, 10 = f. 6v; 11 = f. 7r; 12 = f. 7v; 13 = f. 8r; 14, 15 = f. 9r; 16, 17 = f. 9v; 18 = f. 10r; 19 = f. 10v; 20 = f. 11r; 21 = f. 11v; 22 = f. 12r; 23 = f. 12v; 24 = f. 29v; 25 = f. 29r; 26 = f. 13v; 27, 28 = f. 14r; 29 = f. 15r; 30 = f. 15v; 31 = f. 16r; 32 = f. 16v; 33, 34 = f. 17r; 35 = f. 17v; 36 = f. 18r; 37 = omitted; 38 = f. 19r; 39 = f. 19v; 40 = f. 20r; 41 = f. 92v; 42 = f. 93r; 43, 44 = omitted.

The manuscript presents many codicological irregularities and palaeographical complexities already discussed by Mercati and van Dieten. Among the codicological issues, the misplacement of f. 29 is relevant for our epigrams. The text from f. 12v (poem 23) continues on f. 29v (poem 24), then on f. 29r (poem 25), and returns to f. 13r. The folio is not only misplaced but also inverted. The correct succession of the epigrams reveals that the copy of the epigrams was done before the interpolation of the folio. The folio is also very damaged and was subsequently repaired using another rather transparent one. Some words are therefore difficult to read in poems 24 and 25.

Different hands copied the manuscript. The main text in ff. 13-20, for example, definitely belong to another copyist.<sup>28</sup> The hand that copied the epigrams and many of the marginalia and corrected the text of Niketas Choniates is yet another one, working in a later stage with respect to the copying of the main text. The ink is darker and the script smaller. Another remarkable feature is that the epigrams (and some other marginalia) are surrounded by a light red rectangular frame. This same hand is responsible for many corrections and additions to the text (even on ff. 13-20, where the main hand changes). Some of these interventions are recorded in van Dieten's apparatus, but some others are not.<sup>29</sup> Punctuation is added and other small corrections are made in the text throughout probably by the same hand. It remains, however, undefined which other manuscript(s)

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<sup>27</sup> See Mercati and De' Cavalieri (1923: 192). However, I count 19 lines on f. 4v for example.

<sup>28</sup> Note that the change of hand follows the interpolation of the folio after f. 12 as f. 29vr.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. *καὶ ἐγκοιλάνασαν* and *σφαιρώσασαν* over the line at Niketas Choniates' *History* 10.55-56 (f. 6r); *γ* added over *ἐλίλεκται* 12.86, *εἰλειθιῶν* after *τίκτειν* crossed out 12.91 (f. 6v); *ἦν* separated from superscripted *οὔν* 15.83 (f. 8v); *γρ' τῆ πολεμιά* over *τῶ πολέμῳ* 18.57, *-ον* over *-ων* in *ἀναπεπταμένων* 18.60 (f. 10v); *μεθ'* over *καθ'* 27.95 (f. 14r).



this hand was consulting to supplement and correct the main text.<sup>30</sup> This information may be important to corroborate from where the hand copied our epigrams. As we shall see, they most likely come from the same manuscript from which D and F derive (η).

Four poems (1, 37, 43, 44) are omitted. The absence of the first and of the last two epigrams of the cycle is less difficult to explain, since these are also copied by a different hand and without any distinctive colour in F (see Figures 4 and 6), the manuscript that preserves more epigrams (see below). The omission in D and the peculiarity of the epigrams in F could go back to the same origin in the hypothesized exemplar from which they both derive. However, the omission of 37, the longest and one of the most elaborate poems, is harder to explain (see Figure 5).<sup>31</sup> Three poems (24, 25, 26) are placed next to slightly different passages in comparison with F and its apographa. This is because the passage of Niketas Choniates' *History* 21.59-24.25 is abridged in D.<sup>32</sup> Some epigrams seem to be accompanied by a symbol to mark *notabilia*, the abbreviation for σημείωσαι, as it happens quite consistently in F. However, as evidenced by the rather doubtful cases, the co-occurrence of σημείωσαι and epigrams could also be pure coincidence.<sup>33</sup>

Other non-versified marginalia, such as *notabilia* introduced by ὄρα or the abbreviation for γνωμικόν, a mark to highlight short pieces of witty knowledge or general truth, recur also in other manuscripts.<sup>34</sup> D is furnished with a large amount of *summaria*. Among the

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<sup>30</sup> When the corrections are not common to the whole tradition, sometimes they agree with the readings of *b* (manuscripts R, M, F), but sometimes with the version *a* (e.g. manuscripts V = Vaticanus graecus 163 or A = Vaticanus graecus 1623). In this regard it is interesting the marginal note to 535.3 on f. 248v of D, written inside a light red square: τινὲς τόμον τρίτον τοῦτον γράφουσιν, where R, M and F have as a title: Τόμος τρίτος [...]. On the other hand, see the marginal additions listed in van Dieten (1975: XXIX, LXXXI-LXXXII), such as 143.51-64 on f. 69r, which supplement the common errors of *b*.

<sup>31</sup> The passage commented upon in poem 37 occurs on f. 18v, where there are very few corrections by the hand copying the epigrams. Note also that the passage is not referred to in Ephraim's chronicle, but there are other passages of Niketas Choniates missing in Ephraim where D displays epigrams.

<sup>32</sup> See van Dieten (1975: LVIII) and the critical apparatus to this passage. Poem 24 is found next to 23.83, poem 25 next to 24.21, poem 26 next to 26.90. Note also that these poems are written in and after a folio affected by material accidents (f. 29).

<sup>33</sup> The abbreviation ση(μείωσαι) accompanies poems 14, 17 (the abbreviation is actually placed at 17.32), 24 (notably the abbreviation occurs next to the correct passage, while the epigram occurs before), 28 (the abbreviation is placed in the internal margin, at 28.30), 40 (the symbol was written before the epigram was copied: the last two verses are written around it). The abbreviation occurs throughout the manuscript, also where no epigrams are found.

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. ὄρα θέλημα γυναικός before poem 2 (with a blank space before the poem of approximately eight lines); ὄρα λόγους βασιλικούς before poem 3; ὄρα ὁποῖος ὁ Ἀλέξιος (a blank of six lines) θάνατος Ἀλεξίου τοῦ βασιλέως on 6.26 ss. (f. 3v); γνωμικόν next to 32.50-52 (f. 16r), 37.92-93 (f. 18r), 155.88-90 (f. 76r).

ones not specified by van Dieten, there are some that are more or less descriptive.<sup>35</sup> Other *summaria* written completely in dark red can be even more elaborate.<sup>36</sup>

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Vatican Library.<sup>37</sup>

### 3.1.2 F

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hist. gr. 53, s. XIV ineunte. Paper (without watermarks), mm. 287 x 220, ff. I + 325, ll. 21-26.<sup>38</sup>

Content: Niketas Choniates' *History* 1-614.10 (ff. 1v-322v).

Epigrams: poem 1 = 2v; 2 = f. 3r; 3 = f. 3v; 4 = f. 4v; 5 = f. 5v; 6, 7 = f. 6v; 8, 9, 10 = f. 7r; 11 = f. 7v; 12 = 8r; 13, 14 = f. 8v; 15, 16, 17 = f. 9r; 18, 19 = f. 9v; 20 = f. 10r; 21 = f. 10v; 22 = f. 11r; 23 = f. 11v; 24 = f. 12r; 25, 26 = f. 13r; 27, 28 = f. 14r; 29, 30 = f. 15v; 31 = f. 16rv; 32 = f. 16v; 33, 34 = f. 17v; 35, 36 = f. 18r; 37 = f. 18v; 38 = f. 19v; 39 = f. 20r; 40 = f. 20v; 41, 42 = f. 97r; 43, 44 = f. 176v.

This manuscript contains the cycle of verse scholia at its largest. Most of the epigrams, as well as the titles, are copied in red by the same hand that copied the main text, except for poems 1, 43, 44 (see Figures 4-6). The hand is the same but the script is smaller and more austere, less extravagant than the brown *Fettaugen* of the main text.<sup>39</sup> As for other particular palaeographical traits, note the consistent use of a stroke over names of people and a hyphen below rare, poetic compound nouns. Poem 31 is written until v. 6 on f. 16r and the last 3 verses on f. 16v. For this reason it was copied in the apographa of F as two different poems.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> See e.g. δημηγορία τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου ἤδη τὰ τελευταῖα πνέοντος 42.20 ss. (f. 20r); διέλευσις τῶν Ἀλαμανῶν 60.45 (f. 31r); δημηγορία Κορράδου τοῦ ῥηγὸς Ἀλαμανῶν μέλλοντος συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς Τούρκοις κατὰ τὸν Μαϊάνδρον ποταμὸν 68.74 (f. 36r); περὶ τῶν Σικελῶν τῶν κατασχόντων τὰ Κέρκυρα 73.2 (f. 38v); ἐπανάστασις τῶν Βενετῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων 85.40 (f. 44v); κατάσχεσις καὶ ἐκτύφλωσις τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου Στυπειώτου 110.20 (f. 53r); εἰσέλευσις τοῦ σουλτάνου εἰς τὴν πόλιν 118.29, περὶ τοῦ Σαρρακηνοῦ τοῦ πηδησαντος ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου 119.57 (f. 55v); δευτέρα φυγὴ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου 128.27 (f. 59v); ὄρα ἀναίδειαν ἀνδρὸς 186.59 ss. (f. 95r); ἔφοδος τῶν Τούρκων κατὰ Ῥωμαίων 192.45 (f. 98v); ἐπινόημα τοῦ βαρβάρου 194.4 (f. 100r).

<sup>36</sup> See e.g. ὄρα πότε ἤρξαντο ἐκλείπειν οἱ εἰδήμονες στρατιῶται καὶ ἐστράτευσεν οἱ χυδαῖοι ὅτε καὶ ἐκόπη ἡ ῥόγα τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐτάχθησαν αἱ πρόνοιαι 209.36 ss. (f. 107v); σημείωσαι ὅπως διὰ χρυσίνων ὁ πρωτοσεβαστὸς συνέστησεν ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ πατριάρχου Θεοδοσίου οἱ καὶ ἀπόντα καθαιρέσει ὑπέρβαλον 241.88 (f. 122v).

<sup>37</sup> See Mercati and De' Cavalieri (1923: 192-193), van Dieten (1975: XXIX-XXX).

<sup>38</sup> Mazal (1981: 102) says mm. 282/285 x 220/225; van Dieten (1962: 224) says ll. 20-27.

<sup>39</sup> Epigrams 25-32 (and to a certain extent 41-42) are copied in a more careless way and there the *Fettaugenmode* arises again.

<sup>40</sup> The opposite case occurs in poems 8 and 9. They are copied so close to each other that the apographa took them as one single poem.

The abbreviation for σημείωσαι accompanies the epigrams quite consistently, written in red ink by the same hand that copied poems 2-42.<sup>41</sup> Other poems are furnished with more or less elaborate ways of indicating *notabilia*.<sup>42</sup> This same hand also copied textual variants in the external margin (see van Dieten's apparatus): 7.66 γράφεται, μεθοδείαις (f. 4v) and 566.28 γράφεται καὶ τείχη (f. 292v). However, the latter is not written in red ink, even if in the same script and with the same abbreviation as in the former. The same goes for the interlinear note above γράμμα (see van Dieten's apparatus): 40.74 γράφεται ξέσμα (f. 20r).<sup>43</sup> Finally, the same hand copied the quire number at the bottom of the first and last folios of each quire, with a similar transition as in other marginalia from red to brown ink. Take for example the red β̄ visible at the end of the second quire (f. 16v) and the κ̄β̄ written twice in brown at the end of quire 22 (f. 176v).

The first and last two poems of the cycle, absent from D, are written in the upper margin in brown (see Figures 4 and 6). These were copied by two different hands or the same hand at two different stages (verses 43.2-3 have a rougher style and a lighter colour; similarly βαρθρώδη in poem 1.3). In any case, the script of poems 1, 43, 44 is typologically not far from the one responsible for the main text in the more austere version of the epigrams. If not the same hand, they are contemporary and possibly from the same milieu. Other interventions by the same hand(s) as poem 1, 43 and 44 seem to be found in the margins elsewhere. In two different passages variants are given.<sup>44</sup> Additionally, a series of *summaria* and *notabilia* were copied by what could be the same hand(s).<sup>45</sup> Some other marginal notes are written in a script even closer to the one of the main text.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> It appears just before poems 4, 5, 7, 11, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 33, 36; on the internal margin at poem 8; in the body of the text at poems 9, 12, 13, 17; both at the beginning of and in the body of the text at poems 10, 14, 15, 16. However, there is a decreasing tendency towards the last poems: no abbreviation accompanies poems 18, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 42. Poems 30, 41 are preceded by other symbols.

<sup>42</sup> See ὄρα θέλημα γυναικός before poem 2, ὄρα λόγους βασιλικούς before poem 3, σημείωσαι ὄρα before poem 6, ὄρα before poem 40. The same hand copied other *notabilia* elsewhere in the first folios: e.g. ὄρα ὁποῖος ὁ Ἀλέξιος· θάνατος Ἀλεξίου 6.26 ss. (f. 4r); σημείωσαι ὄρα 7.67-68 (f. 4v); γνωμικόν 37.92-93 (f. 18v).

<sup>43</sup> These corrections show that the main scribe may have had access to another manuscript (or that η, the model of D and F, already had *variae lectiones*). Notably, the corrections agree with D and partially with P (Parisinus graecus 1778).

<sup>44</sup> See οἶμαι βασιλεύσας δεῖ γραφῆναι 46.58 (f. 23r) and οἶμαι μελετησάντων 371.13 (f. 207r). These are conjectures to solve a textual problem that do not derive from other manuscripts (see van Dieten's apparatus: the *vera lectio* in 46.58 is just a good conjecture).

<sup>45</sup> E.g. σημείωσαι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλαμανῶν κινήσεως 60.45 ss. (f. 29r); σημείωσαι περὶ Βάρη Αὐλωνίας 91.26 ss. (f. 44v); σημείωσαι περὶ Σῆθ τοῦ Σκληροῦ καὶ τοῦ Σικηδίτου Μιχαήλ 147.81 ss. (f. 75r); περὶ Βενετικῶν 171.41 ss. (f. 89v); ὄρα ἐντεῦθεν 231.11 (f. 124v).

<sup>46</sup> See the *summarium* ὕβρις τῶν πολιτῶν 233.70 ss. (f. 125v) and the note to a quotation of the Book of Wisdom combined with the Psalms but introduced by Niketas as φησιν ὁ Δαυιδ (89.58 ss., see van Dieten's apparatus; the note is actually crossed out): ὁ Σολομῶν τοῦτο (το?) λέγει Χωνειάτα μου (f. 43v; note the similarity with the

Other hands annotated the margins. A more florid *Fettaugen* hand wrote down some *summaria* and a long, interesting erudite note.<sup>47</sup> Another hand (similar to the one of the epigrams) subscribed to the latter: συμφωνῶ σοι ὁ δεῖνα.<sup>48</sup> The hand that partially rewrote f. 85r in a darker ink and explained in the margin what provoked his intervention is the copyist of Φ, Alexander chartophylax (see below). While copying Φ he spilled some ink on the model, copied again the ruined passage and wrote down in the margin: σύμβαμα ἐκ τοῦ χυθῆναι τὸ μελάνιον ἐξ ἀγνοίας· καὶ (Ϝ̃ van Dieten) σύγγνωτε οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀλάθητος.<sup>49</sup>

F. 324 is interesting for many reasons. First, it is not another regular folio, or a blank flyleaf like f. 325, but a parchment strip inserted in a paper manuscript. Second, f. 324v displays a book epigram by a hand distinct from any other in the manuscript with relevant information with respect to the context of composition of the poems (see above Figure 3 and below poem 45).<sup>50</sup> Among other remarkable features of this manuscript, note the portraits of the author (f. Iv) and of emperor Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos (f. 291v). No less remarkable are the colophons by three different Greek hands (George Apoteris, John Zygomalas and John Malaxos) on f. 323r attesting to the sale of the book in Constantinople, June 1571, to a certain Hannibal, secretary of emperor Maximilian II, and certifying that the manuscript is an autograph, which has been proven to be false.<sup>51</sup>

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams online at: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/10007015>.<sup>52</sup>

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tone of our poem 1). The passage 245.94-95 (καὶ [...] ἐστὶ) missing in the body of the text was copied in the margin (f. 132v) most likely by the same hand as the main text.

<sup>47</sup> E.g. περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξίου ὃν ἐγένετο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡ δευτέρα σύζυγος 168.79 ss. (f. 88v); περὶ τοῦ φροντιστηρίου οὗ ἐδείματο ὁ Μανουὴλ 206.71 ss. (f. 110v); ψόγος τῶν μοναστηρίων τῶν κατὰ τὰς πόλεις 207.75 ss. (ff. 110v-111r). The erudite note reacts to a confusion of Niketas in 395.51 (f. 221v; see van Dieten's apparatus): δέσποτά μου, οὐκ οἶδε (οἶδα van Dieten) τί λέγει ἡ ἀγίωσύνη σου [...].

<sup>48</sup> Yet another hand seems to be behind a note on 55.8: ὡς εὔ λέγεις (f. 27v; see Van Dieten 1975:VIII n. 2). This rather thin script is somewhat similar to the hand that becomes more frequent towards the end of the manuscript, see e.g. the marginal gloss on f. 206v and the *summaria* on ff. 227v-229r, 289r, 290r. Other hands are less easy to classify, e.g. the marginal gloss on 363.10 (f. 201v; see van Dieten's apparatus).

<sup>49</sup> Van Dieten (1975: XXXII). The abbreviation for καὶ (that van Dieten took for Ϝ̃) is one of the many palaeographical traits that the script of this note shares with Φ. Alexander also rewrote a passage in f. 106v of F, most likely after a similar accident with ink.

<sup>50</sup> F. 324r has a short scribal note written carelessly. I can only read: (...) σχάσαντες τοὺς κόπους καὶ στήλαντες (...).

<sup>51</sup> See e.g. Bick (1920: 112), Buberl and Gerstinger (1938: 60-62); van Dieten (1962), Restle (1965), Spatharakis (1976: 152-158), De Gregorio (1996: 194-195), Tsamakda (2017: 129-131).

<sup>52</sup> See Hunger (1961: 58-59), van Dieten (1975: XXXI-XXXIII), Mazal (1981: 102-104).

### 3.1.3 C

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 137, s. XIV-XV. Paper, mm. 406 x 287, ff. 345, ll. 40.

Content: John Zonaras' *Chronicle* books 10-18 (ff. 3r-14v, 16r-148r, with index ff. 1r-2v);<sup>53</sup> Niketas Choniates' *History* 1-646.11 (ff. 15rv, 151r-255v, with index ff. 148v-150v); Nikephoros Gregoras' *History* books 1-11 (ff. 259v-345r, with index ff. 257r-259r).<sup>54</sup>

Epigrams: poem 1 = omitted; 2, 3 = f. 151v; 4 = f. 152r; 5 = f. 152v; 6, 7, 8 = f. 153r; 9, 10, 11, 12 = f. 153v; 13 = f. 154r; 14 = omitted; 15, 18 = f. 154v; 16, 17, 19, 20 = omitted; 21 = f. 155r; 22, 23 = f. 155v; 24, 26 = omitted; 25 = f. 156v; 27, 28 = 157r; 29 = f. 158r; 30, 31 = omitted; 32 = f. 158v; 33, 35 = f. 159r; 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 = omitted; 41, 42 = f. 190r; 43, 44 = f. 212v.

This manuscript is the only one among the manuscripts containing the epigrams where the text of Niketas Choniates co-occurs with other Byzantine historiography. All these works were copied by four different scribes. Gregoras (ff. 257r-345r) was copied by one hand around 1399, as we learn from a colophon on f. 345r. Another hand copied ff. 42r-148r (second half of Zonaras) by 1422 as a colophon on f. 148r states. A third hand copied the first part of Choniates (ff. 151r-198v) and a fourth hand completed Choniates, Zonaras and the indexes to these two. Only these last two hands are relevant for us.<sup>55</sup>

The great majority of our epigrams comment on a text written by the third copyist. However, it is evident that the hand that copied in red ink not only the epigrams, but also much of the marginalia, the titles and the initials, is not the same third hand that copied the main text of ff. 151r-198v. The script responsible for the epigrams is actually closer to the fourth hand. This would fit the scenario in which the fourth hand finished up the manuscript.<sup>56</sup> But the faded script of the marginalia up until at least f. 230r (quite after the change of hands at f. 199) is not at first sight identical to hand 4 either. The ink of this script is indeed so light that many times it is difficult to distinguish. However, from f. 230r until 250r, where the last marginalia to Choniates occur,<sup>57</sup> as well as in the marginalia to the first part of Zonaras, the script is darker, easier to read and more clearly identifiable

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<sup>53</sup> Ed. Dindorf (1869-1871: 2.340-4.260).

<sup>54</sup> Ed. Schopen (1829: 3-568).

<sup>55</sup> These hands seem to have worked together in completing the manuscript (hence after 1422, the date of hand 2). There are no dates in the folios for which they are responsible, but the watermarks situate the paper of C in the last quarter of the 14th century and the first quarter of the 15th. See van Dieten (1975: XLIV-XLV; 1975b: 36). Van Dieten further proposed that the manuscript was finished and put together by hands 3 and 4 around 1450 in Constantinople and that hand 4 was a member of the Laskaris family. Leone (1991: 243) limits himself to situating the last two hands in the 15th century, possibly in Constantinople.

<sup>56</sup> For example, hand 4 does seem to copy the numbers of the paragraphs listed in the index (ff. 148v-150v) in the margins next to the corresponding passages of Niketas Choniates.

<sup>57</sup> This coincides with the end of the text of version b at 614.7, as noted by van Dieten (1975: XLIV).

with the fourth hand. Therefore, the scribe responsible for the epigrams is either a fifth hand or, more likely, the fourth hand writing more carelessly.

The same *summaria* and *notabilia* as in other manuscripts accompany the epigrams. However, as noted by van Dieten, the margins are filled quite systematically by many idiosyncratic *summaria* and *notabilia* that do not depend on any other preserved manuscript. These notes appear almost in every folio and are mainly introduced by ὅπως, περὶ, ὄρα, σημείωσαι, ὄσα, etc. There are shorter ones, but they can become more descriptive.<sup>58</sup> Some of these *summaria* are preceded by the paragraph number according to the index. One may wonder whether these short descriptions in the margins correspond to the summaries in the index, but in fact they do not have any relationship.<sup>59</sup> Actually, the marginal notes just draw wording from the main text and encapsulate it in a self-contained statement. Some of these *summaria* and *notabilia* take the place of omitted epigrams, but this again seems to be a matter of mere coincidence, and not a deliberate decision nor a consistent practice.<sup>60</sup>

Besides, hand 3 also intervenes in the margins. Sometimes it completes lacunae in its own copy (e.g. ff. 155v, 157r, 158r), but it also writes down γνωμικὸν ὠραῖον at 32.50-52 (f. 158v, similarly D) and variants marked with the abbreviation for γράφεται.<sup>61</sup> As we shall see below, van Dieten proposed that C derives from F on the basis of common errors, even if the text of a lacuna in F can be read in C (the copy would have been made before a folio fell in F). The filiation with F is confirmed by the presence of poems 43 and 44, as well as other non-versified marginalia.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, as noted by van Dieten, the marginal correction of F to 371.13 μελετησάντων is adopted in C (f. 220v). However, γράφεται

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<sup>58</sup> See e.g. ὄρα καὶ σημείωσαι 7.64 (f. 152r); περὶ τούτου Ἀξούχ 9.24 (f. 152v); ὅπως τὴν Σωζόπολιν εἶλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης καὶ ὄσα ἕτερα πολύχνια 13.35-38 (f. 153v); ὅπως καὶ τὴν κασταμόνα εἶλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης 18.70 ss. (f. 155r); σημείωσαι 29.63-64, ὄρα 30.76-78 (f. 157v); ὅπως ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου ἀδελφὸς ὁ Ἰσαάκιος διεξεύχθη τοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ φυγὰς ὤχετο 32.31 ss., ὅπως πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπέστρεψεν ὁ Ἰσαάκιος 32.45 ss. (f. 158r); ὅπως πάλιν κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἐξώρμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης 33.61 ss., ὄρα 34.4 (f. 158v); see also the note on f. 211r referred to by van Dieten (1975: VIII n. 2).

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. the marginal note ὅπως ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης ἀπήει τὴν κατὰ Παμφυλίαν Σωζόπολιν 12.14 (f. 153v), preceded by a δ, but in the index after δ the following account can be read: ἐκστρατεία τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ Περσῶν καὶ ὅτι ἐνίκησε καὶ τὴν Λαοδίκιας κατέσχε (f. 148v); also τῶν Σκυθῶν τὸν Ἰστρον διαβάντων καὶ τὰ Θρακῶα μέρη ληϊζομένων ἕξεισι κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης 13.39-41 (f. 153v), with an ε next to it, but in the index ε: ἐξέλευσις τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ νίκη περιφανῆς κατὰ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν Σέρβων (f. 148v).

<sup>60</sup> See e.g. ὄρα βασιλέα in place of poem 14 (f. 154r); ὅπως καὶ κατὰ τῶν Σέρβων ἐχώρησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης in place of poem 16 (154v); ὄρα θρίαμβον ὠραιότατον instead of poem 20 (f. 155r); ὅπως ὁ Μακεδῶν Εὐστράτιος τὸν βάρβαρον Κωνσταντῖνον ἐμονομάχησε καὶ ὅπως κατέβαλε instead of poem 24 (f. 156r).

<sup>61</sup> See e.g. γράφεται ψευδοσύναις (7.66), whereas μεθοδείαις is copied in the main text (f. 152r), the opposite to F and D (see above and van Dieten's apparatus). Similarly, in 566.28 (f. 241v) C gives still μέρη and has not adopted the corrections in F and D.

<sup>62</sup> Van Dieten (1975: LVIII-LIX). See e.g. περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλαμανῶν κινήσεως 60.45 ss. (f. 164v); περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξίου ὃν ἐγένετο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡ δευτέρα σύζυγος 168.79 ss. (f. 187r); ὕβρις τῶν πολιτῶν 233.70 ss. (f. 199r).

ἀμεταποίητος is written in the margin to 42.37 ἀνεπιποίητος (f. 160v): remarkably ἀμεταποίητος is the reading of D. This may imply that C was also in contact with another manuscript with readings shared with D.

Now, although the manuscript does include poems 43 and 44, many epigrams are omitted, notably towards the end of the first book of Niketas Choniates. In fact, this is the manuscript where the most epigrams are missing. Poems 2, 41 and 43, i.e. the first poems of every different book of Niketas Choniates, are preceded by the abbreviation for στίχοι. Poem 11 is connected through the so-called *signum solis* with the correct passage: the sign is repeated before μετὰ βραχὺ δὲ καὶ (13.31) in the main text. This may be related to the fact that poem 12 is copied right after poem 11 as if they were the same poem. Other anomalies happen in poem 25 (only the first verse is copied) and in poem 28 (only the last verse and the last word of the second last verse are copied: πόλεις [...] Φέρειπ). These mistakes seem to be caused by negligence of the copyist of the epigrams rather than by a defective model.

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. Manuscript available at: <ark:/12148/btv1b10037986d>.<sup>63</sup>

### 3.1.4 W

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hist. gr. 105, s. XIV-XV. Paper, mm. 215 x 142, ff. IV + 277, ll. 23-31.<sup>64</sup>

Content: Niketas Choniates' *History* 3.47-517.93 (ff. 1r-272v).

Epigrams: poem 1 = omitted; 2 = f. 1v; 3 = f. 2r; 4 = f. 3r; 5 = omitted; 6, 7 = f. 5r; 8, 9, 10 = f. 5v; 11, 12 = f. 6v; 13, 14 = omitted; 15, 16, 17 = f. 7r; 18 = f. 7v; 19 = f. 8r; 20 = f. 8v; 21 = f. 9r; 22 = f. 9v; 23 = f. 10r; 24 = f. 10v; 25 = f. 11r; 26, 27 = f. 12v; 28 = f. 13r; 29 = f. 14v; 30 = f. 15r; 31 = f. 15v; 32 = f. 16r; 33, 34 = f. 17r; 35 = f. 17v; 36 = f. 18r; 37 = omitted; 38 = f. 20r; 39, 40 = f. 20v; 41, 42 = f. 93v; 43, 44 = omitted.

The poor condition of the manuscript affects the reading of some epigrams: poems 16 and 18 are partially illegible due to material damage in the external margin of f. 7, one line of poem 31 is concealed by a crease and poem 39 was copied in the upper margin partially cut off. Moreover, poems 13 and 14 are missing for material reasons: a folio has fallen between ff. 6 and 7 (14.50-16.1). There is no apparent explanation for the omission of poem 5 (manuscript Σ also omits the poem; see below). The omission of poems 1, 37, 43

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<sup>63</sup> See Montfaucon (1715: 208-209), Devreesse (1945: 128-129), van Dielen (1975: XLIV-XLV; 1975b: 34-37), Leone (1991: 242-243).

<sup>64</sup> Note that the four folios following f. 75 are again numbered as ff. 72-75<sup>(bis)</sup>, so that the last folio (actually a blank flyleaf) is numbered 273.

and 44, on the other hand, relates this manuscript to D. Even before considering the common readings (see below), it is clear that the poems in W were copied from D.<sup>65</sup>

Not only the epigrams were copied from D, but also many of the marginalia.<sup>66</sup> Both the poems and the marginalia from D seem to have been copied by the most recent third hand (s. XV), according to the categorization of van Dieten, which copied the text of Niketas Choniates from D on ff. 1-35, 40-41, 163-164, 185, 190-191, 229-272.<sup>67</sup> The same hand also copied in the margins other kinds of texts, such as marginalia from manuscripts A and P.<sup>68</sup> In a darker ink, the same as the epigrams, hand 3 also copied some passages as supplemented already in the margins by D.<sup>69</sup>

Van Dieten also notices the long pieces of marginalia introduced by *ὅτι* that appear from f. 28r (not f. 28v) onwards. These extensive *summaria* recur throughout the manuscript until f. 253v where the last one occurs.<sup>70</sup> Seemingly, they were copied by the same hand 3, but at a different stage in a lighter ink and in a more sloppy way that render the notes difficult to read. They are frequently placed in the external or lower margins, but they sometimes occupy the blank spaces in the body of the main text. What has remained so far unnoticed is that these notes in fact reproduce much of the wording of the 14th-century paraphrase of the *History* preserved in manuscripts B (Monacensis graecus 450), S (Scorialensis Ψ-IV-17), X (Vindobonensis Supplementum graecum 166) and Y (Parisinus graecus 3041).<sup>71</sup> Let us take, for example, the first note in the lower margin of f. 28r:

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<sup>65</sup> See also the placement of poems 24, 25 and 26 as in D.

<sup>66</sup> Some of the marginalia were omitted or slightly changed, as in ὄρα ὁποῖος ἦν ὁ Ἀλέξιος 6.26 (f. 2v) or περὶ τῆς διελεύσεως τῶν Ἀλαμανῶν 60.45 ss. (f. 31v). Regarding the corrections in the text of D (see above), W is not consistent: e.g. W (f. 8r) reads τῶ πολέμῳ 18.57 (*ante correctionem* D), but ἀναπεπταμένον 18.60 (*post correctionem* D).

<sup>67</sup> Van Dieten (1975: XLII-XLIII).

<sup>68</sup> For example, the *summarium* to 485.6 in A (f. 210v) referred to by van Dieten (1975: XXVIII) is found in W (f. 253v). See van Dieten (1946: 314; 1975: XLIII).

<sup>69</sup> See e.g. 143.51-64 (f. 73<sup>bis</sup>rv), 168.79-169.87 (f. 86v) and 206.50-52 (105v) added in the margin like in D (see above and van Dieten's apparatus). Similarly, the correct reading of 141.6-8 (ἦ καὶ [...] δίδοται) was copied in the upper margin (f. 72<sup>bis</sup>r), but the variant in the text only occurs in W (not in D; see van Dieten's apparatus).

<sup>70</sup> See ff. 28r, 29v, 36v, 42v, 43v, 45v, 46v, 50r, 53r, 55r, 61rv, 68r, 70v (misplaced according to van Dieten), 71r, 72v, 74<sup>bis</sup>rv, 75<sup>bis</sup>rv (misplaced according to van Dieten), 89v, 97v, 102v, 106rv, 109v-113r, 115r, 116r, 118r, 127r, 130v, 131v, 132v, 144r, 164rv, 165v, 169r, 185v, 186r, 191v, 204r, 205rv, 206r, 209rv, 210r, 214v, 225v, 226rv, 228r, 230v, 232r, 235r, 236r, 253v.

<sup>71</sup> On the *Metaphrasis*, a "translation" of Niketas Choniates' *History* into a more accessible Greek in a lower register, see primarily van Dieten (1979) and the works by Davis (1996; 2004; 2011; 2016). A new critical edition is being prepared by Davis and Hinterberger (forthcoming). Martin Hinterberger has confirmed *per litteras* that the editors are aware of the marginalia in W.



ὅτι οὗτος συνεφθείρατο καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀνεψιᾷ τῆς ἀνταδέλφης αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ: καὶ ἦν τοῦτο αὐτῷ μολυσμὸς καὶ μέμψις· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀδιάφορος ἦν πρὸς τὰς μίξεις τῶν γυναικῶν.

The note summarizes and paraphrases a passage of the *History* that is not found in the main text of W. Actually, only manuscript V transmits the passage 54.70-74.<sup>72</sup>

καὶ πρὸς τὰς μίξεις ἀκάθεκτος ὢν καὶ πολλαῖς θηλυτέραις ἐπιθορνύμενος ἔλαθε καὶ δι' ὁμογνίου τρυμαλιᾶς ἀθεμίτως ἐμπερονῶν. καὶ ἦν ἐκείνῳ μόλυσμα τὸ πραχθέν, διαλωβοῦν καὶ καταχέον ἀπρέπειαν, ὅσα καὶ ὄψεως χαριέσσης ἐκφυεῖσά που τοῦ προσώπου ἀκροχόρδων ἢ ἀλφῶν ἐξανθήματα.

In the apparatus van Dieten gives the reading of B:<sup>73</sup>

καὶ πρὸς τὰς μίξεις τῶν γυναικῶν ἀδιάφορος, καὶ πολλαῖς γυναιξὶ μιγνύμενος, ἐμίγη καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ (ἑαυτοῦ van Dieten) ἀνεψιᾷ. καὶ ἦν τοῦτο μολυσμὸς καὶ μέμψις μεγάλη αὐτῷ καθάπερ καὶ λώβῃ εἰς ὠραιότατον πρόσωπον.

First, we can infer that the note does not depend solely on W, since the incestuous sexual behaviour of Manuel is not specified there. Second, we see that the note in W not only simplifies the convoluted style of Niketas Choniates, but it also makes the facts explicit. And even more explicitly than in the *Metaphrase*, as the nature of the kinship (τῆς ἀνταδέλφης αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ) is absent there. In general, the notes do not reproduce word by word the paraphrase of Niketas Choniates, but they usually adapt its content, omit sections and reverse the word order, while presenting the summary of the passage in question in a more self-contained way.<sup>74</sup> However, even if these notes must have been indeed copied from another manuscript, the alterations in the text of the paraphrase as we know it from manuscripts B, S, X and Y make us wonder whether these marginal notes

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<sup>72</sup> Version *a* systematically adds such passages of open criticism, see e.g. van Dieten (1975: LXXIII-LXXIV), Maisano (1994: 69), Simpson (2013: 77-78, 155-156) and above.

<sup>73</sup> Davis 2004: (18.12-15).

<sup>74</sup> These notes deserve a deeper examination, which I plan to conduct in the future. I will limit myself to listing some correspondences as a starting point. See e.g. in the lower margin of f. 74<sup>bisr</sup>: ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος μὴ περιεργαζόμενος τῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ λέγοντι ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει αὐτοῦ· ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, τουτέστιν ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος, ἀλλὰ περισκοπῶν αἰεὶ τὸ Α, ὡς αὐτὸ μέλλει διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, πολλοὺς ἀναίτιους μοναχοὺς ἐποίησε καὶ ἐξόρισε. This corresponds to Niketas Choniates' *History* 146.37-41 (see van Dieten's apparatus for the readings of B) and to the *Metaphrasis*, ed. Davis (2004: 101.12-16). For other examples, see the note on f. 74<sup>bisv</sup> (lower margin) corresponding to 146.52-147 (Davis 2004: 102.3-8); on f. 75<sup>bisr</sup> (lower margin) to 148.4 ss. (Davis 2004: 103.12 ss.); f. 106v to 206.71 ss. (Davis 2004: 162.14 ss.); ff. 109v-113r to 210.75 ss. (Davis 2004: 167.7 ss.); f. 115r to 222.66 ss. (Davis 2004: 176.21 ss.); f. 130v to 252.70 ss. (Davis 2004: 207.17 ss.); etc.

attest to the process of composition of the paraphrase. One cannot avoid drawing the analogy with the epigrams of Ephraim.<sup>75</sup>

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams online at: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/1001CD58>.<sup>76</sup>

### 3.1.5 Σ

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Grec 1722, s. XVI. Paper, mm. 305 x 211, ff. II + 308 + V + 4 + IV, ll. 28-39.

Content: Niketas Choniates' *History* 1-614.10 (ff. 1r-308v); anonymous unedited religious treatise consisting of biblical quotations followed by interpretations (ff. 309r-312v, tit.: βεβαία ἀπόδειξις ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, προφητῶν γὰρ τῶν θείων τὰ λόγια δηλοῦσιν; inc.: ἐκλογή σύντομος ἐκ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς [...]; des. mut.: [...] χαῖρε σφόδρα θύγατερ Σιών· ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἔρχομαι, καὶ κατα).

Epigrams: poem 1 = omitted; 2 = f. 2v; 3 = f. 3r; 4 = f. 3v; 5 = omitted; 6 = f. 5r; 7, 8, 9 = f. 5v; 10 = f. 6r; 11 = omitted; 12 = f. 6v; 13 = f. 7r; 14, 15, 16 = f. 7v; 17, 18, 19 = f. 8r; 20 = f. 8v; 21 = f. 9r; 22 = f. 9v; 23 = f. 10r; 24 = f. 10v; 25, 26 = f. 11v; 27, 28 = f. 12v; 29 = f. 14rv; 30 = f. 14v; 31 = f. 15v; 32 = f. 16r; 33 = f. 16v; 34 = f. 17r; 35 = f. 17v; 36 = f. 18r; 37 = f. 18v; 38 = f. 19v; 39 = ff. 19v-20r; 40 = f. 20rv; 41 = f. 100r; 42, 43, 44 = omitted.

According to van Dieten, the manuscript was copied by five different hands. However, hands b and d of van Dieten, as well as the hand copying the last 4 folios, are so similar on palaeographical grounds that I would propose that they are the same. Therefore, hand 1 copied ff. 1r-72v and 153r-176v (30 lines per page), hand 2 ff. 73r-152r, 216r-308v (28 lines) and ff. 309r-312v (39 lines) and hand 3 ff. 177r-215v (28 lines). The poems were copied in the margins by the respective hands copying the body of the text, so that the poems commenting on the first book of Choniates are copied by the first hand and poem 41 is copied by the second. The marginalia are the same as in F, including *summaria*, *notabilia* and epigrams.

Hand 1 copied in red ink the marginalia (as well as initials and titles) that are in red in F. Some of the marginalia in brown ink in F were copied in Σ in black.<sup>77</sup> The second hand

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<sup>75</sup> A contamination with the text of the paraphrase in a marginal note to Niketas Choniates' *History* 205.41-42 (see apparatus) in W (f. 106r) is already observed by van Dieten (1975: XLIII); see Davis (2004: 161.9). A similar explanation can be proposed for a *summarium* to 54.75 ss. περὶ τῶν λεγομένων μεσαστῶν (f. 28r), where the *Metaphrase* talks about μεσάζοντες (Davis 2004: 18.17). On the manuscripts that the paraphrase could have used and the relevant role of W among them, see van Dieten (1975: LXXXVI-LXXXVIII) and Simpson (2013: 119-123).

<sup>76</sup> See van Dieten (1956: 312-314; 1975: XLI-XLIV), Hunger (1961: 111).

<sup>77</sup> See e.g. ὡς εἶ λέγεις 55.8 (f. 28r); σημείωσαι περὶ Βάρη Αὐλωνίας 91.26 ss. (f. 47v). As for the corrections in F, μεθοδείαις 7.66 was incorporated into the text (f. 4r), but ζήσας 46.58 can still be read (f. 23r).

copied all the marginalia in black ink, even poem 41 that is written in red in F.<sup>78</sup> Hand 3 does not copy any marginalia. To sum up: there is no marginalia in Σ that is not in F (apart from some scattered corrections to the copying), but not every marginalia in F was adopted in Σ. The sole paratextual intervention of importance not originated in F is a note by hand 2 on the otherwise blank f. 113v: παραδρομή τοῦ φύλλου γέγονε καὶ γύρισον τὸ φύλλον ἵνα εὕρησ τὴν ἱστορίαν (f. 114r is empty and the text continues on f. 114v).

Some epigrams are omitted, notably 1, 43 and 44, the ones not written in a distinctive colour in F. However, we have observed that Σ copied some marginalia written in brown ink in F. The omissions of poems 5, 11 and 42 should be explained as further negligence on the part of the scribes, who copied arbitrarily some marginalia and ignored others. On the other hand, some particularities of the epigrams in Σ can be understood if we consider F as the model for Σ (see below), such as the confusion between poems 8 and 9, written as if they were one single poem (even if there are two abbreviations for σημείωσαι in the main text). The same goes for the strange position of poem 31: split in two as in F, verses 7-9 are taken as a different poem and copied in the upper margin before the first six verses. This is a clever correction, once the mistake of taking it as two different poems is made. In fact, the sense and wording of verses 31.7-9 corresponds better to the passage next to which they are found in Σ (32.50-52). The traits of F are reproduced even in the punctuation (see below) and the layout of the poems (see e.g. poem 30). Note that the verses were delimited with a straight vertical bar in dark ink by a later hand until poem 13 and in poems 35-40.

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. Manuscript available at: <ark:/12148/btv1b55013502t>.<sup>79</sup>

### 3.1.6 Φ

Dillingen an der Donau, Fürstlich und Gräfllich Fuggersches Familien- und Stiftungsarchiv, 159a, a. 1555. Paper, mm. 333 x 235, I + pp. 386 + I, ll. 27.<sup>80</sup>

Content: Niketas Choniates' *History* 1-614.10 (pp. 1-386).

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<sup>78</sup> See e.g. σημείωσαι περὶ Σὴθ τοῦ Σκληροῦ καὶ τοῦ Σικιδίτου Μιχαήλ 147.81 ss. (f. 78v); περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξίου ὃν ἐγένετο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡ δευτέρα σύζυγος 168.79 ss. (f. 92r); περὶ Βενετικῶν 171.41 ss. (f. 93r); περὶ τοῦ φροντιστηρίου οὗ ἐδείματο ὁ Μανουὴλ 206.71 ss. (f. 113r); ψόγος τῶν μοναστηρίων τῶν κατὰ τὰς πόλεις 207.75 ss. (ff. 113r-114v); ὕβρις τῶν πολιτῶν 233.70 ss. (f. 130r). In 566.28 (f. 281v) the text still reads μέρη; the reading suggested by the main hand in F was not adopted.

<sup>79</sup> See Omont (1888: II.130), van Dieten (1975: LI-LII).

<sup>80</sup> The manuscript is paginated and not foliated, with some irregularities (e.g. p. 237 follows after p. 235). There are remains of at least one more folio at the end: pp. 387-388 seem to have been used to fix the destroyed low corners of pp. 379 ss. (the numeration 387 can be seen in one of such restorations).

Epigrams: poem 1 = p. 2; 2, 3 = p. 3; 4 = p. 4; 5 = p. 6; 6 = p. 7; 7, 8, 9, 10 = p. 8; 11, 12 = p. 9; 13 = p. 10; 14, 15, 16 = p. 11; 17, 18, 19 = p. 12; 20 = p. 13; 21, 22 = p. 14; 23 = p. 15; 24 = p. 16; 25 = p. 17; 26 = p. 18; 27, 28 = p. 19; 29 = p. 21; 30 = p. 22; 31, 32 = p. 23; 33 = p. 24; 34, 35 = p. 25; 36 = p. 26; 37 = p. 27; 38 = p. 28; 39, 40 = p. 29; 41, 42 = p. 126; 43, 44 = p. 217.

The whole manuscript was copied by the same scribe, a certain Alexander, chartophylax of Hagia Sophia, in 1555, as the colophon states (p. 386), probably in Constantinople.<sup>81</sup> The copyist also wrote down in the margin of p. 287 a series of explanatory notes next to an allusive enumeration by Niketas: Ὀλοφέρνης 424.38-39; Ἰουλιανὸς 424.39-40; Ζήνων ἢ Ἀναστάσιος 424.40-45; πιστοὶ βασιλεῖς 424.45-46; Κῦρος ἢ Πέρσης ἄλλος 424.46-47. Apart from these and the abbreviation for γνωμικόν to 32.50-52 (p. 23),<sup>82</sup> all other marginalia are the same as in F. As it happens in Σ, not all marginalia from F are copied in Φ either. However, Φ and Σ do not exhibit the same marginalia.<sup>83</sup>

As the first hand of Σ, the scribe of Φ copied in red ink what is in red in F, so that all epigrams are copied in red, except from poems 1, 43 and 44, which are in black. Note that no epigrams from F are missing. However, there are a few peculiarities in their presentation: the abbreviation for στίχοι is added before the beginning of poems 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 31, 43; before the beginning and instead of σημείωσαι in poems 4 and 12; ἕτεροι is written before poem 8 and ἕτεροι ἐναντίοι before poem 44. Additionally, a reference mark is more or less systematically placed at the

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<sup>81</sup> The colophon is transcribed by van Dieten (1975: LII), with some errors: *lege παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου* [...] Ζῷ ξῷ γῷ μηνὶ μαρτίῳ ζῷ, ἡμέρᾳ δῷ (Wednesday, 6 March 7063 = AD 1555). Hans Dernschwam probably acquired this manuscript for the Fuggers in Constantinople (see the note in manuscript 159b published in van Dieten). As we have seen above, Φ was later used for the *editio princeps* of Niketas Choniates' *History* by Wolf (1557). An *Alexander Chartophylacus* (sic) is mentioned as the seller of a manuscript (Monacensis graecus 325) in a note by Dernschwam in Monacensis graecus 324 (f. Ir) and Monacensis graecus 325 (Iiv). These two manuscripts were acquired by Dernschwam in 1554 in Constantinople and later used by Wolf for his *editio princeps* of Zonaras' chronicle (Basel, 1557). See Büttner-Wobst (1892: 202-217), Leone (1991: 228, 240-241), Reinsch (2016: 46-48). Stadtmüller (1934: 275 n. 3) proposed that the same Alexander is the copyist of Kedrenos (Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V. App. 13, a. 1556) referred to by Vogel and Gardthausen (1909: 12). The partial transcription of the final colophon published by Tartaglia (2016: 40) seems to confirm it ([...] ἐν ἱεροδιακόνοις ἐλάχιστος Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ μέγας χαρτοφύλαξ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας [...]). Another interesting parallel is that the manuscript was most likely used for the *editio princeps* of Kedrenos by Xylander (= Wilhelm Holtzmann, Basel, 1566). See Tartaglia (2016: 61-63).

<sup>82</sup> This passage is not marked in F (nor in Σ), but it is in D, C (see above) and W (f. 15v). The inclusion in Φ may pose the question of whether the copyist of Φ had access to another manuscript or he just added the note on his own. Most likely the latter is true, since Alexander worked directly with F and not with any intermediate copy, as the note in f. 85r of F reveals (see above).

<sup>83</sup> See e.g. the long marginal note in p. 264 to 395.51 (see above and van Dieten's apparatus, absent from Σ): δέσποτά μου οὐκ οἶδε τί λέγει ἡ ἀγιωσύνη σου· ἄλλη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ Ἰόππη ἢ νῦν λεγομένη (καλουμένη F) Γιάφα [...]. The note below by a different hand in F is not included.

beginning of the poem and in the body of the text before the passage commented upon.<sup>84</sup> Even at the second half of poem 31 (it is divided as in F), at verse 6, another sign is placed and repeated in the text at 33.56. The γνωμικόν abbreviations to 32.50-52 (p. 23) and to 37.92-93 (p. 26) are also connected to the main text through a sign. However, poems 43 and 44 do not have any reference mark. Before, poem 1 seems to be preceded by a *signum lunae*, but I could not find any such sign in the main text.

Another significant phenomenon is the banalization of certain readings. The corrections are written instead of the true readings, which are however preserved over the line as if these were glosses or variants.<sup>85</sup> A similarly curious phenomenon happens in poem 21.2. The scribe copied καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας κτείνειεν φύλακας ξίφει instead of καὶ τοὺς φύλακας κτείνειν Ἑλληνας ξίφει. In a second stage, he added a λ over Ἑλληνας, a circumflex over the acute in κτείνειεν and put the words in the right order by adding letters over them: an α over τοὺς, a β over φύλακας, a γ over κτείνειν, a δ over φύλακας and an ε over ξίφει.<sup>86</sup>

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams at the Fugger Archives in Dillingen (Donau).<sup>87</sup>

### 3.1.7 s

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément grec 249, a. 1568-1569. Paper, mm. 125-143 x 80-91, ff. I + 406, ll. 20-30.<sup>88</sup>

Content: miscellaneous booklet with notes and extracts for personal use. The verse scholia on Niketas Choniates' *History* are excerpted (from Σ) on ff. 224v-230v.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> An abbreviation for σημείωσαι is written in the body of the text for poem 8 and 9 copied as one. For poems 10 and 13 σημείωσαι is only placed in the main text and for poem 14 σημείωσαι is found both at the beginning of the epigram and in the text. From poem 15 onwards, different signs are placed before the epigram and in the main text before the passage commented upon (e.g. the *signum lunae* for poem 15, the *signum solis* for poem 16, and many others more or less conventional or creative).

<sup>85</sup> See e.g. poem 7.2 -οἱ written over συμπερατεῖ; 8.1 ἐσθλῆς over καλῆς; 20.5 -ος over πίσσυρες; 35.4 μαχεσί- over πολεμόκλονος; 38.5 συὸς over θηρὸς.

<sup>86</sup> See a similar phenomenon in Vat. gr. 1003, the main manuscript of Ephraim's chronicle and catalogue (Lampsidis 1990: 92, critical apparatus to v. 2441). Other corrections of the scribe of Φ to his own copying appear likewise: e.g. 25.1 η over φρὸν; 34.6 -iv over δωρεοβρύτην; 36.10 v over ζωνύει.

<sup>87</sup> See van Dieten (1975: LII), Olivier (1995: 132; 2018: 380).

<sup>88</sup> The booklet has folios of different sizes: e.g. f. 210, mm. 130 x 87; f. 211, mm. 125 x 80; f. 333, mm. 140 x 91; f. 404, mm. 143 x 91. The lines per folio are equally irregular, as well as the page layout.

<sup>89</sup> A partial list of oeuvres in Omont (1888: III.238). An excellent analysis of this manuscript, its contents and sources can be found in Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier (1987: 79-84, 98, 183-205).

Epigrams: poem 1 = omitted; 2, 3, 4 = f. 224v; 5 = omitted; 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12 = f. 225r; 11 = omitted; 13 = f. 225rv; 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 = f. 225v; 19, 20, 21 = f. 226r; 22, 23, 24, 25 = f. 226v; 26 = ff. 226v-227r; 27, 28 = f. 227r; 29 = f. 227rv; 30 = f. 227v; 31 = ff. 227v-228r; 32, 33 = f. 228r; 34, 35 = f. 228v; 36 = f. 229r; 37 = f. 229v; 38, 39 = 230r; 40, 41 = 230v; 42, 43, 44 = omitted.

The entire manuscript was copied by the same scribe, the French humanist Pierre Moreau, in Paris by 1568-1569, as attested along the manuscript (1568: ff. 91r, 150v, 210v, 385r, 398r, 401v; 1569: ff. 28r; 331v).<sup>90</sup> However, since the manuscript seems to be composed of autonomous quires later collected and bound together, we cannot be entirely sure when the epigrams were copied.<sup>91</sup> According to a preliminary division (not strictly codicological, but based on the type and size of the paper employed) offered by Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier, the epigrams on Niketas Choniates are found in section 6 (ff. 219-230).<sup>92</sup> However, at least ff. 219-233 seem to have belonged to the same codicological unit as they used to be numbered from 6 to 20 (the numbers were later crossed out). The only date mentioned in these folios occurs on f. 231r: “Extrait du livre Espagnol intitulé *Carcel de amor* imprimé à Paris par Gilles Corrozet. 1567. (pag. 287)”. This could serve as a safe *terminus post quem* for the copy of the epigrams.<sup>93</sup>

Van Dieten discusses s in an appendix to his description of Σ, because the epigrams are evidently excerpted from this manuscript.<sup>94</sup> The same epigrams are transmitted with the same variants (some other variants are unique to s). Remarkably, Moreau often tried to correct defective readings in marginal annotations frequently introduced by an “f.” (= *fortasse*). Sometimes he conjectured the true reading, as in poems 15.2, 24.1, 24.4, 26.2, 34.5, 36.9, 37.12;<sup>95</sup> sometimes he only gave a reasonably improved version of what he read in Σ, as in 17.3, 20.9, 29.9, 36.10, 38.3, 38.7. In 40.6, partially omitted in Σ, he just marked

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<sup>90</sup> See Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier (1987: 84, 98), Vogel and Gardthausen (1909: 385), *RGK* 1.348, 2.476, 3.553.

<sup>91</sup> See Vilborg (1955: XXII-XXIII), regarding the fragments of Achilles Tatius (ff. 241r-243r).

<sup>92</sup> Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier (1987: 183 n. 376). The first part of this section (ff. 219r-224r) has not been identified by Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier (1987: 199). This commentary of passages of the Old Testament is a fragment (inc. mut.: τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς ἐρμηνεία ἐπειδὴ ἕκαστον [...]) of the already fragmentary religious treatise from the last folios of Σ. The passage preserved in s corresponds to Σ ff. 310v(l. 15)-312v. The end of Σ was already truncated when Moreau copied it, so that at the end of s it is written: λείπει τὰ λοιπά (f. 224r).

<sup>93</sup> See Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier (1987: 203). From f. 231v onwards, many passages of Tzetzes' *Histories* can be found. Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier (1987: 203-204) argue that the quotations come from the *editio princeps* by Gerbel (Basel, 1546) and that they served as references for the translations of George of Pisidia in preparation by Moreau in 1567-1568. The familiarity of Moreau with Tzetzes is parallel to his familiarity with Niketas Choniates: he worked extensively on Tzetzes' *Carmina Iliaca* and Niketas' *Thesaurus orthodoxae fidei*. See Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier (1987: 142-170, 174-181).

<sup>94</sup> See van Dieten (1975: LII), Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier (1987: 190-191).

<sup>95</sup> Moreau even managed to give the right conjecture to the text of Niketas: he copied the passage 32.52-33.56 before the first part of poem 31 and in the external margin (f. 227v) he annotated “f. πλείον” to 32.55, where Σ reads πείον.

the metrical defect with asterisks at the beginning and the end of the line. Only in 29.1 and 38.8 were wrong conjectures given to already correct readings of Σ. The merging of poems 8 and 9 and the inversion of the two parts of poem 31 clearly point to Σ as the model for s. After poem 41 Σ reappears, as Moreau states that unlike the others, “*rubris litteris exarata*”, the last epigram is written in black.

The collection of epigrams is opened by the following title (f. 224v): ἴαμβοι ἀδέσποτοι εἰς τὰ τοῦ Νικήτα τοῦ Χωνιάτου ἱστορικὰ περὶ βασιλείας κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ. Each poem is preceded by quotations of the passages of Niketas Choniates’ *History* alluded to, which are sometimes altered and rearranged.<sup>96</sup> After poem 40, τέλος is written, followed by the title of the book to which poem 41 belongs, a brief quotation of the passage in question and poem 41. As for the non-versified marginalia, Moreau copies ὄρα θέλημα γυναικός before poem 2 and ὄρα λόγους βασιλικούς before poem 3 as if they were part of the poems. Note that after poem 27 a brief note quoting Niketas Choniates (27.6-7) is preceded by \*λίζιος. A parallel asterisk connects the word ἀναπνυθεις in poem 27.4 with λίζιον in the main text (27.6) in Wolf’s *editio princeps*.<sup>97</sup>

Inspection of the manuscript and collation of the epigrams in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. Manuscript available at: <ark:/12148/btv1b11004959s>.<sup>98</sup>

## 3.2 Relationship of the manuscripts

Many of the main lines of filiation between the manuscripts have already been revealed while describing the manuscripts. Let us now turn to the textual variants of the poems and establish the relationship of the manuscripts from their shared readings.

Since F contains the largest number of poems and D seems to copy the poems in a second stage, one may be inclined to think that D copied the poems from F. This is not possible given the many correct readings of D where F fails.<sup>99</sup> However, F gives some

<sup>96</sup> See e.g. the citation before poem 2: ὁ βασιλεὺς (καὶ τοκεὺς τοίνυν omitted) Ἀλέξιος μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων παίδων τῷ Ἰωάννῃ προσέκειτο (5.87-88). ἡ δὲ (μήτηρ καὶ copied later below) βασιλὶς Εἰρήνη τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἄννῃ (5.90-91). ἡ (τις εἰς λέχος τῷ omitted) Νικηφόρῳ Βρυεννίῳ συνέζετο (5.86). The modifications aim at offering a more simplified and self-contained context to understanding the poems.

<sup>97</sup> Chronologically, it is possible that Moreau had access to the edition of Wolf (1557). There is not enough evidence to sustain such contamination (see however the agreement in 7.3 πρὸ καιροῦ).

<sup>98</sup> See Omont (1888: III.238), van Dieten (1975: LII), Olivier and Monégier du Sorbier (1987: 79-84, 98, 183-205).

<sup>99</sup> For example, D gives the correct reading in poems 11.1 Σωζόπολις; 20.3 στρώσις; 24.3 βριθὺ; 26.1 βασιλεὺς; 31.6 μυρίαίς; 32.4 ἐκβιάζεις; 34.2 τῆν; 34.8 ὑπῆν. Note that some of these passages were emended in manuscripts in principle not related to D: Σωζόπολις C; στρώσις Φ; μυρίαίς Φ; ὑπῆν Φ (see ἐκβιάζων Φ and εἰπεῖν Σ s).

better readings than D, besides preserving poems 1, 43 and 44 (see Figures 4 and 6).<sup>100</sup> F cannot depend on D either, because D omits poem 37 (Figures 5). As has been postulated above, D and F copy the poems from their common exemplar, the now lost manuscript η, on whose margins Ephraim first wrote down the epigrams. The errors of D and F in copying from η explain peculiarities in their respective copies.

W derives from D, as proved by the omissions of poems 1, 37, 43 and 44, the misplacement of poems 24, 25 and 26, and the long list of common readings.<sup>101</sup> W also has its own omissions and distinctive errors, sometimes agreeing with manuscripts with which in principle W does not have any relation.<sup>102</sup> The position of C is less evident with regard to the epigrams. Van Dieten established that C depends on F, even if C copies the text of a lacuna (445.19-446.59) in F and its apographa.<sup>103</sup> As for the epigrams, C cannot be a copy from D: C omits poem 1 and separates correctly 8 and 9 as D, but C copied 43 and 44 and placed poem 25 as F (21.59-24.25 is not abridged). Could the epigrams have been copied directly from η? C agrees with F against D in an error (32.4 ἐκβιάζειν) and a correct reading (35.5 οἰκείου γένους). It also agrees with D against F in the correct reading of 11.1 (Σωζόπολις), but we have seen that some good readings of D are conjectured by the copies of F.<sup>104</sup> The omission of so many epigrams in C (poems 1, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24, 26, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40; see 25, 28) makes it difficult to find more compelling evidence against a dependence on F, so that it should be assumed that C copied the epigrams from F. In this regard, C cannot be the model of any other manuscript, since the epigrams omitted in C

<sup>100</sup> See e.g. 20.9 συστρατηγέτιδι; 30.4 μυριοστεφηφόρος; 35.5 οἰκείου γένους. The case of 19.3 is uncertain: Χράσμον is kept in the text because of the correspondence with Ephraim's chronicle 3873, but the reading of D (Χράμων) would actually be more accurate (see above). Χράμων should only be preferred if we consider that Χράσμον is a mistake by the scribe of F and that Ephraim later worked only with F for his chronicle. The same goes for τε (F) against γε (D): both seem correct and certainly better than τῶ of the chronicle. In fact, Hilberg (1888: 53), without knowing D, proposed γε as emendation for this verse of the chronicle of Ephraim. However, the corruption of τῶ seems easier to explain from τε.

<sup>101</sup> Notably, W shares all the correct readings of D listed above (11.1, 20.3, 24.3, 26.1, 31.6, 32.4, 34.2, 34.8) and all the variants of D where F is to be preferred (19.3, 20.9, 30.4, 34.5, 35.5). See van Dieten (1975: LVIII, LXXIX-LXXXI).

<sup>102</sup> E.g. poem 5 is also omitted in Σ and s; 7.2 παραιμφάσεις W, παρεμφάσεις C; 10.1 λαοδικίας also in C; ἀνακόχευσιν also in Σ and s; 34.3 καρποβρυθῆς also in Φ; 34.6 δωροεβρύτην in Σ, *ante correctionem* Φ and s; see 30.4, 30.6, 34.1, 36.2. Distinctive errors of W: omission of poems 13 and 14 because of a material accident (see above); 26.4 ὕμνεϊ, τῆς; 27.1 ἔθνηκοῖς; 27.2 ὄρροντίαις; 27.3 πόλιν; 29.1 περσῆς; 29.3 ἀρχή; 29.6 ἀτιχνῶς; 34.4 παροιμοίαις W; 35.3 ῥηξύνων; 35.5 λειπῶν; 36.4 ἀετὸς; 40.3 παλαίμαφατον.

<sup>103</sup> See above and van Dieten (1962: 230-231; 1975: LVIII-LIX). The common reading of F and its apographa pointed out in van Dieten (1962: 233-234) seems also to be observed in C: 288.51 ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀνδρόνικος (f. 207v).

<sup>104</sup> One may wonder whether the omission of οὗ in 35.7 in C originates from the partial erasure in F. Similarly, the correct reading of 44.3 εὐσπλαγχνίας is given by C (and Φ), but the γ seems to have been deleted only later in F.



can be found elsewhere.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, C has many distinctive errors that only rarely agree with a variant from other manuscripts.<sup>106</sup>

The origin of the remaining manuscripts is more clear and has already been suggested above: Σ and Φ derive from F, and manuscript s, in turn, derives from Σ.<sup>107</sup> Σ and Φ agree with F against D in many places.<sup>108</sup> They both agree on splitting poem 31 and on writing continuously poems 8 and 9. In addition, some of the errors in Σ and Φ can be explained by F as their model.<sup>109</sup> Besides the already mentioned banalizations in 8.1, 20.5, 35.4, 38.5 and the inversion of words in 21.2, Φ has its own errors, which only rarely agree with unrelated manuscripts.<sup>110</sup> Φ cannot be a copy of Σ, because Φ has all the 44 poems as in F. In Σ, poems 1, 5, 11, 42, 43, 44 are missing. However, Σ is not a copy of Φ either because Σ does not reproduce the errors of Φ with respect to F.<sup>111</sup> Being Σ and Φ copies from F, Σ

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<sup>105</sup> The opposite can be inferred from the schematic stemma of van Dieten (1975: CI), but see the stemma in van Dieten (1975: LXVII).

<sup>106</sup> 2.2 δοκεῖς; 7.2 παρεμφάσεις (παραιμφάσεις W); 8.1 εἰς; 9.1 σοφὸς C (σοφοῦ *ante correctionem* W); 10.1 λαοδικίας (also W); 12.3 ἱερακορυφήτου C (ἱερακοκορυφήτου s); 18 οὔνοι (also Σ s); 25.1 πόδα; 27.4 ἀναπλυνθεῖς (ἀναπνωθεῖς Σ s); 41.4 γὰρ θεὸς; 42.1 μειζῶσιν; 42.3 πευκεδάνην, βάλλων.

<sup>107</sup> See van Dieten (1975: LVIII). The *editio princeps* of Wolf, in turn, derives from Φ (see above). Wolf prints all the errors of Φ and some of his own. Only exceptionally his errors agree with the readings of other manuscripts and not with Φ: see e.g. 7.3; 13.2; 20.5.

<sup>108</sup> See e.g. the correct readings 20.9 συστρατηγέτιδι, 30.4 μυριοστεφηφόρος, 35.5 οἰκείου γένους and the variants 24.3 βραχὺ, 26.1 βασιλεῦ, 34.2 τῆ. The variant of F in 11.1 (Σωζόπολιν) was only followed by Φ, because the poem is not in Σ. The variants of F in 20.3 (στρῶσιν) and 31.6 (μυρίαϊς) were only followed by Σ, because Φ conjectured the good readings. In 32.4 Σ copied the variant of F (ἐκβιάζειν) and Φ conjectured ἐκβιάζων (ἐκβιάζεις D). Similarly, the variant of F in 34.8 (εἰπήν) was corrected in εἰπεῖν by Σ and in ὑπήν (with D) by Φ. In 34.5 the reading of F (ἴδη) was followed by Φ and the variant of D (ἴδη) conjectured by Σ. Both Σ and Φ read προσχῶν with D, but this is a common haplography.

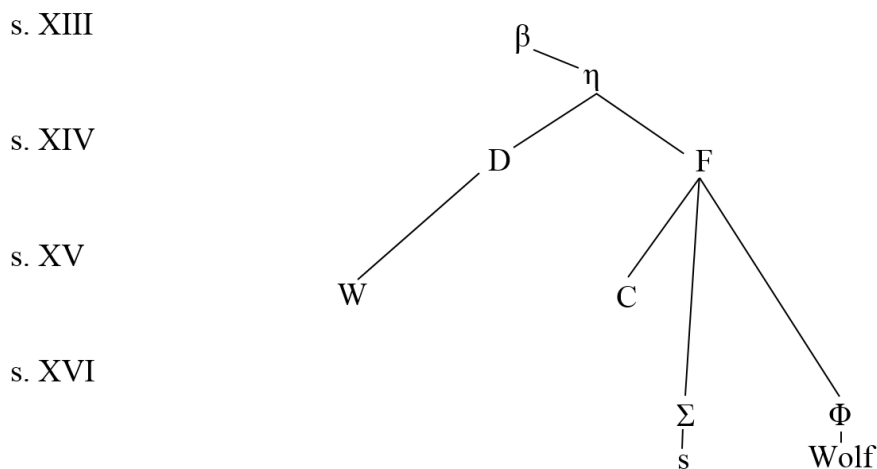
<sup>109</sup> See e.g. 38.1 where both manuscripts confused the stroke marking Ἡρακλες as a proper name with a grave accent and copied ἡρακλῆς Σ and ἡρακλεὺς Φ. Other mistakes in Σ and Φ (37.12, 38.4; see 3.2) are products of the misreading of F.

<sup>110</sup> See e.g. 1.3 γρυφῶδη; 7.3 εὐγενῆς τὸ λοιπὸν; 30.4 μυριάκης Φ (μυριάκοις W); 31.4 τῆ; 34.3 καρποβρυθῆς (also W); 38.3 ἦ τίς; 38.6 ὄρεσιτρόφου; 40.5 ῥαγδαιωτάτων; 43.2 σατᾶν.

<sup>111</sup> The distinctive errors of Σ are the following (almost always agreeing with s, its copy, and only exceptionally with other manuscripts): 2.2 καλοῦς Σ s; 7.3 εὐγενῆς Σ s; 13.1 δεινῆς Σ s; 13.2 χαριτωνύμου μόνου Σ s; 15.2 πείρια Σ (πειρία *ante correctionem* s); 17.3 προκροῦ Σ *ante correctionem* s; 18 οὔνοι C Σ s, ἄστεοι Σ s; 19.3 χρᾶσθαι Σ (χρᾶσθαι s); 20.2 πάγγλωσσαν Σ s, πλείστων Σ s; χρυσῶ ὑφῶν Σ (χρυσῶ ὑφῶν s); 20.10 ἦν Σ (ἦν s); 24.1 στόμαλχος Σ *ante correctionem* s; 24.2 ἐπολέγδην Σ s; 24.4 εὐστράος Σ *ante correctionem* s; 26.2 ἀποκρήμων Σ s; 26.3 περίκλιτον Σ; 27.3 ἀνακόχευσιν W Σ s; 27.4 ἀναπνωθεῖς Σ s (ἀναπλυνθεῖς C); 28.1 βυζάντις Σ *post correctionem* s; 28.2 χρυσωδίνην Σ s; 30.6 ἀρτύν Σ (ἀρτύνων s, ἀρτύ μου W); 31.8 μέλλη Σ; 33.2 βουχάρχα Σ s; 34.1 ἀρτιφαῆς Σ s, δομώδης Σ s (δημόδης W); 34.4 δύφασμα Σ (δ' ὑφασμα s); 34.5 βασιλικωτάτως Σ *post correctionem* s (-ην *in margine* s); 34.6 δωροβρύτην W Σ *ante correctionem* Φ s; 35.6 ἀνακτορικός Σ s; 36.2 διαπαντὰ Σ (διὰ παντὰ s); 36.4 ὄρνης Σ; 36.9 τοὺς Σ *ante correctionem* s; 36.10 λιμνασμὸν Σ *ante correctionem* s; 37.6 ἀπήγαγεν Σ s, σκότους Σ s; 37.9 πακεδανὸν Σ s; 38.3 γαρ Σ, ποταμὸς *ante correctionem* Σ, *ante correctionem* s; 40.6 τῆς σκηνῆς κλύσις om. Σ s; 40.7 ἀρχηγέτις; 41.1 πρέπη Σ s. Σ and s also agree with W in omitting poem 5.

seems to have been copied later than  $\Phi$ , as many deteriorated passages in F are missing or corrupted only in  $\Sigma$ .<sup>112</sup> It has already been demonstrated that s excerpted the epigrams from  $\Sigma$ . Accordingly s reproduces all the errors of  $\Sigma$  (although many times tries to emend them) and omits the same epigrams as  $\Sigma$  (and alters the verse order in poem 31). Besides, s has its own errors.<sup>113</sup>

All these relationships can be put together in the following schematic stemma, where  $\beta$  represents the manuscript of the version *b* of the *History* published by Niketas Choniates between 1205 and 1209 and  $\eta$  represents a copy of  $\beta$  where Ephraim wrote down the epigrams while preparing his chronicle before 1332.<sup>114</sup>



### 3.3 This edition

Each poem is numbered from 1 to 44 following the order in which they appear in the manuscripts. Additionally, the poems are preceded by a reference to the passage of Niketas Choniates they comment upon with the corresponding verses in Ephraim’s chronicle between brackets (“nusquam” means that the passage of Niketas Choniates is not found in the chronicle) and a summary of its content. As for the text of the poems,

<sup>112</sup> The places where  $\Sigma$  could not read F (and s follows  $\Sigma$ ) because of material damage are 17.2; 20.9; 20.10; 35.7 (see C); 36.7; 36.10 (see  $\Phi$ ); 37.9; 38.7. See also 20.2; 20.3; 29.9.

<sup>113</sup> See e.g. 12.3; 19.1; 23.1; 29.1; 29.3; 29.4; 29.7; 38.7; 38.8; 41.2.

<sup>114</sup> See van Dieten (1975: LXVII; 2017: LXXXVI), Simpson (2013: 109, 123). NB:  $\eta$  should date back to the 13th century. Only later (most likely in the first quarter of the 14th century) Ephraim wrote down the poems in its margins. In this sequence, both D and F need to be dated to after the intervention of Ephraim in  $\eta$ .

the readings of D and F are of course preferred. The variants of the manuscripts and editors are recorded in a negative apparatus, preceded by another apparatus with references to relevant *loci paralleli*. Among these, especially abundant are the formal correspondences with the oeuvre of Ephraim and with the text of Niketas Choniates' *History*. The former serve to prove the authorship of the poems, while the latter are only recorded when the same wording is used. In general I have tried to limit the references to other authors to the minimum, as for example regarding the stock motifs of encomiastic literature. I have written "et alibi" to render this lack of exhaustiveness more visible. The same applies to words or group of words found in the same metrical position in other works in verse, for which I also wrote "in eadem sede". All the references recorded in this apparatus are collected and explained in the commentary (Chapter 4).

The variants regarding accents and breathings are only recorded when they can be meaningful.<sup>115</sup> The treatment of enclitics deserves special mention. Typical Byzantine practices have been adopted in the text when at least manuscripts D and F agree: 8.2 ἦ δ'; 12.3 αἶξ ἐστὶ; 27.3 μικράν δ'; 29.3 σοὶ δ'; 38.3 τίς δε; 41.4 θεός γαρ. In this last case, the enclitic occurs in the fifth syllable, after which the caesura falls. Similarly, I print τοιός γαρ in 34.8 with F, where D reads τοῖος γὰρ. The pronoun τοιός is often combined with particles (especially δε) and γαρ is the seventh syllable of 34.8, after which the caesura falls (stress is generally avoided in this position of the dodecasyllable).<sup>116</sup> A phenomenon not unrelated to the accentuation issue is the couple of words written as one. Again, such forms are included in the poems only when D and F agree: 19.2 κατακράτος; 25.3 ἔσαυθις;

<sup>115</sup> E.g. 1.1; 20.1; 23.2; 26.5; 28.1, 5; 29.4, 7, 9; 36.8 (coronis); 37.5; 38.2. No lack of accent or breathing is recorded, such as 2.2 ἀνασσα Φ; 23.2 ἀδάνης Σ; 25.1 φρην C; 28.3 ρύδην Φ; 31.2 ἀμαχον Σ; 31.7 φυσις Σ; 34.1 ἀκανθα s; 34.3 ἀπαλος Φ; 39.2 ὄγκος Φ; 39.4 ὡς Φ; 42.1 ὡς Φ (see 17.1 τεκνων F; 20.5 καλλιτριχος F; 43.1 δρασοι F; which can actually be the result of manuscript damage); nor rough breathing for smooth, such as 9.1 ἔπος F Σ Φ; 24.1 ἀρμενοκίλιξ Σ s; 26.5 ἐπῶν Σ Φ Wolf; 35.2 ἦττων Φ; 36.11 ὄροις W. Note the breathing of ὦδε in 20.1 and 40.1. See e.g. Noret (2014: 116 n. 91), Tocci (2015: 59\* n. 11).

<sup>116</sup> See the *Appendix metrica* below. On the enclisis/orthotonesis of δέ (especially when elided), γάρ and ἐστὶ, as well as on other questions of accentuation and orthography discussed below, see e.g. Noret (2014) and Tocci (2015: 116\*-141\*), with further bibliography. As we will see regarding punctuation, the question of accentuation does not only concern editorial decisions or linguistic evidence, but it also plays a relevant role insofar as the rhythm of the dodecasyllable is at issue. In this regard, see now Bernard (2018: 30-34) and Lauxtermann (2019: 284-319). For similar phenomena in Ephraim, see Lampsidis (1965: 482-494; 1971: 34-37, 55-58, 86-89; 1971-1972 241, 294-298, 326; 1990: XIII-XIV). For a case study on poetry, see De Groote (2012: 133-146). The same treatment of γάρ and δέ is recorded in the verse scholia by Tzetzes on Thucydides (Luzzatto 1999: 13 n. 9, 63 n. 68, 97) and in the epigrams on Diodorus Siculus ascribed to Niketas Choniates (Mazzucchi 1995: 208 n. 32). See also verse 3 of the Tzetzes' verse scholium in f. 5v of Laur. Plut. 70.3 (δε in the seventh syllable, before caesura) and the enclisis of the elided δέ in poem 5.4 of the new cycle on Herodotus above in Part 1. In the epigrams of Ephraim, enclitics can also occupy the last syllable of a verse (e.g. 37.8, 38.1) and before the caesura (e.g. 32.2, 33.1). Needless to say, the behaviour of the enclitics is not always consistent, as the various corrections in the apographa reveal. These and other variants are recorded in the apparatus (e.g. 31.4; 33.1; 37.19; 38.3; 39.5).

26.4 τολοιπὸν (but τὸ λοιπὸν 7.3); 34.2 παραυτικά; 36.2 διαπαντός.<sup>117</sup> Another orthographic feature worth mentioning is the fluctuation of the spelling of geminate consonants. Unusual forms are adopted in the main text again only if at least D and F agree: 27.2 Ὀρροντεΐαις; 37.4 πρωτογεννῶν; 42.1 βδέλαι.<sup>118</sup> Note that, whereas accentuation mainly serves the needs of “acoustic” metrics, (de)gemination of consonants can be facultative in relation to the “visual” metrics, i.e. the correct prosody according to ancient metre.<sup>119</sup> Other variations can be motivated by the dynamics of the dodecasyllable, such as the alternation of ἐς/εἰς (e.g. 8.1-2; see 29.8 ἐς Miller), χειρὶ/χερὸς (e.g. 24.4; 39.2) and ξύν/σύν (e.g. 19.3 and Ephraim’s chronicle 3873). Accentuation, however, can also be relevant for the “visual” metrics, as to which some variants attest (e.g. 23.2, 26.5, 38.2). This leads Miller to propose 29.9 ἴσον, but the manuscript tradition already shows that the “rules” of the prosodic iamb are flexible: e.g. 25.2 Κωνσταντῖνος.<sup>120</sup>

In the manuscripts certain words are written incompletely, leaving the ending to be inferred in context (the accent of the missing part is still written).<sup>121</sup> These are only recorded in the apparatus when they are the origins of variants in the tradition: 24.2 προκαλ~ F; 26.1 βασιλ` D; 31.2 βασιλ` D; 36.10 λιμνασμ` F. As for the *iota subscriptum*, it has been systematically added. It is mostly omitted in the manuscripts, but some regularities can be observed. For example, D and F have it mostly in the second person singular of the medio-passive voice. Datives often have the *iota subscriptum* in F, never in D. D writes it in a temporal augment (17.3 προηροῦ), F in the word ἄδης (37.5; 37.18). F also writes it inside aorist forms of verbs in -αίνω (27.1 ἔχρανας; 29.8 ἐξύφανε): these were not adopted. The *iota* is only found as *adscriptum* in W (20.8 ἦϊ). The apographa sometimes follow the model, sometimes omit the *iota subscriptum* and sometimes add it.<sup>122</sup> These variants are

<sup>117</sup> Otherwise, they are recorded in the apparatus (e.g. 35.8). The case of 20.8 ἐφ ἦ in Φ seems to be a mere error (apostrophe is missing), as well as 2.2 δοκῆσπερ and 14.1 συτρισιάνναξ in Wolf. Note also the distinct meaning of 24.3 οὔκουν and 39.6 οὐκοῦν, as noted in Noret (2014: 123). Crasis is a different yet related phenomenon: see 12.1, 36.8.

<sup>118</sup> Otherwise, the most regular variant is adopted: 3.2 ξυλλέχω; 14.1 ἀπορρῶξ; 24.5 σακεσφόρος; 25.2 κομπορρήμων. Note that all these variants come from D, while the readings of F adapt the orthography to suit visual metrics.

<sup>119</sup> See Hilberg (1888: 62-69), Lampsidis (1971: 56-57, 76-84; 1990: XLVII-XLVIII), Lauxtermann (2019: 278-279) and the *Appendix metrica* below. See above Part 1 the case of μετάλων in poem 8.3 of the new cycle of verse scholia on Herodotus.

<sup>120</sup> See Hilberg (1888: 81-83), Lampsidis (1971: 78-79 n. 6), Lauxtermann (2019: 283-284) and the *Appendix metrica* below.

<sup>121</sup> See e.g. 7.2 καλ` F Σ; 20.6 βασιλ` D; 30.1 βασιλ` D; 38.5 βασιλ` F; 39.5 βασιλε~ D; 44.1 φθόν C. Similarly, 1.1 Χωνειάτ and 1.2 λέγ can be read in F, but poem 1 is written in the upper margin and the endings could be cut off.

<sup>122</sup> 2.2 δοκῆς s; 3.2 ἐμβριμᾶ Σ s, τῆ ξυλλέχω s Wolf; 3.3 σῶ γόνω s Wolf; 10.2 μιᾶ F s Wolf, ῥοπῆ s Wolf; 15.1 θεῶ F Σ s Wolf; 15.2 λόγω F Σ Φ s Wolf, πείρα F; 17.3 προηροῦ D W; 19.1 ὑγροχέρσω, μάχη F Σ s Wolf, παγκρατεστάτη

only exceptionally recorded in the apparatus. Illegible passages in the manuscripts because of material damage are indicated with (...) in the apparatus, irrespective of the length of the lacuna.

As for punctuation, a point has been made in recent scholarship to observe the features of Byzantine punctuation instead of printing texts with conventional punctuation mostly applied to ancient Greek texts, often imposing the editors' interpretations of the texts and projecting practices of their respective languages to the detriment of the reality of the manuscripts.<sup>123</sup> However, concessions to the customary punctuation of Greek texts need to be made to avoid jeopardizing the understanding of the text, especially since there does not seem to be one single homogeneous system of Byzantine punctuation to which editors could stick.<sup>124</sup> This is also true for our manuscripts F and D, which do not show the same punctuation, even if they copied the epigrams around the same time from the same manuscript. At first sight, F has a more complex, if not chaotic, array of signs. However, once we simplify the variegated picture of F, some general tendencies emerge. D and F represent in their own two possible Byzantine punctuations of the epigrams, but their agreement may attest to what Ephraim himself wrote in η. After the adaptations listed below, I hope the punctuation adopted reflects some of the main principles of the punctuation in the manuscripts, while not representing any hindrance for the reader.

I have taken into consideration the punctuation of F and D, with sporadic references to the apographa, introducing modifications in order to gain consistency and avoid an extravagant punctuation of little use to the modern reader. At the end of the verses, I have followed the general principle of leaving a punctuation sign wherever the manuscripts have one, since most verses have some kind of sign.<sup>125</sup> The high frequency of

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Wolf; 19.3 Φραγγοχωρίω F Σ s Wolf; 20.8 ἦ F Σ s Wolf, ἦ W; 20.11 συγκλήτω s Wolf, πάση F Σ s Wolf; 24.4 παχεία F s Wolf; 25.1 δεσμη D F Σ s; 25.3 οἶχη D F W Σ s Wolf, συνέχη D F Σ Wolf; 25.4 καθυπάγη D W s Wolf; 27.1 ἔχρανας F; 27.2 καθαίρη D F C W Σ s; 27.4 τῶ ζεφύρω s Wolf; 29.1 χριστῶ Wolf, τῶ s Wolf, βροτεργάτη s Wolf, λόγω F s Wolf; 29.7 ῶ F Wolf, θείω s Wolf, πόθω F s Wolf; 29.8 ἐξύφανε F; 29.9 βίω F s Wolf; 30.1 τῆ s Wolf; 30.3 τῆ s Wolf; 31.5 τῶ θεῶ Σ s Wolf; 32.2 τῶ στρατῶ F Σ s Wolf; 34.2 τῆ καλλιφυᾶ s; 34.7 σκύμνω F Σ s Wolf; 36.1 γίνη D F W Wolf; 37.5 ἄδου F Σ s; 37.8 τῶ F Σ s Wolf; 37.16 καιρῶ F s Wolf; 37.18 ἄδης F Σ; 41.1 τρέπη D; 41.3 εὔχη D F Wolf, φοβῆ D F s; 42.3 ψυχῆ Wolf; 44.2 βλαβήση F. The iota has been added in places with no variants in the tradition (e.g. 11.2 ὀρᾶ; 15.1 Ἦττᾶς; 24.2 προκαλῆ; 34.5 ἴδη), but not inside words (e.g. σώζειν 44.3; see ραδίως 45.8).

<sup>123</sup> See primarily Reinsch (2008: 259-269) and the contributions in Giannouli and Schiffer (2011), with further bibliography.

<sup>124</sup> See e.g. the contributions of Reinsch (2012: 131-154) and Bydén (2012: 155-172). Recent inspiring examples of how to deal with this issue include Reinsch (2014: XXXIV-XXXV), Zagklas (2014: 166-170), Tocci (2015: 141\*-149\*), Cuomo (2016: XLVI-LII), Papaioannou (2019: CLVI-CLIX). The lack of studies on punctuation in Byzantine poetry noted by Zagklas is for now ameliorated by Bernard (2018: 25-30).

<sup>125</sup> In D, no sign can be found only at the end of 3.1; 3.2; 31.3; 31.8; 34.5; 34.8; 38.5; 40.11 (the damage in the manuscript prevent us from distinguishing the end of 24.2; 24.3; 24.4). In F, there is no sign at the end of 1.2; 20.10; 28.3; 31.6 (after this verse the poem continues in the verso); 36.8; 43.2; 44.2; 45.6.

punctuation at the end of the verse can be explained by the nature of the Byzantine dodecasyllable as a self-contained unit of rhythm and meaning.<sup>126</sup> It is true that the layout of the poems in the margins of the manuscripts renders the final punctuation of each verse even more necessary, as the end of the verse may not always coincide with the line break. However, the rich variation of signs reveals that there is more at issue.<sup>127</sup> I have simplified such richness by reducing it to two main signs in my edition, the middle dot (·) and the comma (,). Additionally, I wrote semicolons (;) to mark questions and a full stop (.) at the end of every poem.<sup>128</sup> I have only deleted end-of-verse punctuation when it could seriously mislead the modern reader. In the manuscripts, the μέση στιγμή (·) and its combinations with the ὑποστιγμή (,) are used in general at the end of verses with a rather self-contained meaning, whereas the comma and its combinations with other signs often mark a continuity in the following verse. Commas, and to a certain extent ὑποστιγμαί, call

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<sup>126</sup> See Bernard (2018: 26-27).

<sup>127</sup> In F, the μέση στιγμή (·) occurs at the end of 7.2; 7.3; 8.1; 15.1; 20.1; 20.2; 20.3; 20.4; 20.7; 20.9; 35.3; 35.4; 35.7; 37.3; 37.8; 38.1; 38.7; 40.1; 40.2; 40.3; 40.4; 40.6; 45.7; sometimes looking close to an ὑποστιγμή (,), e.g. 1.1; 2.1; 3.2; 7.1; 17.1; 20.11; 29.5; 34.2; 35.6; 36.3; 36.9; 37.10; 37.11; 38.4; 39.1; 39.2; 40.7; 40.9; 44.1; 45.3; sometimes close to an ἄνω/τελεία στιγμή (·), e.g. 30.4; 37.18; 38.2; but the irregular layout of the lines makes it difficult to distinguish them. The combination of μέση στιγμή and ὑποστιγμή, written as a colon (:), occurs at the end of 12.1; 13.2; 19.2; 20.5; 24.2; 26.4; 27.2; 28.2; 29.2; 29.4; 29.6; 29.8; 30.2; 31.2; 31.5; 32.2; 32.3; 34.7; 35.2; 36.1; 36.2; 36.4; 36.7; 37.2; 37.6; 37.12; 37.14; 37.16; 38.3; 38.5; 38.6; 39.3; 39.4; 41.1; 42.1; sometimes followed by a μέση (:·), e.g. 25.1; 25.2; 25.3; 26.3; 27.3; 28.1. The comma (,) occurs at the end of 3.1; 8.2; 11.1; 22.1; 24.1; 24.3; 26.2; 31.8; 36.5; 36.6; 36.10; 37.1; 37.4; 37.5; 37.9; 37.13; 37.15; 37.17; 40.10; 41.2; 43.1; 45.1; 45.2; 45.4; 45.5. It is also combined with the μέση, written as a semicolon (;) or successively (· or ·,), at the end of 13.1; 14.1; 17.2; 19.1; 20.6; 20.8; 21.1; 23.1; 24.4; 28.4; 29.3; 30.1; 30.3; 30.5; 31.1; 31.3; 31.4; 31.7; 32.1; 34.4; 34.5; 35.5; 37.7; 39.5; 40.5; 40.8; 40.11; 41.3; 42.2; it is combined with the colon, written in horizontal succession (:· or ·;) or vertically (·:), in 12.2; 16.1; 27.1; 29.1; 29.7; 33.1; 34.1; 34.3; 34.6; 35.1; 41.4; and with the combination of colon and μέση (·:) in 26.1 and 34.8. Note that the comma can also be written raised above or quite below the line (especially in combination with μέση or colon). In D, the difference between ὑποστιγμή and μέση στιγμή (sometimes close to τελεία) is more clear. The ὑποστιγμή can be read at the end of 7.1; 7.3; 8.2; 10.1; 11.1; 12.2; 13.1; 17.1; 20.1; 20.2; 20.6; 20.10; 21.1; 25.1; 25.2; 25.3; 28.4; 29.6; 30.1; 34.3; 35.1; 35.2; 35.3; 35.5; 36.8; 38.1; 38.3; 38.4; 38.6; 40.2; 40.3; 40.4; 40.6; 40.7; 40.8; 41.4; 42.2; the μέση at the end of 7.2; 8.1; 13.2; 14.1; 15.1; 20.3; 20.5; 20.9; 20.11; 23.1; 26.3; 26.4; 27.1; 27.2; 28.1; 28.2; 29.2; 29.4; 29.5; 29.8; 30.2; 30.4; 31.2; 31.5; 31.6; 32.2; 32.3; 34.2; 34.4; 34.7; 35.4; 35.7; 36.1; 36.2; 36.3; 36.7; 38.2; 38.7; 39.3; 39.4; 39.5; 40.1; 40.9; 41.1; 41.3; 42.1. The comma occurs at the end of 2.1; 12.1; 16.1; 17.2; 19.1; 20.4; 20.8; 22.1; 24.1; 26.1; 27.3; 28.3; 29.1; 29.3; 29.7; 30.3; 30.5; 31.1; 31.4; 31.7; 32.1; 33.1; 34.1; 34.6; 35.6; 36.4; 36.5; 36.9; 36.10; 39.1; 39.2; 40.5; 40.10; 41.2. The comma follows an ὑποστιγμή (,) in 26.2 and 36.6. A colon (:) occurs at the end of line 19.2, but it can also mark the end of the poem in D (see below). A correction renders the punctuation illegible both in D (20.7) and in F (10.1).

<sup>128</sup> At the end of a poem, F has almost always a colon followed by a dash (:–), except for poem 2 and 12 that have a cross (+), poem 26 that has the combination of both (:+) and poem 36 that has :– followed by some ornamentation (poem 45 has a cross both at the beginning and at the end of the poem). The final punctuation of poems 1 and 43 is not visible. D has a colon (:) at the end of poems 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16 (preceded by ὑποστιγμή); 17; 18; a colon with a dash (:–) at the end of poems 7; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25; 26; 27; 28; 30; 31; 32; 33; 34; 35; 36; 38; 39; 40; 41; 42; and a cross (+) in poem 29.

for completion of the sense and thus can separate subject from predicate, verb from complements, etc. Accordingly, a punctuation sign at the end of the verse, particularly the comma, may actually mark a continuity of the syntax in the following verse, in a (pseudo-)enjambement, as called by Lauxtermann.<sup>129</sup> This situation agrees with the prescriptions of Dionysios Thrax and later commentators, especially if we consider that the comma often performs the function of the ὑποστιγμή, and that the μέση στιγμή, difficult to distinguish in practice from the high dot (ἄνω/τελεία στιγμή), may as well signify the fulfilment of a meaning.<sup>130</sup>

So much for the punctuation at the end of verse. Now, inside the verses the μέσαι στιγμαί (sometimes looking like ὑποστιγμαί) mostly mark asyndetic coordination in the manuscripts. In general, I have written commas in their place, only once (22.2) I turned an ὑποστιγμή into a middle dot, but I have deleted them when unnecessary.<sup>131</sup> The commas, in turn, are mainly used to solve ambiguities by delimiting words that syntactically go together.<sup>132</sup> Inside the verses, I have left them as commas when they do not interrupt the flow of reading, but deleted them when they could confuse the modern reader. I have only added commas regularly to enclose vocatives (or nominatives functioning as vocatives) and parenthetical remarks. Note that the manuscripts usually place commas only after them, but not always, and not before them. In addition, some of

<sup>129</sup> See Lauxtermann (2019: 351-353).

<sup>130</sup> See e.g. Gaffuri (1994), Mazzucchi (1997), Panteghini (2011: 131-136). It is also telling that both the descriptions of the punctuation rules by the grammarians and the few reflections on the dodecasyllable by the Byzantines dwell on the completeness or incompleteness of the meaning (διάνοια, ἔννοια, νόημα, ἐνθύμημα): see e.g. Hörandner (1995: 288-289), Lauxtermann (1998), Lauxtermann (2019: 348-351).

<sup>131</sup> F has μέσαι inside 8.2 (after ἦ); 10.1 (x2); 11.1 (after Σωτήρα); 15.2 (x2); 20.12 (x2); 22.2 (ὑποστιγμή); 23.2 (ὑποστιγμή before Βακᾶ); 26.5 (x2, before and after μύστα); 28.1 (ὑποστιγμαί x2); 28.2 (before καὶ); 28.5 (x4); 29.2 (only after λίβανον); 29.7 (before θεῖω); 29.9 (ὑποστιγμή); 30.4 (after μυριάκις); 32.1 (ὑποστιγμαί x2, also before καὶ); 32.4 (after θυραυλεῖν); 35.3; 35.7 (x2); 35.8; 37.18 (x3, also before καὶ); 38.8 (before βορᾶς); 40.6 (x3); 40.8 (x2). The combination of μέση στιγμή and comma written as a semicolon (;) is found inside the verses only in F and in this context, preceding the last element of an enumeration: 15.2 (before καὶ); 23.2 (before καὶ); 38.8 (before νότος). In D, as it happens at the end of the verse, μέση and ὑποστιγμή are better distinguishable, but their functions seem to be the same: μέσαι occur inside 10.1 (x2); 15.2 (x2); 23.2 (before καὶ); 25.3; 26.5; 28.5 (x4); 29.2 (x2); 29.4 (x2, before καὶ); 35.5 (after περιφάνειαν); 35.7 (after τόλμη); 38.8 (x2); 40.6 (x2); 41.3 (before καὶ); ὑποστιγμαί inside 15.2 (before καὶ); 20.2 (before καὶ); 22.2; 23.2 (before Βεκᾶ); 29.2 (after κομίζει); 29.7 (before καὶ); 35.7 (after οὐδὲν); 40.6 (after σύρροια).

<sup>132</sup> See Noret (1995: 69-79). In F, commas occur inside 2.2; 3.3 (after κράτος); 5 (after ἄναξ); 6; 7.1 (x2, also before λέγει); 7.4; 8.2 (after ἑκατόν); 9; 13.3; 14.1 (before σὺ); 14.2 (before ἐνθέοις); 15.1 (before Σκυθῶν); 16.2 (after νικήσας); 19.3 (after εἶλε); 20.1 (before καὶ); 20.9; 21.1 (before εἶλε); 23.1; 24.3 (before τὸ); 24.4 (before ὀ); 29.4 (before καὶ<sup>2</sup>); 29.9 (before οὐδὲν); 31.2 (after βασιλεῦ); 31.7 (before ὄντως); 32.4 (before θυραυλεῖν); 33.2; 34.9; 35.4 (before μόνος); 36.7 (after τὴν); 36.9; 37.11 (after τὸ); 39.3 (after αὐ̄); 39.6 (after τοῦ); 40.3 (before εἰς); 40.7; 41.3 (before καὶ); 42.1 (after σοῦ). In D, commas occur only inside 30.2; 31.2 (after βασιλεῦ); 31.6 (before ἦ); 40.9.

these punctuation signs may coincide with the caesura.<sup>133</sup> It has been argued that in dodecasyllables, as well as in other accentual poetry, the structure of paired *cola* separated by internal pauses (5 + 7 or 7 + 5 syllables) is equally important as the isosyllabism.<sup>134</sup> However, marking the caesura does not seem to be the primary function of punctuation in the few verses with this feature in our manuscripts.

With the manuscripts, I have not reversed the grave accent of oxytones before punctuation.<sup>135</sup> I have written in capitals the initial letters of every poem and the initials of names of people, nations and places.<sup>136</sup> Finally, note that I have not adopted in the text nor in the apparatus any of the many possible signs preceding the epigrams in the manuscripts (and sometimes repeated before the passage commented upon in the main text), such as σημείωσαι, στίχοι, ὄρα, etc. To conclude, I print as poem 45 the book epigram in F already edited by van Dieten, with minor corrections (namely, I adopted the editorial criteria listed above and left the punctuation as in F). Strictly speaking, poem 45 is not part of the cycle, but is most likely connected with Ephraim and the genesis of poems 1-44.

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<sup>133</sup> See Hörandner (1995: 286 n. 29), Bernard (2018: 27-30), Lauxtermann (2019: 364 n. 231). As for a schematic description of the *colon* structure of our dodecasyllables and its stress patterns, see the *Appendix metrica* below.

<sup>134</sup> See Lauxtermann (1999: 80-86; 2019: 369-371).

<sup>135</sup> See e.g. Mazzucchi (1997: 138-139), Noret (2014: 111-112), Reinsch (2014: XXXIII). In F, some oxytone words only have the acute accent when they happen at the end of the line (e.g. 25.1 ἀλαζών; 25.3 φυγάς; 27.1 σαυτόν; 27.4 ἀναπνυσθεῖς; 28.1 Βυζαντίς; 29.3 ἀρχοί; 29.5 φαεινός; 29.9 οὐδέν; 35.7 οὐδέν; 36.4 αἰετός; 42.3 πευκεδανήν): these are not recorded in the apparatus.

<sup>136</sup> Most names of people in F and sometimes in D are furnished with a sign above them.



## 3.4 Poems

### Sigla

D	Vat. gr. 168 (s. XIII-XIV)
F	Vindob. Hist. gr. 53 (s. XIV ineunte)
C	Paris. Coislin. 137 (s. XIV-XV)
W	Vindob. Hist. gr. 105 (s. XIV-XV)
Σ	Paris. gr. 1722 (s. XVI)
Φ	Fugger. 159a (a. 1555)
s	Paris. Suppl. gr. 249 (a. 1568-1569)
Wolf	Wolf (1557)
in appendice	“Variae lectiones et annotationes in Nicetae Choniatae historiam” in Wolf
Miller	Miller (1881: 165-166, 169, 175-176, 178-179, 186, 191)
Hilberg	Hilberg (1888: 53)
van Dieten	van Dieten (1975: XXXII)
van Dieten (F)	van Dieten (1962: 224)
NC	Niketas Choniates’ <i>History</i> , ed. van Dieten (1975)
Ephraem	Ephraim’s chronicle, ed. Lampsidis (1990)
Ephraem (B)	Ephraim’s catalogue of the patriarchs of Constantinople, ed. Bekker (1840: 383-417)

### Abbreviations

a.c. ante correctionem

add.	addidit
cf.	confer
cod.	codex
i.m.	in margine
om.	omisit, omiserunt
p.c.	post correctionem
s.l.	supra lineam
u.v.	ut videtur
vv.	versus
(...)	lacuna

## Poem 1

Rhetorical prescriptions on how to write history (NC 3.34-45, cf. Ephraem 3733-3736)

Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι φῆς ἐνθαδὶ, Χωνειάτα·  
σοφὸν τὸ σαφὲς συγγράφων εἶναι λέγεις,  
εἶτα γριφώδη καὶ βαραθρώδη γράφεις.

1.2 NC 3.37 et Euripidis Or. 397

1 om. DCWΣs || 1.1 οἶδ' ὅτι] οἶδα τί Wolf (in appendice), van Dieten | φῆς van Dieten  
| ἐνθάδε Wolf (et in appendice), van Dieten | χωνειάτα Wolf (sed χωνειάτα in  
appendice) || 1.3 γριφώδη Φ Wolf van Dieten

*I do not know what you say here, Choniates:  
when writing you affirm that clarity is wise,  
then you write like riddles and abysses.*

## Poem 2

Empress Irene Doukaina's favour to her daughter Anna against her son John (NC 5.90-1, Ephraem 3787-3791)

Θεληματαίνεις οἷς παραβλέπεις φύσιν,  
ἄνασσα καλή, κἄν δοκῆς περ λανθάνειν.

2.1 Θεληματαίνεις] θέλημα τείνεις Wolf || 2.2 καλοὺς Σ s | δοκεῖς C

*You act arbitrarily against those whose nature you overlook,  
good queen, even if you seem to escape notice.*

### Poem 3

Emperor Alexios I Komnenos' answer to Irene in favour of John (NC 5.10-17, Ephraem nusquam)

Ἄλέξιε κράτιστε Κομνηνιάδη,  
ἀνακτορικῶς ἐμβριμᾶ τῆ ξυλλέχῳ·  
καὶ σῶ γόνῳ τὸ κράτος ἐνδίκως νέμεις.

3.2 ἐμβριμᾶ Σ<sup>a.c.</sup>, ἐμβρυμᾶ Φ Wolf | ξυλέχῳ F C Σ Φ || 3.3 γόνῳ τὸ] γόν(... ) C

*Most mighty Alexios Komnenos,  
as a true king you rebuke your wife,  
and you fairly bestow the power on your son.*

### Poem 4

Alexios' silence on his deathbed (NC 7.53-56, Ephraem nusquam)

Εὖγε, βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἄγαν εὐβουλίας.  
*Well done, emperor, for your completely sound judgment!*

### Poem 5

Emperor John II Komnenos' administration (NC 8.95-2, Ephraem 3738)

Δίκαιος ἄναξ ἐνδίκως τιμᾶς νέμει.

5 om. W Σ s

*A fair king bestows honours fairly.*

## Poem 6

Sexual details of Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Bryennios (NC 10.52-56, Ephraem nusquam)

Σοφὴ γυναικῶν, ἐκ λύπης ταῦτα λέγεις.

*Wise among women, you say this from grief.*

## Poem 7

Advice of John Axouch, of Turkish origin, to the emperor (NC 11.70-82, Ephraem 3770-3780)

Ἄξουχ ἀγαθὲ, πρὸς ψυχὴν θεῖαν λέγεις,

ἢ συμπερατοῖ σὰς καλὰς παραιφάσεις·

ὄντως τὸ λοιπὸν εὐγενὴς σὺ τυγχάνεις,

κἂν ἄλλοεθνοῦς ἐκ γένους, ἀλλ' οὐ τρόπου.

7.2 περατοῖ τὴν παραίφασιν NC 11.82, ταύτη γε πεισθεὶς βασιλεὺς παραιφάσει Ephraem 3779 || 7.3 ἄλλοεθνοῦς ἐκ γένους] cf. NC 368.42 || 7.3-4 cf. anonymi professoris epistulam 48.3-4, T. Balsamonis carmen sepulcrale in E. Macrembolitam 13.16-17 et alibi

7.2 συμπερατει Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> (οἱ Φ<sup>s.l.</sup>) | παρεμφάσεις C, παραιμφάσεις W || 7.3 τὸ λοιπὸν εὐγενὴς] εὐγενὴς τὸ λοιπὸν Φ Wolf | εὐγενὲς Σ s || 7.4 ἄλλοεθνοῦς Σ<sup>u.v.</sup> | ἀλλ' οὐ τρόπου] ἄλλουτρόπου post rasuram D<sup>u.v.</sup>, ἄλλοτρόπου W, ἄλλου τρόπου Wolf

*Noble Axuch, you speak to a divine soul,*

*which accomplishes your good advices.*

*Thus, you are truly well born,*

*even if from a foreign nation, but not foreign manners.*

## Poem 8

The emperor's answer to Axouch (NC 11.82-85, Ephraem 3781-3786)

Ἔσπειρεν Ἀξοῦχ ἐς ψυχῆς ἐσθλῆς βάθος·

ἢ δ' εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνέδωκε τὸν στάχυν,

Χριστοῦ τὸν οἶκτον ἀτεχνῶς μιμουμένη.

8.1-2 cf. Mt. 13.3-23 || 8.3 ἀτεχνῶς μιμουμένη] cf. NC 322.34 | θερμός τ' ἐραστής  
χριστομιμήτων τρόπων Ephraem 3786 (cf. 3693, 3775 et alibi e.g. T. Prodromi  
carmina historica 24.44, 30.102, M. Holoboli carmen in prokypsin 1.15-16)

8.1 εἰς C | ἐσθλῆς] καλῆς Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> (ἐσθλῆς Φ<sup>s.l.</sup>) Wolf || 8.2 ἢ Σ s Wolf

*Axuch sowed in the depth of a noble soul,*

*which produced a hundredfold grain*

*genuinely imitating the clemency of Christ.*

## Poem 9

Irene's proverb (NC 12.86-89, Ephraem 3794-3797)

Σεμνή βασιλῆς, ὡς σοφὸν φράζεις ἔπος.

9.1 σοφὸς C, σοφοῦ W<sup>a.c.</sup> | φράζεις Σ s

*Honourable empress, what a wise saying you express.*

## Poem 10

Capture of Laodikeia (NC 12.1-5, Ephraem 3805-3810)

Πορθεῖ, πολίζει, Λαοδικείας πόλιν

μιᾶ ῥοπῇ μέγιστος ἄναξ χαρίεις.

10.1 πολίζει... πόλιν in eadem sede Ephraem 92, 115, 394 || 10.2 ἄναξ χαρίεις in  
eadem sede Ephraem 871, 3905

10.1 λαοδικίας C W

*The greatest graceful king destroys and rebuilds  
in one movement the city of Laodikeia.*

### Poem 11

Capture of Sozopolis (NC 13.31-36, Ephraem 3811-3814)

Σωτήρα Σωζόπολις Ἀύσονοκράτην

ὄρᾳ Κομνηνὸν τὸν μέγαν Ἰωάννην.

11 om. Σ s || 11.1 σωζόπολιν F Φ Wolf || 11.2 ὄρα Wolf

*Sozopolis sees his saviour, the lord of the Romans,  
the great John Komnenos.*

### Poem 12

Capture of Hierakokoryphitis (NC 13.36-38, Ephraem 3817-3822)

Ἐπτης, βασιλεῦ, ὡς ταχινὸς ἰέραξ,

κάπὶ κορυφᾶς τῶν ὄρων ἠλιβάτους

αἷς ἔστι τείχος Ἰερακοκορυφίτου.

12.1-2 cf. Ephraem 1528-1529 et alibi (e.g. A. Comnenae Alexiada 2.4.9, T. Prodromi carmen historicum 19.145, M. Italici orationem in Ioannem II 248.1-2 et infra 36.4)  
|| 12.3 Ἰερακοκορυφίτου in eadem sede Ephraem 3818

12.3 ἔστι C Φ s Wolf | ἰερακοκορυφήτου C<sup>p.c.</sup>, ἰερακοκορυφήτου s, ἰερακοκορυφή Wolf

*You flew, emperor, like a swift hawk,  
also over the steep peaks of the mountains,  
in which there is the fortification of Hierakokoryphitis (the peak of the hawk).*

### Poem 13

Battle against the Pechenegs (NC 14.62-15.70, Ephraem 3823-3829)

Μάχη μεγίστη Σκυθικοῦ δεινοῦ φύλου,

καὶ παμμεγίστου χαριτωνουμένου,  
μυριονίκου, δεσπότη βασιλέως.

13.2 ὄντως χαριτώνουμος, ὀλβία χάρις Ephraem 3712 (cf. 2834, 3935, infra 33.2, Lc. 1.13-14 et alibi e.g. E. Zigabeni commentarium in Lucam PG 129.864A, I. Tzetzae historiam 7.126, T. Prodromi carmina historica 17.44, 19.135, N. Irenici epithalamium 4.81) || 13.3 μυριόνικος in eadem sede Ephraem 3730 (cf. 4087)

13 om. W || 13.1 δεινῆς Σ s || 13.2 χαριτωνουμένου] χαριτωνύμου μόνου Σ s, χαριτωνύμου μένους Wolf

*The greatest battle between the terrible Scythian tribe (Pechenegs)  
and the almighty, named after the grace,  
countless-times victor, lord emperor.*

## Poem 14

The emperor's devotion to the Virgin (NC 15.88-93, Ephraem 3830-3837)

Τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀπορρῶξ σὺ, τρισάναξ,  
καὶ συνθλίβεις δάκρυσι σαυτὸν ἐνθέοις.

14.2 ἐνθέοις in eadem sede Ephraem 3831

14 om. C W || 14.1 ἀπορῶξ F Σ Φ s Wolf

*Thrice king, you are the quintessence of piety  
and you afflict yourself with divine tears.*

## Poem 15

Victory over the Pechenegs (NC 16.1-4, Ephraem 3838-3840)

Ἦττᾶς, βασιλεῦ, σὺν θεῷ Σκυθῶν στίχας,  
γνώσει, λόγῳ, πράγματι καὶ πείρᾳ μάχης.

15.2 γνώσει, λόγῳ, πράγματι καὶ πείρᾳ μάχης Ephraem 3729 (cf. 7898)

15.2 πείριᾳ Σ, πειρία s<sup>a.c.</sup> (πείρᾳ s<sup>i.m.</sup>)

*You defeat, emperor, with God's help the lines of the Scythians  
with knowledge, words, practice and experience of war.*

## Poem 16

Victory over the Serbs (NC 16.15-19, Ephraem 3851-3855)

Ἄναξ νικητὰ, πρὸς νίκην ἐκ τῆς νίκης,  
χωρεῖς νικήσας καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ Σκύθας.

16 om. C || 16.1 π(...)ὸς νίκην ἐκ τῆς νίκ(...) W || 16.2 καὶ<sup>1</sup>] pallidiore atramento D

*Victorious king, from victory to victory  
you advance vanquishing Triballi (Serbs) and Scythians.*

## Poem 17

Four sons of the emperor (NC 16.25-31, Ephraem nusquam)

Τέτρωρον, ἄναξ, ἢ τετρακτὺς τῶν τέκνων·  
οἷς ἀναβαίνων καὶ θεοῦ θάρρει τρέχων,  
πατεῖν προηροῦ τὴν τετράκλιμον κτίσιν.

17.1 Τέτρωρον] cf. infra 37.3 | τετρακτὺς τῶν τέκνων] cf. Ephraem 8358, T. Prodrōmi carmina historica 17.311-317, 19.138-141 || 17.3 τὴν τετράκλιμον κτίσιν in eadem sede Ephraem (B) 9675 (cf. Ephraem 7197 et infra 38.8) || 17.1-3 cf. M. Italici epistulam ad I. Axouch 229.5-17, T. Prodrōmi ibidem 5.65-70 et alibi

17 om. C || 17.2 ἀν(...)βαίνων F, ἄν βαίνων Σ s | θεῶ Wolf || 17.3 προηροῦ] προκροῦ Σ s<sup>a.c.</sup>, πρὸ καιροῦ s<sup>i.m.</sup> Wolf

*It is a quadriga, king, the group of your four children,  
which you mounted and rode confident in God  
and on which you decided to visit the four corners of creation.*



## Poem 18

Hungarians' invasion (NC 17.39-40, Ephraem 3864-3865)

Οὐννοι κρατοῦσιν ἄστεος Βρανιτζόβης.

18 Οὐννοι (Οὔνοι cod.).../ κατακρατοῦσιν ἄστεος Βρανιτζόβης Ephraem 3864-3865

18 οὔνοι C Σ s, οὔννοι Φ, (...)ννοι W | ἄστεοι Σ s, (...)στεος W

*The Huns (Hungarians) conquered the city of Braničevo.*

## Poem 19

Victory over the Hungarians (NC 17.50-18.61, Ephraem 3869-3874)

Ἐν ὑδροχέρσῳ παγκρατεστάτη μάχῃ,

ἄναξ τροποῦται Παίονας κατακράτος·

καὶ Χράσμον εἶλε ξύν τε Φραγγοχωρίῳ.

19.1 ἐν ὑδροχέρσῳ καὶ σθεναρᾷ δυνάμει Ephraem 3870 (cf. 4136, 8336) || 19.3 καὶ Χράσμον εἶλε σὺν τῷ (γε Hilberg) Φραγγοχωρίῳ Ephraem 3873

19 om. C || 19.1 (...)γκρατεστάτη F, παγκρατεστάτης s<sup>p.c.</sup> || 19.2 κατακράτος] κατὰ κράτος W Φ Wolf || 19.3 Χράσμον] χράμον D W (sic NC), χράσθαι Σ<sup>u.v.</sup>, χράσθαι s | τε] γε D W, cf. 20.11

*In a powerful battle by water and land*

*the king put to flight the Paeonians (Hungarians) with power,*

*and seized Chrasmos (Chramos) together with Frangochorion (land of the Franks).*

## Poem 20

Triumph in Constantinople (NC 18.78-19.2, Ephraem 3891-3903)

Θρίαμβος ὧδε καὶ χαρᾶς μεστή πόλις·

πάγγελσος ὕμνος καὶ μύρων πλείστη χύσις·

καὶ χρυσοῦφῶν κατὰ γῆς στρωῖσις πέπλων·

καὶ χιονώδης ἵππικὴ συστοιχία,  
καλλίτριχος πίσσυρος ἐκφέρει δίφρον· 5  
εἰς ὄν βασιλεὺς ἀναβιβάζει μέγας  
τὴν τῆς θεομήτορος θείαν εἰκόνα·  
ἐφ' ἣ γεγηθὼς καὶ πεπορθὼς ἐξόχως,  
ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι, γράφει τὰς νίκας  
ἧς καὶ προῆγε σταυρικὸν σκῆπτρον ἔχων, 10  
ποσὶ βαδίζων ξύν τε συγκλήτῳ πάσῃ·  
τοιούτος ὁ θρίαμβος, ἔνθεος, ξένος.

20.1-3 cf. M. Italici orationem in Ioannem II 266.1-14, N. Basilacae orationem in eundem 72.7-22, T. Prodromi carmen historicum 6.98-104 || 20.3 πέπλος... χρυσοῦφής NC 18.81-82 et alibi || 20.4-5 πίσυρες ἵπποι καλλίτριχες χιόνος λευκότεροι NC 19.88-89, ὁ χιονώδης τετρακτὺς συστοιχία/ ἵπων τις εἴλκεν εὐφυῶς ζευγνυμένων Ephraem 3895-3896, cf. T. Prodromi ibidem 6.83-84 || 20.6-7 τὴν τῆς θεομήτορος εἰκόνα τούτῳ ἐπανεβίβασεν NC 19.90, ἐν τῷδε σεπτὴν ἀναβιβάζει κράτῳ/ τῆς μητρανάνδρου παρθένου τὴν εἰκόνα Ephraem 3897-3898, cf. T. Prodromi ibidem 6.204-210, I. Cinnami historiam 13.19-20 || 20.8-9 ἐφ' ἧπερ ἦν γεγηθὼς... καὶ τὰς νίκας ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι ἀμάχῳ ἐπιγραφόμενος NC 19.90-92, ἐν ἧ πεπορθὼς καὶ κατορθῶν τὰς νίκας/ ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι κατ' ἐχθρῶν μάχης Ephraem 3899-3900, cf. T. Prodromi ibidem 4.158, 15.97-99, 16.125, 19.82-88 || 20.10-11 προῆγεν αὐτὸς σταυρικὸν σημεῖον χειριζόμενος καὶ ποσὶ τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος NC 19.94-95, ἧς καὶ προῆγε σὺν ὄλῃ γερουσίᾳ/ ποσὶ βαδίζων, σταυρικὸν σκῆπτρον φέρων Ephraem 3902-3903, cf. I. Cinnami ibidem

20 om. C || 20.1 ὧδε Φ Wolf, cf. infra 40.1 || 20.2 πάγγλωσσαν Σ s | πλείσται F<sup>a.c.</sup>, πλείστων Σ s || 20.3 χρυσοῦφῶν] F<sup>p.c.</sup>, χρυσῶ (χρυσῶ s) ὑφῶν Σ s | στρῶσιν F Σ s || 20.5 πίσυρος D<sup>a.c.</sup> (σ D<sup>s.l.</sup>) Wolf, πίσυρες Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> (ος Φ<sup>s.l.</sup>) || 20.9 ὡς] paene legitur in F, om. Σ s (τῆ add. s<sup>i.m.</sup>) | συστρατηγέτιδα D W || 20.10 ἧς] paene legitur in F, ἦν Σ, ἦν s || 20.12 ἔνθεος] ἐν θεῶ Wolf

*Here is the triumph and the city full of joy,  
the hymn in all languages and the largest profusion of perfumes,  
and the paving of gold-woven veils over the earth,  
and the snowy set of horses,  
a group of four of beautiful manes brings forth the chariot,* 5

*in which the great emperor puts  
the divine icon of the mother of God,  
in whom he rejoices and trusts above all  
and as to a fellow commander he ascribes his victories,  
and before whom he led the procession holding a cross-like scepter* 10  
*marching by foot together with the whole senate.  
Such is the triumph, divine, extraordinary.*

## Poem 21

Danişmendid's capture of Kastamon (NC 19.6-9, Ephraem 3904-3910)

Τανισμάνιος εἶλε τὴν Κασταμόνα,  
καὶ τοὺς φύλακας κτεῖνεν Ἑλληνας ξίφει.

21 Τανισμάνιος... τὴν πόλιν εἶλε καὶ τῷ ξίφει κατὰ τῶν φυλάκων Ῥωμαίων ἐχρήσατο NC 19.7-9 || 21.2 καὶ φύλακας κτείναντα Ῥωμαίους ξίφει Ephraem 3910

21.2 φύλακας κτεῖνεν Ἑλληνας] ἔλληνας κτείνειεν φύλακας Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> (litteras α, δ, γ, β, ε ordinem recte indicantes, accentum et λ Φ<sup>s.l.</sup>), ἔλληνας ἔκτεινεν φύλακας Wolf

*Tanismanios (Danişmendid) seized Kastamon  
and killed with the sword the Greek guards.*

## Poem 22

Recapture of Kastamon and capture of Gangra (NC 20.23-25, Ephraem 3911-3912)

Ἐπανασώζει τὴν πόλιν Κασταμόνα  
Ἑλλησιν ἄναξ· πρὸς δὲ πορθεῖ καὶ Γάγγραν.

22 Ῥωμαίοις ἐπανασωσάμενος Κασταμόνα NC 20.24-25, καὶ τήνδ' ἐπανέσωσε Ῥωμαίων κράτει./ πρὸς τοῖσδε Γάγγραν καταπορθεῖ τὴν πόλιν Ephraem 3911-3912 (cf. 3883)

*The king recovers the city of Kastamon*

for the Greeks, besides he also destroys Gangra.

## Poem 23

Campaign against the Armenians in Cilicia (NC 21.54-22.65, Ephraem 3916-3922)

Ἰσαυροκίλιξ, στρατιὰν ξένην δέχου,

Ταρσοῦ κρατοῦσαν, Βακᾶ καὶ τῆς Ἀδάνης.

23.2 Ταρσὸν... / καὶ τὴν Ἀδάνην καὶ Βακᾶ Ephraem 3921-3922

23.1 στρατεῖαν s, στρατιὸν Wolf || 23.2 Βακᾶ] βεκαῖ D, βακὰ Φ Wolf

*Isauro-Cilician, receive the foreign army*

*that conquers Tarsos, Baka (Vahka) and Adana.*

## Poem 24

Single combat in Baka between Constantine the Armenian and Eustratios the Macedonian (NC 22.76-24.29, Ephraem nusquam)

Ὁ βάρβαρος στόμαλγος Ἀρμενοκίλιξ,

κενῶς προκαλῆ κατ' ἐπιλέγδην μάχην·

στέξεις γὰρ οὐκουν τὸ βριθὺ μέγα ξίφος,

Εὐστράτιος ὃ χειρὶ παχείᾳ φέρει,

ὄπλιτοπάλας Μακεδῶν σακεσφόρος.

5

24.1 στόμαλγος NC 23.84 | Ἀρμενοκίλικίας Ephraem 3920 || 24.2 προκαλεῖτο ἀνέδην τὸν ἐπιλέγδην ἐκείνῳ συμπλακησόμενον NC 23.88-89, κατ' ἐπιλέγδην in eadem sede Ephraem 4167 || 24.3-4 τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος παχείᾳ καὶ ἡρωϊκῇ χειρὶ, βριθὺ καὶ μέγα καὶ στιβαρόν NC 415.3-4, cf. Homeri Il. 5.746 et alibi (e.g. M. Glycae carmen in Manuelem I 32) || 24.5 ὄπλιτοπάλας] cf. infra 35.4 | cf. ὄπλίτας σακεσφόρους C. Manassis breviarium chronicum 1043, 3636

24 om. C || 24.1 στόμαλγος Σ s<sup>a.c.</sup> (γος s<sup>i.m.</sup>), στόμαργος Wolf || 24.2 προκαλῆ] προκαλῆ raene legitur in D, προκαλ~ F, προκαλεῖ Σ Φ s Wolf, προσκαλεῖ W, cf. infra 25.1 et alibi | κατ'] raene legitur in D | ἐπολέγδην Σ s | μάχην] raene legitur in D || 24.3 στέξεις] φεύξεις Wolf | γὰρ] (...) D | οὐκουν τὸ] raene legitur in D | βριθὺ] βραχὺ F Σ

Φ s Wolf || 24.4 εὐστράος Σ s<sup>a.c.</sup> (τιος s<sup>i.m.</sup>) || 24.5 (...)τοπάλας μακε(...) D | σακκεσφόρος  
F Σ

*Boastful barbarian Armeno-Cilician,  
in vain you challenge an elected soldier to battle.  
In fact, you will not endure the heavy big sword  
that Eustratios with a stout hand bears,  
the heavy-armoured Macedonian shield-bearer.*

5

## Poem 25

Fate of Constantine (NC 25.40-48, Ephraem nusquam)

Ἦ φρήν ἀλαζών, δουλικῶς δεσμῆ πόδας,  
ὁ κομπορρήμων βάρβαρος Κωνσταντῖνος·  
οἴχη δὲ φυγὰς, ἀλλ' ἔσαῦθις συνέχη·  
καὶ καθυπάγη ταῖς δίκαις ἐπαξίως.

25.1 ἡ ἀλαζών φρήν NC 575.63-64 | συλληφθεὶς ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἀπάγεται  
δορυάλωτος, σιδήρῳ τοὺς πόδας ἀσφαλισθεὶς NC 25.41-42 || 25.3 φυγὰς οἴχεται... καὶ  
συσχεθεὶς αὐθις NC 25.47-48

25.1 Ἦ φρήν] (...)ρήν D | φρὺν Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> (ἠ Φ<sup>s.l.</sup>) | δεσμῆ] (...)μῆ D, δεσμῆ Wolf | πόδα C<sup>u.v.</sup> ||  
25.2-4 om. C || 25.2 κομπορρήμων] (...)μπορρήμων D, κομπορήμων F W Σ Φ s Wolf |  
Κωνσταντῖνος] (...)νσταντῖνος D || 25.3 φυγὰς] (...)ὰς D | ἔσαῦθις] ἔς αὐθις Φ s Wolf |  
συνέχη] (...)χη D, ξυνέχη s<sup>a.c.</sup> (σ s<sup>s.l.</sup>)

*Arrogant mind, you are shackled in the feet as a slave,  
barbarian braggart Constantine.  
Then you escape, but you are detained again,  
and you are subjected to justice as you deserve.*

## Poem 26

Capture of Anazarba in Cilicia (NC 25.49-27.1, Ephraem 3923-3924)

Δισσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐρκίων Ἀναβάρζης,  
τῶν ἀποκρήμων ἐγκρατῆς ὄφθεις μόγισ,  
ἐξαλαπάζει τὴν περικλυτον πόλιν·  
ὕμνει τολοιπὸν τὴν θεόσδοτον νίκην,  
ποιητὰ, μύστα τῶν σοφῶν ἐπῶν Κίλιξ.

5

26.3 ἐξαλαπάζει] cf. infra 28.4 | τὴν περικλυτον πόλιν] περικλυτόν τε καὶ κολώνειαν πόλιν Ephraem 3924, cf. in eadem sede C. Stilbis carmen de incendio 2, 762

26 om. C || 26.1 δισσω̄ς Wolf | βασιλ` D, βασιλεῦ F Σ Φ s Wolf | ἐρκέων Wolf || 26.2 ἀποκρήμων Σ s || 26.3 περικλιτον Σ || 26.4 ὕμνεϊ W | τολοιπὸν] τὸ λοιπὸν Σ Φ s Wolf, cf. supra 7.3 | τὴν] τῆς W | νίκην] χάριν s<sup>a.c.</sup> || 26.5 ποιητᾶ F Φ, ποιήτα Wolf

*When the emperor with difficulty is in control  
of the steep double defenses of Anabarza (Anazarba),  
he sacks the famous city.  
So, chant the God-given victory,  
poet, Cilician initiated in the wise verses.*

5

## Poem 27

The emperor in Antioch (NC 27.2-9, Ephraem 3925-3934)

Ἐχρανας, ἄναξ, ἐθνικοῖς σαυτὸν λύθροις,  
καὶ νῦν καθαίρη ταῖς Ὀρροντεῖαις δίναις·  
μικρὰν δ' ἀνακώχευσιν εὐρίσκεις πάλιν,  
ὡς ἀναπνυθεὶς τῷ ζεφύρῳ τῆς Δάφνης.

27.2-4 τὴν καλλίπολιν Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσιών, ἣν δίδεισιν Ὀρόντης καὶ περιβομβεῖ Ζέφυρος ἄνεμος NC 27.3-4 || 27.4 Δάφνης] hoc suburbium Antiochiae haud raro nomen dabat urbi, cf. e.g. M. Italici epistulam ad T. Prodromum 100.29 et alibi

27.1 ἐθνηκοῖς W || 27.2 ὀρροντεῖαις W, ὀροντεῖαις s, Ὀροντεῖαις Miller || 27.3 μικρὰν C W Σ<sup>a.c.</sup> Φ s Wolf Miller | ἀνακώχευσιν W Σ s | πόλιν W || 27.4 ἀναπλυνθεὶς C, ἀναπνωθεὶς Σ s Miller

*You defiled yourself, king, with foreign blood  
and now you purify yourself in the whirlpools of the Orontes.  
You find a short break again  
to recover with the zephyr of Daphne (Antioch).*

## Poem 28

Campaign in Syria (NC 27.10-29.53, Ephraem 3936-3939)

Ἐδὲμ, Βυζαντίς, Εὐφράτην ξένον βρύεις,  
τὸν χρυσοδίνην καὶ χρυσοπλουτοβρύτην·  
ὃς τὰς παρευφράτιδας ἐκρέων ῥύδην  
ἐξαλαπάζει καὶ παρασύρει πόλεις,  
Πιζὰ, Χάλεπ, Νίστριον, Καρφαδὰ, Φέρεπ.

5

28.1-2 Gen. 2.10-14 || 28.3-4 καὶ πρὸς παρευφράτιδας ἄπεισι πόλεις Ephraem 3936 ||  
28.4 ἐξαλαπάζει] cf. supra 26.3 || 28.5 Πεζὰ, Χάλεπ, Νίστριον, Καρφαρᾶ, Φέρεπ  
Ephraem 3939, cf. T. Prodromi carmina historica 11.54, 16.64

28.1 Ἐδὲμ] ἤδη μὲν Wolf | Βυζαντίς] βυζάντις Σ s<sup>p.c.</sup> (βύζαντις s<sup>a.c.</sup>) || 28.2 χρυσοδίνην  
Σ s | χρυσοπλουτοβρύτην] cf. infra 34.6 || 28.1-3 om. C || 28.4 ἐξαλαπάζει καὶ  
παρασύρει] om. C || 28.5 καρφαδᾶ Wolf

*Eden, Byzantium, you produce an extraordinary Euphrates  
of golden whirlpools bursting with wealth of gold,  
which, as it flows profusely, sacks and sweeps away  
the cities next to the Euphrates,*

*Piza (Buza'a), Aleppo, Nistrion, Kafartab, Pherep (Atarib).*

5

## Poem 29

Gifts offered to the emperor in Shayzar (NC 30.90-2, Ephraem 3940-3944)

Περὶς Χριστῷ πρὶν τῷ βροτεργάτῃ λόγῳ

δῶρα κομίζει, λίβανον, χρυσόν, σμύρναν·  
 σοὶ δ' αὖ, βασιλεῦ, Περσικῶν ἄρχοι φύλων  
 χρυσόν φέρουσι καὶ λίθους καὶ μαργάρους·  
 ἐν οἷς φαεινὸς ἦν ξενίζων λυχνίτης·  
 τὴν σταυρικὴν μόρφωσιν ἀτεχνῶς φέρων·  
 ᾧ τεχνικὴ χεὶρ καὶ γραφὴς θεῖω πόθῳ  
 εἰς κάλλος ἐξύφανε γραμμάτων τύπους·  
 οὗ κρεῖττον οὐδὲν, οὐδ' ἴσον τῶν ἐν βίῳ.

5

29.1-2 cf. Mt. 2.11 et T. Prodrumi carmen historicum 9a.7-8, M. Holoboli carmina in prokypsin 14, 18.9-14 || 29.4 καὶ λίθους καὶ μαργάρους/ πολύν τε χρυσόν Ephraem 3941-3942 (cf. 7800 et alibi), cf. M. Italici orationem in Ioannem II 264.12-14, N. Basilacae orationem in eundem 67.14-17 || 29.5-6 σταυρὸν εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενος πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα καὶ ξενίζον τῇ θεᾷ, λυχνίτη λίθῳ κεκολαμμένον NC 30.93-94, καὶ λυχνίτην φέροντα σταυροῦ τὸν τύπον,/ χρῆμά τι πανθαύμαστον, ἔκπληκτον, ξένον Ephraem 3943-3944, cf. I. Cinnami historiam 20.11-13, M. Italici ibidem 264.18-19, N. Basilacae ibidem 68.1-5 || 29.7-9 ἐν ᾧ περ αὐτοφυῶς ἡ τέχνη διύφανε γράμματα εἰς κάλλος φιλόνηκον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόσματος καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀτεχνῶς τρυφήν NC 30.94-1, cf. M. Italici ibidem 264.19-265.3, N. Basilacae ibidem 68.10-14 || 29.9 οὗ κρεῖττον οὐδὲν] cf. infra 35.7

29.1 περσῆς W | Χριστῷ] θεῷ s<sup>im.</sup> | βροτουργάτη Miller, cf. infra 43.3 || 29.3 σοὶ C W Φ s Wolf Miller | ἀρχὴ W | ἄρχοι φύλων] ἀρχιφύλων s | “codd. φυλῶν” perperam Miller || 29.4 λιθοῦς s || 29.6 ἀτιχνῶς W<sup>u.v.</sup> || 29.7 ᾧ s || 29.8 ἐς Miller || 29.9 οὐδ' ἴσον] οὐδ' ἰαῖσσον sic Σ<sup>u.v.</sup>, οὐδιαῖσσον s<sup>a.c.</sup> (αὐδάσας s<sup>im.</sup>), οὐδ' ἴσον Miller

*Persia before brought to Christ, the Word, creator of mortals,*

*gifts, incense, gold and myrrh.*

*Now to you, emperor, the leaders of the Persian tribes (Arabs)*

*carry gold and stones and pearls,*

*among which there was an astonishing shining stone (lychnites),*

5

*truly bearing the shape of the cross,*

*in which an artful hand and a chisel with divine love*

*for the sake of beauty wove engraved letters,*



*better than which there is nothing, nor even equal, among the things in life.*

### Poem 30

Triumph in Antioch (NC 31.16-21, Ephraem nusquam)

Δις ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆ Θεουπόλει πόλει,

καὶ δις νικητῆς εἰσιῶν, κλέος νέμει·

καὶ δις δις οὗτος αὖθι τῆ Κωνσταντίνου,

καὶ μυριάκις μυριοστεφηφόρος·

ὡς τῶν καλῶν κάλλιστος Αὐσόνων ἄναξ,

5

ἐφίσταται θρίαμβον ἀρτύων πάλιν.

30.5 Αὐσόνων ἄναξ in eadem sede Ephraem 7566 et alibi (e.g. N. Calliclis carmen 2.34 et T. Prodromi carmen historicum 25.9) || 30.6 ἐφίσταται in eadem sede Ephraem 3927 et alibi

30 om. C || 30.4 μυριάκοις W, μυριάκης Σ<sup>a.c.</sup> Φ Wolf | μυριοστεφηφόρει D W || 30.5 ὡς] “an ὄς potius?” Miller || 30.6 ἀρτύων] ἀρτύ μου W, ἀρτύον Σ, ἀρτύων s

*Twice the emperor bestows on the city of Theoupolis (Antioch)*

*glory and twice entering as a victor,*

*and two times twice he did the same on Constantinople*

*and innumerable times bearing innumerable crowns.*

*As the best king of the good Romans*

5

*he arrives and prepares again a triumph.*

### Poem 31

Reunion of the emperor with his brother Isaac (NC 32.31-33.60, Ephraem 3950-3965)

Ἄμαχον ὄπλον τὴν φύσιν τοῖς ἐν φύσει

εἰδῶς, βασιλεῦ, ἄφθιτον κράτος φέρεις·

τὴν γὰρ ξύναιμον κάραν καὶ παμφιλτάτην,

ἐπανιοῦσαν ἐκ δρασμοῦ τε καὶ πλάνης,  
ιδῶν χαριστήρια τῷ θεῷ θύεις·  
τερφθεὶς ἀπείρως ἢ νίκαις ταῖς μυρίαις·  
ἢ φύσις ὄντως οἶδε φιλυποστρόφως  
φέρειν ἐπ' αὐτὴν γνησίως καὶ συλλέγειν  
ἀπορραγέντα τὰ μέλη συμφυΐας.

5

31.4-6 οὐ πλεῖον τῷ τῆς νίκης περιόντι ἢ τῇ τοῦ κασιγνήτου ἐπανόδῳ ἡγαλλιᾶτο.  
καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον δέ... θῦον θεῷ χαριστήρια... NC 32.55-33.60, ἐπανιόντα καὶ γὰρ ιδῶν  
ὁ κράτωρ/ Θεῷ χαριστήρια τῶν ὄλων θύει,/ οὐχ ἦττον ἡσθεὶς ἢ νίκαις ταῖς μυρίαις  
Ephraem 3961-3963 (cf. N. Basilacae orationem in Ioannem II 64.4-7) || 31.7-9  
ἰσχυρὸν γάρ τι χρῆμα πόθος συγγενεία διυφαινόμενος, κἂν ἀπορραγείη μικρόν τι  
τῆς συμφυΐας, ταχέως φιλυπόστροφος γίνεται NC 32.50-52

31 om. C || 31.2 βασιλ` D, βασιλεὺς W || 31.4 ἐπανιοῦσαν ἐκ δρασμοῦ τε] ἐπανι(...) W |  
τὲ Φ || 31.5 χαρι(...)ήρια W || 31.6 τερφθεὶς] (...)ερφθεὶς W, τρεφθεὶς Wolf | μυρίοις F  
Σ s || 31.7 φιλυποστρόφως Σ<sup>p.c.</sup> || 31.8 μέλλη Σ | συμφυΐας Wolf || 31.7-9 aliud carmen  
perperam Σ Φ s Wolf (ante vv. 1-6 scripserunt Σ s)

*Knowing that nature is an invincible weapon for the things in nature,*

*emperor, you carry an immortal power.*

*For, when you see the most beloved man of your own kin*

*returning from his flight and wandering,*

*you offer thanksgivings to God,*

5

*immensely pleased more than with your innumerable victories.*

*Nature indeed knows in a reconciling way*

*to bring together and collect*

*the broken pieces of legitimate kinship.*

## Poem 32

Campaign against the Turks (NC 33.67-83, Ephraem 3972-3975)

Ἄναξ, ὁ πραῦς καὶ μέτριος τὸν τρόπον,

βαρὺς δοκεῖς πως τῷ στρατῷ τῶν Αὐσόνων·

πάντως ἀνιστῶν ἀρεϊκοὺς πρὸς τρόπους·

τούτους θυραυλεῖν ἐκβιάζεις ἐντέχνως.

32 στρατῷ βαρὺς ἔδοξεν ὁ πραῦς ἄναξ/ ὡς διανιστῶν ἀρεϊκὰς πρὸς μάχας/ καὶ  
προσβιάζων καρτερεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ephraem 3973-3975 || 32.2 τοῖς στρατευομένοις  
ἀσυγγνώμων ἔδοξε καὶ βαρὺς NC 33.70

32.4 ἐκβιάζειν F C Σ s, ἐκβιάζων Φ Wolf

*King, gentle and moderate in character,*

*you seem somehow severe to the army of the Romans,*

*completely stirring them up for the martial issues,*

*you skilfully force them to camp out in the field.*

### Poem 33

Victory over the Turks (NC 35.19-27, Ephraem 3976-3979)

Ἐπαινετός σου τῆς στρατηγίας τρόπος,

ἄναξ χαριτώνυμε, βουλάρχα κράτορ.

33.2 cf. ἄναξ χαριτώνυμος Ephraem 3935, 8542, supra 13.2 et alibi (e.g.  
inscriptionem in Pantocratoris monasterium BEiÜ 1.213.1, T. Prodromi carmen  
historicum 8.61)

33.1 ἐπαινετός σοῦ F C Σ Φ s || 33.2 βουχάρχα Σ s

*The way of your military command is praiseworthy,*

*king of gracious name, chief, ruler.*

### Poem 34

Heroic deeds of Manuel, fourth son of the emperor (NC 35.28-38, Ephraem nusquam)

Ἄρτιφυῆς ἄκανθα, δημῶδης λόγος,

τὴν καλλιφυᾶ δείκνυσι παραυτικά·

καὶ καρποβριθὲς δένδρον ἀπαλὸς λύγος,  
καὶ κράσπεδον δ' ὕφασμα τῆς παροιμίας·  
ἴδη δ' ὁ προσσχῶν καὶ βασιλικωτάτην  
ψυχὴν ἀριστόχειρα δωρεοβρύτιν,  
ἐν μείρακι μένουσαν ἄνακτος σκύμνω·  
ῥυσίπτολις τοιός γαρ ὑπῆν ἐκ βρέφους  
Κομνηνιάδης Μανουήλ, μέγας ἄναξ.

5

34.1 δημώδης λόγος] in eadem sede alibi e.g. N. Eugeniani de Drosillae et Chariclis amoribus 6.541, 599 || 34.1-2 Μικρόθεν ἢ ἀγαθὴ ἄκανθα φαίνεται: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι M. Apostolii proverbium 11.71 || 34.3 καρποβριθὲς δένδρον] cf. NC 634.74 | ἀπαλὸς λύγος] ὕστερον δὲ τὴν σκηνην εἰσιῶν πρηνὴ ταθέντα διὰ λύγου ἔτυψεν NC 35.36-37 || 34.4 Ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ ὕφασμα δείκνυται: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπὸ μέρους καταλαμβάνόντων τὸ ὄλον M. Apostolii ibidem 6.91 et alibi || 34.7 ἄνακτος σκύμνω] cf. T. Prodromi carmina historica 16.5, 17.213, 19.144, M. Italici orationem in Ioannem II 258.15-16 et alibi || 34.5-7 ad proverbium ἐξ ὄνυχος τὸν λέοντα alludere videtur (cf. M. Apostolii ibidem 7.57, NC 435.39-42, M. Italici ibidem, N. Basilacae orationem in I. Axouch 87.13-14, C. Manassis breviarium chronicum 3407-3408 et alibi) || 34.8-9 cf. NC 45.37-46.40 et alibi (e.g. I. Cinnami historiam 21.16-22.2, 27.20-22, M. Italici orationem in Manuelem I 286.10-287.22)

34 om. C || 34.1 ἀρτιφαῆς Σ s | δημόδης W, δομώδης Σ s || 34.2 τὴν] τῆ F Σ Φ Wolf, τῆ s | καλλιφυᾶ s | παραυτικά] W<sup>p.c.</sup>, παρ' αὐτικά Φ || 34.3 καρποβριθὲς W Φ || 34.4 δ' ὕφασμα] δύφασμα Σ, δ' ὕφασμα s | παροιμοίας W || 34.5 ἴδη] ἴδη F Φ, ἴδοι Wolf, ἦδη D W Σ s | ὁ] partim erasum in F | προσσχῶν] προσχῶν F<sup>a.c.</sup> (σ F<sup>s.l.</sup>) D W Σ Φ s Wolf | βασιλικωτάτως Σ, βασιλικωτάτ s<sup>p.c.</sup> (ως ut ην add. s<sup>i.m.</sup>) || 34.6 δωρεοβρύτιν W Σ Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> s (cf. supra 28.2) || 34.7 μύρακι Φ<sup>u.v.</sup> Wolf || 34.8 τοιός γαρ] τοῖος γὰρ D Wolf, ποῖος γὰρ W<sup>u.v.</sup>, τοιός γὰρ s | ὑπῆν] εἰπῆν F, εἰπεῖν Σ s || 34.9 κομνηνιάδης Φ<sup>a.c.</sup>

*The newborn thorn, a popular saying,  
shows immediately its noble nature,  
and the soft twig shows a fruitful tree,  
and the edge shows the cloth according to the proverb.  
Whoever pays attention shall also see the most royal  
soul, brave and bursting with gifts*

5

*living in the youngster, cub of the king.*

*For such a saviour of the city was he since he was a whelp,*

*Manuel the Komnenian, great king.*

## Poem 35

Defection of John, son of Isaac, to the Turks (NC 35.39-36.71, Ephraem 3984-4001)

Οὐδὲν λύπης κάκιον ὡς φθισιμβρότου,

ἦττων περ ἧς δέδεικτο καὶ Ἰωάννης,

ἦρως ἀνὴρ, ἄντικρυς ῥηξήνωρ ἼΑρης,

ὄπλιτοπάλας μαχεσίκλονος μόνος·

λιπῶν περιφάνειαν οἰκείου γένους,

5

ἀνακτορικὸν καὶ χριστώνυμον σέβας·

οὐ χεῖρον οὐδὲν, ὧ τολμῆς, ὧ τῆς λύπης·

τάλας, ὃς ἐξ ἧς καὶ θεοῦ διεζύγη.

35.1 φθισιμβρότου in eadem sede Ephraem 3492, 5033 || 35.2 ἦττων] cf. infra 36.1 || 35.3 ἄντικρυς ῥηξήνωρ ἼΑρης] cf. Ephraem 4089, 7759, Homeri Il. 7.228 et alibi || 35.4 ὄπλιτοπάλας μαχεσίκλονος] cf. ἀνὴρ δ' οὗτος ὄπλιτοπάλας καὶ πολεμόκλονος NC 32.35-36 et supra 24.5 || 35.5 cf. T. Prodromi carmen historicum 19.170 | οἰκεῖον γένος in eadem sede Ephraem 3079 || 35.6 καὶ χριστώνυμον σέβας in eadem sede Ephraem 3999 || 35.7 οὐ χεῖρον οὐδὲν] cf. supra 29.9 || 35.8 τάλας... διεζύγη] cf. καὶ συνεζύγη τάλας Ephraem 4000

35.3 ῥηξύνων W || 35.4 μαχεσίκλονος] πολεμόκλονος Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> (μαχεσί Φ<sup>s.l.</sup>) Wolf || 35.5 λειπῶν W | οἰκείου γένους] οἰκείους γένος D W || 35.6 ἀνακτορικὸν] ἀνακτορικὸς Σ s || 35.7 οὐ] ου (accentus et spiritus erasi) F, om. C, οὐ Σ s || 35.8 ἐξ ἧς] ἐξῆς s Wolf

*Nothing is worse than the man-destroying grief,*

*which not even John proved he could resist,*

*truly a hero, an Ares, breaker of the ranks of men,*

*heavy-armoured, who raises alone the din of battle.*

*He left behind the fame of his family lineage*

5

*and the royal worship that bears the name of Christ.*

*Worse than this there is nothing! Oh, recklessness! Oh, grief!*

*Wretched he who by this was even separated from God!*

## Poem 36

Return to Constantinople in winter, campaign in Cilicia and Syria and capture of cities in lake Pousgouse (NC 37.72-38.12, Ephraem 4002-4011)

Ἦττων, βασιλεῦ, ὁψὲ καὶ ψύχους γίνῃ·

ὃς διαπαντὸς αἰθριάζειν ἠγάπας·

σχάζεις δὲ ταχὺ τὴν Βύζαντος βαλβίδα·

καὶ πτηνὸς ὄρνις αἰετὸς καθὰ μέγας,

τὰς ἀρετὰς πτέρυγας ἀυχῶν καὶ βλέπων

5

ἀσκαρδαμύκτως τὸν νοητὸν φωσφόρον,

φθάνεις διαπτὰς τὴν Σύρων καὶ Κιλικῶν·

κάκεῖσε καλῶς τὴν καλιὰν πηγνύεις,

ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, τὰς Πουσογούσιας πόλεις,

ἄς θριγγὸς ὑγρὸς καὶ λιμνασμὸς ζωννύει,

10

ἐπανασώσας τοῖς ὄροις τῶν Αὐσόνων.

36.1 Ἦττων] cf. supra 35.2 || 36.1-2 ὁ δὲ χειμῶν ἤδη παρεισιῶν τοῖς αἰθριάζουσιν ἐδυσκόλαινε... ἐπάνεισιν εἰς Βυζάντιον, τῷ ψυχρινῷ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπενδούς NC 37.75-78, cf. τὸ αἰθριάζειν αἰεῖ μοι περιεσπούδαστο NC 43.49, T. Prodrōmi carmina historica 16.32, 118, 19.179-180 || 36.3 σχάζεις... βαλβίδα] Lycophron 13 || 36.4 πτηνὸς ὄρνις in eadem sede T. Prodrōmi de Rhodanthes et Dosiclis amoribus 4.141, 275 et alibi || 36.4-7 cf. διαπτέσθαι δὲ καὶ ὡς οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν ὀρνίθων NC 42.25, Ephraem 2895-2896, 4110-4111, supra 12.1-2 et alibi (e.g. M. Italici epistulam ad I. Axouch 224.9, M. Holoboli orationem in Michaelem VIII 93.33-34) || 36.6 τὸν νοητὸν φωσφόρον] cf. in eadem sede M. Pselli carmen 13.20 et alibi (e.g. M. Holoboli carmen in prokypsin 9.14, M. Philae carmen 2.210.3) || 36.9 ὁδοῦ πάρεργον] cf. Euripidis El. 509, NC 29.50-51, Ephraem 4198 et alibi || 36.10 τῷ ὑγρῷ... ζωστῆρι τῆς λίμνης NC 37.95

36 om. C || 36.2 διαπαντὸς] διὰ παντὸς W Wolf, διαπαντὰ Σ, διὰ παντὰ s || 36.4 ὄρνης Σ | ἀετὸς W || 36.5 τᾶς Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> || 36.7 διαπτ'(...) F, διαπτοῦς Σ s || 36.8 κακεῖσε F s || 36.9 τὰς] τοὺς Σ s<sup>a.c.</sup> (τὰς s<sup>i.m.</sup>) || 36.10 θριγγὸς] s<sup>a.c.</sup> (ῥυνδακὸς τε s<sup>i.m.</sup>) | ὑγρὸς] ὑγ(...) F, om. Σ s, ὑγρὸν Φ Wolf | λιμνασμὸς] λιμνασμὸς F, λιμνασμὸν Σ s<sup>a.c.</sup> (μα s<sup>i.m.</sup>) | ζωνύει Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> (ν Φ<sup>s.l.</sup>)

*Emperor, in the end you are not even able to resist the cold,  
you, who loved to camp in the open air.*

*You quickly release the start rope from the city of Byzas,  
and as a big winged eagle bird*

*boasting your virtues as wings and watching*

5

*the intelligible light-bearer without blinking*

*you arrive flying to the regions of Syrians and Cilicians,*

*and there you establish well the nest,*

*as a detour on your way, restoring the cities of Pousgouse,*

*which a lake surrounds and a humid wall,*

10

*to the boundaries of the Romans.*

## Poem 37

Death of the first two sons of the emperor and premonition of the emperor's death in a hunting accident (NC 38.13-23, Ephraem nusquam)

Ἄρματηλάτα βασιλεῦ φαεσφόρε,

ἤδη δρόμος σὸς πρὸς δύσιν ἀποβλέπει·

τοῦ γὰρ τετρώρου τὴν καλὴν ξυνωρίδα,

σῶν πρωτογεννῶν πορφυρανθῶν υἱέων,

ἄδου θερίστρα τοῦ κράτους παρηόρου

5

ἔκοψεν ἀπήγαγε πρὸς σκότου πύλας·

καὶ θανάτου κύλινδρος ἄφυκτος πάλιν,

ὡς ἐντρόχιον τῷ τροχηλεύματί σου,

πευκεδανὸν ἄτρακτον ἐκ σῆς φαρέτρας

προῆκεν ἰόχριστον ὡς βιοφθόρον·

10

καὶ κονδύλους σοῦς τὸ φθορᾶς ξέει ξίφος·

ἀρχῆς δι' ὧν ἠνία καλῶς ἰθύνεις·

τὸν ἀρχικὸν μύωπα δι' ὧν κατέχεις,

τὸν κοκκοβαφῆ σὺ κάλαμον αὐτάναξ·

καὶ βασιλικῶς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις νέμεις

15

ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ δωρεὰς τὰς ἀφθόνους·

ὄντως ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐν σοὶ τριστάται,

θάνατος, ἄδης καὶ φθορὰ, κακὸν τρίτον·

καὶ σοῦ κατεκράτησαν, αἶ αἶ ζημίας.

37.1-2 cf. T. Prodromi carmina historica 4.121-130, 5.11-20, 19.41-42, M. Holoboli carmen in prokypsin 1.1-4 et alibi || 37.2 δύσιν] etiam mortem significat, cf. T. Prodromi ibidem 12.24-30, 25.103-104, M. Italicum orationem in Manuelem I 292.5-6, Ps. T. Prodromi versus sepulcrales in A. Contostephanum 188 et alibi || 37.3 τετρώρου] cf. supra 17.1 || 37.5 ἄδου θερίστρα] cf. Ps. T. Prodromi ibidem 26, 70-74, 171-172, 259-260, 337 | τοῦ κράτους παρηόρου] cf. NC 205.30-31 et alibi || 37.6 σκότου πύλας in eadem sede Euripidis Hec. 1 || 37.7-8 cf. e.g. T. Prodromi ibidem 41.10, 45.365, C. Manassis breviarium chronicum 2837 et Ps. C. Manassis carmen morale 592-593 || 37.9-11 cf. NC 40.64-71, φαρέτρας,/ ἰοτρόφα βέλεμα θηρῶν εἰς φόνον/ ἔνδον φερούσης καὶ χυθέντων ἀτράκτων/ εἷς τῶνδε φεῦ ἔπληξε κράτορος χέρα Ephraem 4035-4038 || 37.12-16 cf. M. Italicum ibidem 290.21-291.2 || 37.14 αὐτάναξ in eadem sede Ephraem 4087 et alibi || 37.16 δωρεὰς τὰς ἀφθόνους] in eadem sede Ephraem 2940, 6916 et alibi (e.g. C. Mitylenaei carmen 77.116) || 37.17 τριστάται] cf. Exod. 14.7 et alibi

37 om. D C W || 37.4 σῶν] τῶν Miller | πρωτογενῶν Φ Wolf || 37.5 θερίστρα Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> | τοῦ κράτους παρηόρου] σοῦ κράτους παρηόρων (vel παρηόρον in apparatu) correxit Miller || 37.6 ἀπήγαγεν Σ s Miller<sup>a.c.</sup> | σκότους Σ s Miller || 37.9 πευκεδανὸν] πακεδανὸν Σ s (signum exhibet s<sup>sl.</sup> sed conjectura desideratur s<sup>i.m.</sup>), Τηκεδανὸν (πακεδανὸν in apparatu) Miller, cf. infra 42.3 | ἐκ] (...) (spiritus paene legitur) F, καὶ Σ s || 37.12 δι' ὧν ἠνία] macula partim erasum in F, δι' ὧ νηνία Σ s<sup>a.c.</sup> (δι' ὧν ἠνία s<sup>i.m.</sup>), δι' ὧν ἠνία Φ Wolf, [δι'] ὧν ἠνία (f. ἠνία) Miller | ἠθύνεις Wolf || 37.17 ὄντως] Οὔτως Miller || 37.19 σοῦ F, σου Wolf | κερρατήκασιν Miller | ζημιαί Miller

*Emperor, charioteer, bearer of light,*



*your course now turns to the West.*

*For an excellent couple of the quadriga  
of your first-begotten and purple-born sons,  
the sickle of hell, the trace-horse of power,  
cut and led to the doors of darkness.*

5

*And the inevitable cylinder of death again,  
as a brake for your chariot,  
shot the sharp arrow from your quiver*

*anointed with poison destructive of life.*

10

*And the arrowhead of destruction scrapes your knuckles,  
with which you direct well the bridles of government,  
with which you hold the goad of government  
and the red-dyed pen as the king you are,  
and you royally bestow on your subjects  
abundant gifts at all times.*

15

*Against you truly marched the commanders  
death, hell and destruction, three times evil,  
and overcame you, oh, oh, such a loss!*

### **Poem 38**

Hunting bravery of the emperor (NC 40.61-64, Ephraem 4027-4031)

*Ἡρακλες, ὕθλος τὰ κατορθώματά σου,  
καὶ μῦθος ἀπλῶς καὶ τερατώδης λόγος·  
τίς γὰρ ποταμῶν, τίς δε Κερβέρου μάχη;  
τίς ἐκ νέκυος τρῶσις ἦν πάθες τάλας;  
ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς σὺς ἀγρίου σθένος*

5

χαυλιόδοντος ούρεσιτρόφου τέμνει,  
μετὰ μυρίους ἀέθλους μετὰ νίκας·  
ἕως ἄς εἶδε καὶ δυσμῆ, βορρᾶς, νότος.

38.1 τὰ κατορθώματά σου] in eadem sede T. Prodrumi carmen historicum 11.164 et alibi || 38.3 ποταμῶν] ad Alpheum et Peneum flumina alludere videtur (cf. e.g. Apollodori bibliothecam 2.89) || 38.4 νέκυος τρῶσις] ad vulnus Nessi centauri alludere videtur (cf. e.g. Apollodori ibidem 2.151-152, 157-158 et N. Basilacae progymnasma 44) || 38.1-4 cf. N. Basilacae incertum encomii fragmentum 116.13-17 || 38.5-6 συδὸς... ούρεσιτρόφου] cf. T. Prodrumi carmen historicum 30.197 || 38.8 cf. supra 17.3, NC 42.47, T. Prodrumi ibidem 9b.15, 10c.11-12 et alibi

38 om. C || 38.1 Ἡρακλες] signum nominis videtur accentus gravis in F, ἦρακλῆς Σ, ἦρακλεὺς Φ Wolf || 38.2 μύθος F Σ Φ Wolf || 38.3 γὰρ Σ | ποταμῶν] ποταμὸς Σ<sup>a.c.</sup> (ὦν Σ<sup>s.l.</sup>) s<sup>a.c.</sup> (μοῦ s<sup>i.m.</sup>), ποταμοῦ Miller | τίς<sup>2</sup>] ἦ Φ Wolf | δε] τίς Φ Wolf, δὲ Miller || 38.4 νέκυος τρῶσις] [νεκρῶν λύτρωσις] Miller | πάθεις] πάθι Σ<sup>u.v.</sup>, πάθε Φ Wolf, πάθη s Miller || 38.5 συδὸς] θηρὸς Φ<sup>a.c.</sup> (συδὸς Φ<sup>s.l.</sup>) Wolf || 38.6 ούρεσιτρόφου Φ Wolf || 38.7 ἀέθλους] (...)έθλους F, ἔθλους Σ s<sup>a.c.</sup> (ἄθ s<sup>i.m.</sup>), δ' ἄθλους, [καὶ] Miller | μετὰ<sup>2</sup>] τὰς add. s<sup>i.m.</sup> || 38.8 ἕως ἄς] ἕωας s<sup>i.m.</sup> | δυσμῆ s

*Heracles, your deeds are nonsense*

*and simply a myth and a prodigious tale.*

*For, what is the battle with the rivers, what is the one with Cerberus?*

*What is the wound from the corpse from which you wretched suffered?*

*For the emperor cuts the strength of the wild boar*

5

*of outstanding tusks, bred in the mountains,*

*after countless labours, after victories,*

*which the East saw and the West, the North and the South.*

## Poem 39

Incurable wound in the emperor's hand (NC 40.71-41.7, Ephraem 4039-4042)

Τὸ τραῦμα βραχὺ δακτύλου δέρμα ξέσαν,

ὁ δ' ὄγκος οὕτω τῆς χερὸς μέτρου πέρα,

βαρύταται δ' αὖ αἰ περιωδυνίαι·

ὡς ἀποκαμεῖν καὶ Μαχαόνων ἄκος·

καὶ σοι, βασιλεῦ, τέρμα μηνύει βίου·

5

φρόντισον οὐκοῦν τοῦ κράτους διαδόχου.

39.1-4 τὸ ξέσμα τοῦ δέρματος... περιωδυνίαις... τὸν τῆς χειρὸς ὄγκον... οἱ Ἀσκληπιάδαι NC 40.74-41.86 || 39.6 περὶ τοῦ διαδόχου τῆς βασιλείας ἐγνώκει σκέπτεσθαι NC 41.6-7

39 om. C || 39.1 τραῦμ(...) βραχὺ δακτύλ(...) δέσμ(...) W || 39.2 οὔτ(...) τ(...) χερὸς μέτρου πέρ(...) W || 39.4 ἀποκάμνειν Miller || 39.5 καὶ σοι] καὶ σοι s

*The wound that scraped the skin of the finger was small,*

*but the inflammation of the hand was so beyond measure*

*and the excessive pains were so deep*

*as to exhaust the remedies of the Machaones (doctors).*

*And this reveals the end of your life to you, emperor:*

5

*now think about the heir of the power.*

## Poem 40

Prophecies on the death of the emperor (NC 41.7-16, Ephraem nusquam)

Κιβωτὸς ὧδε κατακλυσμὸς ὑδάτων·

κόρακες ἄλλοι Νῶε καὶ πανσπερμία·

καὶ ῥῆμα παλαίφατον εἰς πέρας τρέχει·

σκηνὴ κιβωτὸς τῶν ἀνακτόρων νέα·

ῥαγδαιοτάτων ἀπλετάτων ὑδάτων,

5

χύσις, ὕσις, σύρροια, τῆς σκηνῆς κλύσις·

ἀρχηγέτης δὲ Νῶε, τῶν ἀστῶν ἄναξ·

βουνῶν, κοράκων, τῶν παρωνυμουμένων,

μέσον πεσῶν, ἔστησε τοὺς μακροὺς δρόμους·

ἢ δ' αὖ ἀπείρου στρατιᾶς πανσπερμία

10

τὸν ἀνδριάντα τῆς στρατηγίας νέκυν

πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἀνάγει πόλιν.

40.1-2 Gen. 6.11-8.7 || 40.3 τὸ παλαίφατον λόγιον NC 41.13 | εἰς πέρας τρέχει in eadem sede M. Philae carmen 2.1.810 || 40.5 ἕτοῦ... ῥαγδαίου NC 41.7 || 40.7 ἀστῶν ὡς ἄναξ Ephraem 1752 || 40.8 ὦ πῶς γενήσῃ βρῶμα δεινῶν κοράκων NC 41.12-13 (versus oraculi Ps. Leonis VI, PG 107.1129B), cf. NC 40.61-63 || 40.9 πεσῶν] τόποις δ' ἐν ὑγροῖς καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα πέσης NC 41.10-11 (versus oraculi Ps. Leonis VI, PG 107.1132B) | cf. μακρῶ δρόμῳ in eadem sede Ephraem 3692 || 40.12 πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἀχθεῖσα πόλιν Ephraem 931 et alibi

40 om. C || 40.1 ὦδε Φ, ῶδε Wolf, cf. supra 20.1 || 40.3 παλαίμφατον W || 40.5 ῥαγδαιωτάτων Φ || 40.6 τῆς σκηνῆς κλύσις] om. Σ s (versum interpunxit s) || 40.7 ἀρχηγέτις Σ

*Here is the ark, the flood of waters,*

*other crows, Noah and the variety of species.*

*And the old prophecy is being fulfilled:*

*the royal camp is the new ark;*

*the stream of most furious, immeasurable waters,*

5

*the rain, the accumulation of water is the inundation of the camp;*

*and the leader Noah is the king of citizens,*

*who, falling in the middle of the mountains,*

*the so-called "crows", stopped a long course;*

*and in turn the variety of the immense army*

10

*brings the deceased, a model of military command,*

*back to the imperial city.*

## Poem 41

Defeat of emperor Manuel I Komnenos against the Turks in Myriokephalon (NC 182.43-183.65, Ephraem 4480-4481)

Ἄναξ Μανουήλ, τί παθῶν οὕτω τρέπη;

σὺ γὰρ βασιλεύτατος εἶναι τῶν ὄλων  
εὕχη κρατούντων καὶ φοβῆ Περσοσκύθας;  
μισεῖ θεός γαρ ὑπερηφάνους φρένας,  
καὶ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ἄφθονον χάριν νέμει.

5

41.3 Περσοσκύθας] cf. Theodori Lascaris encomium in patrem Ioannem III 28.107 ||  
41.4-5 Prov. 3.34, cf. NC 357.59, Θεὸς δ' ἐπευδόκησε τούτοις οὐδὲλως/ μισεῖ γὰρ  
ὄντως ὑπερηφάνους φύσεις Ephraem 7723-7724

41.1 Ἄναξ Μανουήλ, τί παθῶν] (...)ανουήλ (...) W | τρέπη] (...) W, πρέπη Σ s || 41.2  
βασιλεύτατος εἶναι τῶν] (...)τατος (...)ν W | βασιλεύτερος (ut τατος) s || 41.3 εὕχη]  
(...) W | φοβῆ] (...) W || 41.4 μισεῖ] (...)εἰ W | θεός γαρ] θεὸς γὰρ W Σ Φ s Wolf, γὰρ θεὸς  
C | ὑπερη(...)ους W || 41.5 τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ἄφθονον] (...)απεινοῖς ἄ(...)νον W

*Emperor Manuel, what happened that you turn this way?*

*You boast you are the greatest king*

*among all those who reign and you fear the Perso-Scythians (Turks)?*

*Indeed, God hates the arrogant hearts*

*and grants the humble ones abundant grace.*

5

## Poem 42

Wounds and distress of Manuel (NC 183.66-71, Ephraem 4482-4484)

Μυζῶσιν, ἄναξ, ὡς βδέλαι σοῦ τὰ βέλη·  
καὶ λειποδρανεῖς ἐξ ἀνηκέστου πάθους,  
τὴν πευκεδανὴν ἐν ψυχῇ βαλῶν λύπην.

42 om. Σ s || 42.1 μειζῶσιν C, (...)υζῶσιν W | ὡς βδέλαι] (...)δέλαι W || 42.2 καὶ  
λειποδρανεῖς ἐξ ἀνηκέστου] (...)ιποδραν(...)ς ἐξ (...)κέστου W || 42.3 τὴν πευκεδανὴν  
ἐν] (...)κεδανὴν (...) W | ψυχῇ] ψυχὴ D, (...)χὴ W | πευκεδανὴν] πευκεδάνην C, cf.  
supra 37.9 | βάλλων C

*King, the arrows suck your blood as leeches,*

*and you lose your strength from an incurable suffering*

*as you throw a piercing grief in your heart.*

## Poem 43

Evil deeds of emperor Andronikos I Komnenos (NC 323.60-74, Ephraem 5258-5265)

Ἄν εὖρεν Ἀνδρόνικος ὧν λύσιν δράσοι,  
πάντως ἂν εὖροι καὶ Σατὰν κακῶν λύσιν·  
ὃν ὁ βροτουργὸς εἶπεν ἀνθρωποκτόνον.

43.1-2 cf. καὶ λύσιν δοξάζοντας τῶν κακῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνάλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος NC 338.2-3, λύσιν εὐρεῖν πταισμάτων Ephraem 5883 et alibi (e.g. 1271, 1289-1290) || 43.3 βροτουργὸς] cf. Ephraem 5369 et supra 29.1 || 43.2-3 Io. 8.44, cf. NC 337.55-56, μᾶλλον δὲ Σατὰν ἄλλος ἀνθρωποκτόνος Ephraem 5349

43 om. D W Σ s || 43.2 σατᾶν Φ Wolf || 43.3 ἀνθρωποκτόνον] ἄ(...)κτ(...) F

*Had Andronikos found absolution from the things he did,  
even Satan would surely find absolution from his wicked deeds,  
whom the creator of mortals called the murderer of men.*

## Poem 44

Andronikos' cruelty (NC 323.75-324.95, Ephraem 5266-5269)

Ἄσυμπαθῆς, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ φθόνου γέμων·  
τί γὰρ βλαβήση πρὸς χάριν τὸν οἰκέτην  
σώζειν θεοῦ θέλοντος ἐξ εὐσπλαγχνίας;

44.3 ἐξ εὐσπλαγχνίας] in eadem sede M. Philae carmen 2.174.2 et alibi

44 om. D W Σ s || 44.3 εὐσπλαγχνίας post rasuram F<sup>u.v.</sup>

*Man, you are pitiless and full of envy.  
For how would you be harmed if God graciously  
wants to save a servant out of his mercy?*

## Poem 45

Restoration of the manuscript on behalf of the bishop of Ainos

Χρόνω λυθεισαν τήν παροῦσαν πυκτίδα,  
φθοράν τε παθεῖν κινδυνεύουσαν φύλλων,  
ὡς μηκέτ' εἶναι μὴ δὲ κεκληῖσθαι βίβλον·  
τῇ συνδετικῇ τεχνίτου χειρουργία,  
τέχνης τε λοιπῆς ποικίλη τεχνουργία, 5  
ὁ ποιμενάρχης Αἰνιτῶν συνδεῖ πάλιν  
καὶ τήν πρὶν εὐπρέπειαν αὐτῇ παρέχει·  
ὡς ἀναγινώσκοιτο πᾶσι ῥαδίως.

45.1 cf. χρόνω παλαιωθέντα in eadem sede Ephraem 5340 | τήν παροῦσαν πυκτίδα in eadem sede haud raro in librariorum subscriptionis (cf. DBBE, e.g. <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/16932>) || 45.5 τέχνης τε λοιπῆς] cf. πεζῆς τε λοιπῆς in eadem sede Ephraem 1722 (cf. 7184, 9153 et alibi) | πολυτελεῖς τε ποικίλους τέχνη Ephraem 5344 (cf. 3893) || 45.6 ποιμενάρχης] Ephraem et Ephraem (B) passim (e.g. 9708)

45 tantum in fine codicis F || 45.2 φύλλων van Dieten (F), φίλ cod.

*The present codex damaged by time  
and in danger of suffering the destruction of its folios  
so that it would no longer be a book nor be called so,  
with a craftsman's binding art  
and the manifold handicraft of the rest of the crafts, 5  
the chief shepherd of Ainos binds it again  
and provides it with the former beauty  
so as to be read easily by everyone.*

## Appendix metrica

In poems 1-44 (200 verses), the rules of prosody are generally observed as regards graphically distinguished long and short syllables ( $\epsilon/\eta$ ,  $o/\omega$  and diphthongs), with a free use of the *dichrona* ( $\alpha$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ ).<sup>400</sup> The sequence of two or more consonants (including  $\psi$ ,  $\xi$  and  $\zeta$ ) normally lengthens the previous syllable, but several sorts of correptions are found.<sup>401</sup> As for the acoustic metrics of rhythm, all verses are stressed in the 11th syllable and, with only one exception, all have 12 syllables.<sup>402</sup> All verses have also an internal pause or caesura either after the 5th or the 7th syllable. The table below shows the distribution of the caesura and where the stress falls before them.<sup>403</sup> The last row shows the percentages regarding the subsets of caesura after the 5th syllable (151 verses) and after the 7th (49 verses). The rest of the percentages are over the total number of verses (200).

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<sup>400</sup> Only exceptionally, visibly long or short vowels are measured the opposite: e.g. 4.1  $E\ddot{\upsilon}\gamma\bar{\epsilon}$ ; 11.1  $\Sigma\omega\zeta\acute{o}\pi\delta\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ; 20.7  $\theta\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\mu\eta\tau\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ; 20.10  $\sigma\kappa\eta\pi\tau\rho\delta\acute{o}\nu$ ; 24.1  $\text{Ἄρμε}\nu\delta\acute{o}\kappa\iota\lambda\iota\zeta$ ; 24.4  $E\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; 30.1  $\delta$ ; 34.9  $\text{Μαν}\omega\sigma\eta\lambda$ ; 36.9  $\text{Πο}\upsilon\sigma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ; 37.1  $\text{Ἄρμα}\tau\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ ; 37.9  $\text{πεν}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\delta\acute{o}\nu$ . Another graphic way to distinguish short and long vowels is through accents, but the use in our epigrams is not consistent (see above). For example, the circumflex accent is changed in 36.3  $\text{βαλβ}\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$  but maintained in 25.2  $\text{Κων}\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (see 29.9  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\nu$ ).

<sup>401</sup> E.g. 8.3  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\chi\acute{\nu}\omega\varsigma$ ; 11.2  $\text{Κ}\delta\mu\eta\nu\eta\nu\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\text{Ἰ}\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\nu$ ; 14.1  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\delta\rho\rho\acute{\omega}\xi$ ; 17.1  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omega\nu$ ; 19.3  $\tau\epsilon$   $\text{Φρα}\gamma\gamma\omicron\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ ; 20.3  $\text{π}\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omega\nu$ ; 20.5  $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\rho\nu$ ; 20.9  $\text{συσ}\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\delta\acute{\iota}$   $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota$ ; 22.2  $\text{Γ}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\rho\nu$ ; 25.2  $\text{κομ}\pi\delta\rho\rho\eta\mu\omega\nu$ ; 26.1  $\text{Ἀνα}\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\zeta\eta\varsigma$ ; 27.1  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\iota\varsigma$ ; 27.2  $\text{Ὅρρον}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ; 27.4  $\text{Δ}\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\eta\varsigma$ ; 28.1  $\text{Β}\ddot{\upsilon}\zeta\alpha\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$ ; 28.5  $\text{Ν}\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\rho\iota\delta\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\text{Καρ}\phi\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}$ ; 29.1  $\text{Χρ}\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$ ; 29.2  $\text{σ}\mu\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\nu\alpha\nu$ ; 29.8  $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}$   $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ ; 31.4  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ ; 32.4  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\nu\omega\varsigma$ ; 34.3  $\text{καρ}\pi\delta\beta\rho\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ ; 34.5  $\delta$   $\text{προ}\sigma\sigma\chi\acute{\omega}\nu$ ; 34.7  $\text{σκ}\ddot{\upsilon}\mu\nu\omega$ ; 35.2  $\text{Ἰ}\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\eta\varsigma$ ; 35.3  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\varsigma$   $\rho\eta\zeta\eta\eta\nu\omega\rho$ ; 36.3  $\text{Β}\ddot{\upsilon}\zeta\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ; 35.6  $\text{χρ}\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$ ; 35.7  $\tau\delta\lambda\mu\eta\varsigma$ ; 36.10  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\nu\alpha\sigma\mu\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; 37.3  $\text{τ}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\upsilon$ ; 37.6  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}$   $\pi\rho\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; 37.9  $\text{φαρ}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$ ; 38.6  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\epsilon\iota$ ; 38.7  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\theta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ; 38.8  $\delta\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\mu\eta$ ; 39.1  $\text{τρα}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}$   $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}$ ; 40.1  $\text{κατ}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\upsilon\sigma\mu\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$  (see 45.2). For the phenomenon of (de)geminatio of consonants, see above. For  $\zeta$ , technically not a double consonant anymore, see 35.8  $\text{δι}\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\eta$ . For  $\xi$ , the categorical statement of Lampsidis (1971: 82; 1990 LIV), that the Attic  $\xi$  does not lengthen the syllable, is not entirely true. Besides verses 1457 and 5044 of the chronicle, see Hilberg (1888: 89), note e.g. 20.11:  $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  is allowed since the previous syllable is already long, but it is avoided in  $\text{συγκλ}\acute{\iota}\tau\omega$  since  $\tau\epsilon$  needs to be short.

<sup>402</sup> The exception is 12.3, which has 13 syllables (see above). The first *colon* is correct (5 syllables, stress on the 4th). The problem is in the second *colon*,  $\text{Ἰ}\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$  (note that the stress in the second last syllable is however observed). It has 8 syllables, unless we read a synizesis of the first two vowels, but this still presents prosodic problems ( $\text{Ἰ}\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ). Haplology solves all the problems in the chronicle 3818 ( $\text{Ἰ}\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ). It should be noted that in Kinnaamos, ed. Meineke (1836: 7.12),  $\text{Ἰ}\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\nu$  is an error: the manuscript (Vat. gr. 163) reads  $\text{Ἰ}\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\nu$ .

<sup>403</sup> Among the ambiguous cases, I have counted 21.1 as 5 + 7; 21.2 as 5 + 7; 31.3 as 7 + 5; 31.7 as 5 + 7. Note that stress is totally avoided in the 7th syllable (I have counted 23.2 as 5 + 7).



Table 2 *Appendix metrica* (Part 2)

Caesura after the 5th syllable			Caesura after the 7th syllable	
151 verses (75.5 %)			49 verses (24.5 %)	
Stress on the 3rd	Stress on the 4th	Stress on the 5th	Stress on the 5th	Stress on the 6th
7 verses (3.5%)	71 verses (35.5%)	73 verses (36.5%)	43 verses (21.5%)	6 verses (3%)
4.64%	47.02%	48.34%	87.76%	12.24%

## *Index nominum*

- Ἄδανα 23.2  
Αἰνίτης 45.6  
Ἀλέξιος (Κομνηνιάδης) 3.1  
Ἀνάβαρζα 26.1  
Ἀνδρόνικος 43.1  
Ἄξουχ 7.1, 8.1  
Ἄρης 35.3  
Ἄρμενοκίλιξ 24.1  
Αὐσονοκράτης 11.1  
Αὔσονες 30.5, 32.2, 36.11  
Βακᾶ 23.2  
Βρανίτζοβα 18  
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Βύζας 36.3  
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Ἑλλην 21.2, 22.2  
Εὐστράτιος (Μακεδῶν) 24.4  
Εὐφράτης 28.1  
Ἡρακλῆς 38.1  
Θεοῦπολις 30.1  
Ἴερακοκορυφίτης 12.3  
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Σατάν 43.2  
Σκύθαι 15.1, 16.2  
Σκυθικός 13.1  
Σύροι 36.7  
Σωζόπολις 11.1

Τανισμάνιος 21.1  
Ταρσός 23.2  
Τριβαλλοί 16.2  
Φέρεπ 28.5  
Φραγγοχώριον 19.3  
Χάλεπ 28.5  
Χράσμος 19.3  
Χριστός 8.3, 29.1  
Χωνειάτης 1.1

### *Index verborum notabiliorum*<sup>404</sup>

ἀνακτορικός 35.6

ἀνακτορικῶς 3.2

ἀνακώχευσις 27.3

\*ἀναπνύω 27.4 (cf. *LSJ* s. v. ἄμπνυτο; *Ps. Zonaras' lexicon* s. v. Ἰμπαυμα)<sup>405</sup>

\*ἀπλέτατος 40.5 (cf. ἄπλετος)

ἀριστόχειρ 34.6

αὐτάναξ 37.14

\*βδέλα 42.1 (cf. βδέλλα)

\*βουλάρχης 33.2 (cf. e.g. κρατάρχης)

\*βροτεργάτης 29.1 (cf. *LBG* s. v. βροτουργάτης)

βροτουργός 43.3

\*δωρεοβρύτις 34.6 (cf. e.g. μαννοβρύτις)

ἐθνικός 27.1

ἐντρόχιον 37.8

<sup>404</sup> An asterisk (\*) precedes the words not recorded in du Cange (1688), Stephanus (1831-1865), Sophocles (1900), Dimitrakos (1936-1950), Lampe, *LSJ*, *LBG*.

<sup>405</sup> Ed. Tittmann (1808: 155).

ἐπανασώζω 22.1, 36.11	παμμέγιστος 13.2
ἐπιλέγδην 24.2	παμφίλτατος 31.3
θεληματαίνω 2.1	παρευφράτις 28.3
θεομήτωρ 20.7	παρωνυμέω 40.8
θεόσδοτος 26.4	περίκλυτος 26.3
θερίστρα 37.5	*πίσσυρος 20.5 (cf. πίσυρες)
ιόχριστος 37.10	ποιμενάρχης 45.6
καθυπάγω 25.4	πορφυρανθής 37.4
καλλίτριχος 20.5	πρωτογεννής 37.4
καλλιφυής 34.2	ρύσιπτολις 34.8
καρποβριθής 34.3	σταυρικός 20.10, 29.5
κατακράτος 19.2	στόμαλγος 24.1
κλύσις 40.6	σύγκλητος 20.11
κομπορρήμων 25.2	συμπερατώω 7.2
κράτωρ 33.2	συμφυΐα 31.9
κύλινδρος 37.7	συστρατηγέτις 20.9
λειποδρανέω 42.2	τετράκλιμος 17.3
λιμνασμός 36.10	τέτρωρον 17.1, 37.3
*μαχεσίκλονος 35.4 (cf. πολεμόκλονος)	*τοιός 34.8 (cf. e.g. τοιόσδε)
μυριόνικος 13.3	*τολοιπόν 26.4 (cf. τὸ λοιπόν)
μυριοστεφηφόρος 30.4	τρισάναξ 14.1
μύστης 26.5	τριστάτης 37.17
*ξύλλεχος 3.2 (cf. σύλλεκτρος)	*τροχήλευμα (cf. LBG s. v. τροχηλάτευμα)
ὄπλιτοπάλας 24.5, 35.4	ὕγρόχερσος 19.1
οὐρεσίτροφος 38.6	χαριτωνυμέω 13.2
πάγγλωσσος 20.2	χαριτώνυμος 33.2

χριστώνυμος 35.6

χρυσοδίνης 28.2

χρυσοπλουτοβρύτης 28.2

φιλυποστρόφως 31.7

\*ὠδε 20.1, 40.1 (sic spiritus)

## Chapter 4

### A commentary on the poems by Ephraim

As we have seen in Chapter 3, the main source for our poems is Niketas Choniates' *History*, since Ephraim is working directly with the text of η. This is to say that, in principle, the epigrams do not add any new information about the period with which Niketas Choniates deals.<sup>1</sup> In general, the poems do not supplement, certify or question the report of Niketas, but rather put in verses a summary of the episodes narrated. Even the most notable exceptions to this practice, such as poem 1 or 40, do not add new historical information. As has been highlighted in Chapter 3, the poems begin with a more to-the-point style, but their elaboration escalates from poem 20 up to the end of book I. In fact, the bulk of the epigrams (2-40) comment on John's reign. Besides Niketas Choniates, this period is conspicuously covered by the account of John Kinnamos and the historical poems of Theodore Prodromos. There is no element in the epigrams indicating acquaintance with Kinnamos.<sup>2</sup> Since the poems exploit topics and formulas from the encomiastic literature and court poetry, it may seem that Ephraim was familiar with Prodromos. The same can be said regarding the panegyrics of Michael Italikos or Nikephoros Basilakes. However, there is not enough evidence to support a direct contact of Ephraim with these, even though a degree of familiarity, especially with Prodromos, cannot be completely ruled

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<sup>1</sup> Comprehensive commentaries of the events referred to by Niketas Choniates can be found in the notes of Kazhdan (1994), Pontani (1999; 2017). See also Maisano (1994c), Pontani (2010), Zorzi (2012). On John II in particular, see now the contributions in Kotzabassi (2013) and Bucossi and Rodríguez Suárez (2016). On Manuel I, see Magdalino (1993). On Andronikos I, see Jurewicz (1970).

<sup>2</sup> On the vexed question of the relationship between Niketas and Kinnamos, see e.g. Maisano (1994c: 399-402), Zorzi (2012: XX-XXIII), Simpson (2013: 215-224), Pontani (2017: 468-469 n. 8), with further bibliography.

out.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it is well known that Niketas Choniates already made use of encomiastic literature as sources for his *History*.<sup>4</sup>

The epigrams reproduce the rhetorical motifs of encomiastic literature and court poetry, which survived the Komnenian period and can be found again in later authors.<sup>5</sup> The same imagery, wording and tropes can be read in the orations of Basilakes and Italikos or in the poems of Theodore Prodromos, but also in the poetry of the so-called Manganeios Prodromos, writing later in the 12th century under Manuel I.<sup>6</sup> There is a continuity in the Nicaean and Palaiologan periods, as for example in the preserved poems of Nicholas Eirenikos or, notably, in the oeuvre of Manuel Holobolos, among others.<sup>7</sup> This literature was often performed in ceremonial settings, such as triumphal processions or *prokypseis*.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, the formulas and symbolisms follow the steps of the ceremonies in question. In our poems, however, the elements of praise and imperial ideology seem to be out of context, even if they may be an indication of commission or circulation at court. The verse scholia represent another type of occasional poetry, more associated with the act of reading than with public performance of orations and chants. Ephraim uses phraseology and metaphors from the encomiastic tradition, which in fact Niketas Choniates already attributed mainly to the figure of John.<sup>9</sup> The poems on the other emperors (41-44) abandon the laudatory tone and the *Kaiserkritik* becomes gradually more apparent. Ephraim's familiarity with the encomiastic register attests to a certain rhetorical training. At the same time, the appraisal of the emperors in our epigrams reveals how the Palaiologan society looked back into the past to shape and validate its identity. This is especially the case regarding the Komnenian period, from which our epigrams draw the subject and imitate some traditional forms of approaching it.<sup>10</sup>

The following commentary will not dwell on the accuracy and details of the historical events commented on in the epigrams. The historical context will be given, but I will

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<sup>3</sup> Prodromos had gone under a process of canonization since the 13th century; see Hörandner (2012b: 108.163, 112, 128) and a concrete example in Hörandner (1972).

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Maisano (1994c: 393-399), Simpson (2013: 229-242).

<sup>5</sup> See Hörandner (2003). On the encomiastic mode, see now Lauxtermann (2019: 19-56), for previous poetry, and Kubina (2020), for a prolific poet on commission from roughly the same generation as Ephraim, Manuel Philes.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Hörandner (1974: 89-108), Magdalino (1993: 413-454), Jeffreys and Jeffreys (2015: 56-59). A similar repertory of images and formulas is displayed earlier in the 12th century in the poems of Nicholas Kallikles (ed. Romano 1980), as well as in other pieces of the anthology in Marcianus graecus 524, ed. Lampros (1911: 3-59, 123-192, see e.g. numbers 71, 84, 101, 258, 272, 320, 370).

<sup>7</sup> Eirenikos, ed. Heisenberg (1920: 97-112); Holobolos, ed. Boissonade (1833: 159-182) and Treu (1906-1907). On Holobolos, see also Treu (1896), Heisenberg (1920: 112-132), Previale (1943), Macrides (1980).

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Heisenberg (1920: 82-97), Hörandner (1974: 79-89), Jeffreys (1987), Magdalino (1993: 237-248), Macrides, Munitiz and Angelov (2013: 401-411).

<sup>9</sup> See Simpson (2013: 232).

<sup>10</sup> Macrides (1994: 269-282), Nilsson (2019: 528, 533).

rather focus on the stance the commentator adopts towards the passages he comments upon. The value of Ephraim's verse chronicle has often been disdained because it is not easy to distinguish any substantially new piece of historical information with regard to its sources. Roughly, Ephraim uses the chronicle of John Zonaras up until the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (v. 3708) and Niketas Choniates' *History* from John II Komnenos until the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade.<sup>11</sup> From the death of Baldwin of Flanders (v. 7431), Ephraim follows the *History* of George Akropolites until the triumphal entrance of Michael VIII Palaiologos in Constantinople in 1261.<sup>12</sup> If anything was found in Ephraim without clear parallels in his sources, an elusive fourth source has been postulated or an intermediate compendium of the remaining three.<sup>13</sup> However, it is not necessary to deny personal contributions of Ephraim to his own oeuvre, of which the most evident is the verse form. While versifying the sources, he is obviously adding something of his own, which does not have to stem from a given source. This added value should be enough to vindicate a monumental work of over ten thousands verses (if we consider the chronicle together with the catalogue), even if it may seem at times unoriginally rhetorical or historiographically irrelevant.<sup>14</sup> The process of versification is not mechanical and it often entails a change in emphasis, structure and scope, as well as in style and intended audience, which should not be disregarded. In any case, as it is clear with our epigrams,

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<sup>11</sup> There are some poems on Zonaras in ff. 33v, 61v, 101v of Vat. gr. 136 (13th century), but they are not related to Ephraim. Two verse scholia of six dodecasyllables each comment on Zonaras' chronicle 3.6 (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/17785>: the description of the torture of scaphism, Dindorf 1868: 1.191.12-192.10; see Kampianaki 2017: 19-20) and 5.22 (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/17770>: the misdeeds of Herodes, Dindorf 1868: 1.391.11-19). These passages are not found in Ephraim's chronicle (see however v. 2 ἀνθρωποκτόνος in the same position as 43.3). Moreover, the verse scholium on scaphism is attributed to one Constantine, whereas the other epigram on Herodes seems to be by the same author. A longer book epigram (29 dodecasyllables) is also attributed to Constantine and occurs in f. 101v, at the end of book 9 (<https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/17771>; see also Kampianaki 2019: 248). On the manuscript tradition of Zonaras' chronicle see Leone (1991) and Bandini (2014).

<sup>12</sup> This triumph, a foundation stone for the Palaiologan dynasty, can be related to our poems 20 and 30. It is interesting that the triumph in 1261, as described by Akropolites (Heisenberg and Wirth 1978: 1.186.29-1.188.7 = Ephraim's chronicle vv. 9568-9588; see also Treu 1906-1907: 72.5-76.20), reproduces features from the one in 1133, which is the subject of poem 20. Namely, the icon of the Virgin plays a central role and the emperor marches on foot (see the commentary below).

<sup>13</sup> See Lampsidis (1971: 42-55, 109-238; 1990: XL-XLVII and the *apparatus fontium*), van Dieten (1975: XC), Simpson (2013: 118-119).

<sup>14</sup> Consider, for example, the stereotypical characterizations of the emperors placed often at the beginning of each reign in the chronicle. For analyses of the work of Ephraim with his sources and comparisons with contemporary works, see e.g. Prinzing (2008: 287-289), regarding the Fourth Crusade, and Kinloch (2018: 201-274), who compares the treatment of Akropolites' *History* 66-72 (Heisenberg and Wirth 1978: 1.138.21-151.24). Kinloch theoretical approach is especially interesting since it does not reinforce the subordination of Ephraim's chronicle to its sources, but rather explores the (hyper)textual transformations.



at least regarding Niketas Choniates, Ephraim is not using any epitome or compendium, but working directly with a manuscript of the version *b* of the *History*.

The same accusations of historiographical irrelevance can fall on our epigrams, as they strongly depend on the passages next to which they are found in the manuscripts. Ephraim's chronicle has received less attention than, for example, another derivative work as the *Synopsis chronike* by Theodore Skoutariotes, because the latter seems to add more information to the same sources.<sup>15</sup> Our epigrams and Ephraim's chronicle should be read in connection with this and other contemporary works, such as the already mentioned *Metaphrasis* of Niketas Choniates.<sup>16</sup> Certainly, Ephraim is the heir of Constantine Manasses and John Tzetzes, who wrote their chronicles in verse in the 12th century.<sup>17</sup> But he can be better understood in his own context, as a compiler making available and rendering more appealing a series of texts. As such, his work is also close to the so-called continuation of Manasses, a brief supplement to the chronicle of 79 political verses depending on Niketas Choniates.<sup>18</sup> Yet again, I will not put the focus on what the epigrams add of new to their source in terms of facts, but rather on how they rewrite it, paraphrase it and adapt it for their own purposes. The epigrams, in fact, not only adorn the source text with rhetorical embellishments, but they also simplify and summarize the content of Niketas Choniates' convoluted narrative. These formal procedures and the selection of passages commented upon reflect a certain view of the past and may indicate the interests of the author, his patron and his milieu.

One last point regarding a most remarkable feature of Ephraim's chronicle. Even if it is not unparalleled, the use of dodecasyllables for a world chronicle has provoked some perplexity. Whereas the political verses of the precursor Constantine Manasses have found plausible explanations, given the nature and origins of this metre associated with

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<sup>15</sup> This chronicle was first edited by Sathas (1894: 1-556) and thus it is also known as *Synopsis Sathas*. On the more or less self-standing versions of this work and the controverted issue of its authorship, see e.g. Zafeiris (2010; 2011) and Tocci (2015: 64-115), with further bibliography. On its sources, see e.g. van Dieten (1975: LXXXVIII-LXXXIX), Macrides (2007: 65-71), Simpson (2013: 114-117). Van Dieten considers this chronicle as the only testimony worth recording in the apparatus to his edition of Niketas Choniates. Part of the additions to Akropolites are edited separately in Heisenberg and Wirth (1978: 1.275-302). On the verse scholia on Skoutariotes, see above.

<sup>16</sup> See the description of manuscript W above in Chapter 3.

<sup>17</sup> Some parallels between Ephraim and Manasses are listed in Lampsidis (1971: 52-55). This continuity is investigated and to a certain extent refuted by Nilsson (2019). However, the verse form uncovers in Ephraim as much as in Manasses' verse chronicle the "literariness inherent" in all historiography, as Nilsson (2006) put it. On the verse chronicle by Tzetzes, see also Hunger (1955b).

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Grégoire (1924), see Simpson (2013: 110), Nilsson (2019: 529). The date of the poem should be revised in the light of the later studies regarding the different versions of the text of Niketas Choniates: it does not need to be composed right after the capture of Constantinople. On the readership and uses of Manasses' chronicle, see also Nilsson and Nyström (2009).

court and didactic settings, why did Ephraim choose the dodecasyllable to cast and convey his paraphrase? Recently, Ingela Nilsson has argued that this decision is part of an archaizing trend, which finds a precedent in Tzetzes' (now fragmentary) verse chronicle.<sup>19</sup> It is true that, unlike the political verse, the dodecasyllable has a clear classical model in the iambic trimeter. The rather succinct and cursory style of Ephraim corresponds better to the Byzantine perception of the dodecasyllable, as opposed to the more playful and entertaining fifteen-syllable verse.<sup>20</sup> However, there is one more element to consider in the light of our epigrams by Ephraim on Niketas Choniates. In fact, if these epigrams are at the origin of what later became the chronicle of Ephraim, we could explain better the choice of this metre. Dodecasyllable is the predominant metre in epigrams, including book epigrams and, more specifically, verse scholia. The origin of the chronicle as marginal verse scholia in manuscripts of the sources can contribute to explain this metrical feature of Ephraim's chronicle. Our epigrams attest to the experimentation of Ephraim to find the right tone for his chronicle. Eventually, the epigrams' laudatory effusions, more commonly found in the political verse elsewhere, give way to the more fact-based narrative of the chronicle, which maintains the dodecasyllable.

## 4.1 Commentary

### 4.1.1 Poem 1

This poem is the only one commenting on the proem of the oeuvre (1-4.81). Niketas Choniates here discusses how a historical work should be written: clarity of expression should be sought and long, intricate periods should be avoided. He is convinced to have followed these rules in his work, but in fact the rhetorical elaboration he employs in these lines and throughout the *History* contradicts him. The conventional prescriptions in the prologue are in evident conflict with the actual style of Niketas Choniates. This paradox triggers the first intervention by Ephraim.

Poem 1 is exceptional for some other reasons. It is written by a hand different than poems 2-42. This is also the case for poems 43-44, with which poem 1 shares other

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<sup>19</sup> Nilsson (2019).

<sup>20</sup> On political verses, see above Part 1. On the dodecasyllables of Ephraim, see the *Appendix metrica* above. On the Byzantine reflections on this metre, see Hörandner (1995: 285-289) and Lauxtermann (1998).

features. These poems are present in only part of the manuscripts, namely F and some of its apographa. Unlike poems 2-42, poems 1, 43-44 are written in brown, with passages written by what seems yet another different hand (see βαραθρώδη 1.3 and verses 43.2-3) in the upper margin of the folio in F. They look as if they were copied later than the other poems and, because of their position, they are not evidently connected with a specific passage.<sup>21</sup> But the connexion with the precise passage of Niketas Choniates is guaranteed by the aphorism σοφὸν τὸ σαφές, already found in Euripides' *Orestes* 397 and reproduced in the main text.<sup>22</sup> It is also exceptional because in the first verse the poet addresses the author, Choniates. However, it is not rare that Ephraim talks in the second person with the historical characters in the *History*. What strikes the most is in fact the rather aggressive attitude in marking the contradiction.

All these irregularities may arouse the suspicion that Ephraim is not the author of poem 1. In fact the poem was frequently conceived as autonomous and analyzed apart from the rest of the poems.<sup>23</sup> The use of the second person and the vocative is not unparalleled in the other epigrams of Ephraim. However, the polemical address to the author is also found in many other verse scholia, as for example in the three political verses by Tzetzes in Laur. Plut. 70.3 on Herodotus or even in the non-versified scholia in F.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, there are no clear formal parallels with verses of Ephraim's chronicle, but this is also the case for other epigrams or the cycle. However, an interesting correspondence can be found in verses 3733-3736 of the chronicle. When the chronicle begins to use Choniates, after the preliminary portrait of John (3709-3732), the poet confesses that the subject matter is beyond his capabilities:

οὗ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ νίκας καταλέγειν,  
τῶν ἀρετῶν θ' ὄμιλον αἷς ἦν ἐμπρέπων,  
καὶ ῥήτορι γένοιτ' ἂν ἔργον ἐξόχῳ·  
μικρ' ἄττα δ' ἡμῖν ἐκ περιττῶν λεκτέον.

*To enumerate the battles and victories of this one (John)  
and the multitude of virtues in which he excelled,  
this would be the task for an outstanding rhetorician.*

<sup>21</sup> On the palaeographical traits of these poems and the implications in the transmission, see above Chapter 3 and Figures 4 and 6.

<sup>22</sup> Niketas Choniates' *History* 3.37: τὸ σαφές ὡς οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα σοφόν. The passage is actually found before, on the recto of the same folio. Note, however, the emphasized deictic ἐνθαδὶ, which seems to point at the passage in question in the body of the text (see below ὦδε in 20.1, 40.1). This is another sign that supports a later and deficient copy from η of poem 1 in F.

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter 3 above for editions and attributions.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. f. 43v: ὁ Σολομῶν τοῦτο (το?) λέγει Χωνειάτα μου (later crossed out) on 89.58 ss. (see above Chapter 3). For the new epigram on Herodotus (inc. Συμμαρτυρεῖς, Ἡρόδοτε, τὸ θεῖον τῶν Ἑλλήνων), see above Part 1, Chapter 1.

*Me, I must say a few small things out of his many remarkable deeds.*

Can we read in v. 3735 an allusion to Niketas Choniates and his grand style, and even to other orators and poets who celebrated John (the already mentioned Theodore Prodromos, Michael Italikos, Nikephoros Basilakes)? In any case, this passage playfully mirrors the harsh criticism in poem 1. It is significant that such considerations occur in inaugural instances, the proem of the *History* of Niketas Choniates for poem 1 and the beginning of Niketas as a source for Ephraim's chronicle. The first epigram of the series, therefore, can be read as programmatic. In a way, while evidencing the inconsistency between Niketas' theory and practice of historiography, poem 1 tacitly acknowledges the necessity of a paraphrase that clarifies the arcane Niketas. Ephraim will try to perform such operation in some of the following epigrams and later in the chronicle. All in all, the evidence to attribute the first epigram to Ephraim is not conclusive. However, both on stylistic grounds and as regards the textual transmission of the epigrams, the authorship of Ephraim is not only plausible but also desirable.<sup>25</sup>

Besides, the structure of the epigram is simple and efficient, each verse containing a single complete meaning. Verse 1.1 admonishes the author through a rhetorical question, calling him by his name. Verse 1.2 states what Niketas says (actually using the same words as he) and 1.3 what Niketas actually does (with two adjectives with the same termination -ώδης). Some combinations of sounds (φ, σ, γρ) appears throughout the poem, especially in 1.2 (alliteration/parechesis).

#### 4.1.2 Poem 2

Niketas Choniates narrates at this point (5.90-1) the efforts of Empress Irene to promote her daughter, Anna Komnene, and her son-in-law, Nikephoros Bryennios, as heiress and heir of the throne to the detriment of the later emperor John II. And she does so by maliciously criticizing the latter in front of emperor Alexios I. The epigram synthesizes this episode in two verses, but it states the matter in an oblique way. The poet addresses the queen with pomp and accuses her of acting irresponsibly, but he omits the names of the parties involved. A certain ambiguity seems to be deliberate. Later, in poem 9, the poet highlights a proverb by the same queen that exculpates her from conspiracy against John (see below). In the chronicle, Ephraim connects in ten verses the subject matter of poems 2 and 9 (vv. 3787-3797). First he admits that in the beginning the empress disliked John (3787-3791), but once he was emperor she refrained from intriguing (3792-3797).

Θεληματαίνω is a rare verb attested from the 12th century (present in Niketas Choniates' *History* 562.48; see LBG).

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<sup>25</sup> A further parallel with the chronicle could be the use of οὐκ οἶδα (1.1); see e.g. vv. 1419, 8207, 9106.

### 4.1.3 Poem 3

In Niketas Choniates' *History* 5.10-6.22, after the insistence of Irene, Alexios loses his temper and replies to his wife that John is the natural candidate for his succession. Niketas adds that he does so pretending that succession was still an open question (NC 6.24-28). The epigram, however, simplifies the issue in three verses. The emperor, addressed honorifically in 3.1 and in the second person in 3.2-3, does the most correct and royal thing, according to Ephraim: he puts his wife in her place (3.2) and makes his son John heir (3.3). In the chronicle, the quarrel of Alexios and Irene is suppressed and John's government is opened when he takes the power. See v. 3737 of Ephraim's chronicle: Οὗτος κατασχὼν ἀσφαλῶς κραταρχίαν.

The term \*ξύλλεχος (3.2) is unattested elsewhere. It seems to have been coined after σύλλεκτρος (present in the context of Niketas Choniates' *History* 5.92) and λέχος (see e.g. NC 5.11), with the attic ξ that Ephraim frequently uses. The double λ corresponds better to the etymology of this word and to the metrical structure of the dodecasyllable, but note that F and its apographa give ξυλέχω (corrected by s and Wolf). The verb ἐμβριμάομαι could be picking up on ἐμβριθῶς (NC 6.24), whereas ἀνακτορικῶς 3.2 (and ἀνακτορικός) are late terms (from the 9th century, see *LBG*).

### 4.1.4 Poem 4

Niketas at this point narrates Alexios' disdain for the earthly pleas of Irene regarding the empire's succession. He prefers to remain in silence preparing his soul for the imminent death (NC 7.53-56). To this scene, the poet reacts with a monostich (the first of many, see poems 5, 6, 9, 18) where he praises the emperor's determination. The scene is not to be found in Ephraim's chronicle: the death of Alexios is taken from Zonaras and occurs before in vv. 3702-3708. On the formal level, note the recurrence of the εῦ sound. According to the iambic prosody, the second ε in εὔγε should be measured long, which goes against the "visual" metrics of the dodecasyllable.

### 4.1.5 Poem 5

After Alexios' death (15 August 1118), John finally occupies the power and starts distributing offices and titles among his family and familiars (NC 8.95-2). The scholiast summarizes this in another monostich, reusing some of the words of Niketas (ἀπένεμε τὰς τιμὰς NC 8.2). This is the first epigram that uses the third person instead of the second, as will happen regularly in the chronicle. However, the encomiastic tone persists. In fact, this verse scholium has the appearance of an aphorism (see the etymological play δίκαιος [...] ἐνδίκως). The verse corresponds to the beginning of the proper reign of John in the

chronicle (v. 3738). The already quoted v. 3737 (see above poem 3) paraphrases NC 8.95 (ὡς ἤδη ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καθεστῶς).

The poem is omitted in two manuscripts, W and Σ (also in s, the copy of Σ), that are not connected with each other (each one has a different model where the epigram is present). The brevity of the poem could explain the omission.

#### 4.1.6 Poem 6

This poem comments on a much obscure passage where Niketas narrates a sort of slander or gossip about the sexual life of Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Bryennios (NC 10.52-56). Once the attempt of a coup by these two failed during the first year of John's reign, it is said (λέγεται NC 10.52), Anna regretted the weak character of his husband and blamed the nature of his male member. The poet censures Anna in a monostich, addressing her with flattering words that echo the description in Niketas Choniates' *History* 10.45-46. Accordingly, the passage is not found back in the chronicle, even if the plot against the emperor is described in vv. 3742-3746. Ephraim expresses his disapproval in the epigram and refrains from reproducing the accusations in his chronicle.

#### 4.1.7 Poem 7

This is the first of two poems referring to John Axouch, a Turk captured in his youth and offered to Alexios Komnenos who grew up as a close friend of John Komnenos and occupied a central role in his administration (see NC 9.23-10.36). Poem 7 addresses Axouch and praises him for his advice to the emperor concerning the wealth of Anna Komnene, confiscated after the plot was brought to light. Emperor John wanted to confer it to Axouch, but Axouch dissuaded him and proposed to give the goods back to Anna. The poet reacts with four verses to the first intervention of Axouch in direct speech (NC 11.70-82). The first two verses refer to the advice, which is as good as the advisee (7.2 picks up on the wording of Niketas: see περατοῖ τὴν παραίφασιν NC 11.82). The last two verses elaborate on a motif present elsewhere in Byzantine literature: nobility is not just a matter of birth, but one of character.<sup>26</sup> This is especially significant for a high officer coming from a foreign land (ἄλλοεθνοῦς ἐκ γένους 7.4). Significantly, this expression finds a parallel much later in Niketas Choniates' *History* (368.42). This is not the only place where the epigrams show that Ephraim indeed read the whole *History*, as he seems to

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<sup>26</sup> See e.g. the anonymous teacher's letter 48.3-4 (ed. Markopoulos 2000) and Theodore Balsamon's poem 13.16-17 (ed. Horna 1903).

quote from passages that have no epigrams attached (see 8.3; 24.3-4; 25.1; 34.3; 34.5-7; 37.5; 41.4-5; 43.1-3).

The chronicle narrates at length this episode after the plot of Anna Komnene (vv. 3747-3786). The recommendation of Axouch is narrated in direct speech in vv. 3770-3780. The only significant parallel is to be found between 7.2 and v. 3779 of the chronicle (ταύτη γε πεισθεὶς βασιλεὺς παραιφάσει), where παραιφάσεις/παραιφάσει occur in the same position in the verses. The verb συμπερατώ in 7.2 is late and rare, even if it derives from Niketas' περατοῖ (see above).

#### 4.1.8 Poem 8

Unlike the previous epigram, in this one the answer of the emperor to Axouch (NC 11.82-85) is commented on in the third person, hence with a style closer to the chronicle, but not less encomiastic than the other epigrams. The first two verses echo the gospel parable of the sower (Mt. 13.3-23). Note the alternation of ἐς/εἰς (8.1-2) out of metrical reasons (both syllables need to be long, but ἐς is followed by a consonant that makes position) and the enclisis of the elided δέ with the article (ἦ δ' 8.2), a typical Byzantine phenomenon (see above). The last verse (8.3), in turn, reproduces one topos of court poetry: the emperor as imitator of Christ,<sup>27</sup> whereas the *iunctura* ἀτεχνῶς μιμουμένη can be traced back to NC 322.34. The passage commented on in the epigram is paraphrased in vv. 3781-3786 of the chronicle. Ephraim closes this set of verses with a line playing with the same topos: θερμός τ' ἔραστής χριστομιμήτων τρόπων (v. 3786), with an ending that becomes a formula in Ephraim (see e.g. vv. 3693, 3775).

#### 4.1.9 Poem 9

As a conclusion for the eventful succession of Alexios and the tumultuous first year of John's reign, a last epigram comments on words by Irene (NC 12.86-89). Once she learned about the plot against her son, she declared that she was not involved in it and uttered the saying (σοφόν τι λόγιον NC 12.87) praised by the epigram: δεῖ βασιλέα μὲν οὐχ ὑπόντα ζητεῖν, παρόντα δὲ μὴ μετακινεῖν ("a king must be sought when there is none, but must not be replaced when there is one" NC 12.88-89). The epigram does not reveal the content of the proverb, but reacts to it positively. It addresses the queen honorifically and talks to her in the second person using some of the vocabulary in Niketas Choniates. In the chronicle, on the other hand, the words by Irene are summarized in vv. 3794-3797 (see

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<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Theodore Prodromos' *Historical Poems* 24.44, 30.102 (ed. Hörandner 1974) and Manuel Holobolos' *Poem* 1.15-16 (ed. Boissonade 1833).

above poem 2). The function of the epigram seems to be preparatory inasmuch as it indicates a passage worth developing in the chronicle.

#### 4.1.10 Poem 10

This poem inaugurates a series of epigrams on the military campaigns of John (poems 10-19). Poem 10 summarizes the seizure of Laodikeia, a city in Phrygia (Asia Minor), from the Turks in the spring of 1119 (NC 12.1-5). The episode is told in full in the chronicle (vv. 3805-3810). The epigram narrates the episode in the third person as the chronicle. The manuscripts have a punctuation sign at the end of 10.1, even if it separates verbs and complements from the subject (10.2), but this is a common trait (see above). There is alliteration of πο- in 10.1, besides the *figura etymologica* πολίζει [...] πόλιν (internal object). These words (πολίζει [...] πόλιν) occur in the chronicle of Ephraim in the same position elsewhere (vv. 92, 115, 394). The juxtaposition of the two verbs (10.1), together with μιᾶ ῥοπῇ (10.2), portrays the readiness of the king in his military actions. The way of calling him in 10.2 anticipates another topos of encomiastic literature on historical figures named John: the alleged etymological play with χαρίεις (see below 13.2, 33.2). Besides, the ending of 10.2 (ἄναξ χαρίεις) occurs in the same metrical position in Ephraim's chronicle vv. 871, 3905 (the latter refers to John II Komnenos).

#### 4.1.11 Poem 11

The epigram summarizes the capture of the city of Sozopolis from the Turks in Pamphylia/Pisidia (Asia Minor) in the spring of 1120 (NC 12.14-13.36). The episode is found in Ephraim's chronicle vv. 3811-3814. The first verse of the epigram (11.1) plays with the etymology of Σωζόπολις and calls the emperor σωτήρα. As poem in 10, the episode is referred to in the third person. The two verses present a clear enjambement and, as in the previous epigram, a punctuation sign in the two main manuscripts at the end of 11.1 indicates this (comma/ὑποστιγμή). Σωζόπολις (11.1) is the true reading of D and some other manuscripts (some depending on F, where the word was just corrected possibly without any knowledge of D and W), whereas in F and some apographa read σωζόπολιν (see above). The emperor is praised with honorary titles, among which Ἀύσονοκράτης (11.1) is a very rare one, only attested before in Manganeios Prodromos (see LBG), a variant of the less uncommon (but still rare) Ἀύσονοκράτωρ (the latter in Ephraim's chronicle vv. 625, 771, 6891). The compound includes Ἀύσονες, an archaizing way of calling the Romans, i.e. Byzantines, much employed by Ephraim (see below 30.5, 32.2, 36.11).



#### 4.1.12 Poem 12

This poem narrates a minor conquest of John, that of the fortress of Hierakokoryphitis, a sequel of the campaign on Sozopolis. This deserves a brief mention in Niketas' *History* (13.36-38), which corresponds to vv. 3817-3822 of the chronicle of Ephraim. The epigram reacts to this episode addressing the king in the second person and using a comparison of the emperor with a hawk recurrent in encomiastic poetry and literature to signify his activeness and majesty.<sup>28</sup> The motif is found in Ephraim's chronicle in quite similar terms (vv. 1528-1529) and it is not far from the symbolism of the emperor as an eagle. See below poem 36.4-7 and the oration of Michael Italikos on John Komnenos, where the motif of the eagle is used in a way that reminds the second verse of poem 12: καθάπερ τις ἀετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ὀρῶν κορυφὰς.<sup>29</sup>

Now, the motif of the hawk here plays a role in the wordplay with the meaningful name of the fortress. Ἱερακοκορυφίτης means something like "the peak of the hawk". Therefore, the emperor flies like a hawk (12.1) over the peaks (12.2) where there is the fortress called the peak of the hawk (12.3). This last verse is the only one in the epigrams by Ephraim that is hypermetrical, that is, it counts 13 syllables.<sup>30</sup> In the chronicle, however, v. 3818 reads Ἱερακοκορυφίτου, which renders the word apt to the rules of dodecasyllable through haplology. It seems that in assembling the chronicle, Ephraim decided to privilege the metrical correctness of the verse to the detriment of historical accuracy. This would not be the only case where the version of the chronicle improves the metre of the epigrams (see e.g. 20.7, 10). However, it could as well be a case of haplography or hypercorrection by the scribe of the manuscript of the chronicle (Vat. gr. 1003). See, for example, the variants of C and Wolf and note that the editor of Kinnamos also edits Ἱερακοκορυφίτην where the manuscript (Vat. gr. 163) reads Ἱερακοκορυφίτην.<sup>31</sup> Another remarkable feature of 12.3 is the lack of enclisis in the form ἔστι.

#### 4.1.13 Poem 13

Poems 13-15 move from east to west and are devoted to the military campaign against the Pechenegs, after they invaded Thrace. In particular, they react to the battle of Berroia (1122). Poem 13 presents the first encounter and the two sides of the conflict (NC 14.62-15.70, vv. 3823-3829 of Ephraim's chronicle). The people of the Pechenegs is named, as in

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<sup>28</sup> See e.g. Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* 2.4.9 (ed. Reinsch and Kambylis 2001) and Theodore Prodromos, *Historical Poem* 19.145 (ed. Hörandner 1974).

<sup>29</sup> Ed. Gautier (1972: 248.1-2).

<sup>30</sup> See the *Appendix metrica* above for more details.

<sup>31</sup> Ed. Meineke (1836: 7.12).

Niketas Choniates, after the archaizing association with the Scythians (Σκυθικοῦ δεινοῦ φύλου 13.1), whereas the emperor is adorned with a series of titles (13.2-3). The term μυριόνικος (13.3) is rare and mostly attested from the 12th century on (see *LBG*), but twice in the same metrical position in Ephraim’s chronicle (vv. 3730, 4087, the former describing John II Komnenos himself). The superlative παμμέγιστος is less rare, but it tends to occur more towards the same period onwards (once in Ephraim’s chronicle in the same metrical position, v. 271). It plays with the μάχη μεγίστη (13.1), which together with μυριονίκου (13.3) and χαριτωνουμένου (13.2) gives an insisting repetition of the μ sound throughout the poem. This last participle comes from a very rare verb (see *LBG* s. v. χαριτωνυμέω and the variants in the later manuscripts). However, the motif behind it is a well-known one (see above 10.2 and below 33.2): the traditional association between the name John and the Hebrew for χάρις. This goes back to the words of the gospel of Luke (1.13-14), which are explained in the commentary of Euthymios Zigabenos (12th century): Ἰωάννης γὰρ Ἑβραϊκὸν μὲν ἐστὶν ὄνομα, μεθερμηνευόμενον δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνήν, σημαίνει χάριν ἢ χαράν (“For John is a Hebrew name, which translated into a Greek word means grace or joy” *PG* 129.864A).<sup>32</sup> The wordplay is exploited in laudatory literature concerning figures named John.<sup>33</sup> It is found in similar terms in Ephraim’s chronicle e.g. vv. 2834 (on John I Tzimiskes), 3712, 3935 (on our John II Komnenos).

#### 4.1.14 Poem 14

This poem praises the emperor’s piety in the battlefield. Niketas (15.88-93) narrates how John started crying at an icon of the Virgin as in inspired contemplation in the middle of the battle. The episode finds a place in the chronicle of Ephraim (vv. 3830-3837) and it is summarized in two verses addressed to the emperor in the second person (σὺ, σαυτὸν) in the epigram. The address is found in the first verse (τρισάναξ is a rare word attested from the 12th century, see *LBG*),<sup>34</sup> which deals with the concept of εὐσέβεια.<sup>35</sup> The second verse refers in particular to the weeping scene of the emperor. In the corresponding passage of the chronicle (v. 3831), ἐνθέοις occurs in the same metrical position. The piety of the emperor recalls the topos of the imitation of Christ (8.3) and anticipates the gesture of leaving a prominent place to the Virgin in the future triumphal procession (see below 20.6-9).

<sup>32</sup> A similar explanation can be read in John Tzetzes’ *Histories* 7.126, vv. 245-246 (ed. Leone 2007).

<sup>33</sup> See e.g. Theodore Prodromos’ *Historical Poems* 17.44 (one of the few occurrences of χαριτωνυμέω), 19.135, on our John II Komnenos (ed. Hörandner 1974), and Nicholas Eirenikos’ poem on John III Vatatzes 4.81 (ed. Heisenberg 1920; see the note to this verse in page 103).

<sup>34</sup> See also <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/5165>, v. 13.

<sup>35</sup> This concept is also topical, see Hörandner (1974: 99).

The form ἀπορρῶξ (14.1) seems to be more standard and is transmitted by D, whereas F and some of its apographa read the metrically more appropriate ἀπορῶξ. The omicron should remain short in the 7th syllable and this is more visible with the degeminated ρ. However, in this as in other cases (see e.g. ξυλλέχω 3.2 above), the most standard form has been adopted in the main text when D and F differ (see above). (De)gemination can be facultative with respect to the visual metrics, but it is also a common linguistic phenomenon in medieval Greek. The variant ἀπορῶξ could be a correction by the copyist of F or simply an error.<sup>36</sup> As has been mentioned above, the irregular (de)geminations of consonants occur more often in F (and apographa).

#### 4.1.15 Poem 15

The last poem on the battle against the Pechenegs. The poem comments on the final victory of the emperor narrated in Niketas Choniates' *History* NC 16.1-4. The first verse of the epigram addresses the emperor who defeated the Pechenegs (again named Scythians as in 13.1, 16.2) with the intercession of God (similarly in Ephraim's chronicle v. 3839: Θεοῦ διδόντος τὴν νίκην οὐρανόθεν). Note that the complement σὺν θεῷ is followed by a comma in manuscript F: this seems to be one use of the comma inside the verses in the manuscript, to disambiguate the syntax (Σκυθῶν goes with στίχας and not with θεῷ).

Verse 15.2 (γνώσει, λόγῳ, πράγματι καὶ πείρᾳ μάχης) is one of the strongest elements that point to Ephraim's authorship. The full verse is found again in Ephraim's chronicle (and nowhere else): see v. 3729 (in the first general description of our John II Komnenos) and later v. 7898.

#### 4.1.16 Poem 16

This poem leaves the Pechenegs but stays in the west to comment on the victory against the Serbs (1123), called Τριβαλλοὺς (16.2) as in NC 16.15-16: κατὰ τοῦ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἔθνους (εἶποι δ' ἄν τις ἕτερος Σέρβων). The episode is related in NC 16.15-19 and in vv. 3851-3855 of Ephraim's chronicle (also there they are called Triballi). The epigram is compact and addresses the emperor playing with the repetition of the νικη- sound (alliteration/*figura etymologica*/polyptoton) to signify the repeated victories of the emperor. There is a mild enjambement between the two verses and this is indicated in

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<sup>36</sup> Note e.g. again the case of ξυλλέχω 3.2, where F and some apographa read ξυλέχω whereas this is not needed by metrics, as upsilon needs to be long in this syllable (upsilon happens also to be a *dichronon*, see above the *Appendix metrica*).

the manuscripts with a punctuation sign (a comma in D and a combination of comma and colon in F), as elsewhere.

#### 4.1.17 Poem 17

The poem comments on the presentation of John's four children (NC 16.25-31): Alexios, the oldest, followed by Andronikos, Isaac and Manuel, the later emperor Manuel I Komnenos. In fact, this poem is closely connected with poem 37, where the death of the first two sons of John is narrated and the same metaphor of the chariot is employed (see τέτρωρον 17.1, 37.3). This passage, as well as the one commented on in poem 37, is not included in the chronicle. It seems as if the subject presented itself too digressive for the purposes and style of the chronicle.

The epigram addresses the emperor and compares his four sons to a chariot with four horses (τέτρωρον). The expression ἡ τετρακτὺς τῶν τέκνων (17.1) is similar to Ephraim's chronicle v. 8358 (παίδων δ' ὑπῆρχε τετρακτὺς Θεοδώρω, on the children of Theodore Komnenos Doukas).<sup>37</sup> But the most remarkable parallel between our poem and Ephraim's chronicle is the hemistich τὴν τετράκλιμον κτίσιν (17.3): the same words are to be found in Ephraim's chronicle (v. 7197) and in the same metrical position in Ephraim's catalogue (v. 9675).<sup>38</sup> Elsewhere, the adjective τετράκλιμος is rare, but it is found once in Niketas Choniates' *History* (584.23) and later in Manuel Holobolos' oration 1 on Michael VIII Palaiologos 45.15-16.<sup>39</sup> As in poem 17, Holobolos plays with the number four (τὸν τετραπρόσωπον [...] διὰ τὴν τετραδικὴν συστοιχίαν ἢ τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης τετράκλιμον ἢ τὸ τοῦ χρόνου τετράωρον 45.14-16). In our poem, the alliteration/*figura etymologica* in τέτρ- (τέτρωρον, τετρακτὺς, τετράκλιμον) goes together with a repetition (parechesis) of these sounds τ, τρ, κτ (τῶν τέκνων, τρέχων, κτίσιν).

The τετράκλιμος κτίσις (17.3) anticipates 38.8, where the four cardinal points are explicitly mentioned. This is another motif of encomiastic and court literature sometimes associated with the motif of the chariot (17.1-2). Compare e.g. Michael Italikos' letter 39 to John Axouch: ὁ θεσπέσιος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ (John II Komnenos) ἐπέβη τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἄρματος [...] Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν μέρος γῆς, οὐκ ἀνατολικόν, οὐχὶ δυτικόν, οὐ βόρειον, οὐ νότιον κλίμα, ἐφ' ἃ μὴ γεγόνατε.<sup>40</sup> See also Theodore Prodromos' *Historical Poem* 5.65-

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<sup>37</sup> The turn of phrase seems to go back to Theodore Prodromos' *Historical Poem* 17.313, 317, ed. Hörandner (1974): ἡ τετρακτὺς τῶν παίδων, actually referring to the sons of our John II Komnenos; see also *Historical Poem* 19.138-141.

<sup>38</sup> Ed. Bekker (1840).

<sup>39</sup> Ed. M. Treu (1906-1907: 45.15-16); see *LBG* and <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/4082> v. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Ed. Gautier (1972: 229.5-17).

70:<sup>41</sup> [...] ὁ δίφρος οὔτος,/ τὰ τέσσαρα γὰρ κλίματα τῆς ὅλης περιγείου [...], where the chariot in question is the one of the triumph in poem 20.

#### 4.1.18 Poem 18

Poems 18 and 19 comment on the campaign against the Hungarians at the north-western frontier of the empire (1127-1129). Poem 18 encapsulates in one verse the invasion that caused the conflict (NC 17.39-40). It is the last monostich of the cycle and goes straight to the point to describe what happened: the Huns (archaizing way of calling the Hungarians, also found in Niketas) took a city near Belgrade in the summer of 1127. The monostich is expanded in two verses in Ephraim's chronicle, but the wording and structure is basically the same: Οὔννοι [τὸν Ἰστρὸν ἐκπεράσαντες θέρους/ κατα]κρατοῦσιν ἄστεος Βρανιτζόβης (vv. 3864-3865). This is another strong argument in favour of Ephraim's authorship of the epigrams.

On the issue of the (de)gemination of consonants (see above 3.2, 14.1), see here the case of Οὔννοι: some apographa and the only manuscript of Ephraim's chronicle (corrected by Lampsidis) read Οὔνοι. This proves that the phenomenon of (de)gemination can be unrelated to any metrical issue. According to the iambic prosody, the first syllable of the dodecasyllable can be either long or short. Besides, the geminated consonant ν would not need to make position for an already visibly long diphthong (ου).

#### 4.1.19 Poem 19

This poem closes the war against Hungary with the victories of the emperor in the years 1128-1129 (NC 17.50-18.61). As in the previous epigram, the verses of poem 19 prefigure some treatments of the episode in Ephraim's chronicle (3869-3874). First, as it is told in Niketas Choniates' report, the counteroffensive is assisted with vessels in the Danube (ὕδραϊος ὄμοῦ καὶ χερσαῖος NC 17.53). The rare compound ὑγρόχερσος (19.1), only found before once in George of Pisidia and twice in Constantine Manasses (see Lampe and *LBG*), occurs in the same construction and in the same metrical position when Ephraim paraphrases the same battle in the chronicle: ἐν ὑγροχέρσῳ καὶ σθεναρᾷ δυνάμει (v. 3870, see also vv. 4136, 8336 for the same word). Then, Παίονας (19.2) is another way of calling the Hungarians (see Οὔννοι 18), which is not used in this context by Niketas.<sup>42</sup> However, Ephraim's chronicle (v. 3874) uses Paeonian from this passage on. The most striking parallel with Ephraim's chronicle is verse 19.3 (καὶ Χράσμον εἶλε ξύν τε Φραγγοχωρίῳ),

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<sup>41</sup> Ed. Hörandner (1974).

<sup>42</sup> This name is given only from NC 92.31 on, see e.g. 100.46: κατὰ Παίωνων, οὓς καὶ Οὔννους φασί.

which can be read almost identical in the corresponding passage of the chronicle (v. 3873): καὶ Χράσμον εἶλε σὺν τῷ Φραγγοχωρίῳ.

Several points deserve discussion in this verse (19.3 = v. 3873). First, the whole verse is another strong evidence for Ephraim's authorship of the epigrams. Both the epigram and the chronicle have the form Χράσμον, where Niketas Choniates refers to this fortress as Χράμος (NC 18.61).<sup>43</sup> It is true that D and its copy W read Χράμων, which seems to be more accurate according to other sources. However, the coincidence of this elsewhere unattested form (Χράσμον) in the chronicle and in the epigram suggests that Ephraim deliberately wrote Χράσμον and that Χράμων is a correction by the copyist of the epigram in D (see above). Why would Ephraim do so? It is not clear, but maybe for metrical reasons: the cluster σμ lengthens the α that needs to be long in the second syllable of the dodecasyllable. However, α is one of the so-called *dichrona*, i.e. it can play the role of a long vowel without the need of two consonants to make position. This case is not identical, but it is not far either from the issue of (de)gemination. The evolution Χράμος > Χράσμον is less easy to explain on linguistic grounds than geminated consonants, but the cluster σμ can be used to emphasize the length of the previous syllable. Similarly, the alternation ξύν/σύν can perform the same function: sometimes it can be meaningful, sometimes it is just for the sake of *variatio*. Note that a first difference between the epigram and the chronicle is that 19.3 has ξύν, whereas v. 3874 σὺν. The previous syllable (λε) is anceps in the dodecasyllable, so that there is no need for ξ to make position. However, as has been mentioned above in the *Appendix metrica*, despite Lampsidis' opinion,<sup>44</sup> the Attic ξ can be used to lengthen the previous syllable: see vv. 1457, 5044 of Ephraim's chronicle<sup>45</sup> and, for example, our poem 20.11, where ξύν coexists with συγκλήτω (see below). Another difference between 19.3 and v. 3873 of the chronicle is τε/τῷ. The syllable needs to be short, so that the reading of the manuscript of the chronicle is less suitable. This had already been noticed by Hilberg, who proposed the emendation γε.<sup>46</sup> In fact, γε is what manuscript D reads here. However, both τῷ and γε are easier to explain as corruptions from τε than the other way around. Moreover, in the already quoted 20.11 the same construction ξύν τε can be read.

The structure of the epigram is compact. Verses 19.1-2 comment on the first victory narrated by Niketas Choniates. There is a pseudo-enjambement between these verses,<sup>47</sup> which is marked with punctuation at the end of 19.1 in the manuscripts (a comma in D and a combination of comma and μέση στιγμή in F). Note also in 19.2 the orthography of

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<sup>43</sup> See also NC 127.91, Kinnamos' *Epitome* (Meineke 1836: 11.11, 20) and Skoutariotes' *Synopsis chronike* (Sathas 1894: 194.25).

<sup>44</sup> Lampsidis (1971: 82; 1990: LIV).

<sup>45</sup> See Hilberg (1888: 89).

<sup>46</sup> Hilberg (1888: 53).

<sup>47</sup> For the concept, see Lauxtermann (2019: 351-353).

κατακράτος; both D and F read this form (corrected in later manuscripts into κατὰ κράτος), which is not unusual in medieval Greek. Verse 19.3 (parallel to the chronicle) narrates the capture of a fortress (Chramos = Haram) and a region (Frangochorion).

#### 4.1.20 Poem 20

This poem is the longest poem since the beginning of the cycle and stands out after poems 1-19 counting from 1 to 4 verses. It is an ekphrasis of the triumph organized by the emperor in Constantinople to celebrate his first capture of Kastamon in 1133.<sup>48</sup> The poem extracts much of its wording from the report of Niketas Choniates' *History* (18.78-19.2), which is also reproduced in Ephraim's chronicle vv. 3891-3903. This triumph is notably also the occasion and the subject of Theodore Prodromos' *Historical poems* 3-6.<sup>49</sup> Besides, our poem echoes the report of another triumphal procession, which is related in our poem 30, in the panegyrics of Michael Italikos and Nikephoros Basilakes.

The important word θρίαμβος opens the poem and the adverb ὧδε forms a construction that comes again in poem 40.1 in the same position (Κιβωτὸς ὧδε [...]: note the consistent soft breathing in the adverb ὧδε). Remarkably, the deictic ὧδε seems to spatially point at the main text from the margin of the folio (as in “here, in this passage the reader will find the triumph [...]”), at the poem that unfolds below (as in “here, in the following verses the reader will find the triumph [...]”) and at the vivid reenactment of the event (*enargeia*). The first three verses outline the setting of the celebration. These verses (20.1-3) do not find direct correspondence with Ephraim's chronicle and the only clear borrowing from Niketas Choniates' *History* is χρυσοῦφῶν [...] πέπλων (20.3): see πέπλος [...] χρυσοῦφής (NC 18.81-82). However, this is a very successful *iunctura* in Byzantine literature (see *TLG*). For example, it is to be found in Italikos' account of the triumph in Antioch in 1138 (see below poem 30), which has many other additional similarities with our poem 20: θρίαμβον [...] τῆς προόδου τοὺς λόγους ὑφαίνοντες καὶ ταῖς ἐνδιασκευοῖς τῶν διηγῆσεων χρώμενοι, πλὴν οὐχ ὡς νῦν ἐπιτροχάδην ἔγωγε γράφω καὶ λέγω διὰ τὸν κόρον τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλὰ πάντα λόγῳ μακρῷ καταλέγοντες, ὡς ἄρα ἡ πόλις ὄλη. Ἄπαντα ἦσαν μεστὰ καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ φωνῶν καὶ πέπλων χρυσοῦφῶν [...] ξύμμικτοι δὲ πανταχόθεν βοαὶ τὸν ἀέρα κατεῖχον περιηχοῦσαι [...] ἐξ ἡμισείας σοι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ σωτήρι ὕμνον ἐκρότησαν.<sup>50</sup> Italikos refers to the speeches, narratives and hymns that were part of the ceremony, which are alluded to in our poem in the πάγγελωσος ὕμνος (20.2), but

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<sup>48</sup> NC 18.70-77 = Ephraim's chronicle vv. 3880-3890. This episode is not recorded in the epigrams, see below poems 21-22.

<sup>49</sup> Ed. Hörandner (1974). See Magdalino (2016).

<sup>50</sup> Michael Italikos' oration 43 on John II Komnenos, ed. Gautier (1972: 266.1-14).

totally absent from Niketas Choniates' account. See also Basilakes' account of the triumph of Antioch: θρίαμβον [...] ὡς ἐν ὠδαῖς ἔπλεκέ σοι τὰ ἐφύμνια. καὶ ἦς ὁ ἐμὸς 'Δαυὶδ ἐν μυριάσιν' ἀδόμενος· τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ ὅσον οἰκουρὸν ἐπευφήμει, τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπαιάνιζε. βοή τις ἦν ξύμμικτος καὶ πολὺγλωσσος [...] Ἐκαινοτομεῖτο καὶ τοῦδαφος καὶ ὡς ἐξ ὑφασμάτων τιμιωτέρων ὑπέστρωτο [...] ἢ δὲ τῶν μύρων ὁδμή πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθέων εὐωδίαν ἤριζε [...].<sup>51</sup> Basilakes not only depicts the same vivid scene (καὶ χαρᾶς μεστή πόλις 20.1) and largely mentions hymns and chants,<sup>52</sup> but he dwells on the fabrics used to cover the floor and on the perfumes.<sup>53</sup> All these parallels are compelling, but they do not automatically mean that Ephraim was inspired by Italikos or Basilakes. These are as well stock motifs and topoi of literature on triumphs. However, the detail of the πάγγλωσσος ὕμνος (20.2), absent from Niketas Choniates and Ephraim's chronicle, calls the attention for the possible metapoetic overtones. Many of our epigrams adopt in fact some inflections, if not the metre, of laudatory chants. This is reminiscent of Theodore Prodromos' references to his own and others' production of occasional literature for the triumph of 1133 in Constantinople.<sup>54</sup>

The next two verses describe the horses carrying the magnificent chariot built for the occasion. These lines (20.4-5) clearly draw from the corresponding passage in Niketas Choniates' *History* (πίσυρες ἵπποι καλλίτριχες χιόνος λευκότεροι 19.88-89),<sup>55</sup> which in turn echoes the description of the same horses in Theodore Prodromos' *Historical poem* 6.83-84.<sup>56</sup> Ephraim's chronicle reproduces a similar wording: ὁ χιονώδης τετρακτὺς συστοιχία/ ἵππων τις εἶλκεν εὐφυῶς ζευγνυμένων νν. 3895-3896 (see χιονώδης and συστοιχία in the same metrical position). However, the rendering in the epigram is less careful than in the chronicle. Ephraim, as it seems, wanted to incorporate and adapt the poetic syntagm πίσυρες ἵπποι καλλίτριχες.<sup>57</sup> In the epigram (20.4), the hypallage is less achieved than in the chronicle: χιονώδης [...] συστοιχία receives yet another adjective (ἵππικῆ) instead of the genitive ἵππων in enjambement of the chronicle (v. 3896). And in 20.5, the words καλλίτριχος πίσυρος seem to also function as adjectives modifying συστοιχία, the subject of the predicate that follows (ἐκφέρει δίφρον). Now, καλλίτριχος as a two-endings

<sup>51</sup> Nikephoros Basilakes' oration 3 on John II Komnenos, ed. Garzya (1984: 72.7-22).

<sup>52</sup> Note that βοή ξύμμικτος of Basilakes repeats the same wording as in Italikos (ξύμμικτοι δὲ πανταχόθεν βοαί), whereas πολὺγλωσσος reminds of our poems' πάγγλωσσος ὕμνος (20.2). The word πάγγλωσσος is rare, see LBG.

<sup>53</sup> Compare ἐξ ὑφασμάτων τιμιωτέρων ὑπέστρωτο of Basilakes with καὶ χρυσοῦφῶν κατὰ γῆς στρώσις πέπλων (20.3) and ἢ δὲ τῶν μύρων ὁδμή with καὶ μύρων πλείστη χύσις (20.2). Note that in 20.3 manuscript F and some apographa (some other apographa correct the reading on their own) read the variant στρώσιν.

<sup>54</sup> See *Historical poem* 6.98-104, ed. Hörandner (1974).

<sup>55</sup> See χιόνος λευκότεροι also in Nikephoros Basilakes' oration 3 on John II Komnenos (Garzya 1984: 65.16-17) and in Skoutariotes' *Synopsis chronike* (Sathas 1894: 195.20). The construction goes back to *Iliad* 10.437.

<sup>56</sup> Ed. Hörandner (1974).

<sup>57</sup> The form πίσυρες is Homeric for τέσσαρες and καλλίτριξ is also Homeric and mostly applied to horses.



adjective is very rare but attested elsewhere (see *LSJ*, *LBG*), whereas πίσσυρος is a very strange hapax, probably the result of a mistake or inability of Ephraim to understand or use πίσυρες while improvising the epigram. The ending in -ος (singular) is somehow contradictory with a numeral meaning “four”. Moreover, the form with double sigma of πίσυρες is very rare too.<sup>58</sup> However, the manuscripts read πίσσυρος, with the exception of D, which seems to have written πίσυρος and added a second σ afterwards over the line (Φ also corrects in πίσσυρες).

Verses 20.6-7 reveal with more precision the compositional techniques of Ephraim and the transitional position that the epigrams occupy with respect to the source text (Niketas Choniates' *History*) and the ultimate verse paraphrase (Ephraim's chronicle). The verses 20.6-7, in fact, adopt the wording of Niketas Choniates: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ ἄρματος ἐπίβασιν παρεικῶς τὴν τῆς θεομήτορος εἰκόνα τούτῳ ἐπανεβίβασεν (NC 19.89-90). But, in doing so, Ephraim violates some prosodic rules. The word θεομήτορος, for example, is particularly unfit for the dodecasyllable (in our poem, the first two omicrons should be measured long). The chronicle corrects such imperfections and brings an improved version of the paraphrase, while keeping some traits (see ἀναβιβάζει and εἰκόνα in the same metrical position) from the first version, i.e. the epigram: ἐν τῷδε σεπτῆν ἀναβιβάζει κράτωρ/ τῆς μητρανάνδρου παρθένου τὴν εἰκόνα (vv. 3897-3898). As with the odd πίσσυρος (20.5), θεομήτορος (20.7) reveals a more spontaneous, clumsy and somewhat slavish approach of the epigrams, whereas the chronicle presents a more solid, severe and mediated version of the poetic paraphrase. On the other hand, these verses refer to a significant detail of the ceremonial: the emperor decides to leave his place in the chariot to the icon of the Virgin and march on foot (see 20.11). The pious gesture of John II Komnenos is also recorded in Prodromos and in Kinnamos' *Epitome*.<sup>59</sup> They both comment on the innovative revival of the tradition of the Roman triumph. The devotion to the Virgin reminds us of poem 14, whereas the gesture of giving a central position to an icon of the Virgin Mary may have reminded the contemporary reader of another triumphal procession closer in time and more relevant for the governing dynasty, that of 1261 after the reconquest of Constantinople. In fact, this is the last episode narrated in Ephraim's chronicle (see vv. 9578-9582). A last note on these verses: there is an enjambement in 20.6-7, which is marked in the manuscripts with a punctuation mark at the end of 20.6 (a semicolon in F, a low dot or ὑποστιγμή in D).

Verses 20.8-9 also show the transition from Niketas' *History* to Ephraim's chronicle. The epigram follows very closely the vocabulary of Niketas: ἐφ' ἧπερ ἦν γεγηθῶς [...] καὶ τὰς νίκας ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι ἀμάχῳ ἐπιγραφόμενος (NC 19.90-92). The corresponding passage

<sup>58</sup> It is attested only twice in the idiosyncratic hexameters of Theodore Metochites, a contemporary of Ephraim: 1.341, 10.572, ed. Polemis (2015).

<sup>59</sup> *Historical poem* 6.204-210, ed. Hörandner (1974), and Meineke (1836: 13.19-14.2).

in Ephraim's chronicle reproduces some of the epigram's formal procedures but less loyally with respect to the source: ἐν ἧ πεποιθῶς καὶ κατορθῶν τὰς νίκας/ ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι κατ' ἐχθρῶν μάχης (vv. 3899-3900). The epigram puts in verse quite faithfully the syntax and wording of the source (e.g. ἐφ' ἧ̄περ ἦν γεγηθῶς > ἐφ' ἧ̄ γεγηθῶς 20.8; τὰς νίκας ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι [...] ἐπιγραφόμενος > ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι γράφει τὰς νίκας 20.9), whereas the chronicle loses some of these elements (e.g. ἐφ' ἧ̄περ ἦν γεγηθῶς > ἐν ἧ̄ πεποιθῶς; τὰς νίκας ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι [...] ἐπιγραφόμενος > καὶ κατορθῶν τὰς νίκας/ ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι). Some traits from the epigram survive in the chronicle, as for example τὰς νίκας and ὡς συστρατηγέτιδι in the same metrical position, and the use of πεποιθῶς. The latter is an instructive example of the compositional methods of Ephraim. Niketas reads ἐφ' ἧ̄περ ἦν γεγηθῶς. In the epigram, Ephraim expands this construction with a sort of hendiadys: ἐφ' ἧ̄ γεγηθῶς καὶ πεποιθῶς (20.8). Eventually, in the chronicle he prefers his innovation to the expression in the source and accommodates the syntax of the relative pronoun: ἐν ἧ̄ πεποιθῶς. The assistance of the Virgin to the emperor in the battlefield brings back to memory again the episode reported in poem 14. Besides, the motif of the Virgin as warrior and ally is part of the imagery of Theodore Prodromos' poems on John.<sup>60</sup> Precisely on this word, συστρατηγέτιδι (20.9), a branch of the manuscript tradition has the variant συστρατηγέτιδα (manuscript D and apographon). However, both the source (Niketas Choniates) and the witness of Ephraim's chronicle confirm the reading συστρατηγέτιδι. This word (συστρατηγέτις) is very rare and attested only once in Theodore Prodromos' *Historical poem* 19.84, besides Niketas Choniates and Ephraim's chronicle (see LBG).

The following two verses (20.10-11) finish the picture: the emperor proceeds on foot with his court. Again, the phrasing of the epigram depends on Niketas Choniates' *History*: προῆγεν αὐτὸς σταυρικὸν σημεῖον χειριζόμενος καὶ ποσὶ τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος (19.94-95). The rendering in Ephraim's chronicle is not substantially different: ἦς καὶ προῆγε σὺν ὄλῃ γερουσίᾳ/ ποσὶ βαδίζων, σταυρικὸν σκῆπτρον φέρων (vv. 3902-3903). The first hemistichs of 20.10-11 are actually identical and the second part of the verses seem to be inverted in the chronicle. Even the escort of the senate, a detail absent in Niketas Choniates, is expressed in a variation (ξύν τε συγκλήτῳ πάσῃ 20.11 > σὺν ὄλῃ γερουσίᾳ). Yet again, a minor metrical point is improved: the change of the verb (σταυρικὸν σκῆπτρον ἔχων 20.10 > σταυρικὸν σκῆπτρον φέρων) makes position and lengthens the last omicron of σκῆπτρον, which needs to be long in that syllable (see θεομήτορος 20.7 > μητρανάνδρου παρθένου above). On the construction ξύν τε συγκλήτῳ πάσῃ (20.11), see above 19.3. As mentioned before, the alternation between ξύν/συγ- can serve here the rules of prosody. The cluster ξ would be allowed since the previous syllable is already long

<sup>60</sup> See e.g. *Historical poems* 4.158, 15.97-99, 16.125, 19.82-88, ed. Hörandner (1974).

(it does not matter if it makes position), but  $\sigma$  is preferred since  $\tau\epsilon$  needs to stay short in this syllable.

The last line (20.12) sums up the scene and recalls the first verse (20.1) by mentioning again the ceremony in question ( $\delta$  θρίαμβος) and adding another deictic (τοιοῦτος, see ὤδε 20.1). Together with the opening line, this last verse frames this ekphrastic epigram with a very appropriate synoptic force. The self-contained nature of Ephraim's epigrams constitutes a major difference regarding the continuous, even if episodic, flow of the chronicle. It is not surprising that 20.12 does not find a parallel in the chronicle.

#### 4.1.21 Poem 21

Poems 21-22 narrate the fall of Kastamon, a city in Paphlagonia (north of Asia Minor), to the Danişmendids, a Turkmen people named after the creator of the dynasty (Danişmend), and its later recapture in 1134/1135. The first campaign against the Danişmendids (NC 18.70-77 = Ephraim's chronicle vv. 3880-3890) is not the subject of any epigram (see above poem 20). Poem 21 succinctly recounts how the successor of Danişmend, Ghazi (called here Τανισμάνιος 21.1), took the city of Kastamon. The epigram faithfully reproduces the report of Niketas Choniates' *History*: Τανισμάνιος [...] τὴν πόλιν εἶλε καὶ τῷ ξίφει κατὰ τῶν φυλάκων Ῥωμαίων ἐχρήσατο (19.6-9). In the chronicle, Ephraim also refers to this event (vv. 3904-3910). He uses 20.2 almost word by word: καὶ φύλακας κτείναντα Ῥωμαίους ξίφει (v. 3910). However, the small differences betray the development from the epigrams to the chronicle. The most evident is the change Ἕλληνας (21.2) > Ῥωμαίους: Ῥωμαίους reflects more accurately the self-perception of the Byzantine identity as it comes to its political organization (see below Αὔσονες 30.5, 32.2, 36.11; Ῥωμαίων is actually what Niketas uses). Ἕλληνας would more properly allude to the strictly Greek cultural heritage of the Byzantines, which does not seem to be the issue in this passage. Yet, it is noteworthy that the first and more spontaneous version of the epigram calls the Byzantine Ἕλληνας. Another minor change is κτεῖνεν (21.2) > κτείναντα. Besides the syntactic difference, the participle avoids the unaugmented form κτεῖνεν. Another unaugmented aorist occurs in 38.4 (πάθεις), but this feature typical of hexametric poetry is generally avoided in dodecasyllables. However, this mixture of registers is not unprecedented, as can be seen e.g. in the dodecasyllables of Theodore of Stoudios and Constantine of Rhodes.<sup>61</sup> As it happens with the pseudo-Homeric καλλίτριχος πίσσυρος (20.5), the epic-like forms are later abandoned in Ephraim's chronicle.

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<sup>61</sup> Hinterberger (2019: 56).

#### 4.1.22 Poem 22

The emperor captures once again the city of Kastamon and afterwards gains for the empire the important city of Gangra, also in power of the Danişmendids. The epigram comments on this episode narrated in Niketas Choniates' *History* 20.23-25. In fact, it reproduces some of the words of Niketas: see Ῥωμαίοις ἐπανασωσάμενος Κασταμόνα NC 20.24-25. Similarly, Ephraim's chronicle renders: καὶ τήνδ' ἐπανεσώσε Ῥωμαίων κράτει./ πρὸς τοῖσδε Γάγγραν καταπορθεῖ τὴν πόλιν (vv. 3911-3912, note that the first capture of Kastamon is announced in similar terms in v. 3883). Once again, the chronicle offers a different version. First, it replaces Ἑλλησιν (22.2) > Ῥωμαίων κράτει, as in Niketas (see above 21.2). In the chronicle, Ephraim adopts the more official, so to say, politically correct way of referring to (what we call) Byzantines as Romans, whereas in the epigrams, more personal and impromptu reading notes, he prefers the self-perception as Greeks. Besides, both the epigrams and the chronicle use the verbs ἐπανασώζω and (κατα)πορθέω, but the most visible improvement is the avoidance in the chronicle of the enjambement of the epigram. In the manuscripts, the enjambement is marked with a punctuation sign at the end of 22.1 (a comma both in F and D) and another one after ἄναξ (ὑποστιγμαί both in F and D).

#### 4.1.23 Poem 23

After 5 poems, the poet makes use of the second person again. Poem 23, however, does not address the emperor or any of the characters in the *History*. It addresses a general inhabitant of the region where the emperor and his army march in 1137: Isauria and Cilicia (south of Asia Minor). The hapax Ἰσαυροκίλιξ (23.1), built on the same template as Ἀρμενοκίλιξ (see below 24.1), includes these two regions. However, only Cilicia is mentioned in Niketas Choniates. Isauria is located in the west of Cilicia and it is only alluded to by Niketas when he indicates the cause of this campaign: the Armenians threatened to siege Seleukeia (important city of Isauria). In fact, poems 23-26 narrate the campaign against the Armenians of Cilicia. Significantly, the general address to an Ἰσαυροκίλιξ (23.1) in the beginning of this series is mirrored by a similar address to a Κίλιξ (26.5) at the end of the series of poems.

This poem comments on Niketas Choniates' *History* 21.54-22.65, the beginning of the campaign. After the appeal to the local population (23.1), the poet refers to the first conquests of the imperial army (23.2). The chronicle of Ephraim includes the beginning of the campaign in vv. 3916-3922, mentioning the same cities of Cilicia: Ταρσὸν παρεστήσατο, φαεινὴν πόλιν,/ καὶ τὴν Ἀδάνην καὶ Βακᾶ στρατηγία (vv. 3921-3922).

#### 4.1.24 Poem 24

Poems 24-25 dwell on an entertaining novelesque scene of Niketas Choniates' *History*: the incidents around the figure of Constantine, an Armenian soldier from Baka (or Vahka).<sup>62</sup> The episode is not recorded in Ephraim's chronicle, because it was too digressive, as it seems. Poem 24 comes next to the first act of this self-contained narration (NC 22.76-24.29). During the siege, Constantine, who speaks in Greek, insults the emperor and his family and calls out to fight an elected soldier. The first verse (24.1) addresses Constantine with a nominative (with article!) in place of the vocative. This feature is not unparalleled in Byzantine literature,<sup>63</sup> but it is another element that betrays the improvised and unrefined nature of the epigram in contrast to the chronicle. The poet awards Constantine some epithets already present in Niketas Choniates: see βάρβαρον (NC 23.84), στόμαλγος (NC 23.84). Ἀρμενοκίλιξ, however, is a hapax that recalls Ἰσαυροκίλιξ (23.1). A remarkable parallel, yet another strong element in favour of Ephraim's authorship of these epigrams (even of those epigrams commenting on passages not included in the chronicle), is found in the passage of Ephraim's chronicle where the epigrams could have been inserted: the similar hapax Ἀρμενοκικιλίας (v. 3920, see *LBG*). The second verse (24.2) renders quite faithfully the wording of Niketas: προκαλεῖτο ἀνέδην τὸν ἐπιλέγδην ἐκείνω συμπλακησόμενον (NC 23.88-89). The construction κατ' ἐπιλέγδην (24.2) is not found anywhere else except from Ephraim's chronicle v. 4167 (in the same metrical position). The spelling of προκαλῆ (second person singular, present, middle voice) is confirmed by the subsequent such forms often written with the iota *subscriptum* in the manuscripts (see e.g. δεσμῆ 25.1, οἴχη [...] συνέχη 25.3, καθυπάγη 25.4, καθαίρη 27.2, τρέπη 41.1, εὔχη [...] φοβῆ 41.3, ψυχῆ 42.3, βλαβήση 44.2). Here (24.2), only D seems to read προκαλῆ (the folio is damaged), whereas F leaves the ending open to interpretation (it reads προκαλ followed by the circumflex, a common practice in our manuscripts). The apographa generally have an -εῖ ending.

This rather Homeric setting finds a proper set of words in the next verse: the expression βριθὺ μέγα ξίφος (24.3) is redolent of the Homeric formula βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν (see *Iliad* 5.746, 8.390, 16.141, 16.802, 19.388, *Odyssey* 1.100), always applied to ἔγχος. The formula is adopted elsewhere in Byzantine literature. Niketas Choniates uses it two times in his *History*:<sup>64</sup> once describing Andronikos' portrait outside the church of the Forty Martyrs (NC 332.28) and another time speaking about a German soldier from the Third Crusade: τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος παχείᾳ καὶ ἠρωϊκῆ χειρὶ, βριθὺ καὶ μέγα καὶ στιβαρόν (NC 415.3-4). Here, not only is it applied to a ξίφος as in 24.3,<sup>65</sup> but also the παχείᾳ

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<sup>62</sup> See Simpson and Efthymiadis (2011: 38).

<sup>63</sup> See Holton (2019: 1947) and poem 7.1 of the new cycle on Herodotus (Part 1).

<sup>64</sup> See also NC 375.18-19 and Niketas' orations, ed. van Dieten (1972: 28.23-24, 90.3-4 and 135.21).

<sup>65</sup> See also Michael Glykas' poem on Manuel I Komnenos v. 32, ed. Eustratiades (1906).

καὶ ἥρωϊκῆ χειρὶ echoes χειρὶ παχείᾳ 24.4. Verses 24.3-5, in fact, introduce the antagonist of Constantine. Eustratios, a brave soldier from the ranks of the Romans, specifically from the Macedonian division of the army (Μακεδῶν 24.5), eventually beats Constantine in the duel.

A few final textual and stylistic remarks. The word ὀπλιτοπάλας (24.5) is rare (see *LBG*), found in Niketas Choniates' *History* and once again in our epigrams (see below 35.4). On the other hand, σακκεσφόρος (24.5) is more attested.<sup>66</sup> Again on the issue of the gemination of consonants, manuscript F reads σακκεσφόρος; this is further evidence that this phenomenon is not always used consciously or on purpose for metrical reasons, since the alpha in the previous syllable does not need to be long (anceps) and is already a *dichronon*. Manuscript F and its apographa also read the form βραχὺ instead of βριθὺ (24.3). However, as it has been observed, βριθὺ μέγα is part of a well-attested formula to refer to weapons that goes back to Homer.

#### 4.1.25 Poem 25

This poem summarizes the later developments on Constantine (NC 25.40-48). After the defeat of Constantine at the single combat, the city of Baka eventually falls to the Roman army. Poem 25 addresses Constantine and recounts him his own story. The first two verses tell of the first seizure of Constantine. The paraphrase of these verses (25.1-2) simplifies the rendering of Niketas' *History*: συλληφθεὶς ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἀπάγεται δορυάλωτος, σιδήρω τοὺς πόδας ἀσφαλισθεὶς (25.41-42). Once again (see above 24.1) there are nominatives (with the article) instead of the vocative in the address to Constantine in this poem (25.1-2). The first of them (Ἡ φρήν ἀλαζῶν 25.1) uses a construction employed by Niketas elsewhere in his *History* to characterize the Crusaders that sacked Constantinople: ἡ ἀλαζῶν φρήν (NC 575.63-64). The second address fills the whole verse 25.2. Constantine is called again βάρβαρος (see above 24.1). κομπορήμων (25.2) is a rare word (see *Lampe*), attested both with a simple and with double rho, but the latter seems to be more spread and etymologically more correct. κομπορήμων is significantly attested in another iambic line of George of Pisidia,<sup>67</sup> as it seems, for metrical reasons: the syllable -πο- needs to be short in this position (seventh syllable of the dodecasyllable). Similarly, the same syllable needs to be short in our verse 25.2 (third syllable of the dodecasyllable). Accordingly, manuscript F and all the apographa (even W, copy of D) read κομπορήμων. In D, on the other hand, the damaged folio only conceals the beginning of the word, but -

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<sup>66</sup> See a similar *iunctura* in Constantine Manasses' verse chronicle, ed. *Lampsidis* (1996): ὀπλίτας σακκεσφόρους vv. 1043, 3636.

<sup>67</sup> *Hexaemeron* v. 1233, ed. *Gonnelli* (1998).

μπορρήμων can be read. As in ἀπορρῶξ (14.1) above, the most standard form has been preferred over the metrical adaptations. It is true that the reading of D could be a hypercorrection, but compare below Ὀρροντεΐαις (27.2), where the first omicron should remain short (seventh syllable of the dodecasyllable), but both manuscripts D and F read -ρρ-,<sup>68</sup> when the most correct and widespread form seems to be with a simple rho. This shows again that (de)gemination is more a fluctuant linguistic phenomenon than a conscious and consistent tool to serve the needs of prosody. The fluctuation probably goes back to Ephraim himself and should not be charged to the copyists. The copyists, on the other hand, could be responsible for some other corrections paying attention to the prosody of the iambic dodecasyllables. The same can be said about accentuation. See for example in this same verse Κωνσταντῖνος (25.2): the eleventh syllable should be measured short, but the circumflex would indicate that the *dichronon* iota should be measured long. However, all manuscripts read the circumflex and no variants can be found as it is common elsewhere (see above and e.g. ἴσον 29.9). Orthography is not always sacrificed on the altar of prosody.

The last two verses narrate the second and final seizure of Constantine. The wording again reflects the choices of Niketas. Compare 25.3 with Niketas Choniates' *History* 25.47-48: φυγὰς οἴχεται [...] καὶ συσχεθεὶς ἀθῆις. As with poem 24, these picturesque lines do not eventually find a place in the more sober chronicle of Ephraim.

#### 4.1.26 Poem 26

Omitting the episode of Constantine, Ephraim's chronicle advances from the capture of Baka (v. 3922, see above poem 23) to the one of Anazarba (vv. 3923-3924). The siege of Anazarba (another city of Cilicia occupied by the Armenians) is related in Niketas Choniates' *History* 25.49-27.1, even if it had chronologically preceded the fall of Baka. The difficulties in taking the city are alluded to in the first two verses (26.1-2): compare the description in NC 25.50-55. There is a clear enjambement between these verses (26.1-2), which is marked with a comma (or combination of signs containing the comma) in the manuscripts (see above). In manuscript F (and apographa) there is a distinctive error in 26.1: βασιλεῦ instead of βασιλεὺς. Manuscript D, in fact, has the abridged version: βασιλ followed by a grave accent (see above προκαλῆ 24.2 in F). The error of F could be originated in another such abbreviation in the common model η. Note also that the city

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<sup>68</sup> Together with the apographa: only the late excerpta of Pierre Moreau and the edition of Miller correct into Ὀρροντεΐαις.

is called Anabarza instead of Anazarba, which is a well-attested alternation.<sup>69</sup> Only manuscript V in Niketas Choniates reads Ἀνάζαρβαν (25.50). Accordingly, manuscript η, which Ephraim annotated, must have read Ἀνάβαρζαν. Oddly enough, Ephraim's chronicle reads Ἀναζάρβην (v. 3923). This could be another case where the chronicle renders a more careful and accurate text than the epigrams. However, the form Ἀναζάρβην from Ephraim (as if from Ἀναζάρβη) seems not to be attested anywhere else.<sup>70</sup>

Verse 26.3 refers to the final success of the emperor. The verb ἐξαλαπάζει recurs in the same metrical position in another epigram of the cycle (see 28.4 below). The rest of verse 26.3 reproduces the same formula that Ephraim uses to characterize the city of Anazarba in his chronicle: περὶκλυτόν τε καὶ κολώνειαν πόλιν (v. 3924). This particular accentuation of περὶκλυτός is late (see *LBG*; the ancient Homeric form is oxytone). The form is to be found in Niketas Choniates' *History* (158.75, 442.45), but, most notably, occurs in the same construction in the same position of the dodecasyllable in vv. 2, 762 of Constantine Stilbes' *Fire poem* (late 12th century): τὴν περὶκλυτον πόλιν.<sup>71</sup>

The last two verses of the epigram (26.4-5) do not refer to any event, but mark the end of this sort of sub-cycle of four poems (23-26) that narrate the deeds of John II Komnenos and his army against the Armenians in Cilicia. As mentioned before, these two lines mirror the opening address in epigram 23. Here, the epigram abandons the third-person treatment of 26.1-3 and turns to a generic Κίλιξ (26.5, see Ἰσαυροκίλιξ 23.1 and Ἀρμενοκίλιξ 24.1). As in poem 23, Ephraim uses the imperative mode (ὕμνει 26.4, δέχου 23.1) and seems to address not an enemy, but a common person (differently the Ἀρμενοκίλιξ 24.1). However, this Cilician is a little less undefined: the epigram addresses a poet and asks him to celebrate the victory with hymns. This hymn recalls the metapoetic allusions in poem 20.2. As in poem 20, it is not a matter of direct self-reflection, since Ephraim's epigrams are not strictly speaking celebration hymns to be performed. However, the metrical nature of our epigrams and the frequent allusions to the motifs and manners of occasional literature render the allusions to encomiastic poetry more meaningful.

One last note on the orthography: see the proclisis of the article and its combination with the following word in τολοιπὸν (26.4). The main manuscripts D and F both read this form (corrected in some apographa in τὸ λοιπὸν). The same manuscripts, however, read τὸ λοιπὸν in poem 7.3. Either there is a nuance in their respective meanings or there is a free variation between the two forms (see κατακράτος 19.2 above). As in the case of the

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<sup>69</sup> See Hild and Hellenkemper (1990: 178) and e.g. Ἀνάβαρζαν in Michael Italikos' oration 43 on John II Komnenos, ed. Gautier (1972: 253.5 and n. 40).

<sup>70</sup> Other sources have Anazarbos/Ἀνάζαρβος, see e.g. Kinnamos' *Epitome*, ed. Meineke (1836: 16.20, 17.16, 18.3, 18.10, etc.) and Skoutariotes' *Synopsis chronike*, ed. Sathas (1894: 199.10, 200.12).

<sup>71</sup> Ed. Diethart and Hörandner (2005).



geminatio of consonants or the new enclitics, this could also be used for the sake of the visual metrics of the dodecasyllable (prosody), although this seems not to be the case.

#### 4.1.27 Poem 27

After the Cilician campaign, the emperor and his army march to Syria and reach Antioch in 1137. Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch, loyal to John, allows him to sojourn there before a new expedition in Syria. The epigram comments on Niketas Choniates' *History* 27.2-9, where this episode is narrated. The corresponding passage is found in vv. 3925-3934 of Ephraim's chronicle. The epigram talks to the emperor again in the second person. The first verse (27.1) seems to refer to the recent victories of John. Miller edits this epigram (see above) and shows perplexity on the choice of the word ἔθνικοῖς. He translates ἔθνικοῖς [...] λύθροις as "gentilium [...] sanguine" and comments between brackets "Armeniorum! at ii quoque Christicolae".<sup>72</sup> However, here ἔθνικοῖς seems to mean just foreign, i.e. not Roman, regardless of the religion. It is equivalent to βάρβαρος, which the poet has used before with the Armenian Constantine (see above 24.1, 25.2).<sup>73</sup> The drift of meaning reminds the relationship between Ἕλληνες and Ἰωμαῖοι recorded in our commentary of poems 21.2 and 22.2, as these terms reflect the Byzantine representation of the self and of the other.

The last three verses (27.2-4) recount the arrival and rest of John in Antioch in a way that recalls the treatment of Niketas Choniates: τὴν καλλίπολιν Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσιῶν, ἣν δῖοισιν Ὀρόντης καὶ περιβομβεῖ Ζέφυρος ἄνεμος (NC 27.3-4). The river Orontes (27.2) and the wind Zephyr (27.4) are mentioned in our epigram. However, the city is never explicitly named, but alluded to by mentioning Daphne (27.4), a village on the outskirts of Antioch.<sup>74</sup> This suburb does not appear in Niketas Choniates (nor in Ephraim's chronicle), but it is a common way of distinguishing this Antioch from other homonyms.<sup>75</sup>

On the textual level, note the unusual double rho in Ὀρροντεῖαις (27.2). As mentioned above with respect to κομπορρήμων (25.2), Ὀρροντεῖαις is the reading of almost all the witnesses (including manuscripts D and F), even if it goes against the prosodic rules of the iambic dodecasyllable (the first omicron must remain short in the seventh syllable, whereas the double rho normally makes position and lengthens the previous syllable). Therefore, here the gemination is not used for metrical reasons. The geminated rho in

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<sup>72</sup> Miller (1881: 166).

<sup>73</sup> See e.g. Theodore Prodromos' *Historical Poem* 4.288-289, ed. Hörandner (1974).

<sup>74</sup> See Todt and Vest (2014: 1080-1088).

<sup>75</sup> See e.g. the geographical letter of Michael Italikos to Theodore Prodromos: Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν κατὰ τὴν Δάφνην, ed. Gautier (1972: 100.29). Todt and Vest (2014: 539): Ἀντιόχεια ἢ ἐπὶ Δάφνης.

the name of this river is found again only rarely, but significantly in the *Historical Poems* of Theodore Prodromos and in Manuel Holobolos' oration 2 on Michael VIII Palaiologos.<sup>76</sup> The adjective Ὀρόντειος, on the other hand, is already rare, significantly only found, as it seems, in Niketas Choniates' oration 7 and in Holobolos' oration 3 on Michael VIII Palaiologos.<sup>77</sup> Note the alternation in Holobolos of the two forms. Manuscripts D and F (against all apographa) also have the enclisis of elided δέ in 27.3 (see above 8.2). Finally, ἀναπνυθεις (27.4) is a form unattested elsewhere. It seems to have been coined on the Homeric ἀμπνύ(ν)θη (*Iliad* 5.697, 14.436),<sup>78</sup> as if from a verb \*ἀναπνώ. See e.g. Ps. Zonaras' lexicon, s. v. ἄμπαυμα. ἀνάπαυμα. [καὶ κατὰ συγκοπὴν ἄμπαυμα. ἀμπνύνθη. ἀναπνύω, ἀναπνύσω, ἀνέπνυκα, ἀνέπνυμαι, ἄμπαυμα ἀνεπνύσθη. καὶ πλεονασμῶ τοῦ ν ἀμπνύνθη, ὡς τὸ ἀρτύνη].<sup>79</sup> Even if the preposition in our epigram is not syncopated, the form is another example of epic elements in the mixed register of some verses (see the lack of augment in 21.2 above). The novelty of the word baffled the copyist of C (ἀναπλυνθεις) and Σ (ἀναπνωθεις). Miller, who used mainly Σ (see above), edited ἀναπνωθεις and noted this “quidem barbara vox ἀναπνωθεις, ab ἀναπνοῇ male conficta”.<sup>80</sup> *LBG* adopts this scribal error as an entry, s. v. ἀναπνώ. Another very rare word recorded in *LBG* quoting our epigram from Miller's edition is ἀνακώχουσιν (27.3).

#### 4.1.28 Poem 28

After the stop in Antioch (poem 27), epigrams 28-29 comment on another campaign by John, who sieges and captures a series of cities in Syria in 1138 before returning to Antioch (poem 30). Poem 28 summarizes in five verses a large passage of Niketas Choniates' *History* (27.10-29.53). The report of Ephraim's chronicle is even shorter (vv. 3936-3939), but it shows many compelling parallels with poem 28. The first two verses (28.1-2) address Byzantium (i.e. Constantinople)<sup>81</sup> and establish a comparison between the city and the garden of Eden, drawing some images from the book of Genesis (2.10-14) in the description of the river Euphrates. Note the alliteration (χρυσο-) in 28.2 and the obvious etymological play not only between χρυσοδίνην (see *LBG*) and the hapax χρυσοπλουτοβρύτην (see *LBG*), but also between -βρύτην and βρύεις (28.1).

The marvelous Euphrates streaming from Byzantium (28.1-2), in turn, seems to signify John and his army, if we follow the development of the metaphor in verses 28.3-4. A

<sup>76</sup> Prodromos' *Historical poems* 11.105, 11.166, 12.36, ed. Hörandner (1974). Holobolos, ed. Treu (1906-1907: 70.36-71.1).

<sup>77</sup> Choniates, ed. van Dielen (1972: 58.8). Holobolos, ed. Treu (1906-1907: 92.18). See *LBG*.

<sup>78</sup> See *LSJ* s. v. ἄμπνυτο and Prodromos' *Historical poem* 8.284, ed. Hörandner (1974).

<sup>79</sup> Ed. Tittmann (1808: 155).

<sup>80</sup> Miller (1881: 166).

<sup>81</sup> Βυζαντίς is a form much used in Ephraim's chronicle: see Lampsidis (1990: 351).

turbulent new Euphrates (note another *figura etymologica* in ἐκρέων ῥύδην 28.3) coming from Constantinople conquers the cities close to the Euphrates in Syria. The first remarkable parallel with the corresponding passage in Ephraim’s chronicle occurs in these verses (28.3-4): καὶ πρὸς παρευφράτιδας ἄπεισι πόλεις (v. 3936). Verse 3936 of the chronicle and poem 28.3 are the only two occurrences (with the same inflexion and in the same metrical position) of the elsewhere unattested παρευφράτις (see *LBG*). Note also the same metrical position and inflexion of πόλεις (28.4, v. 3936 of the chronicle), whereas ἐξαλαπάζει (28.4) recurs in the same metrical position in 26.3 (see above). However, one of the most striking parallels is the final verse (28.5), which is almost exactly reproduced in Ephraim’s chronicle: Πεζά, Χάλεπ, Νίστριον, Καρφαρᾶ, Φέρεπ (v. 3939). Admittedly, this time the epigram has a more accurate text than the chronicle. Πιζά (28.5) is better than Πεζά (v. 3939).<sup>82</sup> Similarly, Καρφαρᾶ (v. 3939) seems to be an error from Καρφαδᾶ (28.5), which in turns renders imperfectly Καφαρδᾶ (NC 28.45).<sup>83</sup> Manuscript F in the main text reads Καφαρδᾶ (NC 28.45) and, similarly, F reads Ἰστριον (29.49) instead of Νίστριον (NC 29.49, 28.5; v. 3939 of Ephraim’s chronicle).<sup>84</sup> This shows that Ephraim was not working directly with F for his epigrams, but most likely with the model of D and F, manuscript η. A similar asyndetic enumeration of cities as in 28.5, including Χάλεπ (Aleppo; see NC 28.29, 31), Φέρεπ (28.30, 42)<sup>85</sup> and Καρφαδᾶ, can be read in Theodore Prodromos’ *Historical poems* 11.54, 16.64: ἐκ Φέρεπ Χάλεπ Καφαρτῶν.<sup>86</sup> As in other verses, the asyndetic enumeration in 28.5 is marked in the manuscripts with μέσαι στιγμαί (see above). Regarding punctuation, the enjambement between 28.3-4 is marked with a comma in D (no sign in F).

Miller edits this epigram and criticize the poet in a short note: “Falso enim ad Euphratis ripam ponuntur eae urbes, quae longe ab illo flumine absunt neque ejus alluvium timent. Unde Nicetam ipsum nimis ambitiose locutum fateri oportet ubi Joannem ait ad Euphratem accessisse, τῷ Εὐφράτῃ προσεγγίσει, quum verius dixisset ad Syriam Euphratensem”.<sup>87</sup> As he admits, Ephraim is depending on the narration of Niketas at this point, who not only says that John τῷ ποταμῷ προσεγγίσας Εὐφράτῃ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τι πολίχνιον ἐγχωρίως Πιζά καλούμενον (NC 27.10-11), but also later that μοῖραν διαφεῖς στρατεύματος κατὰ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Εὐφράτου πόλεων καὶ φρουρίων πλῆθος λαφύρων

<sup>82</sup> See NC 27.11, 28.27, where manuscripts R and M (= ρ, see above) read Πιζά, like Kinnamos’ *Epitome*, ed. Meineke (1836: 19.11), and Todt and Vest (2014: 1004-1007, s. v. Beselathōn kōmē).

<sup>83</sup> See Todt and Vest (2014: 1351-1356, s. v. Kapharda).

<sup>84</sup> See Todt and Vest (2014: 1552-1553, s. v. Nistrion).

<sup>85</sup> See Todt and Vest (2014: 1463-1467, s. v. Litarboi).

<sup>86</sup> Ed. Hörandner (1974).

<sup>87</sup> Miller (1881: 169): “In fact, these cities are wrongly put along the banks of the Euphrates, since they are far away from this river and there is no risk of flood. For this reason, we must admit that Niketas himself had already said rather affectedly that John approached the Euphrates (τῷ Εὐφράτῃ προσεγγίσει), when he should have better said that he approached Syria Euphratensis”.

συνέλεξε (28.26-27). Besides, the Euphrates does not only give the general setting of the region where John carried out his deeds, but it also enables the metaphor of the flood in 28.1-2, which should not be understood literally. As a result, παρευφράτιδας is easier to understand in 28.3 than in Ephraim's chronicle v. 3936.

#### 4.1.29 Poem 29

This poem comments on Niketas Choniates' *History* 30.90-2. After a long siege of the city of Shayzar in Syria (1138), John is forced to abandon it and accept the terms of peace sealed with gifts on behalf of the city. Besides the corresponding passage of Ephraim's chronicle (vv. 3940-3944), with which our epigram shares several traits, the episode is recorded in other historiographic and court literature. These sources, especially with regard to the lychnites stone (29.5), are analyzed in depth and compared with other witnesses by Niccolò Zorzi, who also knows our poem 29.<sup>88</sup> I will explore some of these parallels without contributing substantially to identifying the actual historical reality of these gifts, but rather paying more attention to the textual procedures behind their representations.

The first three verses (29.1-3) constitute an innovation with respect to the source (Niketas Choniates) and the later chronicle. They set the premise for a comparison of the emperor with Christ: as once the Magi came from the East (Persia) to honor the king of the Jews with the well-known gifts (29.1-2; see the gospel of Matthew 2.11), now the Persians offer their gifts to John (29.3 σοί δ' αὖ, βασιλεῦ [...]). As before with Scythians (= Pechenegs 13.1, 15.1, 16.2), Triballi (= Serbs 16.2) and Huns/Paeonians (= Hungarians 18, 19.2), here the archaizing name of Persians (Περσὶς 29.1, Περσικῶν 29.3) is used to designate the Arabs, even if it is more commonly applied to Turks elsewhere (compare Περσοσκύθας 41.3). Perhaps Ephraim ignored who exactly held the city of Shayzar at that moment, since the report of Niketas is not so clear in that respect.<sup>89</sup> Be that as it may, the comparison with the Magi is part of the imagery of court poetry,<sup>90</sup> but it is never constructed so compactly and neatly as here, where actual presents are found on the other side of the comparison. This epigram is another example of the self-contained structure of our poems in contrast to the chronicle (see above on 20.12).

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<sup>88</sup> Zorzi (2001: 72, 75 n. 49).

<sup>89</sup> Niketas clearly says that the inhabitants of Shayzar were Saracens (Σαρακηνοὶ, NC 30.2), which normally refers to the Arabs. However, the Persians (Turks) are all around in this section (NC 30.89, 31.9). In fact, the gifts are said to be part of the booty of Mantzikert (NC 30.2-31.7).

<sup>90</sup> See Theodore Prodromos' *Historical poem* 9a.7-8 (ed. Hörandner 1974) and Manuel Holobolos' *Poems* 14, 18.9-14 (ed. Boissonade 1833).

The presents are enumerated in the following verses (29.4-9). The first conventional elements are accommodated in one line (29.4). They all appear in the corresponding lines of the chronicle: [...] καὶ λίθους καὶ μαργάρους (in the same metrical position)/ πολύν τε χρυσὸν (vv. 3941-3942).<sup>91</sup> The following verses (29.5-6) introduce the central gift, as it is attested in several sources.<sup>92</sup> The epigram depends on Niketas' account (σταυρὸν εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενος πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα καὶ ξενίζον τῇ θεᾷ, λυχνίτη λίθῳ κεκολαμμένον NC 30.93-94) and shows similarities with the treatment in Ephraim's chronicle (καὶ λυχνίτην φέροντα σταυροῦ τὸν τύπον,/ χρῆμά τι πανθαύμαστον, ἔκπληκτον, ξένον vv. 3943-3944). The first question that these reports arouse is about the nature of the lychnites stone, whether a sort of marble or a sort of gem is meant.<sup>93</sup> A second question is whether a monolithic sculpture of a cross is described or rather a *crux gemmata*, a cross covered with precious stones. With the help of the testimonies of Italikos and Basilakes, Zorzi leans towards the latter.<sup>94</sup> The epigram, however, since it follows Niketas, does not immediately favour this interpretation. As in the chronicle (vv. 3943-3944), a stone is said to have adopted almost miraculously the shape of a cross. In fact, ἀτεχνῶς (29.6) contrasts with the τεχνικὴ χεῖρ (29.7) of the following verse. Verses 29.7-9 refer to some sort of inscription or design carved in the stone. Once more, the epigram follows Niketas' account: ἐν ᾧπερ αὐτοφυῶς ἡ τέχνη διύφανε γράμματα εἰς κάλλος φιλόνεικον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκάσματος καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀτεχνῶς τρυφήν (NC 30.94-1). Note the repetition of some expressions and words (διύφανε γράμματα εἰς κάλλος > εἰς κάλλος ἐξύφανε γραμμάτων τύπους 29.8) and a similar opposition between ἀτεχνῶς/τεχνικὴ χεῖρ (29.6-7) in αὐτοφυῶς ἡ τέχνη (see also ἀτεχνῶς τρυφήν). After comparison with the accounts of Italikos and Basilakes, Zorzi suggests that the cross must have had an inscription and/or a depiction.<sup>95</sup> Even if the γράμματα have been interpreted before as "lines" arranged as ornamentation, the epigram seems to refer to letters inscribed on the cross.<sup>96</sup> In the chronicle, this detail is omitted and thus the ambiguity is avoided. The vague χρῆμά τι πανθαύμαστον, ἔκπληκτον, ξένον (v. 3944) reproduces to a certain extent the emphasis

<sup>91</sup> Albeit conventional (see e.g. v. 7800 of the chronicle), the same gifts are mentioned in the panegyrics of Italikos (ed. Gautier 1972: 264.12-14) and Basilakes (ed. Garzya 1984: 67.14-17).

<sup>92</sup> See Kinnamos' *Epitome*, ed. Meineke (1836: 20.11-13); Italikos' oration 43 on John II Komnenos, ed. Gautier (1972: 264.18-19); Basilakes' oration 3 on John II Komnenos, ed. Garzya (1984: 68.1-5).

<sup>93</sup> See Zorzi (2001: 67-77).

<sup>94</sup> Zorzi (2001: 77-80).

<sup>95</sup> Zorzi (2001: 80-84); Italikos, ed. Gautier (1972: 264.19-265.3) and Basilakes, ed. Garzya (1984: 68.10-14).

<sup>96</sup> Basilakes also refers to letters in quite similar terms as our epigram (ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐν ξυμβόλῳ γραμμάτων ἀτεχνῶς) and even gives the content of the inscription: τοῦτό σοι τὸ ὄπλον οὐράνιον, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ σὺ νίκα νῦν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὸ πρότερον, ed. Garzya (1984: 68.12-14). On metrical inscriptions on crosses, see e.g. Nicholas Kallikles' poems 6, 7, 27, 33-36 (ed. Romano 1980), Hörandner (2007) and *BEiÜ* 2 numbers Me1-3, 6-8, etc.

and grandeur of the closing line of the epigram (29.9), while it also reminds of the closing line of poem 20 (a similar enumeration with ξένος in the same metrical position in 20.12).

Some final notes on the linguistic peculiarities of this poem. First, βροτεργάτη (29.1) as if from βροτεργάτης is a hapax legomenon. Miller edits βροτουργάτη against all manuscripts and witnesses.<sup>97</sup> From this edition, it was included in *LBG* (s. v. βροτουργάτης), but βροτεργάτη is not only the reading of all manuscripts, but also -εργάτης is the correct way of composing nouns with this ending. The form -ουργάτης is elsewhere unattested. The diphthong -ou- is used, however, with the ending -ουργός. See e.g. below the also rare βροτουργός (43.3; see *LBG* s. v. and Ephraim's chronicle v. 5369). Miller silently corrects other words out of metrical scruples: εἰς > ἐς (29.8; see above 8.1-2) and ἴσον > ἴσον (29.9; the iota needs to be short in the seventh syllable, but see e.g. above Κωνσταντῖνος 25.2). Besides, Miller implies that φύλων (29.3) is an emendation, as if the manuscripts read φυλῶν, but in fact all the manuscripts read φύλων. In this same verse, Miller edits σοὶ (29.3) with many of the apographa, but manuscripts D and F have the accent of the elided δέ retracted on the pronoun and this is graphically expressed with the orthotonic σοί (29.3). As for punctuation, verses 29.1-2, 3-4 and 7-8 are enjambed and this is always marked at the end of verses 29.1, 3 and 7 with a comma in D and with a combination of signs containing the comma in F. On the other hand, the commas inside verse 29.2 translate the μέσαι στιγμαί in D, whereas the comma in 29.9 a μέση στιγμή in F (asyndetic coordination).

#### 4.1.30 Poem 30

The epigram comments on Niketas Choniates' *History* 31.16-21. After the campaign in Syria (poems 28-29) the emperor returns to Antioch (see poem 27) before returning to Constantinople (1138). In fact, as in poem 27, the poet does not directly name the city (see Δάφνης 27.4), but calls it after one of its many epithets: Theoupolis.<sup>98</sup> The epigram also recalls poem 20, where another triumph was depicted (see θρίαμβον 30.6; θρίαμβος 20.1, 12). Notably, the triumph is not recorded by Ephraim in the chronicle, which transitions from the gifts of poems 29 into the subject of poem 31.

The epigram is compactly structured, with anaphora, alliteration, internal rhyme, polyptoton and etymological puns throughout in the style of poem 16 (see above): Θεουπόλει πόλει (30.1); Δις [...] / καὶ δις [...] / καὶ δις δις [...] (30.1-3); μυριάκις μυριοστεφηφόρος (30.4); καλῶν κάλλιστος (30.5). The first two verses (30.1-2) refer back to poem 27: this is the second entrance of John in Antioch. The first time after defeating the Armenians of Cilicia (poems 23-26), now after some victories in the Syrian campaign

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<sup>97</sup> Miller (1881: 175).

<sup>98</sup> See Todt and Vest (2014: 539) and e.g. NC 211.91, 406.44.

(poems 28-29). Verse 30.3 counts literally four returns in Constantinople. One may think about the victorious returns narrated in the previous epigrams (from Laodikeia in poem 10, from Sozopolis in poems 11-12, from the war against Pechenegs in poems 13-15, from the one against Serbs in poem 16, from the one against Hungarians in poems 18-19, from the one against Danişmendids in poems 21-22), but these surpass the number of four. In fact, the construction καὶ δις δις is not to be taken literally, but rhetorically. It builds a climax in the anaphora with the previous verses (Δις [...] / καὶ δις [...] 30.1-2) and the hyperbole peaks in 30.4, where the victories are uncountable. This verse includes a hapax, *μυριοστεφηφόρος* (30.4; see *LBG*), which is coined on *στεφηφόρος* (very common in Byzantine encomiastic poetry) adding the productive form *μυριο-*, which generates the alliteration/*figura etymologica* with *μυριάκις*. Note that half of the manuscript tradition (manuscript D and its copy W) reads here *μυριοστεφηφόρει*. The verb *στεφηφορέω* is attested elsewhere (e.g. NC 459.65, 562.56; see *LBG*), but the imperative does not make any sense here (the epigram does not address the emperor in the second person).

The last two verses (30.5-6) conclude the poem with laudatory words on John (30.5) and the final mention of the triumph (*θρίαμβον* 30.6). *Αὐσόνων ἄναξ* (30.5) is a title that recurs in the same position in Ephraim's chronicle (v. 7566) and in Komnenian court poets as Theodore Prodromos and Nicholas Kallikles.<sup>99</sup> *Αὔσονες* (see also 11.1, 32.2, 36.11) is an archaizing way of calling the Romans (i.e. the Byzantines) very much used in ceremonial and encomiastic literature. For example, Niketas Choniates uses it only once in his monumental *History* (NC 150.46), but two times in his oration 5.<sup>100</sup> The word *Αὔσονες* and some compounds including it are recorded in Ephraim many times,<sup>101</sup> as well as in the oeuvre of Prodromos, Holobolos, etc. Miller edits this poem and comments on the polyptoton *καλῶν κάλλιστος* (30.5) as a possible allusion to an ironic popular nickname of John, but he eventually rejects any derisive purposes in this formulaic epithet.<sup>102</sup> Miller also proposes *ὄς* instead of *ὠς* (30.5), but this correction is not necessary. Ephraim's chronicle has the same word, in the same metrical position and with the same value (almost a line-filler) in several verses (e.g. v. 3974; see poem 32 below). The chronicle also brings *ἐφίσταται* (30.6) in the same metrical position in several verses (e.g. v. 3927).

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<sup>99</sup> See e.g. Kallikles' poem 2.34 (ed. Romano 1980) on our John II Komnenos and Prodromos' *Historical poem* 25.9 (ed. Hörandner 1974), where John speaks from his grave.

<sup>100</sup> Ed. van Diäten (1972: 38.3 and v. 53; see *Αὐσονάρχης* vv. 22, 42); on the versified part of this epithalamium, see Hörandner (2003: 79-83).

<sup>101</sup> See Lampsidis (1990: 348).

<sup>102</sup> Miller (1888: 178-179).

### 4.1.31 Poem 31

The epigram comments on the reconciliation of emperor John and his brother, the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos, as narrated in Niketas Choniates' *History* 32.31-33.60. Isaac, once a fundamental factor in establishing the rule of John (see NC 8.2-9.8), had quarreled with his brother and fled to the Turks of Ikonion (Asia Minor) with his son John in 1130. After a period of roaming and conspiring outside the borders of the empire, he decided to return to his successful brother in Syria in 1138. Against all odds, the emperor received him generously and joyfully. The son of Isaac, John, however, would soon rebel and go back to the Turks (see poem 35 below). Notably, John is described in NC 32.35-36 (ἄνῆρ δ' οὗτος ὀπλιτοπάλας καὶ πολεμόκλονος) with similar words as in the epigram 35.4 (ὀπλιτοπάλας μαχεσίκλονος; see below).

Besides Niketas, the reconciliation is celebrated, for example, by the encomiasts Italikos and more lengthily in Basilakes.<sup>103</sup> The treatment of the episode in Ephraim's chronicle (vv. 3950-3965) is more detailed than in the epigram. Epigram 31 is less descriptive, but its structure is succinct and efficient. The first two verses (31.1-2) have a gnomic force and the last three verses (31.7-9) elaborate on a proverb in Niketas Choniates' *History*. The core of the epigram (31.3-6) narrates the actual scene in similar terms as in the chronicle. The first part of the epigram (31.1-6), however, addresses the emperor (βασιλεῦ 31.2; similarly as in 26.1 above, manuscript D reads βασιλ', which is an error here). The gnomic style of 31.1 (note the polyptoton φύσιν [...] φύσει) is incorporated into the address to the emperor in the following line through enjambement (31.2; the enjambement is marked at the end of 31.1 with a comma or a combination of signs containing the comma in manuscripts D and F, see above). The first two verses, therefore, are laudatory and sound like an advice with hindsight, giving the flavour of mirror-of-princes literature (see the poems in Appendix 2 of Part 1). The γὰρ in 31.3 introduces the illustration of the maxim of 31.1-2. The emperor rejoices more at the return of the "prodigal" brother and nephew (see Luke 15.11-32) than at the many victories in the battlefield. In fact, many features of these verses (31.3-6) are faithfully reproduced Ephraim's chronicle. Compare vv. 3961-3963: ἐπανιόντα καὶ γὰρ ἰδὼν ὁ κράτωρ/ Θεῶ χαριστήρια τῶν ὅλων θύει,/ οὐχ ἦττον ἠσθεῖς ἢ νίκαις ταῖς μυρίαῖς. The words ἐπανιοῦσαν (31.4), χαριστήρια and θύεις (31.5) and ἡ νίκαις ταῖς μυρίαῖς (31.6) are found in the same metrical position, besides the repetition of ἰδὼν and Θεῶ (31.5). Both the epigram and the chronicle, in turn, pick up on the wording of the *History* of Niketas

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<sup>103</sup> Ed. Gautier (1972: 265.11-17), Garzya (1984: 63.29-64.17).



Choniates: see οὐ πλεῖον τῶ τῆς νίκης περιόντι ἢ τῆ τοῦ κασιγνήτου ἐπανόδῳ ἡγαλλιᾶτο [...] θῦον θεῶ χαριστήρια [...] (NC 32.55-33.60).<sup>104</sup>

The last three verses (31.7-9) brings back the *figura etymologica* in φύσις (31.7; see φύσιν [...] φύσει 31.1 and συμφυΐας 31.9). Note that there is a recurrent φ sound throughout the poem (see ἄφθιτον [...] φέρεις 31.2; παμφιλτάτην 31.3; τερφθεῖς 31.6; φιλυποστρόφως 31.7; φέρειν 31.8). The proverb is found similarly in the source (NC 32.50-52): ἰσχυρὸν γάρ τι χρῆμα πόθος συγγενεῖα διυφαινόμενος, κἂν ἀπορραγεῖη (see ἀπορραγέντα 31.9) μικρόν τι τῆς συμφυΐας (see 31.9), ταχέως φιλυπόστροφος (see φιλυποστρόφως 31.7) γίνεται. These last three verses (31.7-9) change from the second to the third person and thus gain in autonomy. The proverb is not incorporated anymore into the episode and this caused confusion in the copying of this epigram. In F, in fact, 31.1-6 is copied in the lower margin of the recto of the folio and the end of the poem (31.7-9) continues in the upper margin of the verso. However, since these verses stand on their own, the apographa have taken them as if they were a separate poem (see above). Manuscript Σ (and s, its copy) even copied 31.7-9 before the first verses (31.1-6), whereas Φ clearly marks the end of one poem at 31.6 and the beginning of another one at 31.7. In F, actually, the continuation of one single poem is confirmed by the lack of punctuation at the end of 31.6 (note also the distinctive error of F, μυρίοις). There is no other explanation for the absence of punctuation at the end of this verse, since 31.7 begins so clearly with another clause. On punctuation, note that the (pseudo-)enjambement of 31.7-9 is marked in the manuscripts with commas or combinations of signs containing the comma at the end of each verse (and simply no sign at the end of 31.8 in D; see above).

#### 4.1.32 Poem 32

Soon after returning from Syria to Constantinople with his brother, the emperor summons the army and sets off again to fight the Danişmendids (see above poems 21-22) in Asia Minor in 1139. The epigram paraphrases the scene depicted in Niketas Choniates' *History* 33.67-83: the incessant activity of the army prevents the soldiers from reposing at home and they start being irritated. Niketas also states clearly that the emperor did not ignore all this and that he used the situation to provoke and challenge his men. The epigram summarizes the picture in four verses addressed to the emperor. In the first verse (32.1) the emperor is addressed again using the nominative (with the article; see above 24.1, 25.1-2). His character is mild in general, but for once he behaves harshly with his soldiers (32.2). Verse 32.2 uses the wording of Niketas: ἔδοξε καὶ βαρὺς (NC 33.70; on Αὐσόνων, see above 30.5). The last two verses (32.3-4) seem to allude to the emperor's

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<sup>104</sup> See the same expression θύεις τὰ χαριστήρια in Basilakes' oration on John II Komnenos, ed. Garzya (1984: 64.6).

manipulation of his troops, especially in the pairing ἐκβιάζεις ἐντέχνως (32.4). The emperor appeared insensitive in order to stimulate the troops. After so many epigrams of praising and celebration of the emperor's victories, poem 32 stands out as the only instance of possible criticism of John in the cycle.

In the chronicle (vv. 3972-3975), Ephraim renders the episode in very similar terms, so that poem 32 constitutes further evidence to support Ephraim's authorship of our cycle of epigrams. Compare vv. 3973-3975: στρατῶ βαρὺς ἔδοξεν ὁ πραῦς ἄναξ (see 32.1-2)/ ὡς διανιστῶν ἀρεικὰς πρὸς μάχας (see ἀνιστῶν ἀρεικοὺς πρὸς τρόπους 32.3)/ καὶ προσβιάζων (ἐκβιάζεις 32.4) καρτερεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. The chronicle is even more succinct and the second person of the epigram gives way to the third person, whereas the polyptoton τρόπων 32.1/τρόπους 32.3 is omitted. However, the similarities in the choice of words and structure are significant. As for textual issues, there is in 32.4 the distinctive error of F and its copies ἐκβιάζειν, which manuscript Φ tries to correct in ἐκβιάζων, instead of ἐκβιάζεις of D and its copy.

#### 4.1.33 Poem 33

The trace of criticism of poem 32 is obliterated in poem 33. The epigram is a short encomiastic note on a victory of John over the Danişmendids in the winter of 1139-1140 as narrated by Niketas Choniates' *History* 35.19-27. The victory in question is not one of a conventional battle, but a skirmish in the way to Neokaisareia, not mentioned in the corresponding passage in Ephraim's chronicle (vv. 3976-3979). In particular, poem 33 seems to praise the stratagems (τῆς στρατηγίας τρόπος 33.1) of John designed to optimize the firepower and conceal the weakness of his army. The poet addresses the emperor (σου 33.1)<sup>105</sup> in two verses without any verb, but replete with praise and honorary titles (33.2). The first half of 33.2 (ἄναξ χαριτώνυμε) uses a traditional association of the name John with the grace that has already been employed before (see above χαριτωνυμουμένου 13.2). The same set of words (ἄναξ χαριτώνυμος) is found in the same metrical position in Ephraim's chronicle referring to our John II Komnenos (v. 3935) and to John III Vatatzes (v. 8542). The formula occurs in other contexts referring to our John II Komnenos, as for example in Theodore Prodromos' *Historical poem* 8.61 and in verse 1 of the (now lost) inscription of the Pantokrator monastery.<sup>106</sup> The second half of 33.2 accumulates two vocatives: βουλάρχα as if from βουλάρχης is a hapax (see e.g. *LBG* s. v. κρατάρχης) and κράτωρ is a late form (see *LBG* and above Αὔσονοκράτης 11.1).

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<sup>105</sup> The form σοῦ is attested in F and its apographa, but the enclisis seems more correct here, since the pronoun functions as possessive (compare 37.19, 42.1; see poem 11.2 of the new cycle of verse scholia on Herodotus above in Part 1).

<sup>106</sup> Prodromos, ed. Hörandner (1974); the inscription is number 213 of *BEiÜ* 1, see Vassis (2013: 224).

#### 4.1.34 Poem 34

The poem comments on the prowess of the youngest son of John, the later emperor Manuel I Komnenos, during the siege of Neokaisareia. The episode is narrated in Niketas Choniates' *History* 35.28-38 and remembered by John in his last speech (NC 45.37-46.40) when he chose Manuel as heir of the throne. Moreover, it is recorded in other sources, as for example in Kinnamos' *Epitome* and Italikos' oration 44 on Manuel I Komnenos.<sup>107</sup> Ephraim's chronicle, however, does not mention the bravery of Manuel at this point, as it happens with other epigrams that deal with the sons of the emperor and do not find a place in the versified paraphrase of Ephraim (see above poem 17 and below poem 37).

The structure of poem 34 is remarkable, if not always perfectly achieved. It is built on proverbs, some explicitly named as such: see δημῶδης λόγος 34.1<sup>108</sup> and τῆς παροιμίας 34.4. The use of proverbs and proverbial expressions in Ephraim's chronicle has already been studied.<sup>109</sup> Whether these sayings were widely used in everyday life is difficult to assess insofar as they naturally only survive to us recorded in paroemiographical collections and other pieces of literature. Most likely, Ephraim learned and selected the appropriate proverbs from such collections (see below the same accumulation of similar proverbs in other authors). Other proverbs in our epigram are only alluded to or made up ad hoc, as it seems. In any case, the use of these short pieces of general wisdom for the laymen (see above poem 5; 31.1-2, 7-9) reveals once again the mixture of dignified and plain styles in Ephraim (see above).

Verses 34.1-2 present a first gnome (δημῶδης λόγος 34.1), whose meaning is very appropriate for the particular case of Manuel's deeds. The proverb does not seem to be very widespread, but it is attested in Michael Apostoles' collection 11.71, with a useful explanation: Μικρόθεν ἢ ἀγαθὴ ἄκανθα φαίνεται: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι ("The good thorn is visible since it is small: it is said of the ones that are visibly good from an early age").<sup>110</sup> This concept will recur in the following proverbs. Ephraim rewrites the proverb in two verses (34.1-2) in a more literary way: the words ἀρτιφυῆς (34.1) and καλλιφυῆς (34.2) sound more solemn and poetic than Apostoles' version, while they recall each other in *figura etymologica*. The latter, in fact, is a rare word (see *LBG*) and its ending (καλλιφυᾶ 34.2) confused the copyist of manuscript F. As it seems, it was taken as a dative and the article in F and the apographa was changed into τῆ < τὴν (34.2). On the orthography in παραυτικά (34.2), see above κατακράτος (19.2), τολοιπὸν (26.4).

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<sup>107</sup> Ed. Meineke (1836: 21.16-22.2, 27.20-22) and Gautier (1972: 286.10-287.22). See also Skoutariotes' *Synopsis chronike*, ed. Sathas (1894: 206.21-31).

<sup>108</sup> The same ending of verse is found in Niketas Eugenianos' *Drosilla and Charikles* vv. 6.541, 599 (ed. Conca 1990).

<sup>109</sup> See e.g. Lampsidis (1971: 71-72; 1977; 1990: 426-428, 447-448) and Varvounis (1989).

<sup>110</sup> *CPG* 2.533.

The next verse (34.3) includes a proverb that it is not recorded elsewhere and it is not explicitly identified as one (see δημῶδης λόγος 34.1 and τῆς παροιμίας 34.4). Could this be a creation of Ephraim? The verse seems to allude to a particular passage of Niketas Choniates' *History*. The prowess of Manuel is performed behind the father's back. When the emperor learns about it, he first praises Manuel in public, but later in private he beats him with a willow stick (ὕστερον δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσιῶν πρηγῆ ταθέντα διὰ λύγου ἔτυψεν NC 35.36-37), because of his temerity. Verse 34.3, therefore, could support the alleged pedagogical efficiency of physical punishment. The dependence on Niketas is also ciphered in the word καρποβριθὲς (34.3), which is only found again in NC 634.74 (see *LBG* s. v. καρποβριθής). However, the wording of 34.3 resembles another well-known proverb that occurs in similar contexts as other proverbs in this poem, that of knowing ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον (see below). The new proverb continues the vegetal imagery of the previous one (see ἄκανθα 34.1) and it would point at the same concept of knowing the whole from the part and, more specifically, the noble character from an early age (see above 34.1-2 and below 34.4, 34.5-7).

Another proverb in the same sense as the one in the previous verses is fully quoted in verse 34.4. Unlike the one in 34.1-2, this one is found many times in Greek (medieval) literature, but we can consult again Apostoles' collection (6.91) to grasp its meaning:<sup>111</sup> Ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ ὕφασμα δείκνυται: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπὸ μέρους καταλαμβανόντων τὸ ὅλον ("The cloth is shown from the edge: it is said on understanding the whole from a part"). Unlike 34.1-2, the rendering of the poem is quite literal and allusive (34.4 τῆς παροιμίας suggests that the reader already knows the proverb). As in 34.3, there is no verb, but the wording of Apostoles (δείκνυται) suggests that the verb δείκνυσι (34.2) should be implied here. The same can be said about 34.3 (see above).

After the series of proverbs (34.1-4), the epigram turns again to the fourth son of John II Komnenos. Against the conceptual background of 34.1-4, verses 34.5-9 assert that Manuel's deeds in the battlefield in his youth were already a clear indication that he would be once a good king of the Romans. By the words used to signify this (βασιλικωτάτην ψυχὴν [...] ἐν μείρακι μένουσαν ἄνακτος σκύμῳ 34.5-7), yet another proverb could be in the mind of the poet and the readers. First, the metaphor of a lion and its whelps for a king and his offspring enjoys some success in the tradition of court literature: see e.g. on John, his father and his children, Prodrimos' *Historical poems* 16.5, 17.213, 19.144.<sup>112</sup> But the lion's whelp brings to mind another well-known proverb of the same colour as the previous ones, that of knowing ἐξ ὄνουχος τὸν λέοντα. The association of the prince as cub of a lion (ἄνακτος σκύμῳ 34.7) and this proverb can be at issue in

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<sup>111</sup> *CPG* 2.389.

<sup>112</sup> Ed. Hörandner (1974).

Italikos' oration 43 on John II Komnenos, where the orator addresses the emperor and refers to the prowess of his natural successor, the cub Alexios (see above poem 17), before he died (see below poem 37): Εἶτα δεικνὺς τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τὸν σκύμνον ὁ λέων ὁ βλοσυρώτατος οἴους ἔχει τοὺς ὄνυχας [...].<sup>113</sup> Similarly, Niketas Choniates describes Constantine, the nephew of emperor Isaac II Angelos: ὁ δὲ κὰν οὕτω ὑπερναβεβήκει τὸν μείρακα, τὸ γοῦν θυμοειδὲς παραδεικνύων, ὡς οἱ τῶν λεόντων σκύμνοι [...] καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀνύχων ἀκωκὰς [...] (NC 435.39-42). See also Basilakes' oration 5 on John Axouch talking about Axouch and John II Komnenos (λέοντας ὑμᾶς εἶπεν ἄν τις συννόμους ἰδὼν, ὡς ἐξ ὀνύχων τῆς ἡλικίας ἀκριβῶς τεκμηράμενος)<sup>114</sup> and Holobolos' oration 2 on Michael VIII Palaiologos (ἦν περ εἶχε τις οὕτω φρενῶν ὡς ἐν βραχεῖ ἐνόπτρω τὴν μέλλουσαν σὴν ἥρωικὴν κατοπτρίσασθαι μεγαλόνοιαν καὶ ἐξ ὄνυχος κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὸν λέοντα συλλογίσασθαι).<sup>115</sup> Michael Apostoles (7.57) again gives us the basic meaning of the saying:<sup>116</sup> Ἐξ ὀνύχων λέοντα ἔνεστι μαθεῖν, καὶ ἐκ μικρᾶς γεύσεως πηγὴν: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ μικροῦ τινος μανθανόντων τὸ πᾶν ("It is possible to learn of the lion from the claws, and the source from a small taste: it is said on learning the whole from something small"). Significantly, many of the proverbs named or alluded to in this epigram come together in another paroemiographical collection (Diogenianos 5.15):<sup>117</sup> Ἡ κέρκος τῆ ἀλώπεκι μαρτυρεῖ: ἐπὶ τῶν δεικνυόντων ἀπὸ μικρᾶς πράξεως τὸ ἦθος ὁμοία, Ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ πᾶν ὕφασμα: Ἐκ γεύματος γινώσκεις: Τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως: Ἐκ τῶν ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα: Ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον ("The tail betrays the fox: it is said on people that show their character from small actions: similarly, 'you recognize the whole cloth from the edge', '(the source) from the taste', 'the Ethiopian from the aspect', 'the lion from the claws', 'the tree from the fruit'"). In literature, for example, the verse chronicle of Constantine Manasses vv. 3405-3408 shows the same accumulation of proverbs, as though derived from the same kind of sources.<sup>118</sup> Remarkably, none of these proverbs occurs in Ephraim's chronicle. However, a similar concept could be at issue in v. 5337 (καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἧ φασι, καὶ τὸν μέγαν), while describing the complex character of Andronikos I Komnenos.<sup>119</sup>

Poem 34 stands out in the cycle of epigrams also from a textual point of view, since it contains a passage where the two main branches of the tradition have variants that make

<sup>113</sup> Ed. Gautier (1972: 258.15-16).

<sup>114</sup> Ed. Garzya (1984: 87.13-14).

<sup>115</sup> Ed. Treu (1906-1907: 53.10).

<sup>116</sup> CPG 2.409; see Karathanasis (1936: 111) number 235.

<sup>117</sup> CPG 1.252; see less exhaustively Apostoles 6.90, CPG 2.389.

<sup>118</sup> Ed. Lampsidis (1996).

<sup>119</sup> See Lampsidis (1990: 427, s. v. μικρός). Varvounis (1989: 22-23) quotes some of the proverbs present in poem 34 as parallels.

sense. The first half of 34.5 (ἴδη δ' ὁ προσχῶν) in our edition basically follows the reading of manuscript F, which reads ἴδη (without the iota *subscriptum*, copied likewise in Φ, and changed into ἴδοι by the *editio princeps* of Wolf) and adds a second σ over the line after copying προσχῶν. On the other hand, manuscript D reads ἦδη (together with W and some apographa of F) and προσχῶν (together with all the other manuscripts). The particle ἦδη occurs elsewhere in the same position in Ephraim's chronicle (vv. 830, 5716, etc.) and in our epigrams (37.2). On the other hand, the simplification of the double sigma in προσχῶν is ubiquitous in medieval manuscripts (see the issue of degemination above 3.2 ξυλλέχω, 14.1 ἀπορρώξ, 24.5 σακεσφόρος, 25.2 κομπορρήμων, 27.2 Ὀρροντεΐαις), where also editors can fail.<sup>120</sup> If we take the version of D (ἦδη δ' ὁ προσχῶν), verse 34.5 could be translated as: "The excellent one (ὁ προσχῶν = Manuel) also shows (implying δείκνυσι 34.2) already (ἦδη = from a young age) the very royal (soul)". However, this is not entirely satisfactory: the supplementation of δείκνυσι seems far-fetched and the meaning of "excellent" > "champion" for προέχω is not attested in the participle aorist (προσχῶν), but in the present.<sup>121</sup> The *lectiones difficiliores* of F can explain better the corruptions in D: ἦδη < ἴδη and προσχῶν < προσσχῶν are more reasonable than the other way around. The apographa of F that read the same error as D seem to confirm this direction. Truth to tell, the independent subjunctive is rare. But the confusion of modes is not exceptional in medieval Greek: a good parallel of ἴδη (34.5) in the same metrical position is ἴδης in Prodromos' *Historical poem* 54.177.<sup>122</sup> Even if manuscript F had failed to read correctly τὴν καλλιφυᾶ (34.2) before, this time it seems to have the true reading in contrast to the *facilior* of D and apographa. Another contentious passage in this epigram is the accent of τοιός γαρ (34.8): again we follow the reading of manuscript F, whereas D reads τοῖος γάρ. As it has been noted above, γάρ can be enclitic (see below 41.4 θεός γαρ), as well as for example δέ (see above 8.2 ἦ δ', 27.3 μικράν δ', 29.3 σοί δ' and below 38.3 τίς δε), especially in the seventh syllable as here, where the stress is generally avoided in the dodecasyllable. The pronoun τοῖος is not rarely found in medieval Greek with the accent written in the last syllable when followed by enclitics (e.g. δε), not to mention the already classical combination in one word (τοιόςδε). However, manuscript F fails to read ὑπῆν in the same verse (34.8).

The punctuation of this epigram deserves a short note: the pseudo-enjambements of verses 34.1-2, 5-6, 8-9 are marked at the end of verses 34.1, 5, 8 with a comma or a combination of signs containing the comma in the manuscripts (D bears no sign at the end of 34.5, 8; see above). As for rare vocabulary, besides the already mentioned καλλιφυῆς (34.2) and καρποβριθῆς (34.3), see *LBG* s. v. ἀριστόχειρ (34.6). On the other

<sup>120</sup> See e.g. προσχῶν in the same metrical position in Ephraim's chronicle vv. 2442, 4777 with the apparatus and the note in Hilberg (1888: 91).

<sup>121</sup> See Lamprodis (1990: 413, s. v. προύχοντες).

<sup>122</sup> Ed. Hörandner (1974; see his note in 120-121). See also the verse scholium in Vat. gr. 2369 (Part 1).

hand, δωρεοβρύτιν (34.6), as if from \*δωρεοβρύτις, is elsewhere unattested (see *LBG* s. v. μαννοβρύτις). The ending seems to be the feminine version (agreeing here with ψυχῆν) of a type of adjective like χρυσοπλουτοβρύτην (28.2). All the apographa, in fact, read δωρεοβρύτην. The form ῥυσίπτολις (34.8; see *LBG*) seems to be yet another epic interference in our epigrams (see above 21.2 κτεῖνεν, 27.4 ἀναπνυνθείς): the cluster πτ makes position and guarantees the length of the iota *dichronon*. Similarly, Κομνηνιάδης (34.9; see above 3.1) has an epic flavour: the word is attested before in Prodromos and Manasses, as well as in Ephraim's chronicle (see *LBG*).

#### 4.1.35 Poem 35

This poem reacts to an episode narrated in detail in Niketas Choniates' *History* 35.39-36.71, included in Ephraim's chronicle in vv. 3984-4001. The emperor's nephew John, who had just returned with his father Isaac (see poem 31), defected again to the Danişmendids after a quarrel with the emperor. Niketas adds that John, who had spent some years with the Turks, eventually abandoned Christianity and married the daughter of the Seljuk sultan of Ikonion (south of Asia Minor). This attitude easily comes out in contrast to Manuel's deeds celebrated in poem 34. Besides, the episode sets in motion Niketas' narrative: the enemies received John and the emperor was afraid that he would reveal to them the weaknesses of the Roman army that he had skillfully concealed so far (see poem 33). Therefore, the emperor raised the siege of Neokaisareia and returned to Constantinople with his army (1140-1141).

The epigram seems to pity the defector John, as though he was victim of the λύπη (35.1).<sup>123</sup> The opening line is a gnomic sentence where this emotion (λύπη) is central. The setting gains in epic flavour with the adjective φθισιμβρότου (35.1), which is Homeric and reminds, in conjunction with λύπη, to the μῆνιν [...] οὐλομένην (*Iliad* 1.1-2). The word recurs in Ephraim's chronicle (see e.g. φθισιβρότου in the same metrical position in vv. 3492, 5033), but always in the elsewhere attested variant φθισίβροτος. The idea of the first verse (35.1) is repeated in the last two (compare Οὐδὲν λύπης κάκιον 35.1 with οὐ χεῖρον οὐδὲν [...] ὦ τῆς λύπης 35.7), in a ring composition employed by Ephraim elsewhere in our epigrams (see above verses 20.1/20.12 and 23.1/26.5).

This λύπη also translates to a certain extent the ἀθυμία that Niketas mentions (ἀθυμίας πλήρης NC 36.52; see Ephraim's chronicle vv. 3994-3995 and 42.3 below), which John suffered after his pride was offended in public. However, the driving force of this emotion is more central in the epigram. The anguish conquered Ἰωάννης (35.2; not the emperor,

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<sup>123</sup> Compare Theodore Prodromos' harsher treatment of the same episode in his *Historical poem* 19.162-171, ed. Hörandner (1974).

but his nephew), who otherwise was a great soldier. Verses 35.3-4 bestow on him a series of dignifying epithets. The epic and classicizing tone of this epigram is intensified in v. 35.3: note the mythological ἦρωσ and Ἴαρης and ῥηξήνωρ, which is a Homeric epithet of Achilles.<sup>124</sup> The word ῥηξήνωρ never appears in Ephraim's chronicle, but ἦρωσ does (see e.g. v. 4075 in the same metrical position), and, more significantly, the formula ἄντικρυς Ἴαρης recurs in vv. 4089, 7759 of the chronicle. Verse 35.4 (ὄπλιτοπάλας μαχεσίκλονος μόνος), on the other hand, is an interesting case to observe Ephraim's process of reading the main text (Niketas Choniates) in composing the epigrams. In fact, when John, the son of the *sebastokrator* Isaac, returned to the emperor with his father (see above poem 31), Niketas said of him in NC 32.35-36: ἀνὴρ δ' οὗτος ὄπλιτοπάλας καὶ πολεμόκλονος, φυὴν τ' ἀρίστην καὶ εἶδος προφαίνων ἀξιοθέατον ("this was a great soldier at raising the din of battle, showing the most noble nature and a dignified appearance"). Ephraim took this characterization from some pages before in his text of Choniates' *History* and adapts it here: ὄπλιτοπάλας μαχεσίκλονος μόνος (35.4). The term ὄπλιτοπάλας has been used before in our epigrams to describe the Roman champion Eustratios (see above 24.5), but μαχεσίκλονος is an absolute *unicum*. However, once we know the passage of Niketas from where Ephraim drew, it is clear that it is an epic-like neologism inspired by πολεμόκλονος. The copyist of manuscript Φ, Alexander chartophylax, who in many places reveals himself as a clever scribe (see e.g. above 20.5 πίσσυρες and 32.4 ἐκβιάζων), wrote first πολεμόκλονος (and μαχεσί- over the line; the *editio princeps* of Niketas took the epigrams from Φ and printed πολεμόκλονος). Ephraim, as it seems, changed the first part of the compound with an equivalent (πόλεμος > μάχη) compelled by the rules of prosody (the sixth syllable of the dodecasyllable needs to be long: πο- would be seen as short, whereas the *dichronon* μα- accepts the length better). Ephraim's chronicle bears no trace of this line. However, after knowing this epigram, it is significant that the flight of the *sebastokrator* Isaac with his son John (see above poem 31) was provoked by λύπη in Ephraim's account: πρὸς Περσάνακτα φυγὰς ἐκ λύπης τρέχει (v. 3957; see ἐκ λύπης in our poem 6).

The following verses have other parallels with the chronicle. Verses 35.5-6 describe the double renunciation of John. First, he abandoned the family of the Komnenoi (35.5).<sup>125</sup> Ephraim's chronicle has the *iunctura* οἰκεῖον γένος in the same metrical position in v. 3079 (οἰκεῖου γένους 35.5; note the separative error in the branch of D: οἰκεῖους γένος). Second, he abandoned Christianity (35.6). In Ephraim's chronicle this is rendered in a similar way: see καὶ χριστώνυμον σέβας (35.6) in the same metrical position in v. 3999. Moreover, the closing of the episode in the chronicle echoes in a very oblique way the closing lines of

<sup>124</sup> See *Iliad* 7.228; 13.324; 16.146, 575; *Odyssey* 4.5; also Hesiod's *Theogony* 1007.

<sup>125</sup> Something on which Prodromos insists: see ἀπολιπὼν τὸ γένος 19.170, ed. Hörandner (1974).



this epigram (35.7-8). The last verses of poem 35 bring again a pathos common to other ends of epigrams in our cycle,<sup>126</sup> besides the already mentioned ring composition and a certain gnomic flavour. The last verse (35.8) pities again the converted John, who because of λύπη (ἐξ ἧς) was set apart from God. The verb διεζύγη (35.8) is recalled playfully in the also emotional end of the episode in Ephraim's chronicle (vv. 3999-4001): μετά γε βραχὺ καὶ χριστώνυμον σέβας (same ending in 35.6)/ ἐξόμνυται (see ἐξομοσάμενος NC 36.60), φεῦ (see ὦ [...] ὦ [...] 35.7), καὶ συνεζύγη (!) τάλας (see τάλας 35.8)/ θυγατρὶ Περσάνακτος Ἴκονιέως. The marriage with the infidel signifies the divorce from God in an etymological wordplay (διεζύγη/συνεζύγη) that connects epigram and chronicle.

#### 4.1.36 Poem 36

This poem comments on Niketas Choniates' *History* 37.72-38.12 (compare Ephraim's chronicle vv. 4002-4011). After poems 34 and 35, Ephraim addresses again the emperor in the second person. The poem is structured in three well distinct sections. Verses 36.1-2 narrate the return of the emperor to Constantinople in winter 1141-1142, after spending 1141 on campaign. The verses replicate some of the verbal choices of the source: see e.g. ὁ δὲ χειμῶν ἤδη παρεισιῶν τοῖς αἰθριάζουσιν ἐδυσκόλαινε [...] ἐπάνεισιν εἰς Βυζάντιον, τῷ ψυχρινῷ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπενδούς (NC 37.75-78). Verse 36.2, in particular, reveals again the non-linear way in which Ephraim reads and adapts the main text while writing down the epigrams in the margins of his copy of Niketas Choniates. In poem 35, Ephraim looks back to the first presentation of John (ὄπλιτοπάλας καὶ πολεμόκλονος NC 32.35-36 > ὄπλιτοπάλας μαχεσίκλονος μόνος 35.4). Here, the epigram jumps forward to John's words on his deathbed (see poem 34 and NC 45.37-46.40), a passage not recorded in Ephraim's chronicle, where John describes himself and his reign. Compare 36.2 with the words of the emperor in NC 43.49: τὸ αἰθριάζειν αἰεὶ μοι περιεσπούδαστο.<sup>127</sup> On the orthography of διαπαντός (36.2; not followed by all apographa), see above κατακράτος (19.2), τολοιπὸν (26.4), παραυτικά (34.2). See also Ἥττων (36.1) in the same position in 35.2.

Verses 36.3-7 refer to the preparation and departure for a new campaign towards Cilicia and Syria (Σύρων καὶ Κιλικίων 36.7) in 1142. The final destinations were Antioch and the Holy Land, but this is mentioned only in Ephraim's chronicle (see vv. 4011-4021; see NC 39.29-40). This enterprise would remain unaccomplished because of the unexpected death of the emperor (see poems 37-40). The passage is opened with an image

<sup>126</sup> See e.g. above οὐ κρεῖττον οὐδὲν, οὐδ' ἴσον τῶν ἐν βίῳ (29.9), with which 35.7 partially shares syntactical structure, and below 37.19.

<sup>127</sup> "I had always sought to be in the open air". This seems to be a commonplace regarding John II Komnenos: see e.g. Prodromos' *Historical poems* 16.32, 118; 19.179-180 (ed. Hörandner 1974).

that goes back to Lycophron's *Alexandra* v. 13: ἐγὼ δ' ἄκραν βαλβίδα μηρίνου σχάσας, a metaphor of equestrian connotations to signify the beginning of something. The expression is not unparalleled in later literature,<sup>128</sup> but it is never so well embedded as here, where it marks the departure of a military expedition from Constantinople. Note also the change of accent in βαλβῖδα > βαλβίδα, that suits the metre better (the eleventh syllable of the dodecasyllable needs to be short). The following verses (36.4-7) elaborate on the well-known encomiastic image of the emperor as the king of birds, the eagle.<sup>129</sup> In fact, another wink to the last words of the emperor in Niketas Choniates' *History* can be read here: the emperor reveals at the beginning of his speech that the intention of his last campaign was to reach Palestine (διαπτέσθαι δὲ καὶ ὡς οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν ὀρνίθων, εἰ καὶ μέγα τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἔστι, πρὸς Παλαιστίνην).<sup>130</sup> The emperor has been already compared to a bird in our cycle in poem 12.1-2. The same ideas of audacity and readiness are behind the metaphor of the eagle (36.4-7). This image is used again by Ephraim in his chronicle (see vv. 2895-2896, 4110-4111), but the metaphysical twist (βλέπων/ ἄσκαρδαμύκτως τὸν νοητὸν φωσφόρον 36.5-6) reminds of Holobolos' oration 3 on Michael VIII Palaiologos with regard to the young Andronikos II Palaiologos: ἀετὸς πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκτῖνας ὀξυδερκῆς καὶ ἤδη φύων ὠκύπτερα.<sup>131</sup> The syntagm νοητὸς φωσφόρος (36.6) occurs in several medieval authors.<sup>132</sup> In the context of the solar imagery of ceremonial court poetry (see below poem 37.1-2), it often refers to God as the counterpart of the visible sun, which in turn is equated with the emperor.<sup>133</sup> On the formal level, the pairing πτηνὸς ὄρνις (36.4) recurs in the same metrical position in Prodromos' novel *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* vv. 4.141, 275 and in Eugenianos' *Drosilla and Charikles* 5.40.<sup>134</sup> The form αἰετὸς (never in Ephraim's chronicle) seems to be another epic interference in the iambic dodecasyllables of the cycle (see above e.g. κτεῖνεν 21.2, ῥυσίπολις 34.8). It also disambiguates the length of the otherwise *dichronon* α in ἀετός. As for punctuation, the enjambement of verses 36.5-6 is marked in the manuscripts D and F, as usual, with a comma at the end of verse 36.5.

<sup>128</sup> See e.g. Theodore Hyrtakenos' (contemporary of Ephraim) letter 46.22-23 to Constantine Akropolites (ed. Karpozilos and Fatouros 2017). On the Byzantine reception of Lycophron, see De Stefani and Magnelli (2009).

<sup>129</sup> See e.g. Italikos' letter 37 to John Axouch, ed. Gautier (1972: 224.9), on John II Komnenos.

<sup>130</sup> NC 42.25-26: "and to fly like the emperors of the birds, even if this is to say too much, to Palestine".

<sup>131</sup> Ed. Treu (1906-1907: 93.33-34): "an eagle watching clearly into the beams of truth and already growing swift wings".

<sup>132</sup> See e.g. Michael Psellos' *Poem* 13.20, ed. Westerink (1992): τὸν νοητὸν φωσφόρον (36.6) in the same metrical position.

<sup>133</sup> See e.g. Manuel Philes' *Poem* 2.210.1-4 (ed. Miller 1855) and Manuel Holobolos' *Poem* 9.10-14 (ed. Boissonade 1833).

<sup>134</sup> Ed. Marcovich (1992) and Conca (1990).

Finally, verses 36.8-11 refer to the capture of cities in lake Pousgouse (τὰς Πουσγουσίας πόλεις 36.9; Πουσγουσίας is a hapax), today lake Beyşehir<sup>135</sup> in 1142. Verse 36.8 continues with the bird metaphor (see also the alliteration in κα-) and seems to refer to the stop at the city of Attaleia in the south of Asia Minor (Pamphylia), headquarters of the operations in lake Pousgouse. The fixed expression ὁδοῦ πάρεργον (36.9), that goes back to Euripides' *Electra* v. 509 (see Niketas Choniates' *History* 29.50-51 and Ephraim's chronicle v. 4198), emphasizes that this is a secondary target for the imperial army with respect to τὴν Σύρων καὶ Κιλικῶν (36.7). Verse 36.10 describes the cities of the lake in similar terms as Niketas (compare τῷ ὑγρῷ [...] ζωστήρι τῆς λίμνης NC 37.95). The syntax can be confusing, as the verb in singular agrees *ad sensum* (this is not unparalleled in our cycle: see below 38.8) with the subject formed by a hendiadys. Some manuscripts have struggled with this verse (36.10), also because the model F is damaged (only ὑγ- can be read for ὑγρὸς) and abbreviated by omission of the ending (it reads λιμνασμ followed by a grave accent; see above προκαλ~ 24.2, βασιλ` 26.1, βασιλ` 31.2; see LBG s. v. λιμνασμός). Verse 36.11 closes the section and the poem with the pregnant idea of the victory as recovery of a lost land to the Roman empire (see Αὐσόνων 36.11 above in 11.1, 30.5, 32.2). The verb ἐπανασώζω (36.11) had been used in 22.1. Here, the idea seems to be provoked by the interesting notes in Niketas Choniates' *History* on the integration in Pousgouse of Turks and Christian locals, who did not recognize the Roman sovereignty anymore. In fact, the emperor stresses to them that the lake was an ancient possession of the Romans (ὡς παλαιοῦ Ῥωμαίων κτήματος NC 38.2).

#### 4.1.37 Poem 37

This is the longest epigram of our cycle (19 verses). It is, however, missing from part of the textual tradition (it was not copied in D, see above and Figure 5). Miller edits this poem (with some errors and corrections), after ignoring poems 31-36.<sup>136</sup> As he observes, the poem comments on the death of Alexios and Andronikos, the two oldest sons of John, in 1142 and anticipates the death of John II Komnenos himself during a hunt in 1143. The premonition of John's death in his children's death is already hinted at in Niketas Choniates' *History* 38.21-23: ἵνα μὴ λέγοιμι καὶ οἰωνοὺς ἀπαισίους τῆς ὑπέρεκεινα πορείας τοὺς θανάτους τῶν φιλάτων ἔχων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ("not to say that he also considered the deaths of his beloved ones as ill omens for his march beyond"). The deaths of the first two sons of John are narrated in NC 38.13-19, but they are not recorded in Ephraim's chronicle. The rigorous structure of the chronicle seems to reject more superfluous elements that deviate from the course of actions. As mentioned above, the subjects of

<sup>135</sup> See Belke and Restle (1984: 218, s. v. Pusgusē Limnē).

<sup>136</sup> Miller (1888: 186).

poems 17 and 34, for example, which deal with John's offspring, are not included in the chronicle.

The poem adopts again an encomiastic stance towards the emperor, but with gloomy notes that evoke the tone of a funeral epigram. Verses 37.1-4 recount the death of the emperor's sons with a very intricate overlapping of imageries. The emperor is addressed as charioteer (Ἀρματηλάτα 37.1), but the chariot is also the chariot of the sun (φαεσφόρε 37.1; note the epic uncontracted form, compare φωσφόρον 36.6). The solar metaphor (see above 36.6) represents the omnipotence of the emperor that covers every corner of the earth from East to West (see also below 38.8). This movement of the chariot of the sun is also connected with the appearance and sequence of movements of the emperor in ceremonial settings.<sup>137</sup> In this context, the turn of the emperor πρὸς δύσιν (37.2) has different layers of meaning. It seems to allude to the choreography, so to say, of *prokypsis*, while it also marks a break with the campaign's destination (the East). Moreover, the sunset (δύσις) is a common metaphor for death.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, the chariot now turns to see the death of the emperor's children and foresee the death of the emperor himself. The figure of the chariot, in turn, also points back to poem 17, where the four sons of the emperor are compared with a quadriga (Τέτρωρον 17.1 > τετρώρου 37.3). Of these four horses (τετρακτὺς τῶν τέκνων 17.1), a couple (ξυνωρίδα σῶν [...] υἱέων 37.3-4) is gone. See the gemination in πρωτογεννῶν (37.4) for metrical reasons. The form, however, is attested elsewhere (see *LBG* s. v. πρωτογεννής; see also s. v. πορφυρανθής).

Verses 37.5-6 complete the syntax of a sentence opened in verse 37.3. The succession of enjambements, even if not too violent, renders the reading difficult to follow. This is aggravated by the obscure meaning of verse 37.5 and the asyndeton of the verbs ἔκοψεν ἀπήγαγε in the first half of verse 37.6. The image of death as a reaper is clear at verse 37.5 (see the epigram in *Vat. gr.* 163 above). However, θερίστρα is a rare term that seems to refer to a tool for harvesting or trimming (see *LBG*). In fact, the only other occurrence of this word, as it seems, is in v. 26 of the already quoted monody on Alexios Kontostephanos (most likely wrongly attributed to Theodore Prodromos).<sup>139</sup> This composition refers to the same image in other passages: see vv. 70-74 (ὦ τίς πρὸ ὥρας ἰταμῶς ἔκοψέ σε, / [...] ὦ πικρὸς οὗτος ἐν θερισταῖς ἀγρίοις [...]), 171-172 (Οἶον δεδαπάνηκε κάλλος ἐν νέοις / θερίστρια γραῦς [...]), 259-260 ([...] θερίζεται (φεῦ!) τῷ ξίφει τοῦ θανάτου) and, especially, 337 (Ἄιδου θερίστρω (φεῦ!) θερισθῆναι φθάνῃ) with a note in the apparatus referring to

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<sup>137</sup> See e.g. similar wording and images in Prodromos' *Historical poems* 4.121-130, 5.11-20, 19.41-42 (ed. Hörandner 1974), on John II Komnenos, and Holobolos' *Poem* 1.1-4 (ed. Boissonade 1833), on the *prokypsis* of Michael VIII Palaiologos at Christmas.

<sup>138</sup> See e.g. Prodromos' *Historical poems* 12.24-30 (a song of the demes for John II Komnenos), 25.103-104 (sepulchral verses on John), ed. Hörandner (1974); the funeral poem on Alexios Kontostephanos (see below) v. 188, ed. Sternbach (1904); Italikos' oration 44 on Manuel I Komnenos (death of John), ed. Gautier (1972: 292.5-6).

<sup>139</sup> Ed. Sternbach (1904). See De Gregorio (2010: 247), with further bibliography.

our verse 37.5 (ἄδου θερίστρα). The second half of 37.5 returns to the chariot metaphors: παρηόρου (37.5) refers, since Homer, to an outrunner, a trace-horse, i.e. an extra horse attached “which draws by the side of the regular pair (ξυνωρίς)” (LSJ s. v. παρήρορος; see ξυνωρίδα 37.3). The metaphor τοῦ κράτους παρηόρου is not unparalleled either. See e.g. in Niketas Choniates’ *History* 205.30-31, talking about the situation of the Romans with respect to foreigners in the administration of Manuel I Komnenos: ἢ γοῦν ὡς παρήροροι καὶ παράσειροι τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς λογίζονται ἄρματος (“or really they are considered like trace-horses and outrunners of the chariot of the government”). In Niketas the metaphor seems to connote subordination and relegation, whereas in our epigram the meaning is less clear, even if it adds to the consistency of the chariot-images. Syntactically, the syntagm τοῦ κράτους παρηόρου could be predicative of ἄδου (37.5). This has baffled Miller, who proposed “παρήρορον vel potius παρηόρων ob accentum”, as if it would refer to the sons.<sup>140</sup> But these form the ξυνωρίς (37.3). The idea behind τοῦ κράτους παρηόρου (37.5) seems to be that death is always escorting on the side of the family in power, as a divergent and disruptive force. In any case, the opacity of the image finds some harmony in the next verse. The verbs ἔκοψεν ἀπήγαγε (35.6), even if syntactically they both depend on θερίστρα, conceptually correspond to ἄδου θερίστρα (= ἔκοψεν) and to τοῦ κράτους παρηόρου (= ἀπήγαγε, as in “lead astray”).<sup>141</sup> The second half of 37.6 (πρὸς σκοτοῦ πύλας) reproduces, again in our epigrams, phraseology from Euripides (see *Hecuba* v. 1).

Verses 37.7-8 transition from the death of the sons into the coming death of the father. This transition uses again imagery and technical vocabulary related to the chariot. The cylinder of death (37.7) is an image of the same kind as the wheel of fortune.<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, the arrow causing the death of the emperor is compared to a part of a chariot (ὡς ἐντρόχιον τῷ τροχηλεύματί σου 37.8), probably a break in the chariot’s wheel (see *LBG* s. v. ἐντρόχιον). Note also the hapax \*τροχήλευμα, “chariot, ride”: *LBG* s. v. τροχηλάτευμα, which seems to be taken from Miller’s apparatus to our poem, needs to be corrected. In verses 37.9-11, the prolepsis is fully deployed. The hunting accident is described following closely what would be narrated by Niketas Choniates some pages

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<sup>140</sup> Miller (1888: 186).

<sup>141</sup> This rather cumbersome interpretation has the virtue of confining the syntax of 37.5 to one line only. However, in a context where the enjambements follow one another (37.3-6), τοῦ κράτους παρηόρου (37.5) could as well be predicative of τετρώρου and υἱέων (37.3-4) or even a complement of ἔκοψεν (37.6). In the first case, παρηόρου (37.5) would not be opposite to ξυνωρίδα (37.3), but another way of calling the same. The second alternative would imply the dependence of the genitive without preposition on the verb in the next line (as in “the sickle of hell cut off the couple from the trace-horse of power”).

<sup>142</sup> Compare e.g. Theodore Prodromos’ *Historical poems* 41.10 (ἀλλ’ ὦ τύχης κύλινδρος, ὦ τροχὸς βίου), 45.365 (ὦ μοι βίου κύλινδρος, ὦ τροχοὶ χρόνου), ed. Hörandner (1974); Constantine Manasses’ verse chronicle v. 2837 (τὸν κύλινδρον καὶ τὸν τροχὸν τοῦ βίου), ed. Lampsidis (1996); and the *Moral poem* in political verses attributed to Manasses vv. 592-593 (Τίς οὗτος ὁ πολύστροφος κύλινδρος ὁ τοῦ βίου, / ὁ δρομικὸς ὡς ὁ τροχὸς [...]), ed. Miller (1875b). On the authorship of the latter, see now Nilsson (2021: 160-166).

later (NC 40.64-71), similarly to vv. 4035-4038 of Ephraim's chronicle. Compare ἄτρακτον [...] φαρέτρας (37.9) [...] ἰόχριστον (37.10; hapax, see LBG s. v. ἰόχριστος) with ἰοβόλα βέλεμνα [...] φαρέτρας [...] ἀτράκτων (NC 40.69-70) and φαρέτρας (in the same metrical position v. 4035), ἰοτρόφα βέλεμνα (v. 4036), [...] ἀτράκτων (v. 4037). The parechysis of the evident *figura etymologica* in verse 37.8 (ἐντρόχιον [...] τροχηλεύματι) is extended in verse 37.9 (ἄτρακτον [...] φαρέτρας) and in other clusters containing ρ in 37.10 (προῆκεν ἰόχριστον). Note another *figura etymologica* between βιοφθόρον and φθορᾶς (37.10-11) and the parechysis in ξέει ξίφος (37.11). The word πευκεδανόν, another epicism which was misread by Σ (πακεδανόν), leading Miller to propose τηκεδανόν, is found again later in our cycle (42.3). To a certain extent, this confirms that the poems on Manuel I Komnenos (41, 42) belong to the same cycle and were written by the same author.

In 37.12-16, a series of relative clauses depending on κονδύλους (37.11) praises the hand of the emperor, where he received the mortal wound.<sup>143</sup> The narration of the future accident gives way to an openly encomiastic section. Verses 37.12-13 are parallel in wording, syntax and imagery. Both verses are introduced by δι' ὧν (never at the beginning of the verse) and both verses present again a hippic metaphor for ruling: ἀρχῆς ἡνία (37.12) and ἀρχικόν μύωπα (37.13). The following verses (37.14-16) still depend as it seems from the δι' ὧν in 37.13. They describe other activities that the emperor performs with his hand, this time literally, namely signing documents (chrysobulls) with red ink (κοκκοβαφῆ κάλαμον 37.14) and giving presents to his subjects (37.15-16). The formula δωρεᾶς [...] ἀφθόνους (37.16) recurs elsewhere,<sup>144</sup> but notably two times in the same metrical position in Ephraim's chronicle (vv. 2940, 6916). See also αὐτάναξ (37.14; see LBG) in the same metrical position in Ephraim's chronicle v. 4087.

The last three verses (37.17-19) close the epigram again in a pathetic yet elevated way (see e.g. above poem 35). The evil triad (κακὸν τρίτον) of 37.18 (θάνατος, ἄδης καὶ φθορὰ) collects and put together concepts scattered throughout the previous verses: see ἄδου 37.5, θανάτου 37.7 and φθορᾶς 37.11. The martial wording (ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐν σοὶ τριστάται 37.17 [...] καὶ σοῦ κατεκράτησαν 37.19) conceals yet another reference to chariots in this epigram. The term τριστάτης (37.17), besides the etymological play with τρίτος (37.18), alludes to the officers of the pharaoh that fail to chase Moses and the chosen people in the book of Exodus (14.7, 15.4). Note that the chariots (ἄρματα) are present everywhere in this passage of the Old Testament. The absolute ending of the

<sup>143</sup> See similarly Michael Italikos' oration 44 on Manuel I Komnenos, on the same episode, ed. Gautier (1972: 290.21-291.6). A poem of 26 dodecasyllables attributed to Tzetzes has been considered to refer to the death of John in different, more mysterious circumstances, see Browning (1961: 232-234). However, it is far from certain that the epitaph is about John or any other emperor, as pointed out by Arco Magrì (1961), who edited the poem at the same time as Browning (and better than him, since Browning omits one verse). Besides, Tzetzes' authorship is also uncertain. See Spingou (2011: 147).

<sup>144</sup> See e.g. Christopher Mitylenaios' poem 77.116, ed. De Groote (2012b).

poem (αἶ αἶ ζημίας 37.19) reproduces some traits of other such endings. Compare similar interjections followed by independent genitives in 35.7: ὦ τόλμης, ὦ τῆς λύπης (see above a similar independent genitive in poem 4). There is no need to correct in ζημίαι and κεκρατήκασιν 37.19 with Miller. On the other hand, manuscript F seems to read σοῦ (37.19), but both metre and meaning require σοῦ (with apographa).

#### 4.1.38 Poem 38

This poem extols the hunting skills of the emperor (NC 40.61-64; see Ephraim's chronicle vv. 4027-4031). As it was foretold in poem 37, the emperor would die after one poisoned arrow hurt his hand. The deadly accident happens in 1143 while the emperor is killing a wild boar in Cilicia, where he camped after his frustrated entrance in Antioch in 1142. This fact is presented in a highly poetical manner (38.5-6) and surrounded by a rhetorical apparatus. The first four verses (38.1-4) establish a comparison with the mythological figure of Heracles (see above 35.3). Ephraim addresses the mythological hero and debases his labours with respect to the deeds of John. Heracles' κατορθώματα, a common way of referring to John's achievements in encomiastic literature,<sup>145</sup> are deemed delusional fabrications and mere folk tales (ῥθλος [...] μῦθος [...] λόγος 38.1-2). Note that manuscript F (with apographa) reads μύθος (38.2): this is another attestation of the fluctuation of certain accents as intrinsic to the scribal habits and not always dependent on the iambic prosody (see above Κωνσταντῖνος 25.2, ἴσον 29.9, σοῦ 37.19; the same can be said about gemination: see e.g. the considerations on κομπορρήμων 25.2 and Ὀρροντείαῖς 27.2 above). Remarkably, a similar comparison of John II Komnenos to the detriment of Heracles can be read in a fragment of an imperial encomium attributed to Basilakes by Garzya.<sup>146</sup> The oration begins with a reference to Lucian's *Heracles* (Τὸν Ἡρακλέα γράφουσιν οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ ἥρωα [...] 116.1) and later introduces the comparison of the pagan exemplum with John (116.13-17):

ἔστι μὲν οὖν τοῦτο θαῦμα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν· ὅτι δὲ τὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ὑπερφυᾶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, μῦθος δοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τέχνης ζωγραφικῆς τερατοῦργημα. εἰ γοῦν ἐκεῖνα τεθήπασιν Ἑλληνες, τί ποτε ἄρα καὶ δράσομεν ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς οὔτω παραδόξοις τερατοῦργήμασι, νικητικώτατε βασιλεῦ;

This is a wonder indeed for the Greeks and, for the many, the grandeur of the deeds of the man (Heracles) is seen as a myth and a prodigy of the art of painting. But, if

<sup>145</sup> See e.g. Prodromos' *Historical poem* 11.164 (ed. Hörandner 1974), in the same metrical position in a political verse.

<sup>146</sup> Ed. Garzya (1984: 116-119).

the Greeks are amazed at this, what shall we do then at such astonishing prodigies  
of yours, most victorious king?

Not only are there many lexical similarities with our poem 38 (see κατορθώματα, μῦθος, τερατούργημα), but the use of rhetorical questions also links the epigram to this passage of Basilakes. Verses 38.3-4 contain a sequence of three questions, whose implied answer is “nothing, these facts are nothing compared to the size of the real exploits of John”. Now the episodes of Heracles’ legend chosen by Ephraim are not the most obvious ones, which shows some expertise of the poet regarding μῦθος and λόγος (38.2). Verse 38.3 deals with two of the twelve labours (see ἀέθλους 38.7) of Heracles. The mention of Cerberus does not require any further exegesis, whereas the battle of the rivers seems to allude to the cleaning of the stables of Augeas. According to the myth, Heracles altered the course of the rivers Alpheus and Peneus and flood the stables, as narrated by Apollodoros’ *Library* 2.89.<sup>147</sup> Probably after the error in Σ, Miller edited ποταμοῦ (see also the correction in manuscript s) and added “[Stygem]”, as if referring to the same labour of Cerberus, when Heracles descended to the underworld to fetch the beast.<sup>148</sup> Miller also fails to understand 38.4 and emends νέκυος τρῶσις into [νεκρῶν λύτρωσις], whereas he edits πάθη (with manuscript s), after an error in Σ (both Σ and Φ misread the abbreviation in F), instead of πάθες (note the unaugmented epic form; see above κτεῖνεν 21.2). The reference in verse 38.4 is more obscure. The wound (τρῶσις) is that of the centaur Nessus. While dying (νέκυος), Nessus convinced Deianira to collect some of the blood from his wound to use it as a love potion. Later, Deianira soaked a robe in the blood and gave it to Heracles to keep him in love with her. However, Nessus’ blood was lethal because the wound was caused by Heracles’ arrow, which was poisoned, in turn, with Hydra’s blood, and Heracles died in extreme pain (ἦν πάθες τάλας).<sup>149</sup> Furthermore, the prophecy of Heracles killed by a dead (νέκυος 38.4; see Sophocles’ *Trachiniae* vv. 1159-1163) is the subject of an ethopoeia of Nikephoros Basilakes (*Progymnasma* 44).<sup>150</sup> The meaning of verse 38.4 may be elusive, but it achieves a complex comparison that anticipates again the death of the emperor in agony (see below 39.3) after an injury (see τραῦμα 39.1) with a poisonous arrow (see above 37.9-10). Accordingly, Κερβέρου μάχη (38.3) could correspond to the fight with another mighty animal, the wild boar of the following verses (38.5-6). As for other formal peculiarities of these verses (38.3-4), see the anaphora of τίς that concatenates the questions. Note that there is no special sign in the manuscripts to mark the questions.

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<sup>147</sup> Ed. Papatomopoulos (2010). The passage is paraphrased in the opusculum on the twelve labours of Heracles by John Pediasimos (contemporary of Ephraim), ed. Levrie (2018: 132-135).

<sup>148</sup> Miller (1888: 191). See Apollodoros’ *Library* 2.122-126, ed. Papatomopoulos (2010).

<sup>149</sup> This is the subject of Sophocles’ *Trachiniae* and it is summarized in Apollodoros’ *Library* 2.151-152, 157-158, (ed. Papatomopoulos 2010).

<sup>150</sup> Ed. Pignani (1983).



Note also the enclitic δέ (38.3), the only time where it is written in full and not elided (see above 8.2, 27.3, 29.3), occurring in the seventh syllable (see above τοιός γαρ 34.8).

Verses 38.5-6 abandon the address to Heracles and turn to the emperor. They present the actual scene of the heroic king killing the wild beast, which is described in epic-like terms in 38.6. The form οὐρεσιτρόφου is rare (see *LBG* s. v. οὐρεσίτροφος), only attested before in Theodore Prodromos' *Historical poem* 30.197 (τὸν σὺν τὸν οὐρεσίτροφον)<sup>151</sup> and coined on the Homeric ὀρεσίτροφος with a diphthong for metrical reasons. As for χαυλιόδοντος, see *LSJ* s. v. χαυλιόδους and, for example, Oppian's *Cynegetica* 2.465 (σὺν χαυλιόδοντ'). The only passage of the poem strictly narrative (38.5-6) quickly gives way to the encomiastic ending. Verse 38.7 associates again with an anaphora (μετὰ [...] μετὰ) the victories with Heracles' labours (ἀέθλους). Note the Homeric lack of contraction in ἀέθλους (38.7; misread in some apographa and by Miller, because of material damage of the folio in F), which also resonates in a distant parechesis with ὕθλος (38.1), as though the emperor's exploits were true labours, in contrast to those of Heracles. Verse 38.8 contains a relative clause depending on νίκας (38.7; note the agreement of the verb in singular with multiple subjects as above 36.10): the emperor's victories were seen in the four cardinal points. This is a well-known motif of court literature, as it has been observed in the commentary on 17.3 above, not unrelated to the solar imagery (see above 37.1).<sup>152</sup> However, the phrasing of 38.8 reminds again the final speech of John I Komnenos (not included in Ephraim's chronicle; see 36.4-7): ἕως με καὶ δυσμῆ μαχόμενον ἔβλεψε ("The East and the west saw me fighting", NC 42.47).

#### 4.1.39 Poem 39

As opposed to the previous epigrams, poem 39 is all narrative, with almost no space for ceremonial idioms. The first four verses follow closely the events as they unfold in Niketas Choniates' *History* 40.71-41.7. They pick up on the description of the accident in 37.9-11 (see e.g. κονδύλους [...] ξέει 37.11 > δακτύλου δέρμα ξέσαν 39.11), as the τραῦμα of 39.1 recalls the τρωΐσις (38.4) of the myth of Heracles. The episode is summarized in Ephraim's chronicle vv. 4039-4042 (the last verses of the rule of John II Komnenos), but there are no major coincidences with our poem 39, only the idea that a big calamity was caused from a small scratch: compare βραχὺ (39.1) and κατὰ γε μικρὸν (v. 4040). The wording of the epigram is more dependent on the report of Niketas. The emperor underestimated the magnitude of the wound (39.1; see τὸ ξέσμα τοῦ δέρματος NC 40.74-75) and applied a plaster. The day after, however, the hand was very swollen (39.2; see τὸν τῆς χειρὸς ὄγκον NC 40.81) and sore (39.3; see περιωδυνίαις ἐβάλλετο NC 40.80). The court physicians

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<sup>151</sup> Ed. Hörandner (1974).

<sup>152</sup> See, for example, Theodore Prodromos' *Historical poems* 9b.15, c.2-3; 10c.11-12; ed. Hörandner (1974).

changed the treatment and eventually resorted to surgery. However, the remedies are insufficient and the emperor sees his end coming (τέρμα μηνύει βίου 39.5; the *iunctura* τέρμα [...] βίου is very productive in Greek literature and it reappears in Ephraim's chronicle e.g. v. 3706). The mythological way of calling the physicians (Μαχαόνων 39.4) seems also to be inspired by Niketas' Ἀσκληπιάδαι (NC 41.86). The use of Μαχάονες in this sense is not well-attested (one can think of Constantine Akropolites' letter 24.49),<sup>153</sup> but fits perfectly the circumstances. Μαχάων was actually a son of Asclepius and an army doctor taking part in the expedition against Troy (see e.g. *Iliad* 2.731-732). Significantly, he also heals the arrow wound of Menelaus in *Iliad* 4.188-219.

The last two verses abandon the narrative and address once again the emperor. Remarkably, the last verse (39.6) employs the imperative to entreat the emperor to decide about his succession. The poet had used before the imperative with the anonymous Cilicians (δέχου 23.1, ὕμνει 26.4), but never to speak so freely with John II Komnenos. Verse 39.6 still follows the account of Niketas (compare περὶ τοῦ διαδόχου τῆς βασιλείας ἐγνώκει σκέπτεσθαι NC 41.6-7), but it also catalyzes the action. Even if there is no epigram in our cycle dealing with the selection of Manuel as successor, verse 39.6 paves the way for the end of the chapter of Niketas Choniates' *History* and sets a dialogue with the beginning of the reign of Manuel I Komnenos in Ephraim's chronicle (vv. 4043-4045).

#### 4.1.40 Poem 40

The last poem on the book of John II Komnenos is probably the most difficult to pin down. It is a rather long epigram commenting on the lines that precede the speech of John on his deathbed (NC 41.7-16). As we have seen, the speech is not included in Ephraim's chronicle, even if some verses of our epigrams seem to allude to parts of it (see e.g. 36.1-2, 4-7; 38.8). In Niketas Choniates' *History*, the following scene is set before the speech: the royal camp was flooded after a heavy rain and the emperor was moved to another place. This incident prompts the quotation of two verses with ominous connotations from the so-called oracles of Leo the Wise. The first comes to the emperor's mind regarding the flood itself: τόποις δ' ἐν ὑγροῖς καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα πέσης ("You shall fall unexpectedly in humid places", NC 41.10-11; see *PG* 107 1132B). The second is said to be the matter of the speculations of experts and would refer either to the instruments of surgery, or more directly to the name of the place of the accident: ὦ πῶς γενήσῃ βρῶμα δεινῶν κοράκων ("Oh, how shall you become food of terrible crows!", NC 41.12-13; see *PG* 107 1129B). In NC 40.61-63, the mountains next to which the emperor camps are indeed said to be called Κοράκων φωλεοὺς ("lairs of crows").

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<sup>153</sup> Ed. Romano (1991).

The elements from the prophecies are put together in poem 40 and reinterpreted through the biblical typology of Noah and the deluge, as narrated in the book of Genesis 6-8. If many other poems from the cycle have court literature as a recurrent subtext, poem 40 is written against the background of apocalyptic literature.<sup>154</sup> The use of Noah and the flood in the context of apocalyptic literature goes back to the words of Christ in the gospels of Matthew 24.37-39 and Luke 17.26-27. In our epigram, however, there is no allusion to Christ's second coming. The apocalyptic patina seems rather to concern the succession of emperors and the eventual fall of Constantinople, other motifs of the genre. See similarly Michael Choniates' letter 110.46, which refers to the decadence following the fourth crusade in 1204: φεῦ τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ παντός κατακλύσεως.<sup>155</sup>

In poem 40, the main elements of the biblical episode are put together and correlated with the details of the incident in Niketas Choniates' *History*. Verses 40.1-2 introduce and enumerate the elements that will be later explained: the ark, the water, the crows, Noah and the species. The first verse of the poem features the deictic ὧδε in the same metrical position as in poem 20.1 (with the same soft breathing), but here the reference is less clear, as there is nothing in the main text pointing at the story of Noah. The ambiguity is partially solved in verse 40.3 (καὶ ῥῆμα παλαίφατον), which has a direct correspondence in Niketas Choniates' *History* 41.13 (τὸ παλαίφατον λόγιον). However, the prophecy that is fulfilled in poem 40.3 (εἰς πέρας τρέχει occurs in the same position in Manuel Philes' *Poem* 2.1.810)<sup>156</sup> seems to be different from the verses of the oracles of Leo the Wise quoted in Niketas Choniates. The exegesis runs through the rest of the poem (40.4-11) in a series of equivalences between the universal deluge and John II Komnenos' story. The royal tent corresponds to the ark of Noah (40.4), maybe in allusion to the ark of the covenant (κιβωτός) and the tabernacle (σκηνή) of the Old Testament too. The floods are evidently equivalent (40.5-6). The way of describing the phenomenon in 40.5 echoes Niketas Choniates' *History* 41.7 (ὑετοῦ [...] ῥαγδαίου), adding another adjective with the appearance of a superlative, but elsewhere unattested, as if coming from \*ἄπλέτατος (see ἄπλετος). This form adds to the repetition of the accentuated -άτ- in all three words of verse 40.5. The following verse (40.6) persists in the repetitions of sounds: see the parochesis of χύσις, ὕσις and internal rhyme in -σις, together with κλύσις (a rare word, see *LBG*). The accumulation in asyndeton of terms referring to water enhances the depiction of confusion and catastrophe. Verse 40.7 establishes the equivalence between Noah and John, called king of citizens in a guise not unknown to Ephraim (see ἀστῶν ὡς

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<sup>154</sup> An useful up-to-date overview of this genre is offered in Kraft (2020; see 178-180 for the oracles of Leo and Niketas Choniates' testimony). On this corpus of prophecies in verse, see primarily Mango (1960); also Congourdeau (2007). On the phenomenon in Niketas Choniates, see Magdalino (2011). Other oracles, for example, surround the epigram in manuscript Vat. gr. 163, f. 168v (see above).

<sup>155</sup> Ed. Kolovou (2001).

<sup>156</sup> Ed. Miller (1855).

ἄναξ in v. 1752 of the chronicle). It is in verses 40.8-9 where the allusions to the oracles of Leo the Wise are explicit, through the mention of the crows (κοράκων) in 40.8 and the use of the verb “to fall” (πεσῶν < πέσης) in 40.9 (see above). Verse 40.8 follows the abovementioned interpretation of the crows as referring to the name of the mountains (παρωνυμωμένων; see *LBG* s. v. παρωνυμέω) where John found his dead. However, the crows in 40.8 also allude to the crow that Noah released to see if the flood was over, before doing the same with a dove (Genesis 8.7-12). Similarly, the fall of 40.9 signifies John’s dead, while the stop of a long way (ἔστησε τοὺς μακροὺς δρόμους), besides pointing at John’s constant campaigns, corresponds to the end of Noah’s roaming aboard the ark (see μακρῶ δρόμῳ in the same position in Ephraim’s chronicle v. 3692). That this stop happens at mountains also reminds the mountains of Ararat, where the ark of Noah eventually landed.

Almost every element enumerated in 40.1-2 has so far found a correspondence and a fulfillment in the episode of the death of John II Komnenos: the ark is the camp, the flood is the rain, the crows are the mountains and Noah is John. Only the πανσπερμία remains to be explained, that is, the group of all seeds, the crew and cargo of the ark. The last three verses (40.10-12) assign this element to the army and cohort of the emperor, who would carry his body back to Constantinople. These verses, therefore, not only announce the death of the emperor, which was anticipated in poems 37-39 and takes place later in the text of the *History* (NC 46.57-58), but also jump ahead in the narrative and refer to the shipping of the body to the capital, as narrated in the next book of Niketas Choniates (NC 49.50-50.55) and in Ephraim’s chronicle vv. 4049-4051 (see v. 4051: ἀνακομίζων καὶ πατρὸς ναυσὶ νέκυν).<sup>157</sup> Note as well that verse 40.12 is a formula used repeatedly by Ephraim in his chronicle: see vv. 931, 3950, 4200, 5161, 5919. However, the exegetical apparatus of the typology of Noah and the deluge is not found in Ephraim’s chronicle, nor in any other locus of the texts concerning the death of John and the oracles around it.<sup>158</sup> It is true that Ephraim would eventually exclude any reference to the oracles in his chronicle. In this regard, poem 40 looks like a pious and inventive reaction of Ephraim to the prophecies mentioned by Niketas Choniates, which proposes a typological interpretation of the episode of John’s death as though it was prefigured in the universal flood. In his own way, Ephraim is offering an (alternative) explanation of the obscure irruption of two isolated verses from the oracles of Leo the Wise in the main text. Whether he was familiarized with the collection of dodecasyllabic oracles (quoted elsewhere by Niketas) or not, Ephraim adapts the tone of poem 40 to the apocalyptic connotations of the passage in

<sup>157</sup> See also Kinnamos’ *Epitome*, ed. Meineke (1836: 30.21-31.13), and Skoutariotes’ *Synopsis chronike*, ed. Sathas (1894: 217.7-12).

<sup>158</sup> In a completely different context, John Tzetzes’ letter 9 (ed. Leone 1972) applies similar correspondences between Noah and the head of a monastery, the ark and the monastery itself, and the flood and difficult circumstances in life.

question, maybe even with the ulterior fall of Constantinople in 1204 in mind. In a series of epigrams dominated by an encomiastic mode with epic notes, the last poem on the reign of John Komnenos is an exception that confirms the versatility and competence of Ephraim, as he successfully applies another exegetical method showing mastery of the scriptures.

#### 4.1.41 Poem 41

As mentioned above, after poem 40 the epigrams cease to appear in the rest of the book of John II Komnenos and in the following books. Either Ephraim stopped adding epigrams, or some epigrams were not copied in manuscripts D and F. In any case, the epigrams resume later in the sixth book devoted to the reign of John's successor, Manuel I Komnenos. Remarkably, poems 41-42 comment on a calamity of Manuel's reign, the defeat of the imperial army in the battle of Myriokephalon (1176).<sup>159</sup> These epigrams occur in isolation with respect to the other poems, but are found quite close to each other (approximately next to NC 182.43-183.71 = vv. 4480-4484 of Ephraim's chronicle). As in poem 40, the encomiastic mode is abandoned, but this time it gives way to a *Kaiserkritik* that will continue to be the driving force of poems 43-44 on Andronikos (see below). Poems 41-42 focus on the impact that the confusion and distress of the skirmish had on the emperor. Verses 41.1-3 address the emperor with questions loaded with irony as they allude to the hubris of Manuel. The question of verse 41.1 even sounds mockingly impertinent. Even if there seems not to be one particular episode behind the question of verses 41.2-3 (the enjambement between these verses is marked in manuscripts D and F as usual with a comma at the end of 41.2), the reader bears in mind the comparisons between Manuel and the Seljuk sultan of Ikonion Kilic Arslan II. The emperor is depicted as an impulsive and reckless warrior in contrast with his more prudent adversary (NC 175.39-176.48; 177.91-4). Manuel declined an offer of peace on behalf of the sultan (NC 179.40-57), who then ambushed the unprepared and arrogant Byzantine emperor in the defile of Tzibritze (NC 179.58-180.80; *μεγαλαυχοῦντα* 179.60). In the poem, the overpowering self-representation of Manuel with the Homeric superlative *βασιλεύτατος* (41.2; the term occurs in Niketas Choniates' *History* as well) eventually collapsed in front of the *Περσοσκύθας* (41.3). This term is rare (see *LBG* s. v. *Περσοσκύθαι*),<sup>160</sup> but it reminds similar compounds used by the poet before (e.g. *Ἰσαυροκίλιξ* 23.1, *Ἄρμενοκίλιξ* 24.1; see *Ἄρμενοκλικίας* v. 3920 of Ephraim's chronicle).

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<sup>159</sup> On this episode, see Magdalino (1993: 98-100). Notably, Kinnamos' *Epitome* stops just before referring to the battle, but the episode is alluded to in Meineke (1836: 207.1-8). On Myriokephalon, see Belke and Mersich (1990: 343-344).

<sup>160</sup> The word appears e.g. in Theodore II Laskaris' panegyric on John III Vatatzes (ed. Tartaglia 2000: 28.107).

After the address to Manuel, a moral is drawn from the situation by the poet. Verses 41.4-5 paraphrase Proverbs 3.34: κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν. This is a passage cited again and again in Byzantine literature, as well as in Niketas Choniates' *History* (NC 357.59, see 636.30-31) and Ephraim' chronicle (vv. 7723-7724): Θεὸς δ' ἐπευδόκησε τούτοις οὐδόλως/ μισεῖ γὰρ ὄντως ὑπερηφάνους φύσεις (where μισεῖ [...] ὑπερηφάνους are in the same metrical position as in 41.4). In this same verse 41.4, note that in manuscripts D and F γαρ is enclitic (see τοιός γαρ 34.8), which was corrected in the apographa.

#### 4.1.42 Poem 42

This poem, being less condemnatory than 41, continues with the description of the effects of the encounter with the Turks on Manuel. The poem balances on the line between the physical and the emotional wounds inflicted on the emperor. The vivid image of the missiles as leeches sucking out the blood of the emperor (42.1) is an elaboration of the description in NC 183.66-71: [...] ἐπεὶ καὶ οὕτω δι' ὄλου τοῦ σώματος τετραυμάτιστο, ὡς τὸν μὲν θυρεὸν περὶ που τοὺς τριάκοντα ἔχειν ἐμπεπηγότας διψητικούς αἵματος οἴστους [...] (“and he was so wounded all over his body that the shield had about thirty arrows thirsty of blood stuck in”). Note the parechysis that supports the comparison of βδέλαι/βέλη (42.1) and the degemination of βδέλαι (42.1), as it seems, for metrical reasons: the epsilon needs to remain short in the seventh syllable of the dodecasyllable. Therefore, the form \*βδέλα (42.1) is a hapax, as elsewhere the word is found as βδέλλα.

Verses 42.2-3 allude to the tribulations and instability of Manuel in the theatre of war and later in his decisions. Some of these consequences are expressed in Niketas Choniates' *History* through three anonymous invectives that Manuel endured in silence (NC 185.51-186.78, 187.93-18) and in Manuel's own contradictory report to Constantinople (191.26-33). In the poem, the emperor is weakened as if by the leeches (λειποδρανεῖς 42.2; see *LBG* s. v. λειποδρανέω), but actually suffering a deeper pain (ἔξ ἀνηκέστου πάθους 42.2). In the last verse (42.3), the authorship of poem 42 (and to a certain extent of poem 41) with regard to the rest of the cycle is confirmed. First, note the use of the epic πευκεδανὴν (42.3) as in poem 37.9, in a similar context, referring to arrows with fateful connotations. Second, exactly as in poem 35 (see poem 6), λύπην (42.3) translates the feeling of ἀθυμία of NC 182.46.

#### 4.1.43 Poem 43

Similarly as poems 41-42, poems 43-44 occur together in isolation with respect to the rest of the cycle. They are the only poems appended to the reign of Andronikos I Komnenos (1183-1185) and the last of the cycle of epigrams properly speaking. Besides, they present

some features in their layout and script in common with poem 1. Poems 1, 43-44, in fact, are absent from manuscript D and copied by a different hand in the upper margin in F (see Figures 4 and 6). However, internal evidence suggests that all 44 poems belong to the same cycle and were written in the margins of η by Ephraim of Ainos (see above). Poems 43-44 are copied in F continuously in the upper margin, so that they give the impression of having been copied later and carelessly from the model η. There is nothing in their content that points to a particular passage of Niketas Choniates' *History*, but it is evident that poems 43-44 continue and intensify the *Kaiserkritik* already visible in poems 41-42. The two poems appear at the climax of the criticism of the tyrant Andronikos in the second book of his reign (book XI of van Dieten's edition). Niketas refers to Andronikos' dissolute behaviour and utmost cruelty in the passage next to the epigrams (NC 321.20-324.95, which corresponds to vv. 5258-5269 of Ephraim's chronicle). In the following, however, Niketas proceeds to counterbalance the, until that point, terrible picture of Andronikos' tyranny with some positive aspects of his administration (NC 324.1-334.72 = vv. 5270-5347 of Ephraim's chronicle), to then return to Andronikos' ruthless deeds from NC 334.73 on (v. 5348 onwards in Ephraim's chronicle). The evil alluded to in poem 43 goes back to the assassination of the heir of Manuel I, Alexios II Komnenos, and his mother, queen regent Maria of Antioch, also called Xene, in 1182-1183 (NC 267.42-274.29; see above the poem in Vat. gr. 163).

Poem 43 sets a comparison between Andronikos and the devil. Verse 43.3 quote a passage of the gospel of John (8.44) in which Jesus says about the devil: ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ("He was murderer from the beginning"). The *History* of Niketas Choniates uses this formula while talking about Andronikos once (ὁ ἀρχῆθεν ἀνθρωποκτόνος, NC 337.55-56), besides two other times that are not transmitted in the version *b* of the text.<sup>161</sup> This imagery is developed in vv. 5348-5371 of Ephraim's chronicle in very similar terms as in poem 43. See for example vv. 5348-5349: Ὦν δ' ἀτεχνῶς μάγειρος ἀνθρώπων ὄδε,/ μᾶλλον δὲ Σατὰν ἄλλος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ("He [Andronikos] was simply a butcher of men, or better he was another murderer Satan"). And later Ephraim adds that he would have killed every Roman, εἰ μὴ βροτουργὸς τῶν ὄλων καὶ δεσπότης/ ἔθηκεν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐκποδῶν φθάσας ("had not the creator and lord of everything come and put aside Andronikos", vv. 5369-5370). The word βροτουργός (43.3) is rare (see *LBG*), but occurs in the same context both in the epigrams and in the chronicle. It also connects this poem with the rest of the cycle, as it echoes the hapax βροτεργάτης (29.1, see above).

Verses 43.1-2 consist of a conditional phrased in a way that makes one think of NC 338.2-3, when the people wish the death of Andronikos λύσιν δοξάζοντας τῶν κακῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνάλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ("thinking that the dissolution of his [= Andronikos']

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<sup>161</sup> NC 293.83-88, on Andronikos Doukas, see Simpson (2013: 207); NC 310.67, on Andronikos, see the critical apparatus of van Dieten.

body would be the solution of their misfortunes”). The phrasing also finds interesting parallels in Ephraim’s chronicle (see vv. 1271, 1289-1290, 5883).

#### 4.1.44 Poem 44

This poem also deals with Andronikos’ cruelty, but, unlike the previous poem, in poem 44 the emperor is addressed in the second person, simply as a man, without any honours, and insulted as merciless and envious (44.1). The encomiastic connotations of the rest of the cycle are completely abandoned here. Verses 44.2-3 are a question with a strong enjambement that seems to allude to a particular event, but it is unclear to which one. The immediate context describes the impact of the arbitrariness of Andronikos inside the families, in which the οἰκέτης mentioned (44.2) could be explained. However, there is no unambiguous reference in the main text. More generally, οἰκέτης can also mean “servant of God”, so that the epigram could be applied to other contexts. On one of the several crime sprees of Andronikos described in Niketas Choniates’ *History*, he charged at Alexios Komnenos, a natural son of Manuel I, and his secretary, a certain Mamalos, as well as at Constantine Tripsychos, a loyal assistant of Andronikos, as before he had killed Constantine Makrodoukas and Andronikos Doukas (NC 308.18-316.1 = vv. 5241-5257 of Ephraim’s chronicle). Niketas narrates that Andronikos tried to do the same with a George Dishypatos, a lector (*anagnostes*) at Hagia Sophia (NC 312.9-313.34), but this servant of God was eventually saved: καὶ θεὸς ἦν ἀληθῶς ὁ ἐκ χειρὸς Ἀνδρονίκου Δισύπατον ἐξελόμενος (“and truly it was God who removed Dishypatos from the hand of Andronikos”, NC 313.34). Some traits of this episode coincide with the setting depicted in poem 44, but the identification still remains uncertain. It could refer to any particular assassination of Andronikos or in general to all the series of them. The οἰκέτης in question could also be Andronikos himself, in which case verses 44.2-3 would ironically anticipate his miserable end (NC 346.26-351.55). The particularities of the script and layout of poem 44 in F leave the door open to a possible extrapolation and misplacement of the poem, which could have belonged to another context in η.

There are no evident parallels of poem 44 in the chronicle of Ephraim, besides the equivocal presence of ἀσυμπάθεια in the description of the good policies of Andronikos regarding the shipwrecks (v. 5303; ἀσυμπαθῆς occurs in v. 1146) or the οἰκέται that accompany Hagiochristophorites to seize the future emperor Isaac II Angelos (vv. 5425, 5434). The concluding ἐξ εὐσπλαγχνίας (44.3) occurs in the same metrical position in many poems by Manuel Philes.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> See e.g. 2.174.2, ed. Miller (1855); 3.60.6, 3.185.25, 3.239.13, 4.11.7, 5.1.246, ed. Miller (1857).



#### 4.1.45 Poem 45

As mentioned above, this book epigram is not part of the cycle strictly speaking, but it provides evidence to link the cycle with Ephraim, mainly through the mention of the city of Ainos (45.6). The epigram is copied on a strip of parchment appended at the end of F, a paper manuscript (see Figure 3). I have suggested above that this unusual feature allows the interpretation that this poem was originally attached to manuscript η, where Ephraim wrote the epigrams. In this scenario, Ephraim himself could be the author of the (autograph?) book epigram in F. There are some internal elements in poem 45 that support this hypothesis. The book epigram describes the restoration of an unbound manuscript by an unnamed bishop of Ainos. Some of the words chosen recall Ephraim's style, as for example in the description of the restoration of the church of the Forty Martyrs in the reign of Andronikos I Komnenos in vv. 5338-5347 of Ephraim's chronicle (see NC 332.12-333.60). Compare for example the opening line of this poem (Χρόνω λυθεῖσαν 45.1) with v. 5340 of the chronicle: χρόνω παλαιωθέντα καὶ κεκηκότα. In this same passage, 45.5 (τέχνης τε λοιπῆς ποικίλῃ τεχνουργίᾳ) resembles v. 5344: πολυτελεῖς τε ποικίλους τέχνη, ξένους. See also the description of the chariot of the triumph of John I Komnenos in 1133 (v. 3893 of the chronicle): τεύξας γὰρ ἄρμα σὺν τεχνουργίᾳ ξένον (for ξένους in this position, see above 20.12 and v. 3944 of the chronicle). The beginning of 45.5 (τέχνης τε λοιπῆς) also brings to mind a formula frequently employed in the same position of the verse by Ephraim in his chronicle: see v. 1722 (πεζῆς τε λοιπῆς), v. 7184 (εἶδους τε λοιπῆς), v. 9153 (χώρας τε λοιπῆς), etc. Finally, ποιμενάρχης (45.6) is a term much beloved by Ephraim, who uses it both in his chronicle<sup>163</sup> and in the catalogue of the bishops of Constantinople.<sup>164</sup>

On the other hand, poem 45 uses from the first verse some phraseology common to the genre of book epigrams. The second half of 45.1 (τὴν παροῦσαν πυκτίδα), for example, reappears in many book epigrams exactly like this in the same metrical position: see e.g. *DBBE* occurrences 16932 v. 2, 17735 v. 4, 17974 v. 1, 19028 v. 1, 22056 v. 1, 22175 v. 1, 23035 v. 2, 25260 v. 5. The number of parallels increases if we consider all the records in *DBBE* including variants of ἡ παροῦσα πυκτίς/βιβλος/πυξίς/δέλτος or τὸ παρὸν πυκτίον/βιβλίον/πυξίον, etc. Verses 45.1-3 describe the damage of the book, which was on the verge of annihilation. Even if one may think of the loss of a folio in F,<sup>165</sup> the epigram could still refer to the model of F, if we postulate Ephraim's authorship of the book epigram. In fact, F does not look like a particularly worn-out manuscript and, for example, the missing folio was still in its place by the first half of the 15th century when C was

<sup>163</sup> See Lampsidis (1990: 412, to which add v. 9281).

<sup>164</sup> See the title and vv. 9708, 9777, 9862, 9887, 9901, 9959, 10017, 10055, 10091, 10104, 10134, 10152, 10274, 10294, 10313, 10375, ed. Bekker (1840); the last word of the poem is ποιμεναρχίας v. 10392, see 10283.

<sup>165</sup> Corresponding to NC 445.19-446.59, as described by van Dieten (1962: 230-231; 1975: XXXII, LVIII-LIX).

copied (see above). The old age of the manuscript suggested in 45.1 should be also put in perspective. Let us sketch out a brief summary of the chronology as exposed above in the *stemma codicum*: by the beginning of the 13th century the *b* version of the *History* was completed; manuscript η is a copy of this version made at some point in the 13th century; Ephraim wrote down the epigrams in η at some point in the first quarter of the 14th century; manuscripts D and F were copied from η after Ephraim intervened. Besides the internal evidence pointing at Ephraim's style, a most suggestive piece of information is the mention of the bishop of Ainos (45.6). By the first half of the 15th century, F was most likely already in Constantinople, where C was probably copied. Whether the book epigram (poem 45) refers to F or to η, no more than a hundred years could have passed between copying and restoration. Now, the nature of this work is specified in verses 45.4-6. The bishop of Ainos evidently plays the role of the patron who had the book rebound, so that the verb συνδέϊ (45.6) should be understood as causative. All these elements are well known in book epigrams.<sup>166</sup> What is more exceptional in book epigrams is the main commission at issue, the rebinding of the book (45.4), even if other kinds of unspecified actions were also performed (45.5). Book epigrams lament or condemn the material damage of the manuscripts (see the tag "Damage of the book" in *DBBE* types), but they seldom deal with the rebinding of a book. A poem by Manuel Philes on the gospels talks about συνδέσεις,<sup>167</sup> but Bianconi believes that Philes here refers to cords working as clasps.<sup>168</sup> In our poem 45, the σύνδεσις (45.4, 6) seems not to refer to the external fastening, but to the internal sewing of the book.<sup>169</sup> The manuscript in question (most likely the lost manuscript η) was bound so poorly that it ran the risk of material loss (45.1-3) and the act of reading was hindered (45.8). Compare the book epigram on f. 1r of the manuscript Paris. gr. 550, in which the process of rebinding is described (v. 12) and the restorer is put on the same level as the patron of the manuscript when the reader is asked to pray for their salvation (vv. 19-24).<sup>170</sup> The last two verses of poem 45 synoptically describe the restoration of the book to its original aspect (45.7)<sup>171</sup> and allude to the future readers (45.8), another prominent role in the genre of book epigrams.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> See e.g. Bernard and Demoen (2019: 418-420).

<sup>167</sup> 1.158.39, ed. Miller (1855).

<sup>168</sup> Bianconi (2009: 21-22).

<sup>169</sup> On Byzantine bookbinding, see Atsalos (1977) and Tsiromis (2008). On the intersection of (re)binding and restoration, see Bianconi (2015: 241 n. 13; 2018: 85-109).

<sup>170</sup> See <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/23590> and Bianconi (2018: 92-93).

<sup>171</sup> In a drift of meaning parallel to that of κομῆω studied by Bianconi (2018: 101-107).

<sup>172</sup> See Bernard and Demoen (2019: 421-422).

## Conclusions

The main objectives of this dissertation have been achieved. I have presented the first critical edition of two little-known cycles of epigrams and investigated the circumstances of their composition and transmission. In doing so, I gathered a corpus of scholia written in verse that had not yet been studied together. The two parts of this dissertation outline a first overview of this sub-type of book epigrams. Now, the label of “verse scholia” is a comfortable umbrella term that in fact covers different functions of these poems. In this section, I will attempt to summarize, group and piece together the common characteristics of our epigrams and to discern their specific motivations in their socio-historical context, both when they inspect the classical past and when they rewrite recent history.

I have examined series of epigrams with various purposes, ranging from the rigorous scholarly programme of Tzetzes to Ephraim’s project of paraphrasing historiography. The verse scholia that I analyzed are generally improvised pieces of literature triggered by the act of reading the main text. Yet improvisation does not imply unpreparedness. On the contrary, improvising poetry should be understood as a sign of advanced rhetorical skill and training, which is further confirmed by the wide array of tones that our poems adopt (didactic, moralizing, encomiastic, polemical, etc.). By attaching verse scholia in the margins, the readers render the manuscripts relevant and up-to-date objects of use.

The epigrams that I brought to light in this dissertation evidently share several traits. First, they all refer to the same types of texts, i.e. historiography, be it ancient or Byzantine. Second, the two main cycles of verse scholia belong to roughly the same period, after 1204 and before 1332.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the poet of the verse scholia on Herodotus in Laur. Plut. 70.6 and its apographa seems to have read the *History* of Niketas Choniates (not to mention the epigrams in Vat. gr. 130 attributed by Mazzucchi to Niketas himself),

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<sup>1</sup> This period is conveniently covered by Angelov (2007). More recently, Agapitos (2020) proposes a new periodization for late Byzantine literature, which finds a boundary around the year 1350. For a fundamental approach to literature of the 14th century, see Ševčenko (1974).

the work to which Ephraim's epigrams react. The familiarity with Niketas Choniates is more palpable in poem 2 of the cycle in Laur. Plut. 70.6, which alludes to the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the situation thereafter. Besides, the moralizing poem 9 develops a motif not strange to the sack of Constantinople by the Latins, whereas the representation of the good ruler in poem 1 contrasts with the tyrants of poem 2. As has been argued, the lament for the sudden aging of the new Rome in poem 2 suggests a scenario prior to 1261. Ephraim, on the other hand, most likely wrote his epigrams after that crucial date. His chronicle, in fact, concludes with the entrance of Michael VIII Palaiologos in Constantinople (see also the triumphs in poems 20 and 30).

As has been observed, Ephraim's poems painstakingly reproduce the constituent elements of the traditional imperial ideology with the style and vocabulary of court poetry. Accordingly, the Byzantines are called Ἀῤῥῶνες ("Romans" 30.5, 32.2, 36.11; see 11.1), and other peoples are referred to in similarly archaizing ways. For example, in Ephraim's poem 29 the comparison between the ancient Persians (the biblical Magi) and the contemporary Persians (Arabs? See however Περσοσκούθας 41.3) brings to mind the invective against the πυρσολάτρης in poem 7 from the cycle in Laur. Plut. 70.6. In this cycle of poems on Herodotus the issue of paganism is central to poems 7, 10 and 11 (insanity is also anticipated in poem 6). In the last poem, the poet attacks Herodotus himself, as he belonged to the heathen pre-Christian world. In a similar ironical fashion, Tzetzes' new verse scholium in political verse in Laur. 70.3 addresses Herodotus and chastises the anthropomorphic nature of the gods of the ancient Greeks (Ἑλληνας).

Our verse scholia bring us once again at the crossroads of the trite yet effective triad used to define the Byzantine identity: Christianity, Romanness and Hellenism, in their complex interplays and reconfigurations.<sup>2</sup> A case in point is the fluctuation between Ἑλληνας in Ephraim's poems 21-22 and Ῥωμαῖοι in the corresponding passages of his chronicle. It is significant that in the more spontaneous writing of the verse scholia Ephraim chooses to identify the Byzantines as "Greeks", a term which has of course different connotations than in Tzetzes' verse scholium in political verse. In the historical context of an ever-shrinking empire, the emphasis on recovery and reconquest emerges in the use of the verb ἐπανασώζω in poem 22. The verb recurs in poem 36, which comments on a passage of Niketas Choniates in which the equilibrium of the categories of Romanness and Christianity seems to collapse as the locals prefer to be subjected to the Turks.<sup>3</sup> This tension between the ethnic identity of the self and of the others can be observed in other passages of the epigrams of Ephraim. Consider, for example, the remark

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<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Rapp (2008). For the 12th century, see Macrides and Magdalino (1992). Kaldellis (2007) stops at the transition post-1204 (see especially his chapter 6). For the later period, see also Page (2008). An up-to-date discussion is offered by Stouraitis (2017), with further bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> See the commentary above in Chapter 4 and Stouraitis (2017: 80). Niketas Choniates notably summarizes the situation in the following adage: οὕτω χρόνῳ κρατυθὲν ἔθος γένους καὶ θρησκείας ἐστὶν ἰσχυρότερον.

on the origin of Axouch in poem 7 and the characterizations of the Armenians from Cilicia as foreigners and barbarous in poems 23-26. As I have mentioned, in his commentary to poem 27 Miller reacted to the characterization of the Armenians as ἔθνικοί, since they were also Christians. However, the parameters that define the Byzantine identity are not watertight compartments, but fluid categories. This complexity may be behind the creative ways of combining new names for these peoples (Ἰσαυροκίλιξ 23.1, Ἀρμενοκίλιξ 24.1; see Περσοσκούθας 41.3).

Ephraim seems to feel compelled to further Christianize the oracles of Leo the Wise in poem 40. Besides, he engages effortlessly with the Christian and the classical heritage, as he quotes from Homer, Euripides and Lycophron as much as from the scriptures. Remarkably, the only moment in which Ephraim seems to scorn the ancient beliefs is in poem 38, where in fact he skillfully moulds a myth deeply ingrained in rhetorical exercises to make it tally with the exploits and fall of John II Komnenos. This learned approach to ancient Greek culture in verse scholia on ancient historians is even more evident in Tzetzes. As we have seen, Tzetzes' interventions follow a well-defined method that seeks to correct and control the grammar, style, truthfulness and consistency of the classics. Tzetzes' recalcitrant and idiosyncratic attitude puts him in a position of almost identification with the Hellenic tradition, in which he feels more entitled than ancient Greeks themselves to understand their culture. In the case that the subject matter falls outside the tolerable degree of paganism, Tzetzes resorts to another didactic device, that is, allegory, although this is not a consistent course of action (compare the new verse scholium in political verse in Laur. Plut. 70.3). Tzetzes' outbursts of erudition in the 12th century are not paralleled in the cycle of verse scholia in Laur. Plut. 70.6 (see poem 8), but the same principle of utilitarian reading motivates some of these epigrams on Herodotus (see e.g. poems 3-5 and the verse scholia in Appendix 2 of Part 1).

The autograph notes of Tzetzes also concern another of his obsessions: the accuracy of script and its implications in issues such as authenticity and authorship. Unlike the verse scholia on Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus, the new material that I edit in this dissertation is not autograph in the surviving manuscripts. However, the copies are very close to the model in which the poet first wrote down the verse scholia. Therefore, I have sought to reproduce as much as possible the textual features of the most authoritative manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> In the sections preceding the editions and in the commentaries of the poems, I justify my editorial decisions regarding punctuation, accentuation and other orthographical and metrical aspects, especially since some of them may appear contradictory or inconsistent. In fact, some practices may as well have been inconsistent in the authors themselves and even the imperceptible corrections or slips of the pens of the copyists are also indicative of practices contemporary to the authors. In adopting and

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<sup>4</sup> On the edition of Byzantine autograph texts, see Maltese (1993; 1995b).

adapting the traits of the authoritative manuscripts, I intended to reflect what the poets would have probably written. Punctuation was the most challenging aspect of this methodological principle and the one that required my intervention the most. Punctuation deserves as much attention as the other phenomena and should not be dismissed as only instrumental in oral performance. Punctuation contributes also to the visual representation of the epigrams and quite consistently marks the (lack of) completion of the meaning at the end of verse. For example, the comma, as we have seen, mostly indicates that the syntax continues in the following verse.

In fact, it is very unlikely that our verse scholia were ever performed in public, not even in the restricted circles of literary salons or classrooms. They belong to a bookish world, even if the didactic tone of Tzetzes or the ceremonial phraseology and metapoetic allusions in Ephraim's epigrams (see poems 20, 26) may mislead us. Their consumption is closely connected with the reading of the main text and their intended audience is primarily the readers of the manuscripts in which they were "inscribed". Texts and paratexts were perceived as a unit by the readers, as well as by the scribes who copied our verse scholia in the apographa together with the main text. So much do verse scholia belong to the domain of books, that they may also reveal the processes of literary composition and the working methods of Byzantine authors. For example, the epigram at the end of the second book of Andronikos in Vat. gr. 163 attests to the collective revisions of the last version of the *History* of Niketas Choniates. The case of Ephraim's epigrams is even more telling.

As has been demonstrated, the epigrams of Ephraim represent a first approach of the author to one of the sources he used for a larger enterprise, his verse chronicle. Ephraim worked directly with Niketas Choniates' *History* and read thoroughly and dynamically the whole manuscript, as evidenced by the many poems that allude to passages different than the ones next to which they are found (see e.g. poems 7-8, 24-25, 34-38, 41 and 43). In comparison to the chronicle, the epigrams have a more affected style, even more poetical in the modern sense of the word, one may say. This is reinforced by the self-contained structure of the epigrams (see poems 20, 29), sometimes endowed with gnomic flavour (31, 35). The cycle of epigrams should be also read as an organic unity, as some poems recall one another through running themes (see e.g. poems 17, 37). Other poems clearly belong together in a group or sub-cycle (see e.g. poems 23-26).

The chronicle later undermined the structural coherence of the epigrams. For example, the subject of poems 17 and 37, which are linked through the chariot metaphor, or the excursus of poems 24-25 in the Armenian sub-cycle, were not included in the chronicle. On the other hand, some other elements survive, but lose momentum. For example, *παρευφράτιδας* functions better in epigram 28 than in the chronicle, where the Edenic imagery is absent. Similarly, the laudatory prodigalities of the verse scholia are for the most part abandoned in the chronicle or confined to the initial verses of each reign, in which the emperor is described with a formulaic style. Poem 30, for example,

which loftily narrates the triumphal entrance of John in Antioch, is not incorporated in the chronicle. Other celebratory poems, such as the direct address to John in poem 4, would have made little sense in the narrative of the chronicle. In fact, the second person is not used at all in the chronicle to address the characters. Conversely, the second person sporadically refers to the reader, probably the patron who commissioned the chronicle.

The strong correspondences between the style of the epigrams and the chronicle of Ephraim appear even in those poems that find no place in the chronicle (see e.g. 17.3, 40.12). We have already stressed the coincidences of entire verses and turns of phrases in both the epigrams and the chronicle. Let us take a final look at the process of composition of Ephraim's verse chronicle as performed in the reworking of poem 20. Poem 20 offers a verse paraphrase of the triumph of 1133. For the chronicle, Ephraim went back to the epigram. He discarded the first three verses and the last one, which elegantly frame the epigram and add rhetorical motifs to Niketas Choniates' report. He then improved the versification, corrected some sloppy elements and refined the core of the epigram (20.4-11) to produce verses 3895-3903 of the chronicle. This tentative reconstruction of the steps in the preparation of the chronicle shows that the epigrams represent a more experimental variation of the definitive version. However, the process does not always appear so linear. Moreover, some poems do not easily lend themselves to this interpretation of the evolution of the paraphrase from the epigrams into the chronicle. The function of poem 6, for example, has little to do with paraphrasing. As has been pointed out, this monostich leniently condemns the words of Anna Komnene, which are later omitted in the rendering of the chronicle. Similarly, the impulsive reflection of poem 1 or the approval expressed in poem 9 do not anticipate in any formal way the treatment of the corresponding passages in the chronicle. The epigrams do not always represent a draft version of the chronicle. As it seems, Ephraim may have also used his versified reading notes as inspiration or as points of departure for the elaborations of the passages in the chronicle. This situation would account for more oblique developments, such as the mirroring of poem 35.8 and verse 4000 of the chronicle.

The verse scholia of Ephraim would be for personal use, whereas the chronicle seems subjected to the constraints of patronage, which would explain the change in style. In fact, one may even wonder whether Ephraim had already the chronicle in mind when he penned the epigrams. It could as well have been the case that the somewhat excessive display of rhetoric in the epigrams was intended to showcase the poet's training and to capture a patron's attention. Unfortunately, the verse scholia do not add much information about the author: we just see him working. The encomiastic wording makes us think of a court milieu. However, the book epigram at the end of Vindob. Hist. gr. 53 confirms Ephraim's connection with the city of Ainos and suggests a relationship with the bishop of this city. It seems logical to assume that the same bishop who commissioned the restoration of the manuscript is the elusive patron of the chronicle. This scenario would explain why Ephraim reduced the elements of imperial propaganda in the

chronicle. Ecclesiastical patronage would also explain the addition of the catalogue of the bishops of Constantinople at the end of the chronicle. The epigrams of Ephraim pose new questions and give few answers, but they should definitely be included in a reassessment of this author and his oeuvre.

What else remains to be done? The amount of poems that have been unearthed indicates that the margins of the manuscripts are still a rich quarry of new literature. This is especially true for the later manuscripts of the classics, often disdained as they may have little to offer to the *constitutio textus*. The margins of the *recentiores* may still be treasure troves, whereas the marginalia also help us to understand better the more recent transmission of a given text. In the case of Tzetzes, we have observed that all the traces of his research on Herodotus have not been put together yet; the same can be said about the scholia on Herodotus in general. The complexities of these texts deserve a closer study: the poems in Appendix 1 and 2 of Part 1, for example, still await such endeavour. In the case of Ephraim, one may wonder whether he wrote epigrams in the margins of any other of his known sources (John Zonaras and George Akropolites). A first quick survey has not offered any results, but the possibility should not be excluded. Besides, we have recorded the presence of verse scholia in the margins of Zonaras in Vat. gr. 136 (not by Ephraim) and of the chronicle of Theodore Skoutariotes (who also used Niketas Choniates as a source) in Marc. gr. 407. As for Niketas Choniates, other marginal texts may attest to similar processes of composition as the epigrams by Ephraim. The fragments of the *Metaphrasis* running along the paraphrased passages in Vindob. Hist. gr. 105 are a good starting point for future research.



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