A poem on the refortification of Dorylaion in 1175

SPINGOU Foteini
University of Oxford (Keble college)
https://doi.org/10.12681/byzsym.1029

To cite this article:

doi:https://doi.org/10.12681/byzsym.1029
Manuel Komnenos (1143-1180) decided to organize a campaign against the Seljuk Turks in order to maintain Byzantine power in the East. Before starting the expedition, in the summer or autumn of 1175, he set about rebuilding or re-establishing Dorylaion and Soublaion, aplekta (supply centres) on the plateau of Asia Minor, which had been affected by Turkish nomads. According to Niketas Choniates, Manuel first rebuilt Dorylaion and then Soublaion. After his journey to Soublaion, he returned to Constantinople.


2. K. BONIS, Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάχη: Τὰ σῳζόμενα (a), Theologia 19 (1941-8) 717.


4. According to another view, Manuel rebuilt Dorylaion in order to establish “a network of fortresses ... to protect the agricultural population which had previously lived in open villages so that they could cultivate the land in security and pay their taxes”.

* I wish to thank Prof. Marc Lauxtermann, my academic supervisor, for his invaluable help. I would like also to thank Dr. Georgi Parpulov, Dr. Ida Toth, Dr. Christos Simelidis, and Prof. Michael Grünbart for their suggestions. All remaining mistakes, of course, are mine. This article would not have been possible without the generous support of the Foundation for Education and European Culture (founded by Mr. Nikos Trichas).

BYZANTINA ΣΥΜΜΕΙΚΤΑ 21 (2011) 137-168
(before Epiphany, 1176). There, Euthymios Malakes delivered a panegyric speech to the Emperor during the feast of Epiphany, and Eustathios of Thessaloniki wrote his Lenten oration. Both refer to the expedition and to the refortification of Dorylaion. The following year, Manuel waged war against Konya, but his plans quickly failed. He was defeated at Myriokephalon on 17 September 1176.

Manuel Komnenos is the second most praised emperor in Byzantine history. More than seventy monodies, panegyrics, orations and many other rhetorical texts were dedicated to him. Therefore, it is not surprising that a poem was dedicated to the refortification of Dorylaion in 1175.

Dorylaion was a thriving city during the tenth and eleventh centuries, but the Turkish invasions forced the inhabitants to abandon it. This area

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between Bithynia, Phrygia and Galatia was a “matter of dispute” between the Byzantines and the Turks for over a hundred years. At first, crusaders of the First Crusade chased Turkish settlers out of Dorylaion (1097). However, the status quo was unstable and new Turkish invasions allowed nomads to re-settle in the same area. Due to the continuous warfare, the city was abandoned for almost a hundred years. It is worth noting that Manuel (after 1159) had also driven away the nomads from Dorylaion, but they returned shortly after. The Turks did not have the strength to withstand organized military expeditions. They tried to infiltrate the city only during periods of peace or political upheaval. Manuel attempted to solve this problem by reconstructing the fortress and by stationing soldiers ready for battle.

A terminus post quem for the dating of the poem is the year 1171, when Alexios II was nominated as co-emperor. The poem refers to a city in Asia Minor that had been renovated by the Emperor. There are good grounds for assuming that the poem refers to the reconstruction of Dorylaion during the autumn of 1175.


12. Veryonis, Decline, 110. According to John Kinnamos (Επιτομή, ed. A. Meineke, Ioannis Cinnami epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum [CSHB], Bonn 1836), 295, 6 two thousand nomads were settled there with their flocks.


15. The author refers to Alexios II twice (vv. 45 and 59).

16. The enemies are “the Persians”, i.e. the Turks, (see vv. 8, 29)

17. Sp. Lamprós, Σεβημέρια, NE 5 (1908) 332; P. Wirth, Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos und die Ostgrenze, BZ 55 (1962) 21. K. Bonis, Ἑβθομένῳ τοῦ Μαλάκῃ: Τὰ σῳζόμενα (b), Theologia 20 (1949) 146. Magdalino, Manuel, 96. Manuel had an ambitious refortification programme (Ahrweiler, Fortresses, 186-7; Stone, Panegyric, 242). The refortification of Dorylaion was of utmost importance and, therefore, it was much praised in imperial
The verses have the characteristics of an official encomium. The author portrays the Emperor “as a shining example of the virtues, especially wisdom, courage, justice and moderation”19. Spyridon Lampros suggested that it was written either by a dweller of Dorylaion or by Theodore Prodromos, and that it was probably performed in Constantinople by a person who claimed to be a dweller in the city20. Paul Magdalino contended that it was a verse inscription on the walls of Dorylaion21. It is possible that a court poet, who either accompanied the Emperor or was well informed about what was happening in the campaign, wrote a poem for a small feast organized to celebrate the reconstruction of the city walls of Dorylaion22.

The vocabulary and the imperial ideology expressed in the poem suggest that it was perhaps performed in Dorylaion, after its refortification, in front of a highly cultivated audience. The fact that the author does not name the city provides evidence for this hypothesis: he refers to Dorylaion only as “this” city because the audience presumably knew what he was talking about23. Furthermore, if the poem has been performed in Constantinople, panegyrics. See also F. Chalandon, Les Comnène. Études sur l’empire byzantin au XIe et XIIe siècles, vol. 2: Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180), Paris 1912, 502-4 and TIB 7, 240-2.


21. Magdalino, Manuel, 96 (note 281) and 456.

22. According to Kinnamos (297, 17; cf. Stone, Dorylaion Revisited, 190) the construction was completed after just forty days (cf. v. 50). It is unlikely that this poem is a verse inscription (Magdalino, Manuel, 96, note 281), because verse inscriptions are usually in dodecasyllable, and the few verse inscriptions composed in dactylic hexameters or elegiac distichs are usually relatively short and usually date from earlier periods (Cf. A. Rhoby, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken [Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 374. Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 23], Wien 2009, 62-3), with the exception of the sepulchral epigram on the tomb of Manuel Komnenos, C. Mango, Notes on Byzantine Monuments, DOP 23-24 (1970) 372-5; on the latter inscription, see G. Fatouros, Das Grab des Kaisers Manuel I. Komnenos, BZ 93 (2000) 108-12, and its review: Cl. Sode, Zu dem Grab Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos, BZ 94 (2001) 230-1). Furthermore, the content of the poem does not support such usage.

23. vv. 3, 47, 50, 51. The reading τάδε presupposes a gesture by a performer. This is an extra indication for a possible performance of the poem.
we would expect the poem to refer to Soublaion as well. Soublaion is not mentioned, most likely because the Emperor had not yet undertaken the refortification there. 

What is more, the only “description” of the city is a rhetorical exercise. Oddly enough, the orator does not refer to the fertility of the area – a topos for the other texts that describe the reconstruction of Dorylaion. This further supports the idea that the poem was performed in Dorylaion and so the audience had no need to hear a description of the area. A rhetorical personification of the city would have been attractive to them. But what was the audience for a poem like this? Any listener would be an educated Greek-speaker. It is known that the city had been almost abandoned by its Greek dwellers. As a result, there is no question of the citizens understanding the poem. It seems more probable that a small ceremony might have taken place before the walls of Dorylaion, after the construction works came to an end and before the Emperor left for Soublaion.

The anonymous author of the Dorylaion poem was very well informed. There are allusions to facts; for instance, it is implied that Manuel took part in the building work in order to inspire his men. As the poem states, he laid down the foundation stone and then the other men followed his example. Euthymios Malakes in the oration states clearly: “You, my Emperor, helped do the work with your hands and you were the first to carry stones.”

The reference to Mount Olympus is puzzling. It is not certain whether it is factual. According to the poem, Manuel “stretched out his man-saving hand from Mount Olympus” (v. 38). This time, the poet includes an implicit reference to Manuel’s itinerary. According to John Kinnamos, when Manuel started the expedition, “he himself crossed the strait of Damalis [the Bosphorus] and went straight to Melangeia.” After he had assembled there

24. If the rebuilding of Soublaion had already taken place, it would probably have been mentioned, given that the poet is usually accurate enough (e.g. vv. 46-47).

25. Kinnamos 294, 12-295, 1. Malakes (Bonis, Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη (a), 530, 8-25) praises the beauty of the city which Manuel has restored. Stone, Dorylaion Revisited, 186-187.


28. Kinnamos uses the names Melagia/ Malagia/ Malagna for the town of Metavole, which was the major centre of the region of Malagina (Cl. Foss, Byzantine Malagina and the
an adequate force from the villages of Bithynia and Rhynidakos, he went to
the plains of Dorylaion. John Kinnamos’s narration does not give us any
space to suppose that Manuel went to Mount Olympus, as the Dorylaion
poem suggests. However, the poem can be used as evidence that, while
the troops were assembled in Melangeia, Manuel went to the monasteries
in Mount Olympus in order to meet monks and pray before starting his
expedition, as many emperors had done in the past.

If the hypothesis that the poem was written to be performed at a small
celebration is correct, then the audience consisted of the Emperor, his son,
members of the court and soldiers. The poem certainly corresponds to
the tastes of the Komnenian-Constantinopolitan court and to their strong
literary interests. Images familiar to the court orators are repeated and

Lower Sangarius, Anatolian Studies 40 (1990) 163-4 and 182 = idem, Cities, Fortresses ..., VII,
163-4 and 182). The fortress of Metavole (Paşalar) was the main aplekton on the way to the
byzantines 9], Paris 2003, 394-5. Foss, Byzantine Malagina, 167). It had been rebuilt by
Manuel after the year 1145 (Foss, Byzantine Malagina, 163 and 171).


30. Alexios II was probably with his father on this campaign, even if he was just 6 or 7
For P. Wirth (Kaiser Manuel, 28) this was not certain, while A. Stone (Dorylaion Revisited,
193-4) gives evidence that Alexios was actually there. See Eustathios of Thessaloniki B, 45,
34-7. A. Stone also argues that Euthymios Malakes is not as clear on the issue as Eustathios.
In a different oration of Eustathios, Alexios is also said to have accompanied Manuel on his
expedition. The fact that he accompanied the expedition (despite his tender age) encouraged
the soldiers to carry on (Eustathios of Thessaloniki Λ, 201, 93-4).

31. According to Choniates, Manuel was accompanied by “the [...] most illustrious
kinsmen” in his later expedition against Ikonion (Choniates 184, 95; transl. H. J. Magoulas,
O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates, Detroit 1984, 104). There are more
instances in which aristocrats accompanied the emperor. See for example the poem that
Manganeios wrote on the tent of the sevastokratorissa (M. Jeffreys, Manuel Komnenos’
Macedonian Military Camps: A Glamorous Alternative Court?, in: Byzantine Macedonia:

32. It is likely that at least most of them were not able to understand the poem (Mullett,
Aristocracy and Patronage, 187, briefly discusses the education of soldiers).
the highbrow style is employed for a poetic encomium appropriate for the Emperor.

The poem begins with a picture: “There was a time when this city was a vigorous offshoot with shady leaves and large foliage, [prospering] under the Roman plane of the Ausonians (Romans)\(^{33}\). But [swept] by a furious and barbaric storm, a hurricane, a violent typhoon, it was torn away like a nubile girl from her mother” (vv. 1-5). It is not the first time that a simile comparing an emperor to a great plane tree had been used for a member of the Comnenian family. When Theodore Prodromos was celebrating the conquest of Kastamon (1133), he used a similar comparison for John II Komnenos\(^{34}\). Interestingly, in an epigram in the collection in *Marc. gr. 524*, the writer refers to an image of the three emperors (John, Manuel and his son Alexios), saying, “these three trees sprout up from the purple, covering and refreshing their citizens under the shady foliage of their benefactions”\(^{35}\). Therefore, the comparison of an emperor to a tree (and especially to a plane tree) was frequent enough. In this instance, it is not the Emperor himself but his authority that is compared with a plane tree shading the citizens.

Constantinople and Dorylaion are then presented as mother and daughter (vv. 5-9). The personification of the cities is an image from Late Antiquity\(^{36}\). Following this, the Turkish conquest of Dorylaion is described as the rape of a young, nubile girl\(^{37}\).

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36. G. DAGRON, *Naissance d’une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1974, 49-50 and 56-60. Cities were frequently represented as maidsens – a usage that hails back to the Hellenistic era. For the relation between Manuel and the revitalized *New Rome*, see MAGDALINO, Manuel, 424-5.
37. In his speech delivered at the occasion of the Epiphany of 1176, Euthymios Malakes talks about the “rape” of the city as well (Malakes 529, 4-5. Cf. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, B, 41, 80-4 (extremely similar to the poem). See also vv. 54-62). In this speech, Dorylaion is presented as a young girl torn away from her mother, Constantinople. Cf. Theodore Prodromos in his poem on the re-conquest of Kastamon (no. 3, 15-7) described Constantinople as a mother who laments the loss of her children.
Moreover, the image of the Emperor also falls into topoi well established in panegyric literature. Manuel is described as indefatigable (ἀκάμας, ἄτρυτος), working excellently (ἀριστοπόνος), magnanimous (μεγάθυμος), seven-times king (ἐπταμέδων), the sacker of cities (πτολίπορθος) and as standing above earthly needs. His “man-saving hand” is also praised. Such expressions were common for court orators and poets. He is also called a “killer of beasts” and a hunter (v. 13). Further in the poem, at v. 33, the Turks are compared to deer and the Emperor is again a mighty hunter. Finally, the anonymous poet praises the Emperor for

38. Manuel is praised also for his vigilance, for fasting and for his resistance to the earthly needs (vv. 20-22). Cf. Malakes 535, 2; 535, 13-16; 536, 10-3. Eustathios of Thessaloniki (Λ, 200, 74-6, 88-90 and 201, 9-13) urges John Doukas Kamateros to imitate the emperor and his ceaseless fasting and waking.


40. v. 11. Theodore Prodromos in the aforementioned poem (no. 3) uses a similar characterization for John II Komnenos: ἀναξ πολύμοχθε (v. 38).

41. A characteristic connected to the mythical heroes. Choniates 2, 520. Cf. idem, Essays Philological and Critical, New York 1873, 333; cf. ibid. 334). It symbolises God’s perfection, His sovereignty and holiness. Seven is one of the key numbers in the Old and New Testaments, while seven is the central figure of quantities in the Book of Revelation. Certainly, the possible meanings and implications of number seven in literature need to be discussed in a separate article.

42. The number seven is used in order to be demonstrated the great authority of the Emperor, his eternal and perfect power. LBG translates it as “siebenfach Herrschend”. The number seven is a very important number in the Old Testament, where it “appears to be used, as we say a score or a dozen, for a large indefinite number” (J. Hadley, The Number Seven in: idem, Essays Philological and Critical, New York 1873, 333; cf. ibid. 334). It symbolises God’s perfection, His sovereignty and holiness. Seven is one of the key numbers in the Old and New Testaments, while seven is the central figure of quantities in the Book of Revelation. Certainly, the possible meanings and implications of number seven in literature need to be discussed in a separate article.

43. Homeric vocabulary. Theodore Prodromos (no. 3, 22) uses the same words to praise John II.


46. Eustathios of Thessaloniki (B, 38, 94-39, 3; B, 41, 84-5) also uses the same metaphor. The picture of the Emperor as a hunter should be connected with the martial interests of the Komnenoi and the fact that hunting was a part of the social image of the Emperor during
his writing abilities and theological expertise\textsuperscript{47}, as would be expected from court orations in the final period of his reign\textsuperscript{48}.

Manuel is also connected to God. Endurance, sleeplessness and the ability to fast – already attributed to the imperial character by the time of John Komnenos – bestow a sense of sanctification upon the Emperor\textsuperscript{49}. Furthermore, Manuel’s characterization as “godlike” provides evidence of his divine cult\textsuperscript{50}. Court poets, as well as the anonymous poet\textsuperscript{51}, mention that Manuel has the same name as Christ (Emmanuel-Manuel). The topos occurs on seals as well. For instance, the reverse of a seal now deposited in the Vatican reads Μανουήλ Δεσπότης; the obverse reads Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Ἐμμανουήλ\textsuperscript{52}. The poet draws a further parallel between Christ and the Emperor: Manuel first refers to Christ as “Creator Lord” (v. 41) and Manuel is then mentioned as “king protector of the city” (v. 57).

According to the poem, Manuel and the Byzantines will ultimately win because they are God’s chosen people. In vv. 25-27, there is a reference to the Old Testament: God told Gideon to decrease the number of the soldiers

\textsuperscript{47.} v. 15-16: “the sweet-sounding instrument of the pious words, the leader [on the path] of unerring spiritual ascent”.

\textsuperscript{48.} See MAGDALINO, Manuel, 465-7. Cf. KARLA, Das literarische Porträt, 676. Euthymios Malakes (BONIS, Εὐθύμιος τοῦ Μαλάκη (a), 532, 32 - 533, 1) also praises him as a “sweet writer”. Cf. BONIS, Εὐθύμιος τοῦ Μαλάκη (b), 56.

\textsuperscript{49.} For the μίμησις Θεοῦ, see H. HUNGER, Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden [WBS 1], Wien, 1964, 58-63. Cf. MAGDALINO, Manuel, 420.

\textsuperscript{50.} v. 39. See also MAGDALINO, Manuel, 424 and 480. R. MACRIDES, From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: Imperial models in decline and exile, in: New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial renewal in Byzantium 4th -13th Centuries, ed. P. Magdalino, Aldershot 1994, 278. Euthymios Malakes (534, 21; 534, 23; 536, 33) and Eustathios of Thessaloniki (N, 229, 1-19; cf. KARLA, Das literarische Porträt, 674 and 678) also compare Manuel to God.

\textsuperscript{51.} v. 39.

\textsuperscript{52.} V. LAURENT, Les sceaux byzantins du Médaillier Vatican, Città del Vaticano 1962, 9-10 (no. 13).
before going into battle. Gideon’s army initially consisted of twenty-two thousand men, later of ten thousand and finally just of three hundred men. Gideon only selected the men who lapped the water with their hands to their mouths and not those who got down on their knees to drink water from the river. Thus, the victory was attributed to God and not to the strength of the army. In court orations, the Emperor is often praised for vanquishing his enemies without the need for troops.

The poem – and especially the last verses – is indicative of the general mood at the time. The rebuilding of Dorylaion had a special significance for the Byzantines. The world domination again seemed possible to the poet and his audience.

The manuscripts

Turning to the manuscript tradition, the poem can be found in three manuscripts: Parisinus gr. 2644 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and Barocci 194 and Auctarium T.1.10 (Misc. 188) in the Bodleian Library. It was first edited by Spyridon Lampros in 1908, solely on the basis of Barocci 194.

The handwriting of the main scribe of manuscript Parisinus gr. 2644 (P) dates from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. The edges

55. Cf. Stone, Dorylaion Revisited, 185.
56. At this point, the author paraphrases the Old Testament: “The Lord said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him, “Raise your eyes now, and look from the place where you are, northwards and southwards and eastwards and westwards; for all the land that you see I will give to you and to your offspring forever” (Gen. 13: 14-15).
57. The handwriting shares characteristics with the Fettaugenstil (cf. G. Prato, I manoscritti greci dei secoli XIII è XIV: note paleografiche, in: Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17-21 ottobre 1983), eds D. Harlfinger – G. Prato, vol. 1, Alessandria 1991, 139-42 and tables 3 and 6); see for instance the fettaugen-gross omega and beta, the lunar sigma with the exaggerated semicircular loop, the capital nu and the ligatures especially for epsilon-rho and omicron-sigma. No watermark is found on any of the folia of the manuscript. The lack of watermarks and the handwriting corroborate the argument that the manuscript dates from the late thirteenth century (probably from the last quarter of the century) and not from the fourteenth, because it became common to have watermarks after the early fourteenth century. H. Omont (Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale. 3ème partie. Ancien fonds grecs, Paris 1888,
of the manuscript were trimmed when it was re-bound (in the sixteenth century)\(^{58}\) and thus some words from the margins are missing. The poem was copied along with various works by Tzetzes and some anonymous works\(^{59}\). It is found in a part of the manuscript without ascriptions, consisting of two prose works\(^{60}\) and two poems. The first poem, which deals with the death (or possibly murder?) of John II Komnenos, was attributed to John Tzetzes by Robert Browning, but unfortunately without providing solid arguments\(^{61}\).

The poem can be found on ff. 250\(^{fr-v}\). The title, written in red ink in the right margin, reads “heroic verses” (Στίχοι ἡρωικοί). The poem is written in medium brown ink. It has been copied in two columns. Each verse is distinct. The first forty-six verses are written in the last twenty-three lines

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\(^{17-8}\) describes it as a fourteenth-century manuscript. Cf. P. A. M. Leone, Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae, Napoli 1968, x (“saec. XIV exaratus”). The ms. has some later additions on ff. 1-9\(^{v}\) and 325-326; these too date from the late thirteenth century.

\(^{58}\). Cf. bookbinding with the initial F (=François I) engraved on the red leather and the watermark on the flyleaves.

\(^{59}\) ff. 10\(^{-324v}\).

\(^{60}\) The first work (a part of an epitaph for an unspecified person) has been preserved without title and without beginning on ff. 249\(^{fr}\) (inc. ἐπὶ τούτοις οἴμοι οὐ σοβαρός τις ἢ; des: οἰ καὶ πρὸς θειοτέραν ληξὶν βαδίσαντες). The second bears the title “Speech offered to the patriarch” (Χαριστήριος λόγος πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην) on ff. 249\(^{fr}\)-250 (inc.: ἐφοίτων ποτὲ καὶ πρὸς αἰακὸν εὐθυμοῦντες; des: ἱερέως ἀγαθοῦ, ταῖς πρὸς Θεὸν ἱκετείαις βεβαιοῦντος τὴν νίκην). Edited by V. L. Kostantinopoulos, Inedita Tzetziana. Δύο ανέκδοτοι λόγοι τοῦ Ἰωάννη Τζέτζη, Hellenica 33/1 (1981) 178-81. The editor of the two orations takes for granted that the author of both is John Tzetzes. He states that the Χαριστήριος λόγος was written for John IX Agapitos. Unfortunately, he does not provide any evidence for such identification. He also offers a different title than the one preserved in the manuscripts (Χαριστήριος λόγος πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην κύρι Ἰωάννην).

\(^{61}\) R. Browning, The death of John II Comnenus, Byzantion 31 (1961) 232. He takes for granted that the works included in this manuscript are the work of Tzetzes. However, he seems a bit doubtful about the authorship of the poem that he edits on p. 234: “if we suppose the poem not to be by Tzetzes at all”. The poem was republished by M. Arco Magri, Il carmine inedito di Giovanni Tzetzes De imperatore Occiso, Bollettino del comitato per la preparazione dell’edizione nazionale dei classici greci e latini 9 (1961) 73-5. The latter argues that the poem does not refer to John Komnenos, but “a un duce di milizie imperiali, vissuto appunto di Manuel I Commeno” (ibid. 75). However, she also believes that “non v’è alcun motivo per contestare l’attribuzione del carme a Tzetzes” (ibid). C. Wendel (Tzetzes Ioannes RE VII, A.2, 1948, 1961) attributes the poem to Tzetzes and he argues that it refers to emperor Andronikos Komnenos.
(of forty-one lines per page) on f. 250 and the last sixteen verses of the poem in eight lines on f. 250. The scribe did not capitalize any letters, nor did he use the subscribed iota. Final sigmas are written as σ. Diaeresis is noted on ι and υ. Accentuation, abbreviations and ligatures are regular. The hyphen is not used consistently.

Manuscript Barocci 194 (B) has been kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford since 1628/29. Judging by the writing style and the watermarks, it dates from the mid fifteenth century. There is no evidence for its provenance. On the basis of its contents, it can be assumed that it was written by someone with a strong interest in Greek philology and religious subjects. The manuscript was probably written by a single scribe named

62. Inscribed surface 230 x 135 mm.
63. Inscribed surface 40 x 135 mm. The rest of the page is ruled, but it was left blank.
64. Only for the name of Manuel (v. 14).
   ff. 13-14: Piccard No. 150018 (Pesaro 1433)
   ff. 18, 20, 22-24, 26-27, 30: Piccard: 68725 (Wien 1418)
   ff. 48-49, 50, 52, 54, 56, 148-149: Piccard No. 153202 (Vicenza 1447)
   ff. 60-61: Piccard No. 150009 (Padua 1423)
   f. 62: Piccard No. 150610 (Vicenza 1427)
   f. 67: Piccard No. 153202 (Vicenza 1447)
   ff. 68, 74, 77, 79, 80, 82, 150, 154-155, 162-163b, 165, 170, 173, 176: Piccard No. 122456 (Udine 1437)
   ff. 85-7, 102, 156-157, 178-179: Piccard No. 150910 (Bologna 1417)
   ff. 95-6, 99, 100-101, 103-104: Piccard No. 116055 (Leuven 1418)
   ff. 126-128: Piccard No. 150012 (Udine 1437)
   ff. 133, 136, 138: Piccard No. 124333 (Ravenna 1439).
68. It contains works by various authors: a life of Aesop (Vita W), poems of Cato translated into Greek by Maximos Planoudes, the “Golden epics” of pseudo-Pythagoras,
Makarios\textsuperscript{69}, but at different periods of time. It appears to have been written for the scribe’s own use\textsuperscript{70}: he constantly added new materials; instead of offering whole treatises, he often chose to copy excerpts of works; and some pages are obviously spare notes, which have been incorporated at a later stage\textsuperscript{71}. The poem is again entitled “heroic verses” (Στίχοι ἡρωικοί)\textsuperscript{72}.

The text has been copied on f. 95\textsuperscript{v} in black ink; it fills the last nineteen lines of the page\textsuperscript{73}. It has been written in one column (not in two or three, as is usual for poems), but the scribe sometimes indicates the beginning of the verse with a regular medium colon. He did not capitalize any letters and he did not use the subscribed iota. Sigma at the end of the word is noted either as σ or as c. Diaeresis is noted upon i and u. The accentuation, the abbreviations and the ligatures are regular, while the hyphen is not used consistently.

\textsuperscript{69} See: ff. 48\textsuperscript{r-v} where the scribe created a poem by verses from eight different poems, forming the acrostic ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ; note on f. 174: Μακαρίου ἱέρωμον ἄγαμον τὸ παρὸν σχόλιον περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου τοῦ καὶ τήνδε γράψαντο δέλτον; furthermore the capital M on f. 105\textsuperscript{v} forms the name Μακάριος (M is written and the other letters are written in its edges). Makarios cannot be identified: his handwriting is not similar to that of the scribe of Vat. Barb. 113 (f. 30\textsuperscript{v}), nor to that of the scribe of Lond. Add. 40755, f. 55\textsuperscript{v} (comparison on the basis of the reproductions in H. HUNGER, Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 3. Teil Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan. B. Paläographische Charakteristika [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik III/3B], Wien 1997, 147-148 (no. 403) and idem, Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600. 1. Teil Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens. B. Paläographische Charakteristika [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik III/1B], Wien 1981, 105 (no. 244).


\textsuperscript{71} For instance, the scribe copied only a few lines from each chapter of Hephaestion\textquoteright s treatise on metre. He omitted the examples which were cited in the original text and he copied whatever he thought was important.

\textsuperscript{72} The title is written in the same black ink in the left margin.

\textsuperscript{73} Of forty-seven lines per page in total. Inscribed surface: 240x160 mm.
Auctarium T. 1.10 (Misc. gr. 188) (A) was written by professional copyists between 1539 and 1542 in Venice. It contains the same works by Tzetzes and the same anonymous works as P. The Dorylaion poem has the same title as in the other two manuscripts: “heroic verses”.

The poem can be found on f. 306v. It is written in medium black ink in two columns and in thirty-one lines (of thirty-four overall). Each verse is written separately and the text displays the same writing habits as P and B.

The manuscripts including the poem seem to derive from a common source. All of them contain Tzetzes’ works. So, the general impression is that they must have been copied from the same manuscript: archetype α.

B and A offer better readings than P in v. 1 and offer readings that are as good or as bad as P in v. 59.

P and A offer better readings than B in vv. 4, 44 and 50 and offer readings as good or as bad as B in vv. 20, 31, 37 and 49.

P and B offer better readings than A in vv. 35 and 56.

A omits words in vv. 42, 46 and 56. There is no explanation for the fact that A twice confuses ξ with π (vv. 21 and 24).

A offers better readings in vv. 22 and 51. B offers better readings in vv. 40 and 47.

So far, P and A appear to be closer to each other than to B. However, the example of the sixty-two verses is not enough to give absolute support to this...
conclusion. As stated above, the poem has come down to us together with other works by Tzetzes, namely the *Chiliades* and some of the *Letters*. Their editor P.A.M. Leone, in his recent critical edition, discusses the manuscript tradition extensively. He establishes that all three manuscripts derive from the same branch of the stemma. Leone’s essential reconstruction of what has happened is shown in the following stemma: 78:

78. Leone’s view about the two different branches for B and P-A can be corroborated by the fact that some works have been omitted by B and some completely irrelevant words have been added in the left and right margins of the poem in B (f. 95v). There we find a word-list which appears to be completely irrelevant to the text, as follows:

- κηδοσύνη (yearning)
- σωφροσύνη (prudence)
- κεβλή (macedonian form of κεφαλή)
- κεφαλή (head)
- ψέφος (darkness)
- σκότος (darkness)
- δέμας (body)
- σῶμα (body)
- τρίβος (path)
- φόβος (fear)
- γηραΐδος (unattested word)
- γραΐδος (genitive of γραίς, old woman)
- ἄφιπον (unattested word)
- ἄφηπποι (sheaf)
- θέναρ (the palm of the hand)
- ἅμαλλα, δεματικόν (sheaf)
- ἅμαλλα, δεματικόν (sheaf)

Given the fact that in the first line of the poem there is a superscripted alternative word for ταυνιτέτηλον (i.e. ἀξύντετηλον), it can be assumed that the poem was preceded or followed either by scholia that are now lost or by a dictionary belonging to the tradition of Pseudo-Zonaras’ Lexicon (See κεβλή in K lin. 2 p. 1189; ψέφος in Ψ lin. 9 p. 1871; δέμας in Δ lin. 1 p. 483; θέναρ Θ lin. 8 p. 1035; ἅμαλλα A lin. 5 p. 141. Γραίδος cf. Γ lin. 12, p. 453. Ἀφιπόν cf. ἄφηπποι Α lin. 16 p. 351?.

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Contrary to what Leone’s stemma suggests, it cannot be excluded that P is the exemplar used by the scribe of A. At this point, it should be noted that only the main part of the P (i.e. ff. 10-324v) is relevant for the following discussion, because ff. 1-9v and 325-326v are later additions. The two manuscripts have identical contents:

79. f. 1v. Chiliades I, 1, 51 – I, 1, 105 (Hand B)
   f. 2v. Lexicon, close to Pseudo-Zonaras tradition (Hand C)
   f. 3. Chiliades I, 2, 106 – I, 3, 154 (Hand D)
   f. 4v. Ὑφαίσθησις τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Κρήτης έκ προσώπου τοῦ [missing]
   (Hand D)
   inc. φεῦ μοι καλλότιτη θύγατερ φεῦ μοι σεμνὴ τρυγῶνα
   des. ἄρωσα τεραστίας πρὸς τὸν λογιώτατον χύμον Σταμάτιον Γυράρδος τῷ
   περιποθήτῳ μοι ἀδέλφῳ. (Hand E)
   Acrostic: Γυράρδος τῷ περιποθήτῳ μοι ἀδέλφῳ
   inc. γνηρίζω τοῖνυν λογισμῷ καταμετρῶ τὰς λέξεις
   des. ὁσφραίνομαι τὰς λέξεις σου τὰς τρεῖς πεντασυλλάβας (sic)
   f. 5. On the same subject. (Hand E)
   Acrostic: Κυρῷ Σταμάτιῳ τῷ σεβαστῷ χαίροιν
   inc. Κωρώνης τοῖνυν ὁ λαμπρὸς καὶ γέννημα τῆς Κρήτης
   des. ἀμὴν ἀμὴν καὶ γένοιτο γένοιτο γένοιτο μοι
   f. 6v. Blank
   f. 7. Various gnomological texts (Hand F)
   f. 7v. Originally blank with several notes. There is a note which reads: ὁ ταπίνος (sic)
   ἀνδρέας. His hand is similar to that of Scribe F
   f. 8. Περὶ ἀλώπεκος (Hand F)
   inc. ὁ δόρυς αὐτοῦ ὁ δεξιῶς ἐπισπασθείς
   (almost the two thirds of the page are missing)
   f. 8v. blank
   f. 9v. Various notes (Various hands)
   ff. 325-326v. Notes on Homer (Hand D)
   inc. Μενέλαιος τῷ ξίφει δὲ
   des. τίπτει γῆ ῥίπτει δὲ καὶ τὸ δόρυ.
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1. LEONE, *Historiae, XII.*

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Furthermore, minor differences can be found between the readings offered by P and A, not only for the Dorylaion poem, but also in the Chiliades and the Letters of Tzetzes. These differences could perhaps safely be regarded as being scribal mistakes.

Historical evidence supports the hypothesis that A is a direct copy of P. Manuscript P was sold by Antonios Eparchos, a Greek refugee and merchant of manuscripts in Venice, to Guillaume Pellicier, on behalf of François I, in 1540\(^80\). P was deposited in the Bibliothèque de Fontainebleau after 1545, since it can be found in the catalogue of 1550 (no. 484), but not in the catalogue of 1545\(^81\). Pellicier also commissioned A, which was copied between 1540 and 1542 in Venice\(^82\). A became one of the manuscripts of his collection\(^83\). Therefore, it is highly probable that Pellicier commissioned a copy of the manuscript for himself before depositing P in the royal library. Pellicier’s library passed to Claude Naulot in 1573, four years after Pellicier’s death. Indeed, two notes indicate that Naulot read this book in this year\(^84\). Pellicier’s collection (along with this manuscript) subsequently passed to the Jesuits of Clermont, then to Gerard Meermann in 1764, and finally to the Bodleian library\(^85\). These observations suggest the new stemma below:


82. See note 75.

83. O. MONT, Pellicier, no. 138, p. 80: Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζέτζου ἱστορίαι καὶ λέξεις ἱστοριών. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ διαφοράς ποιητών. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλία σαφεστάτη περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς στίχοις μέτρων ἁπάντων, διὰ στίχων πολιτικῶν. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπόθεσις Ὅμηρου ἀλληγορυφηθείσαι τῇ κραταιοτάτῃ βασιλίσσῃ. See also CATALDI-PALAU, A Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts, 4-6


85. See CATALDI-PALAU, A Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts, 129.
Authorship and manuscripts

None of the manuscripts provides a clear indication of the authorship of the poem. It is worth noting, however, that manuscript P and its copy A are manuscripts that solely contain works by Tzetzes, and manuscript B contains some of these works as well. As for the Chiliades and Letters, their last editor, P.A.M. Leone, established that manuscripts P, A and B belong to the same family. Furthermore, the poem was also copied as part of the same anonymous texts in P (and A). B includes the poem, but not the other three texts. A possible explanation could be that the scribe of B, Makarios, considered this poem a good example of hexametric poetry, a kind of poetry described in the preceding Poem on Metre (Περὶ μέτρων). Even if the title is not important, the fact that the poem is found between the treatises

86. Leone, Historiae, xcix; Leone, Epistulae, xvi.
87. In B, the word ἐλεπτούργησεν is noted just after the preceded Poem on Metre (Περὶ μέτρων) (f. 95r). Usually the scribe marks a cross when he finished writing a paragraph or a chapter of a work. However, in this case he marked a colon and a cross before the word and after this, he noted another colon, indicating that he refers to the next one, while the subject of the verb is the same as the previous one (i.e. John Tzetzes). Unfortunately, this cannot be confirmed by the meaning of the word. According to LSJ, it means either “do fine work” or “recount in detail”. Later derivatives of the same word have similar meaning (see λεπτούργημα in LBG). As a result, most probably this word refers to the previous poem: “he recounted in detail (the rules about the metre)”. 

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of John Tzetzes and Hephaestion on metre in B may suggest that it was copied as an example of the dactylic metre. Another hypothesis is that the sub-archetype of B (if there was one) did not include the other three works, but only the Dorylaion poem. As a result, Tzetzes could be a possible candidate for the authorship.

Although John Tzetzes, the well-known prolific scholar of the twelfth century, was a protégé of the aristocracy, he never served at the court as a poet laureate. Even the sepulchral verses that he wrote on the death of Manuel Komnenos are more a rhetorical game than a real poem. The Dorylaion poem is a good example of imperial propaganda. As mentioned above, the poem must have been commissioned to add lustre to the festive occasion of Dorylaion’s refortification. It would be surprising if Tzetzes, “proud of his independence”, was the author of the poem. Finally, the known biographical information on John Tzetzes is general and, especially for this period of his life, completely obscure. There are no letters dated after 1166, while the pace of his writing slackens in the 1160’s. As a result, he might already have been dead by 1175.

Tzetzes wrote more poems in hexameter. However, a metrical comparison with these poems is of little help in ascertaining whether Tzetzes...
was the poet behind the Dorylaion poem. The main metrical and prosodic features of Tzetzes’ genuine poems and the Dorylaion poem are common to most Byzantine poets after the seventh century: a tendency to feminine caesura, the appearance of median caesura, and prosodic errors.

The different subject of the poems could possibly be the cause of the linguistic difference between the Dorylaion poem and the other poems by Tzetzes. The Dorylaion poem has more linguistic similarities to the panegyrics written in hexameter by Theodore Prodromos on the re-conquest of Kastamon. It is out of the question that Prodromos was the author of the poem, because the poem is datable long after his death. The similarities can be explained on the basis of their similar subject and the use of a common poetic style.

It is well known, that frequently poets were writing epigrams on demand of the members of the Constantinopolitan elite. It is highly possible that our anonymous poet was one of these professional poets. His knowledge of the conventions of court poetry supports this view.

Prosody and metre

The poem is written in hexameters. The hexameter of Byzantine authors is more akin to Homer’s hexameters than to those of Nonnos. In the twelfth century, it was not unusual for this metre to be used for the

97. The poem begins with the phrase ἦν ὅτε (“there was once”) – just as does the poem of Theodore Prodromos (no. 3, 1) (written also in hexameter) for the triumph of John II Komnenos after the conquest of Kastamon (1133). Furthermore, Theodore Prodromos too described Constantinople as a mother who laments the loss of her children (ibid., 15-17). Prodromos also uses the Homeric adjective πτολίπορθος (sacker of the cities) for John II Komnenos (ibid., 22). The last two verses of the Dorylaion poem resembles strongly v. 128 of the poem on Kastamon’s reconquest.

98. An example of this poetic jargon is the archaistic name Persians in order to indicate the Turks: v. 29. Cf. W. HÖRANDNER, Η εικόνα του άλλου. Λατίνοι, Φράγκοι και Βάρβαροι από τη σκοπιά της αυλικής ποίησης των Κομνηνών, Dodoni 23 (1993) 118.

99. Cf. MCELLETT, Aristocracy and Patronage, 177, 180-1. See also LAUNTEMANN, Byzantine Poetry, 36.

composition of poetry. Theodore Prodromos, for instance, wrote not only epigrams, but also long poems in hexameter. Isaac Komnenos, the founder of the Kosmosoteira monastery, composed, among others, also poems in hexameters. In his testament (written in 1152), he demands that the book with his works will “be given often as a reading”. John Tzetzes in letter 89 mentions that someone sent him a text in hexameter.

As the prosodic differentiation between long and short syllables had already disappeared in Late Antiquity, the author, like so many other Byzantine poets, struggled with the rules of ancient prosody. More precisely, the main classical rules are generally in use: ε and ο are short and η and ω are long, although there is one exception to this – the omicron in κρατερόν (v. 47) is measured as long. It was very difficult for the author to follow the ancient rules, especially for the dichrona: there are twelve instances of short alpha measured as long, four instances of short iota measured as long, and two instances of long upsilon measured as short.


102. For example the encomiastic poems (Theodore Prodromos, nos. 42, 56b, 67). Cf. the paraenetic poem to monk Ioannikios (no. 62) and the poem to Logothetes Stephanos Meles (nos. 68 and 69).

103. On sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos, see Varzos, Ἡ γενεαλογία, vol. 1, 238-54, esp. 252-3 (no. 36).


105. Tzetzes, Letters, no. 89, lin. 6-7: γραμματείων γάρ μοι προσεεγχέκτως ἐγκεχαραγμένην ἱδωκυνῆν ἔχοντας μούδαν. For the works of Tzetzes in hexameter, see n. 104.


107. vv. 5, 8, 15, 29, 30, 31, 33, 51, 54, 59, 60, 62.

108. vv. 2, 41, 49, 50.

109. In v. 8 and in the corrupted v. 24.
The prosodic value of vowels and diphthongs may be lengthened in the case of “position”, or shortened in the case of epic and attic correction\textsuperscript{110}. Finally, proper names are counted freely\textsuperscript{111}.

Although the author tried to avoid hiatus by using either euphonical -\textnu\textsuperscript{112} or words with elision\textsuperscript{113}, he failed many times\textsuperscript{114}.

There is no clear tendency to regulate the position of the stress accent at the verse end in Byzantine hexameters\textsuperscript{115}: 45.14\% (28) of the verses are accented on the penultimate, 29.08\% (18) on the last syllable and 25.78\% (16) on the antepenultimate.

The masculine caesura has been used ten times\textsuperscript{116}, the feminine twenty-four times\textsuperscript{117}, the median caesura nineteen times\textsuperscript{118}, the caesura after the second foot eight times\textsuperscript{119}, and finally the hephthemimeral caesura once\textsuperscript{120}.

The position of the stress accent before the masculine, feminine and median caesura is as follows:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{110} One can find position in almost every verse. The only peculiarity is in verse 53 where the double ρ in \textgreek{ἐγκαταρρήξας} does not make position. Epic correction can be found twice (vv. 41 and 46) and attic correction twelve times (vv. 4, 15, 20, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 42, 55, 56, 60).
\item \textsuperscript{111} vv. 14, 23, 27, 29, 57.
\item \textsuperscript{112} v. 3: τελέσοιν, v. 13: οὔρεσιν, v. 24: βάσκεν, v. 34: δούρασιν.
\item \textsuperscript{113} δὲ (vv. 6, 8, 26, 29, 31, 42, 43, 48, 54), τε (vv. 9, 16, 61), τε (v. 23), κε (v. 21), οὐδὲ (vv. 10, 20, 25, 35), ταύτα (v. 10), οἰκίσκει (v. 32), ἀπὸ (v. 36), σχοίνισμα (v. 43), φείσομαι (v. 45), ἦθε (v. 49).
\item \textsuperscript{114} vv. 1, 8, 12, 24, 28, 40, 41, 57, 58, 59, 62.
\item \textsuperscript{115} See M. D. Lauxtermann, \textit{The Spring of Rhythm. An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres} [BV 22], Wien 1999, 70.
\item \textsuperscript{116} vv. 5, 12, 15, 26, 29, 46, 47, 51, 52, 59. M. L. West, \textit{Introduction to Greek meter}, Oxford 1987, 19.
\item \textsuperscript{117} vv. 3, 7, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 53, 54, 57, 60, 61, 62. West, \textit{Greek meter}, 19.
\item \textsuperscript{118} vv. 1, 4, 6, 9, 10, 16, 17, 22, 23, 27, 28, 31, 33, 37, 42, 44, 48, 50, 55. Hunger, \textit{Literatur}, 90.
\item \textsuperscript{119} vv. 2, 8, 11, 25, 39, 45, 49, 58.
\item \textsuperscript{120} v. 56.
\end{itemize}
This confirms the observation that there is a clear tendency in twelfth-century hexameters to put the stress accent on the antepenultimate before the feminine caesura (on the second biceps)\textsuperscript{121}.

The poet is not very skilful: he strives after a highbrow style, but with little success in the end. He attempts to write in hexameters and in a kind of Homeric Greek. Strong enjambment is also one of the characteristics of the poem\textsuperscript{122}. Finally, the following hapax legomena appear in the poem:

\begin{itemize}
  \item v. 2. \textit{τανυπέτηλος},
  \item v. 15. \textit{μελιχρόφθογγος},
  \item v. 33. \textit{βριαροπάλαμνος},
  \item v. 38. \textit{σωτιάνειρα}.
\end{itemize}

Special textual problems

Verse 13 is syntactically highly problematic: part of a compound (\textit{θηρ-}) appears to be the antecedent of the relative pronoun \textit{ὅσσα}.

Verse 24 is corrupted. The reading of P and B, \textit{ἀναδυμένοιο}, is not an attested form of \textit{ἀναδύομαι}; A’s reading \textit{ἀναδυομένοιο} looks like an emendation by a humanist scribe. Furthermore, the verb \textit{ἀναδύομαι} is never attested in this meaning. One would expect a form of the verb \textit{ἀνατέλλω} or \textit{ἀνίσχω}.


\textsuperscript{122}  \textit{vv. 3- 4, 17-8, 26-7, 55-6.}
In the same verse, the reading πῦρ αὐτήν, offered in all the manuscripts, is grammatically incorrect. One could change it into πῦρ αὐτὸ (the fire itself), into πῦρ ἀὑτὴν (he let out a battle-cry (towards) the fire of the rising sun) or πυραυγῆ (the radiant (thing), the radiance).

Verse 26 is corrupt. On the one hand, if the reading of B is accepted, then the poem has an unacceptable enjambment. On the other hand, if we follow the scribes of P and A, the text becomes gibberish.

Verse 41. Two possible caesurae can be found in this verse: a feminine caesura and a hephemimeres. Thus, the audience could possibly have heard either “Be gracious, Creator and Lord [of the universe], to me – Thy suppliant”, or “Be gracious, Creator [of the universe] to me – Thy king-suppliant”.

TABULA NOTARUM IN APPARATU CRITICO ADHIBITARUM

P = ms. Paris. gr 2644, ff. 250v (s. XIII ex. – XIV a.)
B = ms. Barocci 194, f. 95v (s. XV)
A = ms. Auct. T. 1.10, f. 306v (s. XVI)
L = Sp. Lampros, Σύμμικτα, ΝΕ 5 (1908) 329-331.
add. = addidit
cod. = codex
coni. = coniecit
corr. = correxit
exp. = expunxit
fort. = fortasse
leg. = legit
m.c. = metri causa
mg. = in margine
mutil. = mutilatus
s.s. = suprascriptum
Στίχοι ἡρωικοὶ

Ἦν ὅτε ῥωμαϊκὴν ὑπὸ Αὐσονιτῶν πλατάνιστον πρέμνον ἐριθαλές, εὐσκιόφυλλον, τανυπέτηλον ἥδε πόλις τελέεσκεν· ἀτὰρ ζαμενοῦς ὑπ' ἀέλλης βαρβαρικῆς ἰδὲ λαίλαπος ἠδὲ τυφῶνος ἀγρίου κουριδίη νεᾶνις ἅτε μητρὸς ἀπέσπαστο φίλης, κειραμένη δ' ὑπὸ βάστρυχον ἀγλαδὸν ὡστὸ χαμᾶξεν ἦμη γὰρ πλοκαμίδας ἅμιξατο τέιχα πυκνά, ἦθεα περσικὰ δ' ὠλοφύρατο ἐπεὶ μετέλαχεν εὐρομίης θεοφιλέος εὐσεβέως εὐσεβέων τ' ἀπὸ θεσμῶν.

οὐδ' ἅρα κοιρανέοντος ταῦτ' ἐπιήνδανε θυμῷ, σκηντροχαρτοῖς, ἀκάμαντος, ἀριστοπόνου, μεγαθύμου, Κομνηνιάδεω, ἀγακλυτοῦ βαρβαροφόντου, θηρολετῆρος, ἐς ὅσσα περ οὔρεσιν ἀμφινέμονται, Μανουὴλ ἑπταμέδοντος, ἐρισθενέως, πτολιπόρθου, εὐσεβέων λόγων μελιχροφόγγου δόνακος, πνευματίκης θ' ἡγήτορος ἀμβάσεως ἀπὸ θεσμῶν. οὐδ' ἄρα κοιρανέοντος ταῦτ' ἐπιήνδανε θυμῷ, σκηντροχαρτοῖς, ἀκάμαντος, ἀριστοπόνου, μεγαθύμου, Κομνηνιάδεω, ἀγακλυτοῦ βαρβαροφόντου, θηρολετῆρος, ἐς ὅσσα περ οὔρεσιν ἀμφινέμονται, Μανουὴλ ἑπταμέδοντος, ἐρισθενέως, πτολιπόρθου, εὐσεβέων λόγων μελιχροφόγγου δόνακος, πνευματίκης θ' ἡγήτορος ἀμβάσεως ἀπὸ θεσμῶν. οὐδ' ἄρα κοιρανέοντος ταῦτ' ἐπιήνδανε θυμῷ, σκηντροχαρτοῖς, ἀκάμαντος, ἀριστοπόνου, μεγαθύμου, Κομνηνιάδεω, ἀγακλυτοῦ βαρβαροφόντου, θηρολετῆρος, ἐς ὅσσα περ οὔρεσιν ἀμφινέμονται, Μανουὴλ ἑπταμέδοντος, ἐρισθενέως, πτολιπόρθου, εὐσεβέων λόγων μελιχροφόγγου δόνακος, πνευματίκης θ' ἡγήτορος ἀμβάσεως ἀπὸ θεσμῶν.

23 cf. Gen. 16:7-14

Titol. in mg. B στ(ί)χ(οι) ηρωϊκοί in mg. P (cod. mutil.) στίχοι ἡρωϊκοί in mg. A 1 αὐσονίτην P 2 εὐσκιόφυλλον P Ρ ἀπέσπαστο Ρ 6 ἡφυσότητας Ρ ὁ σικ Α

20 άτροφον, οὐδ' ὑπνόωντα περὶ χθονίων κατὰ πληθύνοντα καὶ φυσικῶν ἑκάτερον ἀναγχῶν, αἱ 'εθέλησιν. οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐπιήνδανε, παμβασιλῆι δὲ Ἰσμαήλ Ἀγάρ οὖν Ἰσραήλ θεοκλυτεῖ, βάπτεσθαι εἷς ἀναδιμηνύου πόρω αὐτῆς ἀπὸ θεσμῶν.

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αὐτομάτως οὐδ’ ἀξιόλεκτον ἄγειρε φάλαγγα,
ώς δ’ ὅτε περ Γεδεὼν τὸ λαφύξαν ἀγάγετο καί τε
Μαδιανίτιδας ὤλεσε πανστρατιὰς ὑπερόπλους
ἐν δὲ κεραυνὸν ἀπ’ ἄντυγος αἰθερίοι ἀτειρῆ
Πέρσαι καθοράαν ὀΐσαντο, λάθοντο δ’ ὀϊστοῦ,
ἐς δὲ φυγήν ἔτραποντο λυγρὰν αὐδὴν λαλαγοῦντες.

αὐτομάτως οὐδ’ ἀξιόλεκτον ἄγειρε φάλαγγα,
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ἐς δὲ φυγήν ἔτραποντο λυγρὰν αὐδὴν λαλαγοῦντες.

στέρνα δ’ ἀνὰ πολυχανδῆ γαίης πουλυβοτείρης
οὐκέτ’ ἐπιτροχόωντες ἐς ἄγκεα μακρὰ δύσαντο,
δορκαλίδες τρομέουσαι θῆρα βριαροπάλαμνο·
πολλὰ δὲ δοῦρασιν ἀμφὶ μετάφρενα τραυματέοντο,
οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἐπὶ στήθεσφι βολίδος ἐμιμνὸν ἐρωήν.

ὡς οἱ μὲν δραπέτευσαν ἀπ’ ἀλλοτρίοι δόμοι,
κηφῆνες δὲ μελισσῶν οὐκέτι σίμβλα τρυγῶσι,
χεῖρα δὲ σωτιάνειραν ἀνασχόμενος δι’ Ὀλύμπου
κοίρανος ὄλβιος ἠδὲ θεώνυμος ἠδὲ θεουδὴς
λίσσετο ὑψιμέδοντα λάχους ἕνεκεν θεολέκτου·

Ἅλιθι, δημιουργέ αὐξιώ· ἱκέτης δέ τοι εἰμί,
χριστιανῶν δ’ ἐπιλήσμονα μὴ μέχρι τέρματος εἶναι,
ὄμμασι δ’ εὐμενέεσσι τεὸν σχοίνισμ’ ἐπιβλέψαι.

σοῦ χάριν, οὔτε τι σώματος, οὐ στέφεος πολυτίμου
φείσομ’ ἐγώ ποτε, οὐ τέκεος τὸ χάρισας ἄμμιν».

Ἡ ρὰ καὶ ἀμβροσίην διὰ δεξιὰν ἔνθετο λίθον,
κάββαλε δὲ κρατερὸν ἐς ὑπώρυχα τῆσδε πόλιος,


25 οὐδ’ ἀξιόλεκτον Α  26 τὸ λαφύξαν ἀγάγετο Β  τὸ λαφύξαν ἀγάγετο καί τε B  τὸ λαφύξαν ἀγάγετο Α  28 ἀπάντυγος Β  ἀπάντυγος Α  31 ἄνως B ἀνώς Α  32 οὐχ’ ἔτ’ L ἐνθετο τὸ λίθον  35 ἀρέσι P στῆθες Β  36 δραπέτευσαν Β  ἀπαλλοτριοὶ Α  37 ἄνως L  οὐχ’ ἔτ’ L  ὑψιμέδοντα B  ἕνεκεν ΘΕΟΙ  40 ήδὲ θεώνυμος Α  41 δε τοί P  42 δ’ Α  43 εὐμενέεσσι Α  44 οὐ Β  45 οὔτεκεο τι χαρισάμην Α  οὔτεκεο τι χαρισάμην Β  οὔτεκεο χαρισάμην L  οὔτε η’ ὅτω χαρισάμην coni. L  οὐ Β  οὐ τοί Α  47 καρτερὸν PAL  καρτερὸν m.c. ὑπώρυχα Α  πτόλοο Π  πόλοος Α

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καὶ δ’ ἔβαλον μεγαλήτορες άνδρες ἀριπρεπεῖς τε τε
ἔστε δομήτορες, ἡμὸς’ ἀδινῶν φύλα μελισσῶν,

50 ἔργον ἀρίσχου πάλιν τάδε συμπέραναν παραχήμα.
γνάθον, ὃς κάρχαρον ἐγκατατέθηκεν, ἵνα ἵππον

55 λευκόπεπλον, ταυριβότρυγον, εὐστέφανον, θυάτερα δ’ ἀπολαμβάνον τε ἡπόδημον ἐς μακρόν,
καὶ μονοκρατορίη αὐσονίτης, σκίρτησε. πολιούχως ἡ ἐν αὐτή
tέκνα θ’ ὁρῶσα γέγηθε συνηγμένα πάντοθεν αὖθις
δύσιος ἀντολίης τε ἀτεκμάρτων τε θαλασσῶν.


48 καδδ’ ἔβαλον ΡΒ  καδ’ἔβαλον Α  μεγαλείτορες Ρ  ἀριπρεπεῖς τε ΡΒ
ἔστε Α  ἡμὸς’ ἀδινῶν ΡΒ ἡμὸς’ ἀδινῶν Α  ἤμος’ ἀδιναῖον em. Λ  φύλα Α  μελισσῶν

50 οὔργον Β  ὁμ. ΡΒ  πάμπαν ερατεινήν,
καὶ μονοκρατορίην χθονὸς υἱέϊ ἅμα φαεινῷ·

55 κύκλῳ γὰρ ἐπάρασα βλεφαρίδας, ὡς φατο θέσπις,

60 κύκλῳ γὰρ ἐπάρασα βλεφαρίδας, ὡς φατο θέσπις,
καὶ μονοκρατορίην χθονὸς υἱέϊ ἅμα φαεινῷ·
κύκλῳ γὰρ ἐπάρασα βλεφαρίδας, ὡς φατο θέσπις,
καὶ μονοκρατορίην χθονὸς υἱέϊ ἅμα φαεινῷ·
A POEM ON THE REFORTEIFICATION OF DORYLAION IN 1175

Translation

There was a time when this city was a vigorous offshoot with shady leaves and large foliage, [prospering] under the Roman plane of the Ausonians. But [swept] by a furious and barbaric storm, a hurricane, a violent typhoon, it was torn away like a nubile girl from her mother [5], and was torn down to the ground, a girl shorn of her fair locks – for she undid her mighty walls as if she undid her hair. She cried loudly when, instead of divine laws and pious institutions, she had to follow Persian customs [9].

This was not pleasing to our leader, the sceptre-bearing, indefatigable, excellently working and magnanimous Comnenian scion, the famous slayer of the barbarians, the killer of the wild beasts that roam in the mountains, Manuel, the absolute ruler, the mighty one, the sacker of cities, the sweet-sounding instrument of pious words [15], the leader [on the path] of unerring spiritual ascent, the purple-born, [about] whom it is not right [to say that] he was born from mortals; consider him [one] of the heavenly beings, as he does not weary of terrible toils and he does not eat and does not sleep like most men [20], but he is above earthly needs, if he wishes.

So this pleased him not, and protected by the Almighty Christ, whom neither Hagar nor Ishmael venerate, he went to [the very fire of the rising sun], of his own volition. And he did not assemble a significant battalion [25], but it was like when Gideon led the “lapping” [soldiers] and routed the haughty army of the Midianites. For the Persians deemed they saw an unceasing lighting at the rim of the heavens, forgot their arrows, and turned to flight while uttering woeful shrieks [30]. They ceased to run over the wide plains of the life-giving earth and hid themselves in the deep mountain glens, like deer afraid of the mighty-pawed beast. And many shoulder-blades were pierced by lances – they did not wait for the spears to thrust into their chests [35].

While thus they fled from other people's dwellings, [expelled from] the beehives [which] they no longer reap as drones, our blessed ruler, who is named after God and who is godlike, stretched out his man-saving hand from Mount Olympus and beseeched God Almighty on behalf of the Christian lot [40]: “Be gracious, Lord of the Universe, to me - Thy suppliant. Forget not the Christians until the end [of all time], but look on Thy portion with benevolent eyes. For Thee, I will not spare my body, nor my precious crown, nor the child that Thou hast given to us” [45].

He spoke and placed a stone with his divine right hand. He laid it down as the mighty foundation stone of this city, and so too did the magnanimous and illustrious men: they laid [stones] until the builders, like swarms of clustering bees,
had completed this admirable work on the spot [50] and this had again become a very significant part of the Roman Empire. The mad dog, who has broken his sharp jaws, shall hurt himself if [he dares] set his teeth in this [wall of] stones [53].

[Now that] you have regained your daughter who has been away for so long (your daughter white-garmented, long-locked, well-girdled, her cheeks painted with orchil, utterly lovely), oh Ausonian woman, rejoice! And in return wish the Emperor, the protector of the city, many years of life and supreme rule together with his glorious son [59]? For when you lift up your eyes all around, as the Prophet says, and when you see that your children are once again gathered from all quarters, from West and East and from the boundless seas, rejoice and be merry!
Appendix

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A Poem on the Refortification of Dorylaion in 1175

In the summer/autumn of 1175, Manuel Komnenos (1143-1180) undertook the rebuilding of Dorylaion, one of the major aplekta in Asia Minor. For this occasion a poem was written. The strong acquaintance of the poet with the conventions of court literature, the occasional content of the poem and its panegyric character, suggest that the text was written for a small ceremony which took place at Dorylaion. The author is probably an anonymous professional court poet who accompanied Manuel in his expedition. The authorship is further discussed since the manuscript tradition might suggest that John Tzetzes was the author. After a close look at the language, style and metre of the poem, this identification is excluded. In 1908, Spyridon Lampros published the poem on the basis of manuscript Barocci 194 (fifteenth century) of the Bodleian Library. This study re-edits the poem on the basis of two more manuscripts: manuscript Parisinus gr. 2644 (late thirteenth century) of the Bibliothèque Nationale and Auctarium T.1.10 of the Bodleian Library (sixteenth century). The history of each manuscript is analyzed and the relation between them examined. The Auctarium is proved to be a direct copy of the Parisian manuscript. The metrical analysis of the poem is also included in the article and special textual problems are discussed. Finally, the translation of the original text is provided.